



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

A grammar of Gaahmg, a Nilo-Saharan language of Sudan

Stirtz, T.M.

Citation

Stirtz, T. M. (2012, February 7). *A grammar of Gaahmg, a Nilo-Saharan language of Sudan*. *LOT dissertation series*. LOT, Utrecht. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/18452>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/18452>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

5 Pronouns

The pronoun system in Gaahmg distinguishes three persons, two numbers (singular and plural), and six cases (possessive, subject, object, dative, reflexive, prepositional). There is no dual, no gender distinction, no inclusive/exclusive distinction, and no logophoric distinction. As expected in an SVO language, subject pronouns are pre-verbal and object and dative pronouns are post-verbal. Possessive pronouns are pre-nominal for inalienable nouns and post-nominal for alienable nouns. Prepositional pronouns have the prepositional marker prefix *d-* and reflexive pronouns make use of the possessed noun ‘body’.

There are two distinct ways that pronouns affect verbs through [ATR] quality: second person subject morphemes require verb forms to have [+ATR] vowel quality as discussed in 5.3, and dative suffixed pronouns spread [+ATR] vowel quality leftward onto the verb root {M3}, as discussed in 5.5.

The six types of pronouns are each discussed in their own section, but first, an explanation is needed for the vowel-person correspondence in all pronouns. Interrogative pronouns are not discussed in this chapter, but in 15.3 in the chapter on sentence level syntax.

5.1 Person and number markers

Pronouns in Gaahmg, regardless of case or number, use vowel features to represent the person referred to. Depending on the type of pronoun, the vowel may be either [+ATR] or unspecified for [ATR], and the three persons coincide with the language's three vowel harmony pairs as shown in (1): [+back, -round] vowels represent first person, [+round] vowels represent second person, and [-back] vowels represent third person. Pronouns are marked for plural number agreement with the velar geminate segment *-gg-*.

(1) Person marker vowel pairs in pronouns

Vowel features	Vowel pairs	Person indicated
[+back, -round]	a, ɔ	1 st person
[+back, +round]	ɔ, u	2 nd person
[-back, -round]	ɛ, i	3 rd person

The abbreviations used for pronouns are as follows in order of appearance: 1, 2, or 3 refers to person; s or p refers to singular or plural person number; P, N, A, D, R, O refers to possessive, subject (or nominative), object (or accusative), dative, reflexive, or prepositional case (object of a preposition); and in possessive pronouns, final s or p refers to singular or plural noun agreement. For example, the pronoun *máâ sòh(è)* ‘my (1sPs) house’ indicates the first person singular possessive pronoun agreeing

with a singular noun, and the pronoun *máàgg ðnàgg(ð)* ‘my (1sPp) houses’ indicates the first person singular possessive pronoun agreeing with a plural noun. For reference, the list of table 7 presents the most basic pronoun forms of this chapter.

Table 7: Basic pronoun forms

Infinitive	Possessive (body parts) (P)	Long subject (N)	Short Subject (N)	Subject future (N)	Object (A)	Dative (D)	Reflexive (R)	Prepositional (O)	
ā	ā	āān	á	ā	a	-ān -ān	āān	-āān(ā)	1s
ō	ō	ōōn	ó ó =	ō ō =	-O	-ūn -ūn	ūūn	-ōōn(ó)	2s
ē	ē	ēēn	ē	ē	-E -E	-īn -īn	īīn	-ēēn(ā)	3s
à(gg)	āgg	āggá	āgg	āggá	aaggá āāggá	-āggón -āggōn	āān-g	-āggá	1p
ò(gg)	ōgg ūgg	ōggó ōgg =	ōgg ōgg =	ōggó ōggó =	-OOggÓ -ÓŌggÓ	-ūggún -ūggūn	ūūn-g	-ōggó	2p
è(gg)	ēgg	ēggà	(ēgg)	ēggà	-EEggÀ -ÉÈggÀ	-īggòn -īggōn	īīn-g	-ēggè	3p

5.2 Possessive pronouns

There are two sets of possessive pronouns, one used with inalienable nouns—body parts and kinship terms—the other with alienable nouns. The two sets have different syntax. The inalienable set precedes the noun, the alienable set follows it. The examples of (2-4) demonstrate the order of possessors and possessed nouns.

(2) Pre-nominal possessive pronouns: body parts

- (a) *ɲām* **ūgg** **ɲàlg**
 break 2pPp necks
 ‘They will break your necks.’ (Thng23)

- (b) ānēñḑá Tél ē kúñḑ=ú¹⁸ ē áḑ ē wáēñḑá
 then God 3sPs heart=DEF 3sN becomes with joy
 ‘Then, God will be pleased (lit. Then God’s his heart, it becomes with joy).’
 (Womn17)

(3) **Pre-nominal possessive pronouns: kinship terms**

- (a) ò ́ yāā nāā néé lèèn-án ḑūmùùn ḑ-ūūṅ ṭà
 and 2sPs mother girl this was.coming towards PP-2sO there
 ‘Your mother’s sister (lit. your girl mother) was coming to you there.’
 (Assa3-4)

- (b) òḑḑggg, àḑḑà é kḑr ḑ-ḑggḑ jḑḑ-àgg=ḑ
 women live GP word PP-2pPp husband-PL=DEF
 ‘Women, if you live only by your husbands’ orders.’ (Womn21)

