
The Pronominal System of Omotic Mao Languages

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Abstract

This paper presents a description of the pronominal system of three of the four Omotic Mao from the perspective of historical comparative study. Omotic Mao languages exhibit considerable variations and similarities in their pronominal system. Their variation is manifested in terms of their dissemblance in form, number, grammatical feature marking etc. The formal resemblance of pronouns in the three languages is minimal. Maaw Es Aas'e consists of nine pronouns. But Seez Waani and Hooz Waandi have seven pronouns each. Each language in the group has its own peculiarities in marking grammatical features. Marking dual number in the pronominal system is a feature observed only in Maaw Es Aas'e but not in the remaining two sister languages. Making distinction between the inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural paradigm is a feature attested in Seez Waani but not in the remaining two sister languages. Masculine and feminine gender marking in the third person plural paradigm is a feature recorded in Hooz Waandi but not in the remaining sister languages (save Ganza). In Maaw Es Aas'e and Seez Waani independent subject pronouns display case suffixes. Subject pronouns also occur as proclitics on verbs and auxiliaries. In Hooz Waandi, independent subject pronouns do not show subject case. Verbs and auxiliaries do not take pronominal clitics (or affixes) to agree with their subject. Direct and indirect object pronouns in Maaw Es Aas'e and Seez Waani manifest accusative and dative case markers, respectively. In Hooz Waandi, direct object pronouns lengthen their root internal vowels. Indirect object pronouns display the dative case morpheme. In Maaw Es Aas'e adnominal possessive pronouns may or may not occur with or without the genitive case marker. The genitive case marker is obligatory on pronominal possessives. In Seez Waani and Hooz Waandi the genitive case marker is used only with pronominal possessive pronouns. Adnominal possessive pronouns do not display the genitive marker. The languages also employ different strategies to mark the reflexive in the pronominal system.

Keywords: pronominal, Omotic, Mao, inclusive, exclusive, dual, clitic

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1. Introduction

‘Omotic Mao’² refers to a group of Omotic languages spoken in western part of Ethiopia in the Benishangul Gumuz and Oromia regional states. The group ‘Omotic Mao’ comprises four mutually unintelligible languages: Maaw Es Aas’e, Hooz Waandi, Seez Waani and Ganza. In the literature, these languages are widely known as ‘Northern (Bambasi-Diddessa) Mao’, ‘Hozo’, ‘Sezo/Seze’ and ‘Ganza’, respectively (cf. Bender 1975, 2000, 2003; Ahland 2012, Girma 2007, 2015 among others).³ The genetic affiliation of the Omotic Mao languages was a matter of debate for some time. Based on some lexical data collected by Grottanelli (1940), Greenberg (1963) classified “Northern Mao”⁴ as belonging to the Koman group of the Nilo-Saharan family. But latter, the group comprising Maaw Es Aas’e Hooz Waandi, Seez Waani and Ganza is found to be Omotic based on lexicostatistic evidence (Bender 1971, 1975, 2000, 2003). Bender’s reclassification of the group under the Omotic family has received wide acceptance in subsequent works such as Fleming (1984, 1988) and other relatively recent works such as, Girma (2007), Ahland (2012), Getachew (2015), Girma (2015) and Smolders (2015). These languages are considered as forming one group because they show high lexical resemblance. According to Bender (1975: 130), Hooz Waandi shares 67% of its basic lexicon with Seez Waani, 37% with Maaw Es Aas’e and 43 % with Ganza. Seez Waani shares 47% of its lexicon with Maaw Es Aas’e and 50% with Ganza. Maaw Es Aas’e shares 46 % with Ganza.

This paper makes a comparative description of the pronominal system of three of the Omotic Mao languages: Maaw Es Aas’e, Hooz Waandi, and Seez Waani and suggests some points from the point of view of historical linguistics. Ganza is not included in the study due to lack of sufficient data. The description is presented in seven sections the first one being an introductory section. Sections 2 and 3 respectively present methodological considerations and a working definition of terms for the present study. Section 4 gives an overview of the pronominal system of Omotic languages. Section 5 deals with the citation forms of personal pronouns of the three languages and discusses the similarities and differences of the pronominal system of the three languages. Sections 6, 7, 8 and 9 are devoted to the comparative description of

² ‘Mao’ is qualified by the term ‘Omotic’ because it is also used to designate the Koman speaking groups of the Nilo-Saharan family (cf. Girma 2015 and Küspert 2015).

³ *Maaw Es Aas’e* ‘Mao man’s tooth’, Hooz Waandi ‘*mouth of the Hoozo*’, and Seez Waani ‘*mouth of the Sezo*’ are autonyms of the languages used by the native speakers. According to Smolders (2016:90), the autonym for Ganza is /gwàmi[†] nánà/ meaning ‘mouth of the Gwami’. ‘Ganza’ is a term given to the people by Arabic speakers of Sudan.

