

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/20681> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Orkaydo, Ongaye Oda

Title: A grammar of Konso

Issue Date: 2013-03-28

A Grammar of Konso

Published by
LOT
Trans 10
3512 JK Utrecht
The Netherlands

phone: +31 30 253 6006

e-mail: lot@uu.nl
<http://www.lotschool.nl>

ISBN: 978-94-6093-109-3
NUR 616

Copyright © 2013: Ongaye Oda Orkaydo. All rights reserved.

A Grammar of Konso

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van

de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,

op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof.mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,

volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties

te verdedigen op donderdag 28 maart 2013

klokke 13.45 uur

door

Ongaye Oda Orkaydo

geboren te Konso, Ethiopië

in 1976

Promotor: Prof. dr. M.P.G.M. Mous

Co-promotor: Dr. Azeb Amha

Other members: Prof.dr. G. Banti (Universitario Orientale Napoli)

Prof.dr. G.E. Booij (Universiteit Leiden)

Dr. J. Doetjes (Universiteit Leiden)

The research on which this thesis is based was funded by Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL).

Table of contents

List of structure morphemes.....	vii
List of symbols and abbreviations.....	ix
Map.....	xi
Acknowledgments	xiii
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. The people	1
1.2. The language	2
1.3. Previous linguistic works	3
1.4. The present study	5
1.5. Fieldwork.....	6
2. Phonology and morphophonology	7
2.1. Consonant phonemes.....	7
2.1.1. Description of consonant phonemes.....	8
2.1.2. (Near) minimal pairs.....	12
2.1.3. Gemination.....	14
2.1.4. Distributions of consonant phonemes.....	15
2.2. Vowel phonemes	19
2.2.1. Description of vowels	19
2.2.2. Contrast of short vowels.....	20
2.2.3. Contrast of long vowels.....	21
2.2.4. Vowel length.....	22
2.2.5. Vowel co-occurrences.....	22
2.3. Phonotactics.....	23
2.4. Lexical variations	26
2.5. Syllable Structure	29
2.5.1. Syllable patterns in nouns.....	30
2.5.2. Syllable patterns in verb roots	32
2.6. Epenthesis and syllable sequences	35
2.7. Phonological processes.....	36
2.7.1. Insertion of /ʔ/.....	36
2.7.2. Devoicing.....	37
2.7.3. Assimilation	38
2.7.4. Spirantisation	40
2.7.5. Labialisation.....	41
2.8. Morphophonemic processes	42
2.8.1. Elision of /ʔ/.....	42
2.8.2. Metathesis	43
2.8.3. Assimilation involving the causative and middle derivation	44
2.8.4. Assimilation involving verb root final t	48
2.8.5. Assimilation involving n in subject clitics	48
2.8.6. Assimilation of a glottal stop in encliticisation.....	50
2.8.7. Vowel coalescence.....	54
2.8.8. Haplology.....	55

2.9.	Tone.....	56
3.	Simple sentences.....	59
3.1.	Verbal simple sentences.....	59
3.2.	Adjectival sentences.....	62
3.3.	Nominal sentences.....	68
3.4.	Cleft sentences.....	69
4.	Nouns.....	73
4.1.	Gender.....	73
4.1.1.	Gender of nouns.....	73
4.1.2.	Gender agreement in definiteness marking.....	77
4.1.3.	Gender agreement in demonstratives.....	78
4.1.4.	Gender agreement in adjectives.....	79
4.2.	Number.....	80
4.2.1.	Number suffixes.....	80
4.2.2.	Reduplicating the base final consonant.....	83
4.2.3.	Plurative marking by gemination.....	84
4.2.4.	Double plurative derivation.....	85
4.2.5.	Irregular pluratives.....	85
4.2.6.	Suppletive plurals.....	86
4.2.7.	Pluratives without corresponding singulative forms.....	86
4.2.8.	Derivation of singulatives.....	87
4.2.9.	Associative plural.....	88
4.3.	Plurality in adjectives.....	89
4.4.	Semantic gender distinction.....	89
4.5.	Diminutives.....	91
4.6.	Indefinite reference and indefinite-specific morphemes.....	93
4.7.	Definite reference.....	95
4.8.	Demonstrative suffixes.....	97
4.9.	Numerals.....	101
4.9.1.	Cardinal numbers.....	101
4.9.2.	Mathematical operations.....	104
4.9.3.	Ordinals.....	107
4.10.	Nominal derivation.....	108
4.10.1.	Denominal/adjectival abstract nominals.....	108
4.10.2.	Deverbal agentive nominals.....	108
4.10.3.	Denominal ethnic nominals.....	109
4.10.4.	Denominal nouns with indication of characteristic.....	110
4.10.5.	Deadjectival individual entities.....	111
4.10.6.	Deverbal action nouns.....	111
4.11.	Case.....	113
4.11.1.	The nominative and accusative cases.....	113
4.11.2.	The genitive case.....	115
4.11.3.	The dative case.....	117
4.11.4.	The instrumental case.....	119
4.11.5.	The vocative case.....	119