(4) **Post-nominal possessive pronouns**

- (a) mḑsḑr ḑnī bēl àsúūr.
 horse 3sPs named Asuur
 ‘His horse was called Asuur.’ (Minj10)
- (b) bì fṅáḑḑ kḑr ḑḑn ní mā māj!
 let hear word 1sPs this very carefully
 ‘Listen to my words very carefully!’ (Womn3)

5.2.1 Possession of alienable nouns

Possessive pronouns of alienable nouns are given in (5). Alienable possessive pronouns agree with the noun they follow in both singular and plural number. The singular marker *-n* is only found in alienable possessive pronouns and in long subject pronouns (see 5.3), whereas the plural marker *-gg* is used in all plural pronouns. The plural person pronouns are distinguished from the singular person

(5) **Possessive paradigm for alienable noun *māā / máāgg* ‘house’**

	Singular person pronouns			Plural person pronouns		
Noun SG	māā	ḑḑn(=è)	1sPs	māā	ḑyḑn(=à)	1pPs
	māā	úùn(=ù)	2sPs	māā	ūyùn(=ù)	2pPs
	māā	ḑnī(=n)	3sPs	māā	īyḑnī(=n)	3pPs
Noun PL	māā-gg	ḑnḑgg(=à) ¹⁹	1sPp	māā-gg	ḑyḑgg(=à)	1pPp
	māā-gg	úùg(=ù)	2sPp	māā-gg	ūyùgg(=ù)	2pPp
	māā-gg	ḑnīgī(=n)	3sPp	māā-gg	īyḑggī(=n)	3pPp

¹⁸ The construction of (2b) has both a noun (*Tél* ‘God’) and pronoun (*ē* ‘his’) possessor of the body part *kúñḑú* ‘heart’. See 14.9.3 for nominal possession of body parts.

¹⁹ Or *ḑngḑ*

pronouns with the segment *y*, and initial tone of singular person possessives is High, whereas initial tone of plural person possessives is Mid. Third person possessives have a final vowel with Mid tone. Vowels and consonants in parentheses are copular clitics, attached when the possessive pronouns are comments of a stative clause ('The cow is mine'). They are discussed further in section 14.6.1.

5.2.2 Possession of inalienable nouns: body parts

Possessive pronouns for body parts are given in (6). In Gaahmg, body parts are inalienable nouns with possession formed by an independent possessor pronoun preceding the possessed noun. In (6), the body part 'cheek' is listed in singular and plural forms with all possible possessive pronouns. The dashed line represents constructions that do not exist. The [+ATR] value of the plural suffix *-əgg* spreads leftward onto the noun root in accordance with {M3} of 3.2, but not onto the independent possessive pronoun preceding the noun. The plural person pronouns are distinguished from the singular person pronouns by the plural marker *gg*. Second person possessives of plural body parts can be [+ or -ATR]. The tone of all possessive pronouns of body part nouns is Mid.

(6) **Possessive paradigm for inalienable body part *fānɗ* / *fānɗəgg* 'cheek'**

	Singular person pronouns			Plural person pronouns		
Noun SG	<i>ā</i>	<i>fānɗ</i>	1sPs	---		1pPs
	<i>ō</i>	<i>fānɗ</i>	2sPs	---		2pPs
	<i>ē</i>	<i>fānɗ</i>	3sPs	---		3pPs
Noun PL	<i>ā</i>	<i>fānɗ-əgg</i>	1sPp	<i>āgg</i>	<i>fānɗ-əgg</i>	1pPp
	<i>ō, ū</i>	<i>fānɗ-əgg</i>	2sPp	<i>ōgg, ūgg</i>	<i>fānɗ-əgg</i>	2pPp
	<i>ē</i>	<i>fānɗ-əgg</i>	3sPp	<i>ēgg</i>	<i>fānɗ-əgg</i>	3pPp

In addition, the nouns possessed by plural persons take a different tone pattern than that of nouns possessed by singular persons. As is discussed further in 6.4, the plural person morpheme requires LM tone pattern to surface for possessed body part nouns.

5.2.3 Possession of inalienable nouns: kinship terms

The possessive pronouns of kinship terms are identical to those of body part nouns, except for tone. Whereas all possessive pronouns of body part nouns have Mid tone, first and second singular person pronouns of kinship terms have High tone. And in contrast to body parts, the tone of kinship terms possessed by plural persons is the same as those possessed by singular persons.

(7) **Possessive paradigm for inalienable kinship term***ṭááðà / ṭááðàḍ* ‘grandmother’

	Singular person pronouns			Plural person pronouns		
Noun SG	á	ṭááðà	1sPs	āgg	ṭááðà	1pPs
	ó	ṭááðà	2sPs	ōgg	ṭááðà	2pPs
	ē	ṭááðà	3sPs	ēgg	ṭááðà	3pPs
Noun PL	á	ṭááðàḍ	1sPp	āgg	ṭááðàḍ	1pPp
	ó, ú	ṭááðàḍ	2sPp	ōgg, ūgg	ṭááðàḍ	2pPp
	ē	ṭááðàḍ	3sPp	ēgg	ṭááðàḍ	3pPp

5.2.4 Inherently possessed body part nouns

For most inalienable nouns, possessive pronouns are separate from the nouns they precede, evidenced by a lack of [+ATR] spreading from roots to the preceding pronoun {M3}. However, there is a special set of body parts in which the possessive pronoun is attached to the noun. These body part nouns do not occur without being possessed by someone, and can be referred to as ‘inherently possessed’ body parts (Payne 1997:105-106). Unlike other body part nouns, speakers cannot say ‘eye’, ‘hand’, ‘head’, etc. without also including the possessor along with the noun (i.e. ‘his eye’, ‘my eye’, ‘your eye’, etc.).

