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**Author:** Orkaydo, Ongaye Oda  
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5. Pronouns

In this chapter I discuss personal pronouns, demonstratives and possessives. I also treat reflexive and reciprocals. Personal pronouns distinguish number for all persons, but gender only for third person singular. With regard to case distinctions, it is only the first person singular and the second person singular pronouns that show a lexical distinction for nominative and accusative cases.

5.1. Personal pronouns

The following table presents the personal pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>anti</td>
<td></td>
<td>inu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>atti</td>
<td></td>
<td>iʃina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>iʃeenna</td>
<td></td>
<td>iʃoonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iʃeet(t)a</td>
<td></td>
<td>iʃoot(t)a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iʃeed(d)a</td>
<td></td>
<td>iʃood(d)a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>iʃa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Independent personal pronouns

As can be seen from the table, it is only the first and second person singular pronouns that show a lexical distinction for nominative and accusative cases. In (1a), the personal pronoun iʃa ‘he’ and ana ‘me’ are marked for their respective cases morphologically and lexically. However, in (1b), the nominative case distinction with the personal pronouns anti ‘I’ is made morphologically while the accusative case for the personal pronoun iʃa ‘him’ is neither morphologically marked nor lexically expressed. It is understood only from the word order.

(1a)  iʃaʔ ?ana iʔakkay
     iʃaʔ  ?ana  i=akk-ay
     3SGM.PRO-NOM  1SG.PRO.ACC 3=see-PF
     ‘He saw me.’

(1b)  antiʔ ?iʃa inʔakkay
     antiʔ  ?iʃa   in=akk-ay
     1SG.PRO-NOM  3SGM.PRO[ACC] 1=see-PF[3M]
     ‘I saw him.’

Second person plural accusative pronoun form occurs without a final vowel when it occurs as an object of a postposition as in (2a). Otherwise, it occurs with the final vowel as in (2b-c).
The alternants for third person feminine and third person plural pronoun forms differ only in the vowels in the second syllable. Except with the nasal consonant, which is always geminate, the forms of these pronouns can occur in free variant forms: with a single or geminate final consonant.

Personal pronouns can be used not only for humans but also for non-human entities agreeing in gender to the gender of the noun they refer to.

### 5.2. Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are sediʔ and seniʔ. The former is used with nouns that trigger an M/F gender agreement on the verb, whereas the latter is used with nouns that trigger a P gender agreement on the verb. Like the demonstrative suffixes (see 4.8), the demonstrative pronouns express proximity. No distal distinction is made. Here are some examples:

(3a)  

```
seɗiʔ  Compra
```

‘This is a tree.’

(3b)  

```
seɗiʔ  tika-aŋti
```

‘This is your house.’

The alternants for third person feminine and third person plural pronoun forms differ only in the vowels in the second syllable. Except with the nasal consonant, which is always geminate, the forms of these pronouns can occur in free variant forms: with a single or geminate final consonant.

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### 5.2. Demonstrative pronouns

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(3a)  

```
seɗiʔ  Compra
```

‘This is a tree.’

(3b)  

```
seɗiʔ  tika-aŋti
```

‘This is your house.’
The word iniʔ ‘this one’ is used as demonstrative pronoun as well. It is used with nouns that are semantically singular and may trigger a masculine or feminine gender agreement on the verb.

It is interesting to see that some numerically singular nouns which trigger a plural gender agreement occur with iniʔ, and some do not. For example, the nouns fila ‘comb[P]’ and inna ‘child [P]’ trigger plural gender agreement in possessives. However, the nouns show a difference in their distribution with regard to the demonstrative pronoun iniʔ: inna ‘child[P]’ does occur with iniʔ, as in (5a), whereas fila ‘comb[P]’ does not (5b).

There is also the demonstrative pronoun ossiniʔ ‘this thing’ which is used with reference to (non-)animate entities as illustrated in (6).
The glottal stop of the demonstrative pronouns may be elided in fast utterances. This can be seen from the examples in (7).

(7a) \textit{sedi tikaayti}
\textit{sedi tika-ayti}
\textit{this.M/F house[F]-2SG.POSS.M/F}
\textit{‘This is your house.’}

(7b) \textit{ini maakaa}
\textit{ini maakaa}
\textit{this.M/F snake[M]}
\textit{‘This is a snake.’}

(7c) \textit{ossinineeʛ-i}
\textit{ossini \textit{i} = neeq-i}
\textit{this.thing \textit{3} = be.bad-PF}
\textit{‘This thing is bad.’}

The glottal stop is not elided from \textit{ossini}? ‘this thing’ with such question words as \textit{meeqaa} ‘how much?’ (8a) and \textit{maana} ‘what?’ (8b). It is elided with the question word \textit{ayfa} ‘where?’, as shown in (8c).

