Original Articles

The lexicalized meaning extensions of the Amharic body-part word *fit* 'face'

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Abstract

This study deals about the lexicalized meaning extension of the Amharic body-part word *fit* 'face. The data collected from the day-to-day usage of Amharic and analayised qualitatively, depending on their meaning in a given context. Words add meanings. The added, extended meanings may have the same or different functions from previous meanings. Based on the functions of extended meanings, the route of meaning extensions can be labelled as either grammatical or lexical. This study describes the meaning extensions of the Amharic body-part term, the word *fit* 'face' and the lexicalization processes following the theoretical model of cognitive semantic typology. The lexicalization processes involve a wide array of contexts of which seven meaning extensions of *fit* 'face' and their associated contexts have been identified using authentic examples from various secondary data sources: 1) traditional military rank ፊታውራሪ, 2) emotion and personality trait ክፉ ፊት, 3) non-verbal cues in communication ፊት አሳየ, 4) be summoned (forced to stand, to attend) ክዳኛ ፊት, 5) front tooth ፊት ጥርስ, 6) secret door of a castle or a fenced compound ፊትበር, and 7) being beautiful ፊት ሰልካካ and ugly ክፉ ፊት.

1. Introduction

In the history of human languages words have undergone several changes. Words may add or extend their meanings. These added or extended meanings can be either grammatical or lexical. When the Amharic word such as *fit* meaning 'face' adds meaning to its literal meaning i.e., a body part term as in *fit-lə-fit* 'in front', 'at the front' the added or extended meaning is grammatical in category and the process is grammaticalization; whereas the same body part word *fit* 'face' adds meaning in *fit sət't'ə* ('he became friendly' LIT he gave face or *fit nəssa* 'he became uncommunicative' LIT he took face) the word *fit* has the positive or negative communicative meaning and the process, is lexicalization.

Names of human body parts often carry more than one meaning both isolation and within context. The word *fit* 'face' is one example where the face involves several meaning extensions (figurative meanings). These figurative meanings form relationship with the literal meaning *fit* 'face'. For example, the Amharic BPT *fit* 'face' when it co-occurs with location words carry different grammatical meaning senses as in (1).

1.

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(a) *fit–u ga*
'at the front'

(b) *fit–lə–fit*
'facing each other opposite' or 'at the forefront'

(c) *wədə–fit mət't'–a*
'he came to the front' (Abinet 2016, pp.28-9; Daniel 2016, p.87; Bahiru 2002, p.708; Leslau 1995, p.855).

In these examples, *fit* 'face' is used in grammatical contexts mostly as location markers. Thus the polysemic meaning relation between *fit* 'face' and its extended meanings such as those related to location is grammatical (Abinet 2016, pp.28-9; Daniel 2016, p.86-92; Leslau 1995, p.855). However, the word *fit* 'face' as in (2a-c) expresses lexicalized meaning extensions, i.e., what the human face exhibits in terms of emotion, body shape and activity instead of only *fit* 'face', the upper, outer body part or location as in the previous examples.

2.
(a) *fitə č'əmɨddada*
'melancholic face'

(b) *fitə səlkaka*
'beautiful face'

(c) *guto fit*
'criminal, rustic face' (Baetemann 1929, p.1251)

The Amharic body part word *fit* 'face' also involves other lexical renditions such as *fit-a-wɨrari* 'a civilian rank,' *fit bər* 'the front door (the secret door of a castle, cathedral, palace)' or *fit t'ɨrs* 'front teeth (a type of teeth)'. This latter group of words involved in relationships with the body-part word *fit* 'face' different from grammaticalization relation. These latter words and their relationship with the literal meaning *fit* 'face' and the relationship is labelled as lexicalization (Brinton & Traugott 2005; Heine & Kuteva 2005); hence meaning extensions of *fit* 'face' are lexicalized.

In the following sections, Section (2) discusses the theoretical framework and literature review of the *fit* 'face' studies. Section (3) focuses on the lexicalization processes of *fit* 'face' and Section (4) concludes the study.

2. Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

2.1 Theoretical model

"The domain of the human body is an ideal focus for semantic typology'. The reason varies. The body is a physical universal and all languages have terms referring to its parts" (Majid et al. 2006). The body is a conceptual universal that interests and is essential to speakers (Wierzbicka 2007, p.2). The human body [the domain] is universally conceptualized in terms of "parts". It is not, however, the parts only but also the shapes as well, that we all humans have in common and can be a source of shared experience in figurative meaning extensions from BPT [source] to other grammatical or lexical [target] meanings (Wierzbicka 2007). I consider BPTs as an anchor point from which a speaker perspective the events in space and time.

For instance, Yeli Dnye (Papuan language) has terms for the upper and lower leg but no ordinary term for the leg as a whole … and there is no simple expression for the face (and none at all for hand or foot") (Levinson 2006, p.222). In Jahai (a Mon-Khmer language, there is no word for 'head' (Burenhult, 2006. p.222). This absence startles Wierzbicka (2007), who contemplates that above claims have important implications for human universals and the extent of conceptual diversity among human groups. Considering the human body as an anchor point, we should focus on the use of the human body domain as the source of lexicalization and grammaticalization regardless of the details of what we find or do not find in one language or another.

Lexicalization processes serve as the basis of the study (Brinton and Traugott (2005); Heine (1997); and Heine & Kuteva (2005)). Linguistic literature shows ample examples that body part terms have polysemic, multiple meanings. Heine (1997), for example, expands the discussion of figurative extensions to a new level and states two interrelated facts. a) body-part terms can even be traced to other concepts (Heine 1997, p.131) as in the Amharic *yǝ-ayɨn bɨrǝt* 'pupil of an eye' (Lit. 'iron of eye'), and b) the human body's use it as the primary source domain for conceptual transfer from concrete to abstract entities; This involves transfer 'from one part of the body to another (p.133); for example, the Amharic *bɨrk*, 'knee' and *bɨrakua* "shoulder blade' have the same consonantal skeleton; they have similar consonants *b*, *r*, and *k*. Moreover, their extension of meanings involves transfer 'from body part to inanimate object" (Heine 1997, p.137); for instance, the Amharic BPT *fit* 'face' to *wǝdǝ -fit* 'in front' and 'before.'

Lexicalization is a meaning extension process which results in 'the production of new lexical contentful forms' (Brinton and Traugott 2005, p.97). In discussing the meaning transfer of this type, i.e., the transfer from the human body term, the source domain, to inanimate objects, the target domain took place (Heine 1997, pp.143-147). Some of the linguistic processes of identifying lexicalization of the source form into the target form are: (a) fused syntactic phrases, accompanied by idiomatization and sometimes

undergoing morphological change, and (b) fused compounds (Brinton & Traugott 2005, p.98).

(3) *lɨj-u*   *fit-u-n*   *tə-at't'əb-ə*
     boy-DEF   face-POSS-ACC   PASS-AGENT:wash:PERF-3SG:M
     'the boy washed his face'   BODY PART MARKER

(4) *fit-a-wrar-i*   *dan'el 'ɨ-t'ornət-u*   *mott-ə*
     vanguard   Daniel at-war-DEF   die:PERF-3SG:M
     'the vanguard Daniel died at war'   MILITARY RANK MARKER
     (LIT. 'face-agent-storm-doer Daniel died at war')

Moreover, lexicalization involves a semantic domain, a set of similar meanings, not only a single word of the lexical domain, but a set of interrelated words. As a result, in the lexicalization processes, i.e., meaning extensions of *fit* 'face' are not only confined to one word, *fit* 'face' only. These processes affect the entire class of the Amharic BP terms. Abinet's (2016) study can be cited as an example of this effect of the process on the domain. It is also observed in most Amharic BPTs, including effluvia and affects the whole BP domain (Daniel, 2014, pp.55-73).