An exhaustive list of inherently possessed body parts is shown in (8). Those that are used as locatives, as described in chapter 11, have asterisks next to them. The root contains only a consonant, except for (g) which has no root segment. A possessive person marker long vowel *VV-* is prefixed to the root in all singular forms as well as in plural forms of all but the body part nouns of (a-b). In the plural forms of (a-b), a person marker short vowel *V-* is prefixed to the root. All vowels of each possessed body part noun refer to the person possessing it, corresponding with the three vowel pairs of the language: *a* or *ə* for first person, *o* or *u* for second person, and *e* or *i* for third person. The [+ATR] quality of the plural suffixes *-⁺gg* or *-^Vgg* spreads leftward onto the noun root {M3}. Further, the vowel of the suffix is underlyingly unspecified for any other feature, and takes the features of the person morpheme—*a*, *u*, or *i*, depending on the person possessing the body part. The body parts of (f-g) have both a singular and plural suffix.

(8) **Possessive paradigms of ‘inherently possessed’ body part nouns**

	Root	N SG, SG person	N PL, SG person	N PL, PL person	
(a) /ḍ/	āā-ḍ	1sPs	ḍ-ḍ-āgg	1sPp	ḍ-ḍ-āgg 1pPp ‘eye’
	ōō-ḍ	2sPs	ú-ḍ-ūgg	2sPp	ù-ḍ-ūgg 2pPp
	ēē-ḍ	3sPs	í-ḍ-īgg	3sPp	ì-ḍ-īgg 3pPp
(b) /s/	āā-s	1sPs	ḍ-s-āgg	1sPp	ḍ-s-āgg 1pPp ‘hand’
	ōō-s	2sPs	ú-s-ūgg	2sPp	ù-s-ūgg 2pPp
	ēē-s	3sPs	í-s-īgg	3sPp	ì-s-īgg 3pPp

(c)	/l/	āā-l	1sPs	àà-l-g	1pPp	'head'*
		ṣṣ-l	2sPs	ùù-l-g	2pPp	
		ēē-l	3sPs	ìì-l-g	3pPp	
(d)	/ɲ/	āā-ɲ	1sPs	àà-ɲ-g	1pPp	'back'*
		ṣṣ-ɲ	2sPs	ùù-ɲ-g	2pPp	
		ēē-ɲ	3sPs	ìì-ɲ-g	3pPp	
(e)	/ŋ/	āā-ŋ	1sPs	àà-ŋ-g	1pPp	'body'*
		ṣṣ-ŋ	2sPs	ùù-ŋ-g	2pPp	
		ēē-ŋ	3sPs	ìì-ŋ-g	3pPp	
(f)	/l/	āā-l-g	1sPs	àà-l-g	1pPp	'stomach'*
		ṣṣ-l-g	2sPs	ùù-l-g	2pPp	
		ēē-l-g	3sPs	ìì-l-g	3pPp	
(g)	/ /	āā-gg	1sPs	àà-gg	1pPp	'mouth'
		ṣṣ-gg	2sPs	ùù-gg	2pPp	
		ēē-gg	3sPs	ìì-gg	3pPp	

Although all the body part nouns of (8) have an initial vowel, they are not considered a special set of nouns because of the initial vowel, but because of the possessive pronoun being a part of the noun and because of the vowel harmony changes for the entire possessive construction. There are two attested body part nouns which have a vowel-initial root but for which the possessive pronoun is not a part of the noun and for which there is no change in vowel harmony: *ā ààṁṁṁ* 'my liver', *āgg ààṁṁṁ-gg* 'our livers'; *ā il* 'my horn', *ā il-ààgg* 'my horns', *āgg il-āāgg* 'our horns'.

The root tone of the nouns in (8) is Mid with the exception of (b) which has HL tone. The nouns possessed by plural persons all have L(M) tone. The plural nouns 'eyes' and 'hands' (a-b), possessed by singular persons, have HM tone melody.

5.3 Subject pronouns

Subject pronouns precede the verb and have the semantic roles of agent or experiencer, except in passive clauses when they have the roles of patient or theme. They are independent of the verb and are most often realized in short form. Long, short, future and infinitive subject pronouns for each of three persons, singular and plural, are listed in (9). Future tense is marked on the subject pronoun by tone difference from non-future subject pronouns. A separate set of pronouns with differing tone precedes non-clause-initial infinitive verbs. As will be discussed shortly, second person pronouns of finite verbs are optionally clitics which attach to verbs.