⁴ From a close look at lexical data, one can understand that the language referred to as ‘Northern Mao’ by Grottanelli (1940) is Hooz Waandi.

the subject, object, possessive and reflexive pronouns. Section 9 concludes the paper.

2. Methodological Considerations

The majority of the data used in this study were collected through fieldworks carried out in 2016 and 2017. Some data have also been collected from secondary sources. The majority of data in this paper are presented in a three-line format. The first line represents the phonemically transcribed morpheme-by-morpheme segmentation of the data. The second and the third lines represent glossing and free translation of the data. These are followed by comparative description of the facts and the summary of the pronominal forms in tables.

3. Pronominal System

The term ‘pronominal’ refers to a class of words pertaining to pronouns. In traditional grammar, the term ‘pronoun’ is used for referring to several different words such as personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, reflexives, indefinites, relatives, etc. are commonly recognized subtypes of pronouns (Bhat 2004: 1). But according to Dixon (2010: 189), such small closed class of grammatical words can be considered as pronouns only if they vary for person. The term ‘pronoun’ does not apply to demonstratives, interrogative content words indefinites and relatives if they do not inflect for person. In this study, the term ‘pronominal’ is applied to personal pronouns and their derivatives such as subject and object pronouns, possessive pronouns and reflexive pronouns because they inflect for person.

4. An Overview of the Pronominal System of Omotic Languages

Omotic languages show similarities and differences in the number of pronouns they consist of and the values they mark in the categories of person, gender and number etc. The majority of Omotic languages comprise a set of eight pronoun forms which make three person distinctions (first, second and third), two number distinctions (singular, plural) for each of the three persons and, two gender distinctions (masculine feminine) only for the third person singular and possess a special ‘logophoric’ or ‘reflexive’ pronoun in the third person paradigm (Azeb 2012: 470). The pronouns in many of this group of languages occur as long and short forms mainly when they render different syntactic functions such as subject and object, and other pragmatic functions. Such forms are widely attested in several Omoto languages such as Basketo, Gamo, Gofa, Dawuro, and Haro (Azeb 2012: 471). There are also languages which

make further distinctions in the categories of person, number and gender of their pronominal system. For instance, in languages like Zayze (Hayward 1990: 267), Benchnon (Rapold 2006: 342) and Koorete (Binyam 2008: 46), a further inclusive and exclusive distinction is made in the first person plural paradigm of the pronouns. On the other hand, languages like Dizin (Beachy 2005: 53), a further distinction in the category of number: singular, plural, and dual distinctions are made for first-, second-, and third person pronouns. In the pronominal system of Yemsa, masculine and feminine genders are not only distinguished in the third person singular pronouns but also in the third person plural paradigms (Zaug-Coretti 2010: 90). The pronominal system of Yemsa also makes reference of endearment in the second person paradigm and that of politeness in all the three persons (Zaug-Coretti 2010:90). In many Omotic languages, pronouns can occur in different syntactic positions (subject, direct object indirect object etc.) by taking case markers. In addition to this, many Omotic languages use the shortened or basic forms of the pronouns to mark subject of a verb. For instance, in Sheko and Haro, reduced pronouns are procliticized to the verb to mark subject (Hirut 2003: 135). In Zayse, reduced pronominal forms are encliticized to the verb to mark the verb (Hayward 1990: 270). Short form of pronouns also occur as proclitic to the noun to mark possession as the case in Haro (Hirut 2003: 96).

5. Personal Pronouns of the Omotic Mao Languages in Citation Form

Personal pronouns of the three Omotic Mao languages show considerable differences in terms of form, number and grammatical features they express. The following table presents citation form personal pronouns of the three languages.

Table 1: Citation forms of personal pronouns of the three Omotic Mao languages

Person	Number	Maaw Es Aas'e	Seez Waani	Hooz Waandi
1	SG	tí-je	hà:-f-é	ná-ηgà
	DU	han-é	-	-
	PL	ham-bèl-è	-	nú-ηgà
	PI	-	dól-f-é	-
	PE	-	dà:-f-é	-
2	SG	hi-jè	hín-f-é	hí-ηgà
	DU	háv-é	-	-
	PL	háv-ol-è	nám-f-é	do-ηgà
	SG	íf-è	hán-f-é	-