2.2 Literature review

To reiterate, lexical items add, delete and change their meanings. The added meanings also known as extended meanings may have the same or different functions (grammatical or lexical), from previous meanings. Based on the functions of extended meanings, the route of meaning extensions can be labelled as either grammatical or lexical. Studies of meaning extensions in Amharic from the perspective of their route, i.e., grammaticalization and lexicalization are in their infancy; two notable Amharic studies on grammaticalization are Abinet (2016) and Daniel (2016) which focus on grammatical functions of extended meanings of some Amharic words. Daniel's (2014) study is so far the only one from the perspective of lexicalization. The rest of the review focuses on lexicalization from theoretical and world language perspectives.

There are studies in functionalist – typological framework of basic lexical items – to mention some Snider and Roberts (2006) SIL-comparative African word lists, Heine (1997) body parts in cognitive foundations of grammar, Wilkins (1996) natural tendencies of semantic change, and Chappell and McGregor (1996) BPT studies from inalienability and other typological perspectives among a few. These studies focus on the body-based experiential conceptualization of language and the rich source of polysemy and heterosemy in what is dubbed as 'basic'- verbs, environment terms, and colour terms. There are, however, people (cf. Language sciences 2006, 28, pp.2-3) who claim that there are absence of one or another prototypical BPT in specific language based on some quickly tested picture-based elicitation of BPT from language

consultants and postulate hasty conclusions. This sparks a strong response from Wierzbicka (2007).

Amharic body parts and body fluid (effluvia) terms are used as the sources of meaning extensions to encode personality traits, mainly the negative ones (Daniel 2014, p.55-73). Some of the basic Amharic effluvia terms are:

(5)
dəm	'blood'
wətət	'milk'
məgɨl	'pus'
nɨft', ləhač'	'snot'
mɨrak'	'spit'
lab	'sweat'
šɨnt	'urine'

'Snot' is associated with two lexical items; the form *nɨft'* means the fluid that comes out of the nose, whereas *ləhač'* means uncontrolled saliva that comes out of the mouth, and usually, it is a mix of nasal and oral fluids.

These effluvia terms are used to encode some imaginary or real traits of the persons, be it the speaker, the addressee, or a third person, involved in the topic of discussion. The personality traits follow a similar word formation process of suffixing –*am* to derive the adjective [X-*am*] 'the quality of having X' or 'having X-quality' as exemplified in (6) other BPTs are included for comparison and (7) the effluvia word bases.

(6)
hod	'belly' >	*hod-am*	'food lover'
ras	'head' >	*ras-am*	'excessively brainy'
lɨb	'heart' >	*lɨb-am*	'wise, calm and patient' (LIT. 'big heart')
s'əgur	'hair' >	*s'əgur-am*	'someone having beautiful hair'
s'im	'moustache'>	*s'im-am*	'unshaved face'
agəč'	'cheek' >	*agəč'am*	'having big cheek for the given face'
t'ɨrs	'teeth' >	*t'ɨrs-am*	'having protruded front teeth'
dɨd	'ridge' >	*dɨd-am*	'one who laughs about everything'
ayɨn	'eye' >	*ayɨn-am*	'having large eyes'(Daniel 2014)

In addition to effluvia, as in example set (5), the example set in (6) showed other BPTs except for eyes, and (7) below are lexicalized meaning extensions encoding negative personality traits.

(7)
dəm	'blood' >	*dəm-am*	'charming but not necessarily beautiful'

(Lit. 'one who has excess blood')

wətət	'milk' >	*wətətam*	'one who has abundant milk'
məgɨl	'pus' >	*məgɨlam*	'one who has pus'
nɨft',ləhač'	'snot' >	*nɨft'am,ləhač'am*	'one who has a dirty face; someone who

is not neat; a coward, not muscular or not wise'

mətfat 'spit' >   *tɨfatam* 'one who vomits by drinking or eating excess' (LIT.

'one who spits a lot)

mɨrak'	'saliva' >	*mɨrak'am*	'careless, one who spits a lot'
lab	'sweat' >	*labam*	'a weak person' (LIT. 'one who sweats fast')
šɨnt	'urine' >	*šɨntam*	'coward; a person who does not face hardship, real

danger or who does not come close to death' (Daniel 2014)

Generally, the personality traits derived from the effluvia terms have negative values; figuratively, they mean carelessness, cowardice, lack of mental strength and absence of strong personality traits.