(9) **Subject pronouns**

Long	Short (non-future)	Future	Infinitive	
āān	á	ā	ā	1sN
ōōn	ó, ó=	ō, ō=	ō	2sN
ēēn	(ē)	é	ē	3sN
āggá	āgg	āggá	à(gg)	1pN
ōggó	ōgg, ōgg=	ōggó, ōggó=	ò(gg)	2pN
ēggà	(ēgg)	ēggà	è(gg)	3pN

Long subject pronouns are most common in nominal clauses such as in (10). They are rare otherwise.

(10) **Long subject pronouns**

- (a) á bēē “wá, **āān** ūṇúūr = ú wá.”
 1sN said no 1sN Arab = DEF not
 ‘I replied, “No, I am not an Arab.”’ (Jooj6)

- (b) mán ná ón = í **ēēn** ṭù wá
 one which bad = REL it.is true not
 ‘Nothing bad will happen
 (lit. the one thing which is bad is not there).’ (Fand23)

Sometimes, the short subject pronouns co-occur with a long subject pronoun as in (11) for added emphasis to the subject.

- (11) **āān** á biin dí, “ò **ōōn** ú = ṣis-sò níí dí ṭè = ā?”
 1sN 1sN said also and 2sN 2sN = did what also here = DEF
 ‘I myself also asked him, “And you, what are you doing here?”’ (Jooj8)

Third person short subject pronouns occur along with noun subjects such as in (12) to indicate a switch in reference or to give emphasis to the subject.

- (12) jēn **ē** bil = ì d-ē kúnd
 person 3sN shot = him PP-3sP chest
 ‘A person shot him in his chest.’ (Fand30)

In narratives, the short pronouns are commonly used alone to reference the same subject as in the previous clause. Sometimes third singular person subject pronouns are used to reference third plural person with the same subject as the previous clause. Although not that frequent, third person subject pronouns can be dropped. In such instances, the zero pronoun reference is normally recoverable from context. The tone of the verb form distinguishes third singular and plural persons, as described in section 9.8.

In (13), short subject pronouns precede a [-ATR] verb root, and in (14) precede a [+ATR] verb root. First and third subject pronouns are always [-ATR] regardless of the vowel quality of the verb root.

(13) **Paradigm of short subject pronouns**

on continuous non-past verb *kóm-ân* ‘cut, chop’

á	kóm-ân	1sN	āgg	kóm-ân	1pN
ó	kúm-ōn, ú = kúm-ōn	2sN	ōgg	kúm-ōn, ūg = kúm-ōn	2pN
ē	kóm-án	3sN	ēgg	kóm-ân ²⁰	3pN

In second person forms of finite verbs, the (root) vowel is always [+ATR] regardless of the vowel quality of the verb root. Verb roots as in (13) that are otherwise [-ATR] become [+ATR] in the second person verb forms. In the verb of (13), the vowel that surfaces as *ɔ* in other persons becomes *u* in the second person; the vowel that surfaces as *a* in other persons becomes *ə* in the second person.

Second person subject pronouns are optionally [+/- ATR] regardless of the [ATR] quality of the root vowel. Those which surface as [-ATR] are analyzed as separate from the verb. Those which surface as [+ATR] are analyzed as clitics attached to the verb, becoming [+ATR] through leftward spreading from the [+ATR] second person verb form {M3}.

(14) **Paradigm of short subject pronouns on completive verb *bildə* ‘hit’**

á	bildə	1sN	āgg	bildə	1pN
ó	bildə, ú = bildə	2sN	ōgg	bildə, ūg = bildə	2pN
ē	bildə	3sN	ēgg	bildə	3pN

First and third subject pronouns are independent, even though they are short, evidenced by the fact that [+ATR] quality does not spread leftward to the pronouns from the [+ATR] verb form in the paradigm of (14) as it does in second person forms {M3}. Example (6) demonstrated how [+ATR] quality does not spread onto independent possessive pronouns, either.

Other support for the short first and third subject pronouns not being prefixes or clitics is seen in (15), where leftward [+ATR] spreading from the suffixed dative pronoun in (b) does not spread onto the subject pronoun. Since [+ATR] quality spreads without limit within the word {M3}, the preceding pronoun is analyzed as being separate. This example of a dative clitic will be discussed further in section

²⁰ As discussed in 9.1, singular and plural third person subjects are distinguished by tone on the verb itself as seen in (13) of this section where first and second person verb forms have final Mid tone, the third singular form has final High tone, and the third plural form has final Low tone. In (14), the final Mid tone on first and second verb forms assimilates to the root Low tone {M9} and the final High tone on the third singular form is lowered to Mid following Low root tone {M9}.

5.5.

- (15a) á gàðsà ũnũ mĩí (b) á gə̀ùs=ũ mĩí
 1sN gave 2sD chicken 1sN gave=2sD chicken
 ‘I gave you a chicken.’ ‘I gave you a chicken.’

As will be shown in 9.2, infinitive verb forms do not inflect for person, neither in tone nor in [ATR] quality, and subject pronouns are never attached to such verbs. Third person agents (or experiencers) can also follow the verb in prepositional phrases and in genitive case, and are discussed in 10.2 and 14.5.1.

5.4 Object pronouns

Second and third person object pronouns are suffixed to verbs as shown by the examples of (16). They have the roles of patient, theme, or experiencer.