3	SG.M	-	-	ʔá-ŋgà
	SG.F	-	-	h'é-ŋgà
	DU	íj-kuw-e	-	-
	PL	íj-kol-è	hél-f-é	hénà-ŋgà

Citation forms of personal pronouns of the three languages are composed of pronominal roots and different suffixes. While the pronominal roots in Maaw Es Aas'e and Seez Waani are bound forms, those in Hooz Waandi are free and are able to occur as independent words in different syntactic positions such as the subject position. Personal pronouns in Maaw Es Aas'e and Seez Waani behave alike due to the fact that they display /-e/ as a terminal vowel when they are cited in isolation and when they are placed in utterance final position. The terminal vowel is generally dropped when the pronouns occur in non-utterance final positions. However, the two languages differ from each other because citation form personal pronouns of Seez Waani incorporate the subject case marker /-j/ before the terminal vowel /-e/ and some of the pronouns in Maaw Es Aas'e display distinct dual and plural number markers between the root and the terminal vowel. They do not show any case marker in citation form and thus they are case neutral (also cf. Girma 2007: 31, Ahland 2012: 239). In Hooz Waandi, citation form personal pronouns always show /-ŋgà/. But the suffix is eliminated when the pronouns occur in different argument and adjunct positions of a sentence and when the pronouns render possessive and reflexive function. The suffix /-ŋgà/ may be considered as a copular element with emphatic meaning because it also occurs with the pronominal roots when they are used in emphatic constructions such as 'it is me', 'it is you', etc. in response for the questions such as 'who did this?'

The number of pronouns in Maaw Es Aas'e is greater than that of the pronouns in the two languages because it has dual forms for all the three persons, i.e.; first-, second- and third-persons: respectively han-é 'we two', háw-é 'you two' and íj-kuw-e 'you two', (also cf. Girma 2007, Ahland 2012). Dual number marking in the pronominal system has not been reported for other Omotic languages except for Dizin (Beachy 2006:53). In terms of person marking, Seez Waani differs from the rest of the sister languages as it makes distinction between inclusive and exclusive first-person plural. While the inclusive first person dól-f-é includes the addressee in the group referred to by the pronoun (i.e. 'we including you') the exclusive dà:-f-é does not include the addressee in the group identified by the pronoun (i.e. 'we excluding you'). Such forms have been reported for other Omotic languages such as Zayse (Hayward 1990), Bench (Rapold 2006) and Koorete (Binyam 2008). Hooz Waandi is different from Maaw Es Aas'e and Seez Waani because it

distinguishes gender (masculine and feminine) in the third person singular paradigm. In Maaw Es Aas'e and Seez Waani gender is generally not marked on any element (cf. Girma 2007: 32, Ahland 2012: 41, Girma 2015: 120).

One important question to be asked here is the question of why the pronominal systems of the three 'sister languages' show such a big variation in form, number and grammatical features they express. From the point of view of historical linguistics, sister languages (languages that descend from a common ancestral language) are assumed to have high percentage of lexical correspondences. However, the three languages share very little in common in their pronominal system especially in the pronominal roots. As can be observed from Table 1, the only pronoun which can be treated as having a cognate in each of the three languages is the second person singular pronoun. Apart from this, all the remaining pronouns have different forms in all the three languages. This may suggest that the languages are not sister languages since the pronouns do not give much ground for commonality. However, it seems difficult to arrive at such a conclusion because one has to closely examine different aspects the languages. Therefore, the issue is left for further investigation.

According to Bhat (2004: 52) personal pronouns are generally considered to belong to the nominal category because they are able to take case markers and occur in the argument position of sentences. When they occur in argument and adjunct position of a sentence, personal pronouns of Omotic languages take different case suffixes relevant to the syntactic position. Pronouns in Omotic Mao languages have similarities in that they usually take the same case markers that other nominals take. But the set of case markers in individual languages are not always the same. Note that the case suffixes are attached to the pronominal roots and not to the citation forms.

6. Subject Pronouns of the Omotic Mao Languages

In the majority of Omotic languages, subject pronouns are realized in two forms: as independent pronouns and as pronominal clitics. These are described in the following subsections.

6.1. Independent Subject Pronouns

In Maaw Es Aas'e and Seez Waani, pronominal roots occur as independent subject pronouns by taking the subject case marker /-j/. The subject case marker may be realized as [-ij] when it is attached to consonant final pronominal root. In Seez Waani, the terminal vowel /-e/ follows the subject case marker when the pronoun is placed in utterance-final position. In Maaw

Es Aas'e first, second and third person plural pronouns may also take the suffix /-te/ as a subject case marker (Ahland 2012: 239).⁵ Independent subject pronouns in Hooz Waandi do not show any marker of case.⁶ Only the pronominal roots (without the suffix in the citation form, i.e. /-ŋgà/) occur in the subject position.