Characterizing traits of a person using body fluids follows certain universal tendencies. First, generally, body fluids are waste products and these are not supposed to be displayed or disposed of in public. Instead, their displaying their disposing of body fluids in public or the assumed imaginary disposing of them in public implies that a person has some personality defects or negative traits, as listed in (7). Second, these body fluids are linked to body organs which Amharic speakers consider taboo to talk about (Marew 1996, p.30). Members of this speech community are trained from their childhood to avoid talking about the organs that produce body fluids. By extension, speakers are trained to dispose of the body fluids in secret at designated times and places, mostly in darkness. This phenomenon takes us to the 'visibility' factor (Petruck 1986, p.163). Disposing of body fluids in private is the norm. Unfortunately, the visibility of discharge itself is perhaps what led to all the encoding of negative traits that are attested in Amharic.

Words expressing negative personality traits in Amharic are meaning extensions from effluvia terms. Moreover, these words are used not only to describe negative personality traits and emotions but also as typical Amharic insults in communication situations.

When considering lexicalization of the BPT *fit* 'face,' the following seven associated and extended meanings come to the fore encoding figurative meaning extensions through them;1) traditional military rank, 2) emotion and personality trait, 3) non-

verbal cues, 4) summoned (forced to stand, to attend), 5) front tooth, 6) secret door of a castle or a fenced compound, and 7) beautiful or ugly.

3. Result and Discussion: Lexicalization of *fit* 'face'

Data for the study of lexicalization of *fit* 'face' comes from two sources; primarily, written works have been consulted and these collections of examples of *fit* 'face' are augmented by the author himself whenever necessary. Interpretations of *fit* 'face'- expressions are supplied by the author with an understanding that speakers or dictionaries can verify them.

(3.1) *fit* 'face' BODY PART > *fitawrari* 'the vanguard' TRADITIONAL MILITARY RANK

(8)   *fit-a-wrar-i   dan'el 'ɨ-t'ornət-u   mott-ə*
        Vanguard   Daniel at-war-DEF   die: PFV -3SG:M
        'the vanguard Daniel died at war' MILITARY RANK MARKER
        (LIT. face-agent-storm-doer Daniel died at war)

The word *fit-a-wrar-i* is a fused syntactic construction composed of a noun *fit*, followed by *a-* a transitivizer agent and the transitive verb stem *wrar* 'storm' and *–i* the nominalizer 'doer.' *fit* 'face' means front and advanced location here in the fused construction. *fit-awrar-i* is one of the traditional military ranks of Ethiopian society. The *fit-a-wrar-i* as a lexical item with similar other four words (a) *gɨrazmač,* b) *k'əňňazmač,* c) *dejazmač,* d) *ras* and e) *fitawrari* itself) in the military and civilian rank domain tells the importance of spatial locations in the history of military organization and its power hierarchy in traditional Ethiopian society. The military ranks are organized in relative locations from the central command post which is usually commanded by the highest-ranking person and by the number of soldiers each person commands. The center back is the command post of the whole army. An officer leads it titled *ras* 'head' (again, a BP term). The left-wing officer is titled *gɨrazmač* [*gɨra-a-zmat-i*], the *gɨra* 'left-wing' campaign commander followed by *k'əňňazmač* [*k'əňň-a-zmat-i*] the *k'əňň* 'right-wing commander. Then, second, to last rank, *dejazmač* is responsible for the immediate front security of the command post. The *fit-a-wrar-i*, the vanguard, is the front attacker, positioned next to *ras* 'the commander-in-chief in the spatial arrangement *ras* = (center back) *dejazmač* (center)–*fitawrari* = (front) *k'əňňazmač* –(right) *gɨrazmač*- (left). After the Second World War, once the Western-type military rank hierarchy had been introduced all these five ranks (a) *gɨrazmač,* b) *k'əňňazmač,* c) *dejazmač,* d) *ras* and e) *fitawrari*) diminished their roles and transfered to civilian ranks of honour. After the military coup and the military rule in Ethiopia (1974-1991), even these civilian ranks were abandoned as outdated.

