

## 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**                    **χarfa**                    **in-dam-ay**  
I                                beans                        1-eat-PF:1SG  
'I ATE/HAVE EATEN beans.'

(1b) **χarfa**                    **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** **faɣ-ay**  
yesterday                    self-1    wash-PF:1SG  
'I (have) washed MYSELF yesterday.'

(3b) **matta-adi-ʔ**                    **konfa i-pidd-ay**  
head-3SG:POSS-DAT-3                    shorts 3-buy-PF:3SGM  
'He (HAS) BOUGHT shorts for himself.'

(3c) **konfa-n**                    **pidd-ad-a**  
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) **ifa akkaa-n isi mur-ay i-up-a**  
 he that-1 self cut-PF 3-know-IMPF:PRES  
 ‘He knows THAT I cut myself.’

(4b) **atti akkaa-n matta-awu-? aan-ay id-dakay-t-i**  
 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 faraa dikkiili** ‘self on finish ‘get it done (lit. finish (it) on yourself)’. There is **issi** to which the dative suffix **-?** (**issi?** ‘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) **?issi-?-in pidf-ay**  
 self-DAT-1 buy-PF  
 ‘I bought (it) FOR MYSELF.’

(5b) **?issi-nn-in pidf-ay**  
 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) **matta-ayti-? isi faf-i**  
 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. **tuɕɕuur-** ‘to push’, **paɕ-ʃ-** ‘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. **ɕid-** ‘to beat(many/more than once)’, **leb-** ‘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 **olli?** ‘for each other’.

### Abbreviations and symbols

|                     |                     |                   |
|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| DAT = dative        | INST = instrumental | POSS = possessive |
| FUT = future        | M = masculine       | PRES = present    |
| IMP = imperative    | MID = middle voice  | SG = singular     |
| IMPF = imperfective | PL = plural         |                   |
| 1 = first person    | 2 = second person   | 3 = third person  |