4.11.6.	The locational markers -Vyye and -?	120
4.11.7.	The background marker	122
4.12.	Compounding	123
5.	Pronouns	127
5.1.	Personal pronouns	127
5.2.	Demonstrative pronouns	128
5.3.	Possessives	131
5.4.	Reflexive	134
5.5.	Reciprocity and 'each'	136
6.	Verbs	139
6.1.	Verb derivation	139
6.1.1.	Causative	139
6.1.2.	Middle	145
6.1.3.	Passive	146
6.1.4.	Inchoative	149
6.1.5.	Pluractionals and punctuals	151
6.2.	Verb inflection	156
6.2.1.	Aspect	156
6.2.2.	Mood	163
7.	Adjectives	167
7.1.	Adjectival root classes	167
7.2.	Reduplication in adjectives	168
7.3.	Intensity	169
7.4.	Predicative adjectives	170
7.5.	Attributive adjectives	173
7.6.	Deadjectival derivation	175
7.6.1.	Nominal derivation and gender marking	175
7.6.2.	Deadjectival action nominals	177
8.	Postpositions, adverbials and conjunctions	179
8.1.	Postpositions	179
8.2.	Adverbs	182
8.2.1.	Locative adverbs	182
8.2.2.	Combining locative adverbs and directional adverbs	184
8.2.3.	Time adverbs	186
8.3.	Conjunctions	190
9.	Basic syntax	193
9.1.	Word order	193
9.1.1.	Word order in noun phrases	193
9.1.2.	Word order in simple sentences	196
9.2.	Verbless sentences	199
9.3.	Comparative and equative sentences	201
9.4.	Relative clauses	202
9.4.1.	Word order in relative clauses	204
9.4.2.	Subject relative clauses	206
9.4.3.	Non-subject relative clauses	206

9.4.4.	Headless relative clauses	208
10.	Interrogative clauses	209
10.1.	Polar interrogatives	209
10.2.	Tag questions.....	212
10.3.	Content questions	212
11.	Negation.....	217
11.1.	Negation in declarative sentences	217
11.1.1.	Negative Perfective	217
11.1.2.	Negative future imperfective.....	219
11.1.3.	Negative present imperfective.....	220
11.1.4.	Negative dependent	223
11.1.5.	Prohibitives with opa.....	224
11.1.6.	Negative imperative	225
11.1.7.	Negative optatives	226
11.1.8.	Negation in adjectival clauses.....	226
11.2.	Negation in nominal clauses	227
11.3.	Lexical negation	228
11.4.	Movement of subject clitics and emphatic negation.....	229
12.	Complex sentences.....	231
12.1.	Adverbial clauses	231
12.1.1.	Conditional clauses	231
12.1.2.	Temporal clauses.....	237
12.1.3.	Reason and result clauses.....	239
12.1.4.	Purpose clauses	240
12.2.	Complement clauses.....	241
12.3.	Other clause linking	242
12.3.1.	Conjoined consecutive clauses.....	242
12.3.2.	Contrast	243
12.3.3.	Alternatives	244
12.4.	Quotative clauses.....	246
13.	Ideophones and interjections	247
13.1.	Ideophones.....	247
13.1.1.	Phonological templates.....	247
13.1.2.	Reduplication in ideophones	250
13.1.3.	Verbal derivation in ideophones	252
13.1.4.	Nominal derivation in ideophones	252
13.1.5.	Metaphoric use of ideophones	253
13.2.	Interjections	254
13.2.1.	Expressive interjections.....	254
13.2.2.	Conative interjections.....	255
13.2.3.	Phatic interjections	256
13.3.	Greetings and leave-taking expressions.....	256
13.3.1.	Greetings	256
13.3.2.	Leave-taking.....	262
14.	Texts.....	265