(16) Object pronoun clitics

- (a) ē lā gə̀f=ì wá
 3sN UNC /gə̀f/give.INCP=3sAM not
 ‘He would not give it.’ (Fand3)
- (b) é də̀j-j āaggá é mĩĩd-əg fɔ̀rɔ̀j wá bə̀=ĩ
 3sN /də̀j/stone-INF 1pA by stone-PL few not oh=SB0
 ‘When it pelted us with a lot of stones, . . .’ (Thng20)
- (c) ē mər-ən=ũggə̀ dũmùùn é gə̀ɔ̀r
 3pN /mər/sold.CAUS-CONT=3pAM towards to clan.name
 ‘. . . to sell to them far away past the Goor clan.’ (Minj3)

Unlike dative pronouns, second and third object pronouns never occur independently, but only as bound morphemes to verb stems. Further, a noun object cannot occur along with an object pronoun. Examples (17b) and (d) are ungrammatical.

(17) Object pronoun examples

- (a) jēn gə̀ð-sā mĩĩ=n (b) *jēn gə̀ð-sā ē(ēn)
 person give-COMP goat=DEF person give-COMP 3sA
 ‘The person gave the goat.’ ‘The person gave it (goat).’
- (c) jēn gə̀ũ-s=ì (d) *jēn gə̀ũ-s=ì mĩĩ=n
 person give-COMP= 3sAM person give-COMP= goat=DEF
 3sAM 3sAM
 ‘The person gave it (goat).’ ‘The person gave it (goat).’

Second and third person unmarked object pronouns take the [ATR] quality of the stem. First person object pronouns are analyzed as separate morphemes since they remain [-ATR] regardless of the quality of the root to which they follow. Most objects have more than one tonal allomorph for different subject person verbs to which they attach. Tone of object pronouns is discussed further in 10.4.2.

(18) **Unmarked object pronouns**

Singular person pronouns		Plural person pronouns	
a	1sA	aaggá, āaggá	1pA
=O	2sA	=OOggÓ, =ÓŌggÓ	2pA
=E, =Ē	3sA	=EEggĀ, =ĒĒggĀ	3pA

There are two types of third person object pronouns, although the exact distinction in function is not clear. For lack of better terms, they are called ‘marked (AM)’ and ‘unmarked (A)’ object pronouns in this thesis in accordance with their distinction in vowel quality. The unmarked third person pronouns of (18) are unspecified for [ATR], the same as first and second person object pronouns, and the marked third person pronouns of (19) are [+ATR]. As with unmarked object pronouns, the marked pronouns have more than one tonal allomorph for different subject person verbs to which they attach. These are also further discussed in 10.4.2.

(19) **Marked third person object pronouns**

Singular person pronouns		Plural person pronouns	
=i, =ì, =îggì	3sAM	=iiggò, =ìiggò, =îggò	3pAM

The marked and unmarked object pronouns are both used to indicate patients, as shown in (20).

(20) **Unmarked object**

- (b) jēn bēl-ḍ = ē
 person beat-COMP = 3sA
 ‘The person beat it (goat).’

Marked object

- (c) jēn bīl-ḍ = ì
 person beat-COMP = 3sAM
 ‘The person beat it (goat).’

However, the marked and unmarked third person object pronouns can be used to distinguish types of subordinate clauses introducing the referent to which the third object pronoun refers. In (20a), the unmarked [-ATR] object pronoun attached to *wár-s* = ē ‘take-COMP=3sA’ refers to the noun *páré* = n ‘bag=DEF’ introduced in the subordinate ‘if’ clause, whereas in (b) the marked [+ATR] object pronoun refers to a noun introduced by the subordinate conjunction *é gārā* ‘when’. In 10.7, the verbs of these subordinate clauses will be shown to take different subordinate clitics and are grammatically distinct.

(20) **Third singular marked and unmarked object pronouns**

- (a) $j\ddot{a}\ddot{a} = n$ $\bar{e}$ $\eta\ddot{a}\eta - s = \bar{e}$ $p\acute{a}r\acute{e} = n = \acute{e}$, $\acute{a}$ $l\acute{e}\bar{e}$ $w\acute{a}r - s = \bar{e}$
 person 3sN file-COMP bag = DEF 1sN come. take-COMP
 = DEF = SBO2 = SBO INCP = 3sA
 ‘If the person filed the leather bag, I will come take it.’
- (b) $\acute{e}$ $g\acute{a}r\acute{a}$ $j\ddot{a}\ddot{a} = n$ $\eta\ddot{a}\eta - s = \bar{i}$ $p\acute{a}r\acute{e} = n = \acute{e}$, $\acute{a}$ $l\acute{e}\bar{e}$ $w\acute{a}r = \bar{i}$
 (GP) person / $\eta\ddot{a}\eta$ /file-COMP bag = DEF 1sN come. take.INCP
 when = DEF = SBO1 = SBO INCP = 3sAM
 ‘When the person has filed/sanded the bag, I will come take it.’

