Anaphoric Expressions in Konso

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This abstract is about anaphoric expressions in Konso, a Lowland East Cushitic language spoken in southwest Ethiopia. Before presenting anaphoric expressions in Konso, it is important to mention that Konso has moveable subject clitics used not only as a strategy to mark a focused constituent in an utterance but also as a strategy to account for optionally leaving out independent subjects of sentences/clauses as illustrated in (1):

(1a) **anti χarʃa in-dam-ay**
    I beans 1-eat-PF:1SG
    ‘I ATE/HAVE EATEN beans.’

(1b) **χarʃa in-dam-ay**
    beans 1-eat-PF:1SG
    ‘I ATE/HAVE EATEN beans.’

The movement of subject clitics in Konso is, however, restricted in sentences with matrix clauses: the subject clitic referring to the subject of the higher predicate may cliticise to the verb of the embedded clause or to the predicate of the matrix clause. Furthermore, the subject clitic referring to the subject of the embedded clause cliticises only to a complementiser. (2) is an illustrative example.

(2) **ifeenna-(*)i akkaa-n kal-ay(*-n) i-dakay-t-i**
    he-(*3) that-1 return home-PF(*-1) 3-hear-3SGF-PF
    ‘She (has) heard THAT I (have) returned home.’

Konso employs reflexives and reciprocals for anaphor expressions. The reflexive category includes lexical items and a suffix. The reflexive lexical items are **isi ‘self’** and **matta ‘head’** whereas the reflexive anaphoric referencing suffix is -ad middle voice. isi ‘self’ and matta ‘head’ are not inflected for number, gender or person. One morphological difference between them is that matta ‘head’, but not isi ‘self’, attaches genitive suffixes as well as the dative case suffix -ʔ. Illustrative examples are given in (3).

(3a) **χala isi-n faʃ-ay**
    yesterday self-1 wash-PF:1SG
    ‘I (have) washed MYSELF yesterday.’

(3b) **matta-ad-ʔ konfa i-pid-d-ay**
    head-3SG:POSS-DAT-3 shorts 3-buy-PF:3SGM
    ‘He (HAS) BOUGHT shorts for himself.’

(3c) **konfa-n pid-d-ad-ʔ**
    shorts-1 buy-MID-IMPF:FUT
    ‘I will buy SHORTS for myself.’

Syntactically, both isi ‘self’ and matta ‘head’ occur in the embedded clause as illustrated in (4).
(4a)  \( \text{ja akkaa-n isi mur-ay i-up-a} \)

\( \text{he that-1 self cut-PF 3-know-IMPF:PRES} \)

‘He knows THAT I cut myself.’

(4b)  \( \text{atti akkaa-n matta-awu-ʔ aan-ay id-dakay-t-i} \)

\( \text{You(SG) that-1 head-1SG:POSS:SG-DAT go-PF 2-hear-2-PF} \)

‘You(SG) know THAT I went (there) myself.’

Semantically, isi also indicates ‘consciousness’ mainly when someone is very sick or deeply asleep or when a grownup does something not expected of them. There are also certain special health expressions used with isi ‘self’. Moreover, isi is used with postpositions: isi daraa dikki i ‘self

on finish ‘get it done (lit. finish (it) on yourself)’. There is issi to which the dative suffix -ʔ (issiʔ ‘for oneself’) or instrumental suffix -n(n) (issin(n) ‘alone (lit. by oneself)’) is attached. The status of issi as a lexical item or a nominal root/stem is difficult to determine since it does not have the meaning of either ‘for oneself’ or ‘by oneself’.

(5a)  \( \text{ʔissi-ʔ-in pidd-ay} \)

\( \text{self-DAT-1 buy-PF} \)

‘I bought (it) FOR MYSELF.’

(5b)  \( \text{ʔissi-nn-in pidd-ay} \)

\( \text{self-INST-1 buy-PF} \)

‘I bought (it) BY MYSELF.’

Interestingly, we may find utterances that contain both isi ‘self’ and matta ‘head’ as in (6).

(6)  \( \text{matta-ayti-ʔ isi faŋ-i} \)

\( \text{head-self:2SG-DAT self wash-IMP:SG} \)

‘Wash yourself (for yourself)!’

The reciprocal anaphoric referencing is expressed by the lexical item oli ‘each other/one another’. Since the subject of reciprocal anaphoric referencing is plural, verb root (stems) with inherent singular semantic value (e.g. tuŋʧur- ‘to push’, pafi- ‘to (cause to) break’) require the reduplication of the verb root (stem) initial CV(C). Verb root initial reduplication is not required for verb roots with inherent plural semantic value (e.g. diʔ- ‘to beat(many/more than once)’, leɓ- ‘to kick (many/more than once)’). With certain verb roots (e.g. daaf- ‘to give’) or verb stems (e.g. sook-ad- ‘to go to the field’), the reciprocal anaphoric form changes to olli which further requires the dative case suffix, thus ollʔ? ‘for each other’.

**Abbreviations and symbols**

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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