14.1.	Text 1: ȝolaa a innaá Teekoolí? Teekoole's Son's Bag	265
14.2.	Text 2: Ahta a Lammootá? A Second Wife.....	281
15.	List of nouns	319
	References	331
	Samenvatting (Summary in Dutch).....	335
	Curriculum Vitae.....	339

List of structure morphemes

Morpheme	Gloss	Function/name
-ʔ	DAT	dative
-ʔ	NOM	nominative
-ʔ	LOC	locative
-ʔ	GEN	genitive
-ʔ	plus	plus
-ay	PF	perfective (3SGM)
-i	PF	perfective
-i	IMP.SG	imperative singular
-a	IMP.PL	imperative plural
-a	IPF.FUT	imperfective future
-ni	IPF.PRES	imperfective present
-ad	MID	benefactive, middle
-aad	INCH	inchoative
-ʃ	DCAUS	direct causative
-acciiis	ICAUS	indirect causative
-am	PAS	passive
-t	3F; 2	third person feminine; second person
-n	P	plural gender marker
-siʔ	DEF.M/F	definite feminine/masculine (gender)
-siniʔ	DEF.P	definite plural (gender)
-asiʔ/-osiʔ	DEM.M/F	demonstrative feminine/masculine
-osiniʔ	DEM.P	demonstrative plural (gender)
in =	1	first person affirmative subject clitic
in =	3NEG	third person negative subject clitic
iʔ =	2	second person affirmative subject clitic
i =	3	third person affirmative subject clitic
an =	1NEG	first person negative subject clitic
an =	1	first person nominal subject clitic
aʔ =	2NEG	second person negative subject clitic
aʔ =	2	second person nominal subject clitic
-n(n)	INST	instrumental
-n(n)	PATH	path
-awu	1SG.POSS.M/F	1SG possessive (gender)
-ayyu	1SG.POSS.P	1SG possessive plural (gender)
-aynu	1PL.POSS.M/F	1PL possessive (gender)
-annu	1PL.POSS.P	1PL possessive plural (gender)
-ayti	2SG.POSS.M/F	2SG possessive (gender)
-atti	2SG.POSS.P	2SG possessive plural (gender)
-ayʃin	2PL.POSS.M/F	2PL possessive (gender)
-assin	2PL.POSS.P	2PL possessive plural (gender)
-adi	3SG.POSS.M/F/P	3SG possessive M/F/P (gender)

-aysu?	3PL.POSS.M/F	3PL possessive M/F (gender)
-assu?	3PL.POSS.P	3PL possessive plural (gender)
-n	NEG	negative
-y	VOC.P	vocative plural (gender) addressee
-u	VOC.M/F	vocative (gender) addressee
-a(?)	M/F	gender (adjectives)
-aa?	P	plural gender (adjectives)
-e	F/M	gender (in relative clauses)
-ee?	P	plural gender (in relative clauses)
-(tt)eeta	DIM	diminutive