1. Maaw Es Aas'e

a. tí-f kan-ná (ha-)tí=hézz-⁺á⁷
 1SG-SBJ dog-OBJ (AFF-) 1SG.SBJ=hit-DCL
 'I hit a dog.' (Ahland 2012: 224)

b. i[kol-te kwá:llá (ha-)ki-wond-á
 3PL-SBJ yesterday AFF-come-NSG-DCL
 'They came yesterday.'

2. Seez Waani

a. hà:-f já-pál fwìn há=fwìn-á:
 1SG-SBJ DEF-girl love.VN 1SG =love-DCL
 'I love the girl.'

b. já-pál fwìn há=fwìn-á: hà:-f-e
 DEF-girl love.VN 1SG =love-DCL 1SG-SBJ-TV
 'I love the girl.'

3. Hooz Waandi

a. ná gònzá gòppà-t⁸-ì
 1SG corn crush-NFUT-REAL
 'I crushed corn.'

⁵ In Baye (2006) and Girma (2007) the suffix /-te/ is treated as a focus marker.

⁶ Getachew (2015: 129) states that the subject case is marked by -já on pronouns. But this is not discovered in my data.

⁷ Ahland (2012:46) analyzes the pronominal subject clitics such as tí= (1SG.SUBJ) as subject prefixes when they occur before the verb stem and as subject suffixes when they occur after the verb stem. This is because he considers the independent pronouns of Maaw Es Aas'e as developed from the subject prefixes through degrammaticalization process. In this study, they are treated as proclitics reduced from independent pronouns because some of the pronouns share formal similarities with pronouns in other Omotic Mao languages and even with languages in the larger Omotic family.

⁸ -t/is analyzed as perfective aspect marker in Getachew (2015).

6.2. Pronominal Subject Clitics

In Maaw Es Aas'e and Seez Waani, subject agreement is indicated on verbs mainly by pronominal clitics. But the position the pronominal clitics is not fixed. They are directly procliticized to the verb stem when the verb is in realis mood as in (4a) and (5a), and to the auxiliary when the verb is in the irrealis mood as in (4b) and (5b).

4. Maaw Es Aas'e

- a. tí-ʃ kwá:llá (ha-) tí=kí-á
1SG-SBJ yesterday AFF-1SG=come-DCL

'I came yesterday.'

- b. tí-ʃ há:s's'à (ha-) kí-gà- t= bíʃ-á
1SG-SBJ tomorrow AFF-come-FUT- 1SG=NPST:AUX-DCL

'I will come tomorrow.'

5. Seez Waani

- c. dà:-ʃ mà:máné dà=kw-á:
1PE-NOM yesterday 1PE=come-DCL

'We (excluding you) came yesterday.'

- d. dà:-ʃ há:zí kú-kwá: dà=j-á:
1PE-NOM tomorrow RDP~come 1PE=AUX:FUT-DCL

'We (excluding you) will come tomorrow.'

In Maaw Es Aas'e a number of pronominal subject clitics are phonologically reduced to the extent that they may be considered as inflectional agreement markers especially when they occur as proclitics to the auxiliary after the main verb. The reason for this phonological reduction is synchronic in which case parts of the pronominal clitics are phonetically removed due to their position of occurrence. Compare the following:

6. [hambèlté há:s's'à hakígàmʃá]

/hambèl-té há:s's'à (ha-) kí-gà- ham= bíʃ-á/

1PL-SBJ tomorrow AFF-come-FUT- 1PL=NPST:AUX-DCL

'We will come tomorrow.'

As can be observed, the /ha/ of the 1st person plural pronominal clitic /ham=/ and the /bi/ of the non-past auxiliary /bíj/ are not included in the phonetic realization of the verbal complex [hakígàmǰá] ‘We will come’. The two elements are deleted (or not phonetically realized) because /ha/ is preceded by the low vowel /a/, (which is part of the future tense marker / gà/) and /b/ is preceded by another labial nasal (i.e. /m/).

The pronominal subject clitics in the two languages are obligatory components of the verb when the verb occurs in sentential contexts. Therefore, the overt realization of the nominal or independent pronominal subjects is not obligatory.

The situation in Hooz Waandi is different from the two sister languages as verbs do not show any marker of agreement.⁹ Contrary to the situation in Maaw Es Aas’e and Seez Waani, the overt realization of nominal or independent pronominal subjects is obligatory in Hooz Waandi. The absence of nominal or independent pronominal constituents in the subject position creates ambiguity among different persons.

7. Hooz Waandi

a. ná ǰá: gòllá-t-ì

1SG goat slaughter-NFUT-REAL

‘I slaughtered a goat.’

b. dó ǰá: gòllá-t-ì

1PL goat slaughter-NFUT-REAL

‘We slaughtered a goat.’

c. ná ǰá: gòllá-?-è

1SG goat slaughter-FUT-IRR

‘I will slaughter a goat.’