(8a) \textit{*ossini meeqaa}
\textit{this.thing how.much}
\textit{(intended: ‘How much is this thing?’)}

(8b) \textit{*ossini maana}
\textit{this.thing what}
\textit{(intended: ‘What is this thing?’)}

(8c) \textit{ossini ayfaʔiɗ dakayti}
\textit{ossini \textit{ʔayfaʔi=ʔi} dakay-t-i}
\textit{this.thing where-LOC = 2 hear-2-PF}
\textit{‘Where did you hear this thing from?’}
Distal location is expressed by a locative adverb (see Section 8.2.1), the existential verb and a demonstrative pronoun as can be seen from the following examples:

(9a)  \[\text{seɗiɗ } \text{ɗisee co } \text{ɗoyraawu}\]
     \[\text{sedîʔ } \text{ɗise}=\text{i } \text{kiy-o } \text{ɗoyra-awu}\]
     this.DEM.M/F there=3 be-3M tree-1SG.POSS.M/F
     ‘That is my tree.’
     (lit: ‘This tree there is my tree.’)

(9b)  \[\text{seniʔ } \text{xatee caa�t } \text{ɗoraayyu}\]
     \[\text{seniʔ } \text{xate}=\text{i } \text{kiy-aaʔ } \text{ɗora-yyu}\]
     these down=3 be-P trees-1SG.POSS.P
     ‘Those are my trees.’
     (lit: ‘These trees down there are my trees.’)

5.3. Possessives

Possessives may be marked by suffixes or independent pronouns. I first present possessive suffixes. Except for the third person singular, all possessive suffixes that occur with nouns not only distinguish the number of the possessor but also the gender of the possessum. The third person singular has the same possessive suffix for all (F/M/P, S/PL) possessums. Table 2 presents the possessive suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Possessum (M/F)</th>
<th>Possessum (P)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>-awu</td>
<td>-yyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>-aynu</td>
<td>-nnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>-ayti</td>
<td>-tti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>-ayʃin</td>
<td>-ssin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.M/F</td>
<td>-aɗi</td>
<td>-aɗi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>-aɗiʔ</td>
<td>-ssuʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Possessive suffixes

In the following examples, the nouns \text{tika} ‘house’, \text{karkaa} ‘beehive’ and \text{orr}a ‘people’ in (10) occur with M/F possessum suffixes because of the M/F gender agreement on the verb. On the other hand, the nouns \text{tikkaa} ‘houses’, \text{filaa} ‘comb’ and \text{pifaa} ‘water’ in (11) occur with plural possessum suffixes because of the plural gender agreement on the verb.

(10a) \[\text{tika-awu } \text{i}=\text{sek-i}\]
     \[\text{house-1SG.POSS.M/F } \text{3}=\text{be.far-PF}\]
     ‘My house is far (from here).’
Kinship terms such as aappaa ‘father’, aayyaa ‘mother’, aakkaa ‘grandfather’, maammata ‘paternal aunt’, okkooyyita ‘grandmother’ and apuyyaata ‘maternal uncle’ are used with plural possessive suffixes even when used by an only child. It indicates a relation that cannot be possessed individually. Table 3 contains the suffixes used with kinship terms.

### Table 3: Possessive suffixes with kinship terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Possessive suffixes added to the noun to indicate person and number distinction of the possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aappaa</td>
<td>1 person -aaynu 2 person -ayjın 3 person -ayju'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aayyaa</td>
<td>1 person -nnu 2 person -ssın 3 person -ssu?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aattaa</td>
<td>1 person -nnu 2 person -ssın 3 person -ssu?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maammata</td>
<td>1 person -aaynu 2 person -ayjın 3 person -ayju'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aakkaa</td>
<td>1 person -aaynu 2 person -ayjın 3 person -ayju'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okkooyyita</td>
<td>1 person -aaynu 2 person -ayjın 3 person -ayju'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appuyyaata</td>
<td>1 person -aaynu 2 person -ayjın 3 person -ayju'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kinship terms such as ajuma ‘sister’s/(grand)aunt’s son’, ajumta ‘sister’s/(grand)aunt’s daughter’, oopaa ‘grandson’ and oopta ‘granddaughter’ need not have plural possessive suffixes. Examples:
Interestingly, the term aappaa may mean ‘father’ or ‘husband’ depending on the type of possessive suffix added to it. When it occurs with suffix -aynu it refers to father: aappaynu ‘our father’. However, with suffix -wu, it means ‘husband’: aappawu ‘my husband’.

