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COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES, LANGUAGE STUDIES, JOURNALISM AND

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF IDEOPHONES IN ETHIOPIAN AFRO-ASIATIC
LANGUAGES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO AMHARIC, KAFA AND OROMO

BY

TEFERI MULUGETA GEBRETSADIK

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By

Teferi Mulugeta Gebretsadik

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Supervisors: Prof. Baye Yimam
: Dr. Girma Mengistu

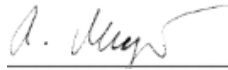
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Abbreviations and symbols	Terminologies/full words
ABL	Ablative
ACC	accusative
C	consonant
COMM	command
COP	copula
CAUS	causative
DAT	Dative
DEF	Definite
EMP	emphatic
EP	epenthesis
F	feminine
FOC	focus
GEN	genitive
H	high ton
IDEO	ideophone
INS	instrumental
IPFV	imperfective
JUSS	Jussive
LOC	Locative
M	masculine
NOM	nominative
NMLZ	nominalizer
NEG	negative
NP	noun phrase
PFV	perfective
PL	Plural
PAS	past tense
REL	relative clause
SG	Singular
THV	thematic vowel

V	Vowel
VNM	verbal noun marker
VP	verb phrase
WFP	word final position
WIP	word initial position
WMP	word medial position

The above abbreviations are based on The Leipzig Glossing Rules May 31/2015. However, some abbreviation, such as CSA for Central Statistical Agency, OPHCC for Office of Population and Housing Census Commission, TV for terminal vowels and THV for thematic vowels used in this dissertation are not found in the above glossing rule.

Abstract

In day-to-day communication, ideophones play very significant roles in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. However, in descriptive studies they are less tread. This dissertation aimed at the phonological, morphological, and syntactic descriptions and comparison of ideophones of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. The three representative languages are Amharic (Semitic), Kafa (Omotic), and Oromo (Cushitic). These languages are from the same Afro-Asiatic phylum but they are distantly related. This comparative study identifies more similarities than differences in the phonology and syntax of ideophones. Their morphology shows significant differences. The languages exhibit unique phonological features in phonemic inventories, phonemic distributions, phonotactics, suprasegmentals, and syllable structures of ideophones. Phonetically, the languages exhibited five non-phonemic click-like sounds [ʘ, ɓ, ɗ, ɠ, and the tchip (suck teeth)]. Phonologically, especially Amharic shows the front and back vowels, at the initial positions of ideophonic words, which are not found in the regular phonology of the regular language. Phonotactically, the three languages display the sequences of two identical consonants in coda positions. Ideophones also show expressive consonant and vowel lengthening as main suprasegmental features. Kafa ideophones exhibit high /H/ tone in all ideophonic words across all syllables. In the last case, ideophones show the CVV:, CVV:C, CVCC: and CVCC pattern in addition to the respective regular syllable types. Morphologically, Amharic and Kafa ideophones undergo complex process in compounding and derivation whereas Oromo shows simple processes. Cross-linguistically, ideophones deploy compounding, derivation, reduplication, and inflectional morphology. Inflectional morphology is unpredictable in ideophones. Syntactically, the ideophones of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages go contrary to the existing generalizations of syntactic aloofness of ideophones. They do not show differences to the non-ideophonic words. Ideophones occupy the argument and the predicate positions. They function as subject, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. They are used in complex predicates of active and passive verb constructions. They also occur across all sentence types even though they are reported to be found in certain sentence types and exist peripherally. The remaining semantic and pragmatics of features of ideophones of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages are the future study focuses of the researcher.

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Chapter: One

1.0. Introduction

Ideophonic research in Ethiopian languages seems rare when compared with other aspects of language studies. Indeed, there are some ideophonic studies in certain individual languages such as Amharic Wetter (2003), Woliata Azeb (2001), Hammar Lydall (2000), Oromo Amina (2013), and Sidaama Girum (2013). In addition to this, Zelealem's (2011) article presents onomatopoeic ideophones in some selected Ethiopian languages. However, this dissertation studies comparatively in-depth ideophones in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. For this study, Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo are selected from the Semitic, Omotic, and Cushitic sub-phylum of Afro-Asiatic languages respectively. The phonology, morphology, and syntax, of ideophones are comparatively studied. The dissertation is organized as follows. Chapter 1 presents the background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, general objective, specific objectives, and the scope of the study and significance of the study. Chapter 2 contains the research design and methodology. This includes the research site, sampling method, sample size, data collecting tools. Chapter 3 presents the review of related literature on ideophonic studies in Semitic, Omotic, and Cushitic in general and a review of available ideophonic studies in Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo. In addition to this, theoretical and conceptual literature on concepts, word categories, classifications, phonology, morphology, and syntax are also reviewed. Moreover, this section presents the theoretical framework of the study. Chapter 4 presents the phonology of ideophones, Chapter 5 presents the morphology of ideophones, Chapter 6 presents the Syntax of ideophones, and Chapter 7 presents the summary and conclusions of the findings.