(3.2) *fit* 'face' BODY PART > EMOTION PERSONALITY TRAIT and

(3.3) *fit* 'face' BODY PART > (allow or disallow to communicate) COMMUNICATION EVENT

Face-to-face interaction or communication involves participants with their loaded emotions and their goodwill of participation in the communication process. In this regard, the BPT *fit* 'face' is associated with a set of meaning extensions, lexicalized constructions depicting either emotion or (dis)allowing communication event to continue or both at the same time, (3.2) and (3.3). Some examples of both are given in (9-18), with their meaning extensions from the body-part word *fit* 'face'.

(9)   *kosso fit*
        'gloomy face' PERSONALITY TRAIT EMOTION MARKER
        (LIT. contorted face due to drinking the purgative, bitter medicine called Kosso')

                                                                (Amsalu   1984,
                                      p.11)

(10)   *fit-ə-   t'ərzaza*
        face-STEM MARKER   formative-cold and weak
        'gloomy and tired face'
        PERSONALITY TRAIT EMOTION MARKER (Bahiru 2002, p.707)

Examples (9) and (10) are lexicalizations that show emotions and non-verbal cues exclusively. Examples (11) to (18) show emotions, personality traits and non-verbal responses in communication events.

(11)   *fit-u-n   nəff-a*
        face-POSS-ACC   inflate:PFV-3SG:M:SBJ
        'he was sulky; he got annoyed and became silent'
        COMM. EVENT EMOTION MARKER
        (LIT. 'he inflated his face') (Amsalu 1984, p.11)

(12)   *fit-u-n   a-t'ək'k'or-ə*
        face-POSS-ACC   AGENT-black: PFV-3SG:M:SBJ
        'he blackened his face' EMOTION MARKER/GET UPSET (Bahiru 2002, p.707)

(13)   *fit   as-ayy-ə*
        face   CAUS:AGENT-see: PFV-3SG:M:SBJ
        'he agreed to communicate in a friendly manner'
        EMOTIONCOMM. EVENT MARKER
        (LIT. 'he showed his face') (Bahiru 2002, p.708)

(14)   *yə-səw*   *fit*   *gərrəf-ə-ňň*
        POSS-human   face   spank- PFV-3SG:M:SBJ-1SG:OBJ
        'they eyed me badly – they gave me a bad face/bad eyes'
        (LIT. 'face of human spanked me')
        COMMUNICATION EVENT EMOTION MARKER

(15)   *fit-u-n*   *t'all-ə*
        face-POSS-ACC   drop:PFV-3SG:M:SBJ
        (LIT. 'he dropped his face')
        EMOTION MARKER

(16)   *fit-u-n*   *məlləs-ə*
        face-POSS-ACC   return: PFV-3SG:M:SBJ
        'he became friendly, agreeable again'
        (LIT. 'he returned his face')
        EMOTION MARKER

(17)   *fit*   *sət't'-ə*
        face   give: PFV-3SG:M:SBJ
        'he allowed friendly communication' COMM. EVENTEMOTION MARKER
        (LIT. 'he gave face')

(18)   *fit*   *nəss-a*
        face   take away: PFV-3SG:M:SBJ
        'he banned friendly communication' COMM. EVENT BREAKINGEMOTION
        MARKER (Bahiru 2002, p.708)
        (LIT. 'he banned face' *Tella*; *bekifu ayɨn ayyə* he became serious- formal)

Except examples (9-10) which are a noun phrase and compound constructions, all the other examples are clausal constructions as they involve an object, verb, subject agreement, and TAM markers. The clausal constructions share the basic construction schema [[face][VTRANS]] *fit* 'face' as a noun co-occur with the grammatical items possessive [-*u*], accusative, [-n], modifiers [*yə-səw* 'of man (generic)'] or [*kosso* 'the purgative bitter medicine']. What makes this construction schema interesting is the presence of transitive or transitivized verbs, which show that in a communication event, the agent participant in his/her goodwill can control the event, manipulate and display whatever emotion it deems necessary for the event.