Independent possessive pronouns are formed from the noun space filler χa and the possessive suffixes. The noun space filler χa does not have any meaning. It just replaces the noun. In my dialect, not all the possessive suffixes I presented above may occur with χa as can be seen from the following table. First person singular, the second persons and the third person plural possessors have variant forms that do not occur with nouns. The pronouns indicate number distinction in the possessor but not in the possessum.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>χayyu/χayya/*χawu</th>
<th>‘mine’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>χannu/*χaynu</td>
<td>‘ours’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>χaayti/χatti</td>
<td>‘yours’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>χaayʃin/χassin/χaʃʃin</td>
<td>‘yours’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.M/F</td>
<td>χaaɓi</td>
<td>‘his/hers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>χaayfu/χassu/χaʃʃu</td>
<td>‘theirs’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Independent possessives

The unacceptable forms in table 4 are acceptable in χolme and in some parts of Faafε dialects.

Table 4 shows that independent possessives do not distinguish the gender of the possessum. As the examples in (13) illustrate, independent possessives like χayyu ‘mine’ in (13c) may have a singular possessor interpretation like ‘It is mine’ or a plural possessor interpretation like ‘They are mine’ based on whether the possessum is singular as in (13a) or plural as in (13b).

(13a) init tika a aynu
iniʔ tika a aynu
this house GEN who
‘Whose house is this?’
5.4. Reflexive

Reflexive anaphoric reference is expressed by isi ‘self’. It has the variant ʔissi when followed by dative or instrumental suffixes. Sometimes, the body part harka ‘hand’ may also be used to express reflexive. The reflexive pronoun isi is not inflected for number, gender or person. In a clause, the reflexive pronoun follows the subject as shown in (14).

(14a)  
\[
\text{antiʔ ʔisin fa\textacuten=ay} \\
\text{antiʔ isi in=fa\textae\textacuten} \\
1\text{SG.PRO-NOM self 1 = wash-PF[3M]} \\
\text{‘I washed myself.’}
\]

(14b)  
\[
\text{raaka-siʔ ʔisi imurti} \\
\text{raaka-siʔ isi i=\textacuten}\text{mur-t-i} \\
\text{old.woman-DEF.M/F self 3 = cut}[\text{SG}]-3\text{F-PF} \\
\text{‘The old woman cut herself.’}
\]

(14c)  
\[
\text{keltaytasim mattuppa isi i\textacuten=ooʃʃay} \\
keltayta-siʔ matta-oppa isi \\
\text{baboon-DEF.M/F head-in self} \\
i=\textacuten=ooʃʃ-ay \\
3 = scratch.SG-PF[3M] \\
\text{‘The baboon scratched itself on the head once.’}
\]

In the following examples, the reflexive pronoun has the form issi because there is the dative in (15a) and instrumental in (15b).

(15a)  
\[
\text{issip piddi} \\
\text{issiʔ pidd-i} \\
\text{self-DAT buy}[\text{SG}]-\text{IMP.SG} \\
\text{‘Buy it for yourself.’}
\]

(15b)  
\[
\text{issi-n \textacuten=oooy-i} \\
\text{self-INST come-\text{IMP.SG}} \\
\text{‘Come by yourself!’}
\]
With the verb roots up- ‘to know’ and dakay- ‘to hear’ and the postposition çara ‘on’, the reflexive pronoun ñisi yields the meaning of ‘self-consciousness’. It is mainly used in negative sentences to express that someone is deeply asleep or seriously sick and unconscious of themselves. The examples in (16) may have either interpretation depending on the discourse setting.

(16a) iscara inuptu

\[
\text{isi-çara} \quad \text{in}=\text{up-}t-u
\]

self-on 3NEG = know-3F-NEG

‘She is unconscious.’

(lit.: ‘She does not know on herself.’)

(16b) iscara dakayin co

\[
\text{isi-çara} \quad \text{dakay}=\text{in} \quad \text{kiy-o}
\]

self-on hear = 3NEG be-NEG

‘He is unconscious.’

(lit.: ‘He does not hear on himself.’)

With the verb root ñaç- ‘to wash’, such nouns as piñaa ‘water’ and dakinta ‘body’ may be used instead of the reflexive pronoun ñisi. The use of these nouns, however, requires the verb to contain the middle suffix as can be observed from the examples in (17).

(17a) piñaa ñaçanni

\[
\text{piñaa}=\text{in} \quad \text{ñaç-}a\text{nd}-n-i
\]

water = 1 wash-MID-1PL-PF

‘We washed ourselves.’