⁹ Bender (2003: 184-5) postulates na-, hi-, áa-/e-, (respectively 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular pronominal forms) and nu-, do- & ene- (respectively 1st, 2nd and 3rd person plural pronominal forms) as being verbal affixes marking the subject. But I have not come across verbs with such pronominal affixes during my data collection sessions. Also such forms have not been reported by Getachew (2015).

d. dó fá: gòllá-ʔ-è

1PL goat slaughter -FUT-IRR

‘We will slaughter a goat.’

The following table summarizes the independent subject pronouns and the pronominal subject clitics.

Table 2: Independent subject pronouns and pronominal clitics in OmotiC Mao languages

Person	Number	Maaw Es Aas'e		Seez Waani		Hooz Waandi		
		Independent subject pronouns	Subject clitics		Independent subject pronouns	Subject clitics	Independent subject pronouns	Subject clitics
			With main verbs	With auxiliaries				
1	SG	tí-ʃ	tí=	t=	há:-ʃ(é)	há=	ná	-
	DU	han-iʃ	han=	n=	-	-	-	-
	PL	hambèl-iʃ/-te	ham=	m=	-	-	nú	-
	PI	-			dól-ʃ(é)	dól=	-	-
	PE	-			dà:-ʃ(é)	dà=	-	-
2	SG	hì-ʃ	hì=	i=	hín-ʃ(é)	hín=	hí	-
	DU	háw-iʃ	háw=	w=	-	-	-	-
	PL	háwèl-iʃ/-te	háw=	w=	nám-ʃ(é)	nám=	do	-
3	SG	íʃ-iʃ	ø		hán-ʃ(é)	hán=	-	-
	SG.	-	-	-	-	-	ʔá	-
	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	SG. F	-	-	-	-	-	hé	-
	DU	íʃkuw-iʃ	-ond	-	-	-	-	-
PL	íʃkol-iʃ/-te	-ond	-	-	hél-ʃ(é)	hél=	hénà	-

7. Object Pronouns

In the direct and indirect object positions, personal pronouns in Maaw Es Aas'e take the same postpositional element /-na/ as demonstrated in examples (8a) and (8b) below. In Seez Waani, while pronouns in the direct object position take the accusative case marker /-a/ (cf. 9a) those which occur in the indirect object position take the dative/locative marker /-te/ as in (9b). The situation in Hooz Waandi is different from that of the two sister languages because the pronouns do not add any morphological element.¹⁰ Apart from the third person plural, they lengthen their root internal vowel and bear a rising

¹⁰ In his description of pronouns, Getachew (2015:129) states that direct object pronouns display the accusative case marker. However, the accusative case marker is not attested in my data.

tone as in (10a). Pronouns in the direct object position always take the dative case marker /-f/ without lengthening their root internal vowel (10b).

8. Maaw Es Aas'e

a. tí-f íf-nà tí=int'-á

1SG-SBJ 3SG-OBJ 1SG=see-DCL

'I saw him/her.' (Ahland 2019: 189)

b. tí-nà ha=mé:nt-[↓]á

1SG-OBJ AFF=tell-DCL

'He/she told me.'

9. Seez Waani

a. hà:-f nám-à fwìn há=fwìn-á:

1SG-SBJ 2PL-DO loving 1SG=love-DCL

'I love you (PL).'

b. ʔá:s ʔè:w hà:-té mí:nt-á: hán-f-é

secret thing 1SG-DAT/LOC tell-DCL 3SG-SBJ-TV

'S/he told me a secret.'

10. Hooz Waandi

a. ʔá nə: pak-t-i

3SG.M 1SG slap-NFUT-REAL

'He slapped me.'

b. hé ná-f géf pũ: nén-t-i

3SG.F 1SG-DAT barley ale give-NFUT-REAL

'She gave me ale (made) of barley.'

The following table presents a list of all direct and indirect object pronouns in the three sister languages of Omotic Mao languages.

Table 3: Object pronouns in Omotic Mao languages

Person	Number	Maaw Es Aas'e		Seez Waani		Hooz Waandi	
		DO	IO	DO	IO	DO	IO
1	SG	tí-nà	tí-nà	hà:-jà	hà:-té	nǎ:	ná-f
	DU	han-nà	han-nà	-	-	-	-
	PL	hambèl-là	hambèl-là	-	-	nǔ:	nú-f
	PI	-	-	dól-à	dól-té	-	-
	PE	-	-	dà:-jà	dà:-té	-	-
2	SG	hì-nà	hì-nà	hín-à	hín-té	hí:	hí-f
	DU	háv-nà	háv-nà	7.1.-	-	-	-
	PL	hàwèl-nà	hàwèl-nà	nám-à	nám-té	dǒ:	do-f
3	SG	íj-nà	íj-nà	hán-à	hán-té	-	-
	SG. M	-	-	-	-	ʔǎ:	ʔá-f
	SG. F	-	-	-	-	hě:	hé-f
	DU	íjkuw-nà	íjkuw-nà	-	-	-	-
	PL	íjkol-nà	íjkol-nà	hél-à	hél-té	hénà	hénà-f