This feature of manipulating emotion, PRETENSION is also shared by the other upper external body parts *ginbar* 'forehead', *ayɨn* 'eye', *t'irs* 'teeth', and *angət* 'neck' demonstrated as in the following examples.

(19)   *gɨnbar-u-n k'uat't'ər-ə*
         (LIT. 'he tied his forehead')

Alternatively, *fit-u-n k'uat't'ər-ə* 'frowned his face' (LIT. tied his face Amsalu 1984, p.11)

(20)   *ayɨn-u-n agurət'ərrət'-ə*
         (LIT. 'he opened his eyes wide and moved his eyeballs from side to side')

(21)   *bə-t'ɨrs-u sak'k'-ə*
         'he laughed as if he was happy'
         (LIT. 'he laughed by his teeth and smiled')

(22)   *kə-angət bə-lay tɨhɨtɨna yɨ–as-ayy-al*
         'he showed insincere politeness'
         (LIT. 'he showed politeness above the neck')

The following examples show the use of upper external BPs and body-internal BPs in exhibiting similar contrasting emotions.

(23)   *af-u yɨnagəra-al   ɨnǰi   lɨb-u nɨsuh nəw*
         Only his mouth speaks, but he has no ill feelings.
         (LIT. 'his mouth speaks but his heart is clean')

(24)   *bə-t'ɨrs-u /bə-af-u sɨk'k'-o bə-hod-u tə'k'əyyəmə*
         he smiled while he felt bitterness
         (LIT. 'he smiled by his teeth/mouth he felt bitterness by his stomach')

Moreover, the following three examples show the absence of pretension of the doer as the heart, stomach and intestine are not manipulated as of the external body/organs.

(25)   *kə-lɨb-u   a-wət't'-a-ňň*
         from-heart   AGENT-come out: PFV-3SG:M:SBJ-1SG:OBJ
         'he forgot/ignored me totally'
         (LIT. 'he took me out of his heart')

(26)   *kə-hod-u   a-wət't'-a-ňň*
         from-stomach AGENT-come out: PFV-3SG:M:SBJ-1SG:OBJ
         'he forgot/ignored me totally'
         (LIT. 'he took me out of his stomach')

(27)   *kə-anǰət-u   a-wət't'-a-ňň*
         from-intestine AGENT-come out: PFV-3SG:M:SBJ-1SG:OBJ

'he forgot/ignored me totally'
(LIT. 'he took me out of his intestine')

The dichotomy of external and internal BPs concurs with emotion and pretension and emotion- an absence of pretension. The heart, stomach and intestine are recruited as carriers of emotions love/hate-sorrow-compassion, respectively.

Here, not a single lexical item is recruited for the transfer from the source to the target domain, but the whole domain, a group of lexical items (Cf. Heine 1997; Hopper 1991 arguments). In this sense, Amharic recruited BPTs to describe abstract emotions and personality traits. Again, for instance, a set of Amharic effluvia terms, not one, single word, are associated with negative personality traits (Daniel 2014 for details).

(3.4) *fit* 'face' BODY PART > SUMMON, FORCED TO STAND, TO ATTEND
In face-to-face interpersonal communication, one is at ease if it occurs among socially equal participants as interpersonal communication involves emotions (cf. 2 &3 above). However, this is not always the case. For example, one has to be summoned by officials, kings, supervisors, superiors and *fit* 'face,' a BP, is used to mean being called 'literally presented to one's superiors' face'.

(28)   *t'əlat-očč-e   fit   a-k'om-ə-ññ*
         enemy-PL-POSS:1SG face   AGENT-stand: PFV-3SG:SBJ-1SG:OBJ
         'I was summoned by him to my enemies'
         (LIT. he made me stand in the face of my enemies) (Isenberg 1842, p.157)

(29)   *nigus-u   fit   a-k'om-ə-ññ*
         king-DEF   face   AGENT-stand: PFV-3SG:SBJ-1SG:OBJ
         'I was summoned to the king by him'
         (LIT. he made me stand at the face of the king') (Isenberg 1842, p.157)