(lit.: ‘We washed water (for our benefit).’)

(17b) attiʔ dakința ñaçatti

\[
\text{attiʔ} \quad \text{dakința}=\text{iʔ} \quad \text{ñaç-}a\text{nd}-t-i
\]

2SG.PRO-NOM body = 2 wash-MID-2-PF

‘You (SG) washed yourself.’

(lit.: ‘You (SG) washed your body.’)

The reflexive pronoun and the middle suffix -ad do not co-occur in a sentence as shown in (18).

(18a) *antiʔ ñisin ñaçaday

\[
\text{antiʔ} \quad \text{ñisin}=\text{in} \quad \text{ñaç-}a\text{nd}-\text{ay}
\]

1SG.PRO-NOM self = 1 wash-MID-PF[3M]

(intended: ‘I washed myself for my benefit.’)
In addition to the reflexive pronoun isi, the body parts matta ‘head’ and harka ‘hand’ may be used to express reflexivity. The body part matta occurs with possessive suffixes and the dative. This is illustrated in (19).

(19) namasim mattaaɗiʔ ?urmalaaapa ?iʔaanay
    nama-siʔ matta-adiʔ urmalaa-opa
    person-DEF.M/F head-3SG.POSS.M/F-DAT market-to

  i=aan-ay
  3 = go-PF[3M]
  ‘The man went to the market for himself.’
  (lit.: ‘The man went to the market for his head.’)

The use of the body part harka ‘hand’ to express reflexive meaning is contextually limited. It is used when someone takes a risk to do something and it yields a negative consequence. The instrumental suffix and the verb kod- ‘to do, work’ are required in using harka to express reflexive. Examples:

(20a) harkanne kodaday
    harka-mm=i kod-ad-ay
    hand-INST=3 do-MID-PF[3M]
    ‘He caused the trouble for himself.’
    (lit.: ‘He made it with his hand for himself.’)

(20b) harkanne kodatti
    harka-mm=i kod-ad-t-i
    hand-INST=3 do-MID-3F-PF
    ‘She caused the trouble for herself.’
    (lit.: ‘She made it with her hand.’)

5.5. Reciprocity and ‘each’

Reciprocity is expressed by the pronoun oli. The following are illustrative examples.

(21a) olin upna
    oli=in up-n-a
    RECP = 1 know-P-IPF.FUT
    ‘We know each other.’
(21b) hellaasiniʔ χala=3 ?oli ʛiɗin
hella-siniʔ χala=i 3 ?oli ʛiɗ-i-n
children-DEF.P yesterday=3 RECP beat-PF-P
‘The children beat each other yesterday.’

The reciprocal pronoun oli has the variant olli when followed by the dative (22a) or instrumental suffix (22b).

(22a) harka lakkee ollip pijaa façin
harka lakki=i olli-ʔ pijaa faç-i-n
hand two=3 RECP-DAT water wash-PF-P
‘Two hands wash each other.’
(lit.: Two hands wash water for each other.)

(22b) inuʔ ?ollinnin diluppu saokanni
inu-ʔ olli-n=in dilaloppu
1PL.PRO-NOM RECP-INST=1 field-into
sokaɗ-n-i
go.to field-1P-PF
‘We went to the field together.’
(lit.: We went to the field with each other.)

The example in (22a) is a proverb. It is used to express the situation where someone offers help to someone else who has offered them help before.

The reciprocal is expressed by the pronoun oli and the (locative–directional) compound minaadesa (mina ‘in front of’ desa ‘toward (facing)’) when many participants are involved in the reciprocal action and when there is no one-to-one relationship among the actors in the event. The following is an illustrative example.

(23) orrasim minaadesaa oli ʛiɗay
orra-siʔ minaadesa=i oli ʛiɗ-ay
people-DEF.M/F toward=3 RECP beat-PF[3M]
‘The people beat one another.’

Notice the number agreement between the subject and the verb root. Sentences with the reciprocal pronoun require plural subjects and plural verb roots. For example, in sentence (24a) the reciprocal subject harreeeewwaasiniʔ ‘the donkeys’ occurs with a corresponding plural verb root çiim- ‘bite[PL]’. Sentence (24b) is unacceptable because of the incongruence between the plural subject and the singulative verb root çanin- ‘to bite[SG].
Finally, ‘each (of)’ is expressed by *matta matta* ‘head head’ followed by the instrumental suffix -n(n). This is demonstrated below.

(25)  *hellaasim matta mattannee χoradin*

'hellaasim matta mattannee χoradin'

children-DEF.P head head-INST=3 be.fined-PF-P

‘Each of the children was fined.’