1.1. Background of the study

This section presents the people and the language, a statement of the problem, general objectives, specific objectives, research questions, scope, and significance of the study.

1.2. The people and languages

This research focuses on the study of ideophones in the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. In Ethiopia, more than eighty languages are spoken and most of these belong to three language families of the Afro-Asiatic phylum, namely Semitic, Cushitic, and Omotic.

This research is concerned with a comparative study of the ideophones in the above three sub-phyla of the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic super family. These are Semitic, Omotic, and Cushitic. Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo languages are selected to represent each of the three sub-phyla respectively. Typologically, all of these three languages have SOV syntactic word order. In addition to this, Kafa is a tone language but Amharic and Oromo are not tone languages. However, there are two views on Oromo. Some scholars say it is an accent language and some claim that it is a tone language.

Amharic is one of the most widely spoken languages in Ethiopia. According Derib (2017:65), Amharic is one of the South Ethio-Semitic languages spoken in the central and northern parts of Ethiopia and all towns of the country. The Central Statistical Agency (CSA) 2008 report indicates that the total population size of Amhara was 17,221,976. However, the Office of Population and Housing Census Commission (OPHCC) 1998 report shows that more than 21 million people speak the language as a mother tongue and more than 4 million people speak it as a second language. From these facts, it is obvious that the language is the most broadly spoken in Ethiopia. It is a lingua franca and the working language of the Federal Government. Hudson (1997) notes Amharic is spreading to non-Amharic speaking regions.

In addition to this, Derib (2017) also notes that the language is spoken around the world by the Ethiopian people who live around the world, such as by people who live in America and by others who lived in the country for centuries, such as Bete Israel (Felasha) in Israel. According to (FDRE 1995) at present, Amharic is the working language of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Several National Regional States, except Sidama, Tigray, Harari, Somali, and Oromiya, use Amharic as a working language in their respective regions. Moreover, Amharic is also a medium of instruction at all levels in Amharic department educational institutions and it is a court language.

Mulugeta (2014:83) states that Amharic has four dialects. These are the Gojam, Wollo, Gondar, and Shewa dialects. The names of the dialects are derived from the places where the varieties are spoken. Desalegn (2016:15) summarizes that Shewa, Gondor, Gojam, and Western Wollo are the homelands of monolingual Amharic speakers and in several towns, many monolingual speakers of this language are also found. He states that the Amharic used from the mid-19th century up to the present day is referred to as modern Amharic and the Amharic before the middle of the 19th century (which goes back to the time of the 'royal songs' composed in the 14th century or later) is old Amharic (Meyer 2011a:1179).

Kafa is one of the Omotic languages spoken in the Kafa zone. According to the CSA (2008) report, it is spoken by 870,213 people. Bender (1976b:47 and 51) grouped Kafa under the Gonga Gimojan branch of northern Omotic. Kafa is a self-name and the Kafa people call themselves Kafecho. Specifically, the term *Kafa* refers to the place or the homeland of the Kafa people while *kafecho* and *kafechi* refer to male and female Kafa persons respectively. In the Kafa language, the term *noonoo* refers literally to the tongue, which means language. Hence, Kafi Noonoo refers to the Kafecho language. However, in this work I used the term Kafa to refer the language because it is widely used in the previous and current studies.

Teferi (2012) notes Gomero and Manjo are the two basic social strata of the Kafecho people. The former is the hegemon group and the latter is the subaltern social class. Gomeros are considered to have a high social status but Manjos are the minority (marginalized) groups. As research shows, the language has two dialect lines. These are the geographical and social dialects. According to Theil (2007), the language has six geographical dialects. He calls the dialects by the names of the *wärädas* in the zone. These are Gimbo, Decha, Tallo, Manjiyo, Chana, and Gesha dialects. Teferi (2012) identifies the two social dialectal variations, between the two groups and calls them the Gomero dialect and Manjo dialect. The Manjos, the sub-altern group, use both dialects conditionally; in intergroup and intragroup communication but the Gomeros use exclusively their dialect only in both cases. The Gomero dialect is used in schools and workplaces. Kafa is a medium of instruction in elementary, and secondary schools and currently it is taught as a subject at a College level. It is a working and language of the Kafa Zone.