8. Adnominal and Pronominal Possessive Pronouns

Adnominal possessive pronouns (traditionally referred to as possessive adjectives) and pronominal possessive pronouns (traditionally known as possessive pronouns) in the three languages may express notions such as ownership, part-whole and source genitive relationships. In Maaw Es Aas'e, adnominal possessive pronouns may occur in two forms: with the genitive case maker /-ŋ/ as in (11a) or without the genitive case marker as in (11b). In both cases, the pronouns precede the possessed noun. When they are used pronominally without a co-occurring noun (for instance in copula constructions) the genitive marked pronouns are followed by the terminal vowel /-e/ (cf. 11c).

11. Maaw Es Aas'e

- a. tí-ŋ kjéd-íj kògín-t-è
 1SG-GEN house-SBJ be.wide-REL-TV
 'My house is big.'
- b. tí kan-íj ha-hék'-⁺á
 1SG dog-SBJ AFF-die-DCL
 'My dog died.' (Ahland 2012: 257)

-
- c. jéǰ-íǰ tí-ŋ-è
 that-SBJ 1SG-GEN-TV
 ‘That is mine.’

In Seez Waani, adnominal possessive pronouns (traditionally known as possessive adjectives) do not show any morphological marker of possession. The pronominal roots are procliticized to the possessed noun in (12a). In order to be used as pronominal possessive pronouns in verbless (copula) clauses and comparable constructions, the pronominal roots inevitably take the genitive case marker /-há:ŋì/ as in (12b). Attachment of the genitive suffix to the adnominal possessive pronouns derives ungrammatical constructions such as (12c).

12. Seez Waani

- a. há=wíns’-íǰ má: ʔè:w há:-té ti-ja:
 1SG= maternal_aunt -SBJ eating thing 1SG-DAT/LOC give-DCL
 ‘My maternal aunt gave me food.’
- b. hèt’=gìzz-íǰ há-há:ŋì
 PROX = money-SBJ 1SG-GEN
 ‘This money is mine.’
- c. *há-há:ŋ gìz⁺zí
 1SG-GEN money
 ‘My money (intended meaning)’

In Hooz Waandi adnominal possessive pronouns are different from the other forms of pronouns because, apart from the third person plural form, they lengthen their root internal vowel and bear a rising tone like the direct object pronouns (cf. 10a and 13a). They are simply juxtaposed with the possessed noun to mark possession. Adnominal possessive pronouns in Hooz Waandi are not treated as clitics because they occur independently as phonological words (without additional morphological element) in the subject and object positions. In verbless constructions, the same forms take the genitive case marker /-ʔá:ndi/ as in (13b). Like the case in Seez Waani, the use of the genitive case suffix with adnominal possessive pronouns derives ungrammatical constructions as in (13c).

13. Hooz Waandi

- a. nǎ: fè: gònzá kò-gòppá-t-ì
 1SG.POS woman corn PRG- crush- NFUT-REAL
 ‘My wife is crushing corn.’
- b. ʔágá fǎ: nǎ:-ʔá:ndì fǎf-t-ì
 DEF- goat 1SG.POS-GEN be.PST- NFUT-REAL
 ‘The goat was mine.’
- c. *nǎ:-ʔá:ndì fǎ:
 1SG.POS-GEN goat
 ‘My goat (intended meaning)’