5.5 Dative pronouns

The dative pronouns have the semantic roles of beneficiary or recipient as seen in the examples of (21)

(21) **Dative pronoun clitics**

- (a) $\acute{a}$ $b\bar{i} = \mathbf{\bar{i}gg\bar{a}n}$ “wá!”
 1sN / $b\bar{e}\bar{e}$ /tell.INF = 3pD no
 ‘I told them “No!”’ (Thng21-22)
- (b) $\bar{i}gg = \acute{o}$ $\bar{e}$ $m\bar{a}l = \mathbf{\bar{i}n\bar{a}}$ $f\bar{a}n$ $\acute{t}\acute{a}\bar{d}$
 milk = DEF 3sN / $m\bar{a}l$ /gather.INCP = 3sD on down
 ‘Milk accumulated for him underneath.’ (Fand24)
- (c) $j\bar{5}gg$ $g\bar{5}\bar{5}r = \acute{o}$ $b\bar{a}$ $\acute{o}s - s = \mathbf{\bar{5}gg\bar{5}n}$ $j\bar{e}gg$ $\acute{o}n - g = \bar{i}$
 people Goor = DEF oh / $\acute{a}\bar{d}$ /become-COMP = 1pD things bad-PL = RDM
 ‘The Goor tribe became our enemies (lit. to us bad things).’ (Minj6)

Dative pronouns are normally suffixed to verbs, but in slow speech are separate and immediately follow the verb. As will be discussed in 10.5.2, there are tonal allomorphs for different subject person verbs to which the dative pronouns are attached.

(22) **Dative pronouns**

Singular person pronouns			Plural person pronouns		
Separate	Attached		Separate	Attached	
$\acute{o}n\bar{a}$	$= \acute{o}n$,	$= \bar{5}n$ 1sD	$\bar{5}gg\bar{5}n$	$= \bar{5}gg\acute{o}n$,	$= \bar{5}gg\bar{5}n$ 1pD
$\acute{u}n\bar{u}$	$= \acute{u}n$,	$= \bar{u}n$ 2sD	$\bar{u}gg\acute{u}n$	$= \bar{u}gg\acute{u}n$,	$= \bar{u}gg\bar{u}n$ 2pD
$\bar{i}n\bar{a}$	$= \bar{i}n$,	$= \bar{i}n$ 3sD	$\bar{i}gg\bar{a}n$	$= \bar{i}gg\bar{a}n$,	$= \bar{i}gg\bar{a}n$ 3pD

As previously mentioned and as seen in (23b), the [+ATR] value assigned to the dative pronoun spreads leftward onto the root {M3}. There is no such harmony with independent dative pronouns as seen in (23a).

- Similar to object pronouns, dative pronouns do not occur along with a dative noun as in (24).

- Although the dative noun and object noun can have either order in a clause as in (25a), the independent dative pronoun must immediately follow the verb when occurring along with a noun object. For example, the independent pronoun following the noun object in (25c) is ungrammatical.

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|--------|------------|-------|-----|---------------------------------|--------|-------|------------|
| (b) | jēn | gàò-sā | ínǎ | mīn | (c) | *jēn | gàò-sā | mīn | ínǎ |
| | person | give- | 3sD | goat. | | person | give- | goat. | 3sD |
| | | COMP | | DEF | | | COMP | | DEF |
| | ‘The person gave her the goat.’ | | | | | ‘The person gave her the goat.’ | | | |

When an imperfect suffix such as $=\acute{E}$ in (26a) or an object pronoun such as $=\grave{i}$ in (b) are attached to the verb, the independent dative pronoun can follow the verb word.

- (26a) á jām háshim = á
1sN /jām/want.INCP Hashim = DEF
'I want Hashim
- ā jìd-dō ò ā wár-d = é ɓnɓ ráǵè.
SBJV make and SBJV bring 1sD radio
/jìs/-SBJV.3sN /wár/-SBJV = IPF.3sN
to get me a radio.' (Assa11-12)
- (b) tɛ́l gōũ-s = ì ŭggũũ gāfā ē jō màrèè
God gave-them 2pD given by only somehow
/gāf/COMP = 3sAM /gāf/NOM.SG
'God has given them to you for good reason.' (Womn6)

(27) **Object and dative pronouns in the same clause**

- (28) Paradigm of attached dative pronouns on completive verb *kóm-sɔ̃* 'cut, chop'

- In Gaahmg, the reflexive pronoun is used as an object that is referentially identical to the subject. In (29a, b), the reflexive indicates the object which is the same

referent as the subject. However in (c), the reflexive meaning is extended and the reflexive is used as a repeated object for emphasis. Instead of referring back to the subject, it refers back to the object. In (29c), the plural noun *ʃɔgg* ‘people/officials’ and the third plural reflexive *ìng* are objects of the verb *máð* ‘refuse’. The noun *ʃɔgg* represents the government and is emphasized with the reflexive, possibly because of previous bad encounters with them. Reflexives are not found to be used as repeated subjects.