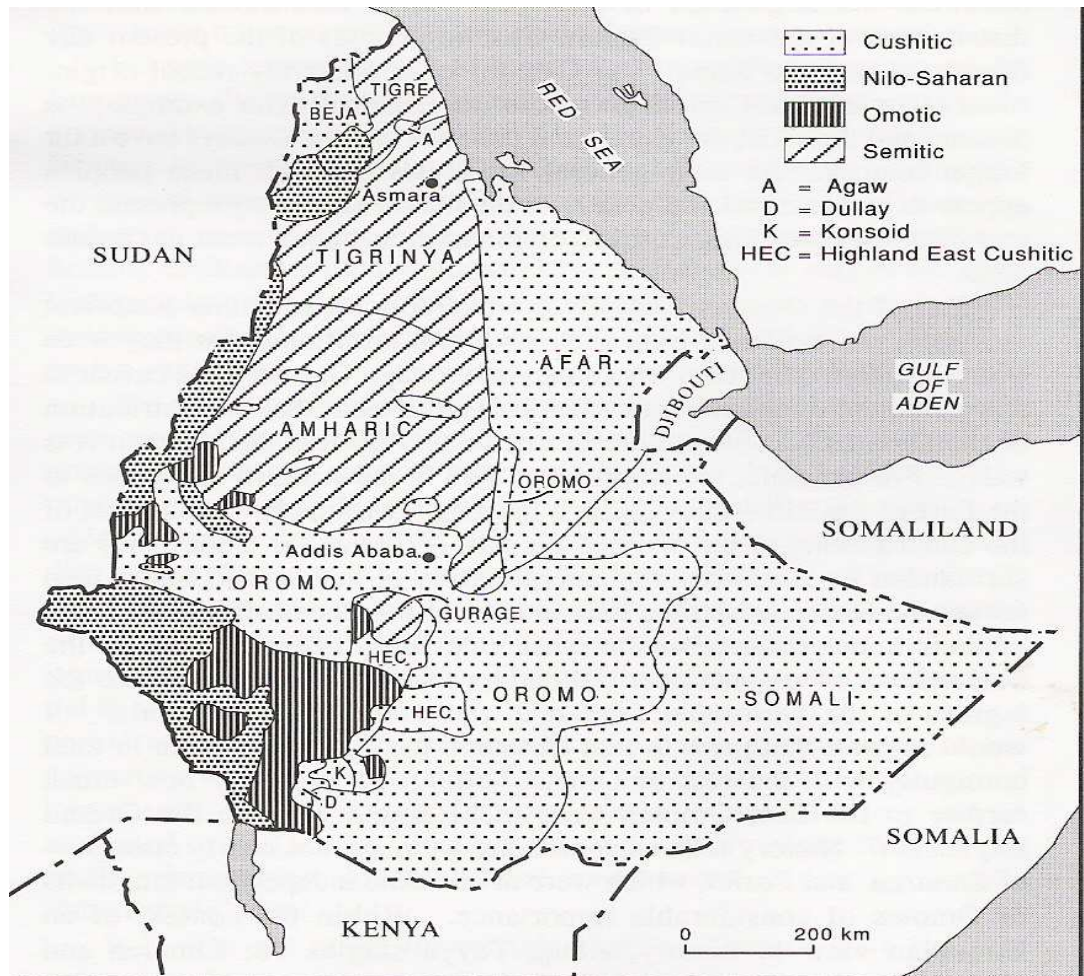
List of symbols and abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
1SG	first person singular
1PL	first person plural
2SG	second person singular
2PL	second person plural
3M	third person masculine
3F	third person feminine
3PL	third person plural
'	high tone
*	ungrammatical form
.	more than one morpheme is involved
◦	devoiced sound
//	phonemic representation
ABST	abstract
ACC	accusative
AGENT	agentive
ASS	associative
BKGRD	background
C	consonant
CEXPEC	contrary to expectation
DAT	dative
DCAUS	direct causative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DP	dependent
F	feminine
FREQ	frequentative
GEN	genitive
ICAUS	indirect causative
IDEO	ideophone
IMP	imperative
INCH	inchoative
INDEF	indefinite
INST	instrumental
INSIS	insistive
INTENS	intensive
INTERJ	interjection
IPF.FUT	imperfective future
IPF.PRES	imperfective present

x

LOC	locative
M	masculine
MID	middle
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominaliser
NOM	nominative
OPT	optative
ORD	ordinal
P	plural (as a value of gender)
PAS	passive
PF	perfective
PL	plural (as a value of number)
POSS	possessive
PRO	pronoun
RDP	reduplication
RECIP	reciprocal
REL	relative
SG	singular (as a value of number)
sp.	species
V	vowel
VN	verbal nominal
VOC	vocative

Map



Source: Hayward (1995:7) as cited in Mulugeta Seyoum (2008:ix)

Acknowledgments

A number of people contributed to the completion of this thesis. First and foremost, my deepest gratitude goes to Prof. Maarten Mous and Dr. Azeb Amha who inspired me to pursue my PhD at the Department of African Languages and Cultures, Leiden University. They were very instrumental in guiding me before and during the undertaking of the PhD project.