Oromo is one of the Low Land East Cushitic languages of the Afro-Asiatic phylum. It is also the largest in terms of number of native speakers among the Ethiopian languages. According to the CSA (2008) census, the population of Oromo, in Ethiopia was 26,993,933. The term Oromo is a self-given name. It refers to both the people of Oromo and the language they speak. As Tolemariam (2009) states, the Oromo people call their language *Afaan Oromo*, which literally means ‘mouth of Oromo’. In many earlier and recent studies, the name Oromo is widely used to call the language. Therefore, I use the term “Oromo” to call this language throughout the study because it is widely used in the literature.

In earlier times, there were some attempts on the classification of Oromo dialects. The recent study on dialects of the language offered new classification and eleven dialects. Fedaa (2015:6) claims that earlier attempts on the classification of Oromo dialects were based on some phonological and lexical features but he computed objectively the lexical distance of Oromo spoken in Ethiopia and identified six clusters, which further contain one or more dialects. These six clusters with their respective dialects are *Northern dialect* which contains Raya and Wollo varieties, *Southern dialect* contains Borena and Guji variety varieties, *Eastern dialect* contains Harar dialect, *Western dialect* contains Wollega, Jimma and Illubabor varieties, *Southeastern dialect* contains Arsi and Bale dialects and finally the Central dialect contains the Showa variety.

According to Tolemariam (2009:6), the Oromo script has been shifted from the Ge'ez script to Latin since 1991. In addition, Oromo is used as a medium of instruction in the first cycle (0-4), second cycle (5-8), and first cycle (9-10) education level. Moreover, it is taught as a subject and serves as a medium of instruction in the departments of Afaan Oromo in the regional colleges and some public Universities. To mention only few of them at college level Jimma College of Teacher Education, Asela College of Teacher Education, and Fiche College of Teacher Education are some. In addition to this, at university level; Jimma University, Haromaya University, and Addis Ababa University are also some of the higher-level educational institution in which Oromo is used. Oromo is a working language in Oromiya regional state.

1.3. Previous studies

There is no comparative study of the ideophones in Afro-asiatic languages. However, there are many descriptive studies on Ethiopian languages whereas ideophones are given less attention, and topics of ideophones are hardly found. Nevertheless, in a few contemporary studies, the topic 'ideophones' are getting attention but no detailed studies have been carried out. As far as my knowledge goes, only two M.A Thesis are available on ideophones of Ethiopian languages. Both of these are on the Ethiopian Cushitic languages. These are namely Amina (2013) the ideophones of Oromo and Girum (2013) ideophones in Sidaama. In addition to these, there are also some articles on the ideophones of Ethiopian languages. These are Lydall's (2000) ideophones of Hamar, Azeb's (2001) ideophones of Wolaitta, Wetter's (2003) ideophone of Amharic, Tosco's (2006) ideophone of Gawwada and Zelealem's (2011) onomatopoeic ideophones on some selected Ethiopian languages with reference to Amharic are the some articles available in recent time.

Moreover, recent Ph.D. descriptive studies have attempted to include ideophones but they are only sketchy. For example, Hellenthal (2010) touched the topic ideophone, in her study of the Grammar of Sheko. Shimelis (2014) discussed ideophones in relation to attenuative and intensive verb composites. Tolemariam (2009) has also pointed out some intransitive constructions in Oromo causative verbs in relation with ideophones. Therefore, this research has gone in-depth beyond this. It describes and compares the phonology, morphology and the syntax of ideophones in Afro-asiatic languages. All the data used in this study are collected from the natural settings of the target languages and are primary data.

As the title shows, this dissertation is about a comparative study of ideophones. From literatures, it is obvious that comparative studies delve into one of the following three purposes. These are the genetic, typological and areal relationship between languages under the study. However, the languages under the study are genetically related but they are also very distant and are grouped under Semitic, Omotic and Cushitic language families. In addition to this, the languages under the study are typologically related (they have SOV word order) but they have their own phonology, morphology, syntax and semantic properties. On the other hand, the languages under the study influenced each other during periods of intensive contacts. Therefore, the purpose of the

comparative study mainly is to examine typological relationship and contact induced cross-linguistic properties.

1.4. Statement of the Problem

It is unquestionable that ideophones are very important word class in our day-to-day communication. However, as literature shows these word classes are less treated in existing descriptive studies. Moreover, there is no comprehensive comparative study on the ideophones of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. This is the gap, which this comparative ideophonic study tries to fill.

1.5. General Objective of the study

The general objective of this research is to fill in gaps in the study of ideophones by describing and comparing the phonological, morphological, and syntactic features of ideophones across the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages: Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo respectively and to typologize ideophones of these languages.