(29) **Reflexive pronoun examples**

- (a) “sàlàð = ā”, ē bèè, “ū = wór **ūū** cābb ánēén”
 Hyena = DEF 3sN say 2sN = carry 2sR up like.this
 ‘“Hyena”, he said, “Make yourself upright.”’ (Nyee32)

- (b) ē máà **īī** ē àn mɔ̀sòr ɔ̀l
 3sN prides 3sR 3sN stay horse up
 ‘He takes pride in himself as he sits up on the horse.’ (Minj14)

- (c) ē máð ē²¹ ʃɔgg **ìng** é dāfā
 3sN refuse 3sN people 3pR by fighting
 ‘He refused (to give money to) the officials by fighting.’ (Fand4)

Reflexive pronouns are based on the inherently possessed word for ‘body’, which is *VVɲ*, where V is the person marker vowel. As discussed in 5.2.4, the word for body and a few other nouns cannot occur without possession using one of the person marker vowels. With such words the norm is for [-ATR] vowels to indicate singular persons, and for [+ATR] vowels as well as the plural suffix -gg to indicate plural persons. However, all reflexive pronouns are [+ATR], and the suffix -gg as well as Low tone indicate plural agreement.

(30) **Reflexive pronouns**

Singular person pronouns		Plural person pronouns	
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɲ	1sR	ə̀ə̀ɲ-g	1pR
ūūɲ	2sR	ùùɲ-g	2pR
īīɲ	3sR	ììɲ-g	3pR

5.7 Prepositional pronouns

Prepositional pronouns are objects of prepositions, or for another reason are prefixed by the preposition marker *ɕ*. The prepositional prefix takes the place of the general preposition *é*, *í* (GP) as in (31a-b) when introducing prepositional pronoun objects

²¹ The second pronoun *ē* ‘he’ in (c) is the only occurrence found of a post-verbal subject pronoun. Perhaps it is repeated for emphasis or there is an implied unstated verb ‘to give’ of which *ē* ‘he’ is the subject pronoun.

(see 11.4). However, the prepositional prefix is used in addition to an adverb functioning as a directional preposition such as *ḍūmùùn* ‘towards’ in (c). It is also used in addition to the animate accompaniment preposition *ε* ‘with’ and accompaniment clitic =*E* on the pronoun as shown in (d). The marker is also used to introduce verb objects when separated from the verb by a bound dative pronoun as in (e) or by other verbal suffixes.

(31) **Prepositional pronoun examples**

- (a) *jāām* *kóòm-s-ī* *ḍ-éēn* *wá*
 someone bother-COMP-PAS.A PP-3sO not
 ‘No one was bothered by it.’ (Thng25)
- (b) *jōgg* *ēgg* *śōī* *bà,* *ēgg* *wár* *jēgg=ā* *ḍ-āggá* *kāē*
 people 3pN come oh 3pN take things=DEF PP-1pO all
 ‘When these people come, they take all (our) things from us.’ (Minj7)
- (c) *ò* *ś* *yāā* *nāā* *néé* *lèénán* *ḍūmùùn* *ḍ-ūūṅ* *tà*
 and 2sPs mother girl this was.coming towards PP-2sO there
 ‘... and your mother’s sister was coming to you there.’ (Assa3-4)
- (d) *ò* *kár* *ṭāḍán* *è* *ḍ-ēgg=ē*
 and wildcow was with PP-3pO=ACM
 ‘... and a wild buffalo was with them.’ (Nyee4)
- (e) *ē* *gəl-ḍ=īn* *ḍ-éēn* *ná* *ṭáḍ* *ḍí*
 3sN /gəl/ram-SBJV.3sN=3sD²² PP-3sO REL.SG down also
 ‘... in order to break it down for them.’ (Nyee12)

Prepositional pronouns have the same segmental form as the long subject pronouns. However, in addition to taking the prefix *ḍ-*, prepositional pronouns are post-verbal and differ in tone from long subject pronouns.

(32) **Prepositional pronouns**

Singular person pronouns		Plural person pronouns	
-áán(á)	1sO	-āggá	1pO
-śón(ś)	2sO	-ōggó	2pO
-éēn(á)	3sO	-ēggè	3pO

Occasionally, the third singular prepositional pronoun is attached to a preposition or other word category without the prefix *ḍ-*. In (33), the pronoun *-éēn* is shortened to *-ē* on the preposition *ṭáḍ-ē* ‘down’ and literally means ‘down of it (egg’s head)’.

²² As with subject pronouns, third singular dative pronouns are sometimes used for third plural referents.

- (33) ð kólóð = ó ðùr-s = ðnó ēēl táð-ē bà bèl-ðā wá
 and egg = DEF bury-COMP = head. down- oh burst not
 PAS 3sPs 3sO
 ‘And the egg put in the ground with its top side down did not burst.’
 (Fand21)

In chapter 12, it is discussed how body part locatives can be used with nouns of reference as in (34a) or with pronouns of reference as in (b). The latter is a special kind of prepositional pronoun called a ‘locative prepositional pronoun’.

- (34a) **Body part locative ēēn ‘behind’ with noun reference ūfū ‘tree’**
 āld = á ē pârð ð ūfū ēēn²³
 fox = DEF 3sN jump tree behind
 ‘Fox jumped behind the tree.’
- (b) **Body part locative ð-ēēn ‘behind’ with third singular pronoun reference; also called a locative prepositional pronoun**
 āld = á ē pârð = ð ð-ēēn
 fox = DEF 3sN jump = 3sAM PP-behind.3sO
 ‘Fox jumped behind him (lit. jumped him behind him).’ (Goat12)
- (c) **Third singular possessed singular body part noun ēēn ‘back’**
 āld = á ē pârð ð ēēn óól
 fox = DEF 3sN jump back.3sPs up
 ‘Fox jumped on his back.’