Table 4: Adnominal and pronominal possessive pronouns of Omotiic Mao languages

Person	Num/ Gend	Maaw Es Aas'e			Seez Waani		Hooz Waandi	
		ADN	PNL		ADN	PNL	ADN	PNL
1	SG	tí-ŋ + N	tí+ N	tí-ŋ-e	há=N	há-há:ŋì	nǎ:+ N	nǎ:-ʔá:ndì
	DU	han-ŋ + N	han+ N	han-ŋ-e	-	-	-	-
	PL	hambèl-ŋ + N	hambèl+ N	hambèl-ŋ-e	-	-	nǔ:+ N	nǔ:-ʔá:ndì
	PI	-	-	-	dól=N	dól-há:ŋì	-	-
	PE	-	-	-	dá=N	dá-há:ŋì	-	-
2	SG	hì-ŋ + N	hì + N	hì-ŋ-e	hín=N	hín-há:ŋì	hǐ:+ N	hǐ:-ʔá:ndì
	DU	háv-ŋ+ N	háv+ N	háv-ŋ-e	8.1. -	-	-	-
	PL	hàwèl-ŋ + N	hàwèl+ N	hàwèl-ŋ-e	nám=N	nám-há:ŋì	dò:+ N	dò:-ʔá:ndì
3	SG	íŋ-ŋ + N	íŋ + N	íŋ-ŋ-e	hán=N	hán-há:ŋì	-	-
	SG. M	-	-	-	-	-	ʔǎ:+ N	ʔǎ:- ʔá:ndì
	SG. F	-	-	-	-	-	hě:+ N	hě:-ʔá:ndì
	DU	íŋkuw-ŋ + N	íŋkuw + N	íŋkuw-ŋ-e	-	-	-	-
	PL	íŋkol-ŋ + N	íŋkol + N	íŋkol-ŋ-e	hél=N	hél-há:ŋì	hénà + N	hénà- ʔá:ndì

9. Reflexive Pronouns

The term ‘reflexive’ is used to refer to grammatical elements used for denoting coreference between two noun phrases in the same clause (Bhat 2004: 79). According to Bhat (2004: 79) the reflexive describes two states of affairs. The first is to indicate that the performer himself is being affected by the action he is performing. In this type of the reflexive, the performer may assume the semantic role of the patient, the experiencer, or the beneficiary. The second is

to express that an action has been carried out without the intervention of any individual other than the performer. The function of this type of reflexive is to give emphasis to the action of the performer. Languages may differ in the strategies they employ to express the reflexive. While some languages use a special morphological element on the verb, others utilize pronominal forms for the same purpose (Bhat 2004: 79). Both strategies are attested in Omotic Mao languages.

Maaw Es Aas'e does not have pronominal forms for the reflexive in which the performer is affected by the action he is performing (referred to as 'self-affecting reflexive' in this paper) because this is expressed by verbal affix (cf. Ahland 2012: 257ff). Only emphatic reflexive is expressed by joining the pronominal roots and the instrumental case marked noun to:k-àn 'with head'.

14. ham=kját' ham=to:k-àn ham=kját'-á

1PL=house 1PL=head-INS 1PL=build.house-DCL

'We built our house ourselves.' (i.e., without the intervention of any other person)

The self-affecting reflexive is expressed by joining the pronominal forms with nouns ?òpì 'self' in Seez Waani and ?ára 'self' in Hooz Waandi. In the same way, the emphatic reflexive is constructed by procliticizing the pronominal roots to the instrumental case marked noun tú:-n 'with head' in Seez Waani. In Hooz Waandi, it is formed by simple juxtaposition of the pronominal forms and the instrumental case marked noun tóki-n 'with head'. In both languages, the pronominal forms and the reflexive marking nouns have possessive relationship. The following examples illustrate the fact.

15. Seez Waani

a. hà:-f há=?òp hà=mì:ns'-á:

1SG-SBJ 1SG.POS=self 1SG=cut-DCL

'I cut myself.'

b. hà:-f há=tù:-n ?òss-à hà=mì:ns'-á:

1SG-SBJ 1SG.POS=head-INST meat-ACC 1SG=cut-DCL

'I cut the meat myself.' (i.e., without the intervention of any other person)

16. Hooz Waandi

a. ná nǎ: ʔára t'é:n-t-i

1SG 1SG.POS self cut-NFUT-REAL

'I cut myself.'

b. ná nǎ: tóki-n já: gòllá-t-i

1SG 1SG.POS head-INST goat slaughter -NFUT-REAL

'I slaughtered the goat myself.' (i.e., without the intervention of any other person)

Table 5: Reflexive pronouns in Omotic Mao languages

Person	Number	Maaw Es Aas'e	Seez Waani		Hooz Waandi	
		Emphatic	Self-affecting	Emphatic	Self-affecting	Emphatic
1	SG	tí-nà	há=ʔòp	há=tú:-n	nǎ: ʔára	nǎ: tóki-n
	DU	han-nà	-	-	-	-
	PL	hambèl-là	-	-	nǎ: ʔára	nǎ: tóki-n
	PI	-	dól=ʔòp	dól=tú:-n	-	-
	PE	-	dà:=ʔòp	dà:=tú:-n	-	-
2	SG	hì-nà	hín=ʔòp	hín=tú:-n	hǐ: ʔára	hǐ: tóki-n
	DU	háv-nà	-	-	-	-
	PL	hàwèl-nà	nám=ʔòp	nám=tú:-n	dǒ: ʔára	dǒ: tóki-n
3	SG	íʃ-nà	hán=ʔòp	hán=tú:-n	-	-
	SG. M	-	-	-	ʔǎ: ʔára	ʔǎ: tóki-n
	SG. F	-	-	-	hě: ʔára	hě: tóki-n
	DU	íʃkuw-nà	-	-	-	-
	PL	íʃkol-nà	hél=ʔòp	hél=tú:-n	hénà ʔára	hénà tóki-n