LUCL, of which the Department of African Languages and Cultures is a part, was a great place for working towards my PhD. The colleagues at LUCL inspired me academically and shaped me socially: Victoria Nyst, Rebecca Voll, Mercy Lamptey, Anne-Christie Hellenthal, Ramada Elghamis, Heleen Smits, Maggy Konter-Katani, Felix Ameka, Thilo Schadeberg, Stanly Oomen, Christian Rapold, Jean Chavula, Kofi Dorvlo, Khalid Mourigh, Maarten Kossmann, Jeroen van der Weijer, Sandra Barasa, Mulugeta Seyoum, Tolemariam Fufa, Linda Badan, Mulugeta Tarekegn, Allison Kirk and Constance Kutsch Lojenga.

I would also like to thank Gea Hakker, Margreet Verra, Alice Middag, Merel van Wijk and Esrih Bakker at the LUCL office for facilitating my study through numerous sorts of practical and administrative support.

I must thank Azeb Amha and Maggy Konter-Katani again for their understanding and support. Thanks to Azebiye and Maggisha, for their hospitality, including during holidays, for which my thanks also go to their respective partners Jan Abbink and Jean-Pierre Perroud.

I would like to extend my gratitude to Teshome Ayalew who invited me to his place many times, discussed various issues with me, showed me shops and places he thought would make my life easier in and around Leiden, and would periodically stop by my office to ask me how the research was proceeding. Thanks to Teshe! The other friends who also deserve my heartfelt thanks are Frank Rother and Francis (Chief) Ndi. Frank not only encouraged me whenever we met and had drinks and/or meals but also took Francis and me to several parts of the Netherlands so that we could have a better understanding of the country. Francis was a tenant in the same flat, and we shared, chatted and discussed many things. I would also like to thank the late Berhanu Gebeyehu whom I met in Leiden. Since our first acquaintance, he became like a great elder brother to me.

Aschalew Korra and Anto (Qarta) Arkato, my closest friends, deserve a special thank-you for encouraging me before and during the PhD project. Aschalew almost always came to the airport to see me off and pick me up. When Qarta came to Twente University to pursue his PhD, he would either visit me in Leiden or invite me to Enschede so that we could discuss analytical problems I faced.

I would also like to thank Takito Ganshole, Biche Yonas, Armana (Alemnesh) Arkato, Addisu Arkato, Admasu Anto and Kushabo Kucho for the support they extended to my family.

During my endeavour to obtain linguistic works on Konso from the Mekane Yesus Church, I approached Engida Kussia and Aija-Katiriina to send me available soft copies. I thank them very much for generously supplying me with the materials they had.

I received financial support from Leiden University Fund (LUF) for my first fieldwork trip, and from LUCL for my second trip. I thank both for their generosity.

I would also like to thank my colleagues Tegene Tesfaye, Almaz Tesfaye, Getachew Endalamaw, Kebede T/Michael, Hirut W/Mariam and Dawit Tilahun for their encouragement.

My deepest gratitude goes to my wife, Kawessa Gendeche, without whose love, endurance, understanding and strong family management in my absence, this work would not have been what it is now. I am always proud of you. I would also like to thank my children (Okitta, Orapa and Orbana) for their love, patience and, of course, the various questions on numerous issues I had to answer on the phone. Without the support that my sisters-in-law (Kachana Gendeche and Kachite Kadido) and my brother (Oytiba Oda) had for my family and for my work on some analytical problems, this thesis would not have seen the light of day.

Last but not least, I would like to offer my heartfelt thanks to my grandmother who passed away without seeing the completion of this thesis. I must thank her for so many reasons. She used to tell me and my siblings stories when we were young. But she told me the stories again during my fieldwork. She always blessed me whenever I left for my studies or to be with my family. She was my mentor, advisor and motivator and emotional and material supporter. Losing her was very painful for me but then that is a natural journey. I love you grandma very much and pray that your soul rests in peace.