(30)   *ayin-iš ay-kəsəs   ay-k'ərb   kə-dañña fit*
         Eye   NEG-accuse   NEG-come close:PFV   PART-judge face
         'beautiful eyes cannot be accused and summoned at the law court'
         (LIT. 'eye cannot be accused and presented to the face of a judge) (Internet)

(31)   *kə-məmir-e   fit   alah lik'   a-rəgg-ə-ññ*
         PART-monk-POSS:1SG   face Allah   wise   AGENT-make:PFV-3SG:SBJ-
1SG:OBJ
         'Allah made me wise at the summon of the Christian monk'
         (LIT. Allah made me wise at the face of the monk)

(32)   *kə-šəwarəgga   fit ahun   li-a-ward-ə-u*

PART-Shewarega   face   now   JUSS-AGENT-degrade-1SG:SBJ-3SG:M:OBJ

'Shall I degrade him at the summon of Shewaregga?'
(LIT. 'Shall I degrade him in the face of Shewarega')

The meaning extensions of *fit* 'face' in the sense of being summoned occur with modifiers such as with my enemies, at the king's royal court, at the court of law, at the Christian monk and the King's daughter – Shewarega hearing presence. Like in the communication event case from (28-32) the *fit* 'face' > summon collocate with transitivized verb standing and degrading, called and stood at one's superior face In contrast to the above 14 examples, Amharic does not share the above schematic template to express communication with the socially equal participant.

(33)   **kə-guwadənña-ye*   *fit*   *a-k'om-ə-ñ*
       PART-friend-POSS:1SG   face   AGENT-stand:PFV-3SG:SBJ-1SG:OBJ
       'I was summoned to my friend by him'
       (LIT. he made me stand at the face of my friend')

Unlike the clausal constructions of the above-associated meanings of *fit* 'face', there are some fused compound constructions where *fit* 'face', the source domain, co-occurs with expressions of the target domain with the following associated meanings.

(3.5)   *fit* 'face' BODY PART > FRONT TEETH
(34)   *fit t'ɨrs* 'front teeth' (Bahiru 2002, p.708)

(3.6)   *fit* 'face' BODY PART > SECRET DOOR
(35)   *fit bər* 'secret door'
       (LIT. 'front door of a castle, a palace')

(3.7)   *fit* 'face' BODY PART > BEAUTIFUL and/or UGLY
(36)   *fit-ə-səlkaka*
       face-COMPOUND STEM FORMATIVE-balanced
       'beautiful face' (Amsalu 1984:11)
       (LIT. balanced face')

(37)   *fit-ə-ač'ɨr*
       face-COMPOUND STEM FORMATIVE-short
       'ugly face'
       (LIT. 'small face')

(38)   *kosso fit*
       'contorted face'

(LIT. Contorted face due to drinking the purgative, bitter medicine called Kosso')

The associated meanings above have a combination of *fit* 'face' "descriptive phrase", which is added to designate a derived concept…related to shape *ač'ɨr* 'short', *səlkaka* 'balanced symmetrical', or *kosso* 'contorted', location fit 'front, secret exit' (Heine 1997, p.144). This is one way of making the target's intended meaning with contextual clues (Heine 1997, p.143).

4. Conclusion

Amharic, as a Semitic language, is spoken mainly in Ethiopia by several millions of speakers (Daniel 2016, p.86) has meaning extensions of the Amharic body-part term *fit* 'face' and associated lexicalization process. The lexicalization processes involve a wide array of contexts of which seven polysemic meanings, meaning extensions of *fit* 'face' and their associated contexts have been identified from various secondary data sources: 1) traditional military rank, 2) emotion and personality trait, 3) non-verbal cues in communication, 4) be summoned (forced to stand, to attend), 5) front tooth, 6) secret door of a castle or a fenced compound, and 7) being beautiful or ugly.

To conclude, Amharic BP effluvia terms are used as the source of figurative meaning extensions to encode personality traits, and they show some definite culture-specific patterns. It would be interesting to see if the same patterns of lexicalizations recur cross-linguistically between Ethiopian languages.

Ethical considerations
The data came from either written sources or the author himself. Interpretations are based on the author's own assessment of acceptability among speakers of the language.

Competing interest
The author declares that he has no competing interest.

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