10. Summary and Conclusion

Omotic Mao languages show considerable differences and similarities in their pronominal system. Maaw Es Aas'e is different from the two sister languages as it comprises dual forms and consists of greater number of pronouns (nine). Seez Waani and Hooz Waandi have a set of seven pronouns each. Seez Waani differs from the two sister languages in making distinction between inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural paradigm. Hooz Waandi is different

from the two sister languages because it distinguishes between masculine and feminine gender in the third person singular paradigm. In citation form, the pronouns display obligatory suffixes. Pronouns in Maaw Es Aas'e display the nominal terminal vowel /-e/ in citation form. Pronouns in Seez Waani show the subject case /-f/ and the terminal vowel /-e/ in citation form. Citation form pronouns in Hooz Waandi exhibit the emphatic copula /-ŋgà/. These suffixal elements are mostly removed when the pronouns occur in different syntactic positions. Subject pronouns in Maaw Es Aas'e and Seez Waani occur in two forms: as independent pronouns by taking the same subject case marker /-f/ and as pronominal clitics on main and auxiliary verbs. In the two sister languages, the overt realization of the independent subject pronouns is optional. But the presence of the pronominal clitics is obligatory. In Hooz Waandi only pronominal roots occur as independent subject pronouns without any case affix. They do not occur as subject pronominal clitics on main and auxiliary verbs. Therefore, the presence of the independent subject pronouns in the subject position is obligatory. Direct object pronouns show the accusative case marker /-nà/ in Maaw Es Aas'e. In Seez Waani pronouns in the direct object form display the accusative case marker /-a/. In Hooz Waandi, direct object pronouns lengthen their root internal vowel. Personal pronouns in the indirect position are morphologically marked with /-nà/, /-tè/ and /-f/ Maaw Es Aas'e, Seez Waani and Hooz Waandi, respectively. In Maaw Es Aas'e, adnominal possessive pronouns may or may not take the genitive case marker /-ŋ/. Pronominal possessive pronouns always show the genitive case marker /-ŋ/. When they occur in copula object position, they display the terminal vowel /-e/. Adnominal possessive pronouns (traditionally known as possessive adjectives) in Seez Waani and Hooz Waandi do not show any marker of case. They are simply procliticized to or juxtaposed with the possessed noun. In the two languages, possessive pronouns occur with genitive case marker when they are used without a co-occurring possessed noun in constructions such as verbless clauses. In Seez Waani and Hooz Waandi, the genitive case markers are respectively /-há:ŋi/ and /-ʔá:ndi/. Maaw Es Aas'e does not have reflexive pronouns identifying the agent and the patient as being the same person. Only the emphatic reflexive is expressed by procliticizing the pronominal roots to the instrumental case marked noun to:k-àn 'with head'. The reflexive which expresses that the performer is affected by his own action is expressed by procliticizing to or simply juxtaposing the pronominal forms with the noun ʔópì 'self' and ʔára 'self', respectively in Seez Waani and Hooz Waandi. Emphatic reflexive is expressed by procliticizing or simply juxtaposing the pronominal forms to or with the instrumental case marked nouns tù:-nè 'with head' and tóki-n 'with head' respectively in Seez Waani and Hooz Waandi.

Having looked at the great variations observed in the pronominal system of the three languages, one would propose that these languages might have not descended from the same ancestral language and assume that the languages belong to different subgroups of the Omotic family. However, this is left for further research because arriving at such a conclusion needs to examine different aspects of the language.

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Abbreviations and Symbols

-	Morpheme boundary	INST	Instrumental
↓	Downstep	IO	Indirect object
//	Phonemic representation	IRR	Irrealis
[]	Phonetic representation	LOC	Locative
+	Word boundary	N	NOUN
=	Clitic boundary	NFUT	Non Future
1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person	NPST	Non past
ADN	Adnominal	OBJ	Object case
AFF	Affirmative	PE	Exclusive first person plural
AUX	Auxiliary	PI	Inclusive first person plural
DAT	Dative	PL	Plural
DCL	Declarative	PNL	Pronominal
DEF	Definite marker	POS	Possessive
DEM	Demonstrative	PRX	Proximal
DO	Direct object	RDP	Reduplication
DU	Dual	REAL	Realis
FUT	Future	SBJ	Subject case
GEN	Genitive	SG	Singular
IMP	Imperative	VN	Verbal noun