Locative prepositional pronouns are often close in form to inherently possessed body part nouns which do not occur without being possessed by someone (Payne 1997:105-106). As discussed in 5.2.4, speakers cannot say ‘back’, ‘hand’, ‘head’, etc. without also including the possessor along with the noun (i.e. *āān* ‘my.back’, *ōōn* ‘your.back’, *ēēn* ‘his.back’, etc.). Although their vowels distinguish person as in locative prepositional pronouns (*ð-āān* ‘behind-me’, *ð-ōōn* ‘behind-you’, *ð-ēēn* ‘behind-him’), inherently possessed body parts such as *ēēn* in (34c) have no prepositional prefix *ð-* and differ in tone than when used as locative prepositional pronouns as in (34b). In chapter 12, it will be shown that body part locatives with noun references such as (34a) of this section do not distinguish person and are thus a distinct lexical category from possessed body part nouns. Since locative prepositional pronouns have different tone than the respective body part nouns from which they are taken, they are analyzed categorically as locatives rather than as nouns with locative meaning through metaphorical extension. Further, since they

²³ The body part locative *āān* ‘behind’ can also be used to reference the third singular noun *ūfū* ‘tree’, indicating that the vowel *aa*, which refers to first person in pronouns, no longer refers to person in this phrase.

attach the same prepositional prefix *d-* as other prepositional pronouns, they are also analyzed as prepositional pronouns rather than as mere locatives.

In (35a), the locative prepositional pronoun *d-éél* ‘on-it’ is close in form to the inherently possessed body part noun *éél* ‘his.head’. If the meaning were ‘on its head’, the word *éél*, followed by the locative *śśl* ‘up’, would be used. In (b), the locative prepositional pronoun *d-ñ-mùù-gg* ‘in.front.of-them’ is used. In both of these examples, as well as in (34b), the third singular marked object pronoun *=ì* is attached to the verb preceding the prepositional pronoun. In (35c), the third singular object pronoun represents a third plural referent.

(35) **Locative prepositional pronoun examples**

- (a) *bēl Mīñjibb t̃āéén ē d̃ōs ē àbb = ì d-éél*
 named Minjib then 3sN starts 3sN rides = 3sAM PP-on.3sO
 ‘. . . called Minyjib rode his horse proudly (lit. rides it on it).’ (Minj13)
- (b) *ná ón = í ē p̃əl = ì táđ d-ñ-mùù-gg*
 REL.SG bad = RDM 3sN fall = 3sAM down PP-3pO-front-PL
 ‘(thing) which is bad fell down in front of them
 (lit. falls to them down in front of them).’ (Thng8)

Just as the inherently possessed body part noun *VVŋ* ‘body’ is used as a reflexive pronoun, other inherently possessed body part nouns of 5.2.4 are used as locative prepositional pronouns, including the word *VVŋ* ‘body’ (for the meaning ‘under’)

(36) **Body part nouns and locative prepositional pronouns**

Person	Body part nouns			Locative prepositional pronouns		
	N SG	N PL		PREP PRON SG	PREP PRON PL	
1	<i>āāŋ</i>	<i>ààŋg</i>	‘body’	<i>-śśŋ</i>	<i>-śśŋg</i>	‘under’
2	<i>ōōŋ</i>	<i>ùùŋg</i>		<i>-úúŋ</i>	<i>-úùŋg</i>	
3	<i>ēēŋ</i>	<i>ììŋg</i>		<i>-ííŋ</i>	<i>-îîŋg</i>	
1	<i>āālg</i>	<i>ààlg</i>	‘stomach’	<i>-áálg</i>	<i>-śślg</i>	‘inside’
2	<i>ōōlg</i>	<i>ùùlg</i>		<i>-óólg</i>	<i>-úùlg</i>	
3	<i>ēēlg</i>	<i>ììlg</i>		<i>-éélg</i>	<i>-îîlg</i>	
1	<i>āāl</i>	<i>ààlg</i>	‘head’	<i>-áál</i>	<i>-śślg</i>	‘above’
2	<i>ōāl</i>	<i>ùùlg</i>		<i>-óál</i>	<i>-úùlg</i>	
3	<i>ēāl</i>	<i>ììlg</i>		<i>-éál</i>	<i>-îîlg</i>	
1	<i>āāŋ</i>	<i>ààŋg</i>	‘back’	<i>-ááŋ</i>	<i>-śśŋ</i>	‘behind’
2	<i>ōōŋ</i>	<i>ùùŋg</i>		<i>-óóŋ</i>	<i>-úùŋ</i>	
3	<i>ēēŋ</i>	<i>ììŋg</i>		<i>-ééŋ</i>	<i>-îîŋ</i>	
1	<i>mūū</i>	<i>mùùgg</i>	‘face’	<i>-áāmū</i>	<i>-śśmùùgg</i>	‘in front of’
2				<i>-úūmū</i>	<i>-úùmùùgg</i>	
3				<i>-éēmū</i>	<i>-îîmùùgg</i>	

with different tone than for reflexive pronouns. In (36), *mūū* ‘face’ is the only body part used as a prepositional pronoun that is not an inherently possessed body part.