1.6. Specific objectives

The specific objectives of the study are the following.

1. To describe the phonology, morphology and syntax of Amharic, Kafa and Oromo ideophones
2. To compare the phonology, morphology and syntax of Amharic, Kafa and Oromo ideophones
3. To identify issues contributing to the linguistic features similarities and differences in the ideophones of Amharic, Kafa and Oromo
4. To typologize Amharic, Kafa and Oromo ideophones

1.7. Research Questions

1. What are the main phonological, morphological and syntactic features of ideophones in Amharic, Kafa and Oromo?

2. What are the main phonological, morphological, and syntactic feature similarities and differences observed in Amharic, Kafa and Oromo ideophones?
3. What issues contribute to the linguistic features of similarities and difference in Amharic, Kafa and Oromo ideophones?
4. What typological variations are observed in Amharic, Kafa and Oromo ideophones?

1.8. The scope of the study

This dissertation is restricted to comparative study of ideophones in the three Afro-asiatic languages, Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo, it attempts to describe, analyze, compare and contrast their phonology, morphology and the syntax. It does not examine all grammatical issues of the entire Ethiopian Afro-asiatic languages.

1.9. Significance of the study

This study has significance for both the linguistic and the speech community. For the linguistic community, the study contributes to knowledge and understanding about the categories and properties of ideophones in Ethiopian Afro-asiatic languages. Moreover, it encourages other researchers to study the ideophones of other Ethiopian languages. Furthermore, it contributes to the speech community by creating awareness about ideophones of their languages and preserving ideophones as written document of their languages. From this study, the researcher improved his research experience when writing four (4) journal articles, which are parts of this dissertation, in different reputable journals. It also informs interested readers about the ideophones of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages around the world in these journals.

Chapter Two: Research Methodology

2.0. Introduction

This section presents approaches, techniques, and research methods used in this study. In this research, the qualitative research method is used. In addition to this, descriptive, and comparative approaches are used.

2.1. Research site

In this study, the research sites are selected based on the convenience sampling method. The three research sites of this study are selected for the following reasons. First, I know Jimma; I was born and grew up there, I speak the Jimma variety Oromo and I know most teachers who work in Jimma College of Teacher Education. In the same way, I know Bonga, I learned there and I worked in the Kafa zone for more than 18 years. In addition to this, I worked at Bonga College of Teacher Education for more than 12 years and I know Kafa. I know Debrebirehan and I have my family there. Moreover, I know some teachers who work at Debrebirehan College of Teacher Education and I speak the Shewa variety of Amharic. Second, since colleges are regional, teachers who work in these colleges come from different varieties of Oromo, Kafa, and Amharic-speaking communities. Students who join Colleges of Teacher Education also compete in their region and they come from different varieties of Oromo, Kafa, and Amharic-speaking communities. This makes the data collected from these research sites comprise a wide range of varieties of languages selected for the study.

Therefore, the data for the study is mainly collected from the natural settings of the languages under the study. Amharic ideophonic data is collected from Debrebirehan, Kafa ideophonic data is collected from Bonga, and Oromo ideophonic data is collected from Jimma. In addition to this, data is also collected from documents such as dictionaries, stories, riddles, and songs regardless of the places indicated above. I speak these three languages so introspective is used to some extent to check the correctness of the data collected.

2.2. Sampling method and sample size

The informants of this study are selected using a purposive sampling method. According to Etikan (2016:2), the purposive sampling method is used due to the quality that subjects possess. In addition to this, it also does not need underlying theories or a set number of participants. Moreover, it is usually used in qualitative research to find and choose information-rich sources. Furthermore, it helps to save time and get the needed data easily. Therefore, all key informants selected using the above method and involved in this study are native speakers of the languages under the study. Besides colleges are places that can help the researcher to meet informant who speak various dialects with in the respective languages. Most of these informants are teachers and students and they can easily watch movies, and retell or explain stories, events, situations, state of beings, and actions in the movies. They can listen and express different sounds produced by nature, human and inanimate things interact with nature and express them using ideophonic words. They also can see different pictures, shapes, sizes, and motions, colors, lights and express easily these using ideophonic words. The data of this study is collected in the following methods such as:

1. From Debrebirhan College of Teacher Education, I have selected all Amharic language teachers and English language teachers who speak Amharic as their mother tongue. All third-year and second-year Amharic language students of the college have been also selected.
2. From Bonga College of Teacher Education, I have selected all Kafa, Amharic, and English language teachers who speak Kafa as their mother tongue. All third-year and second-year Kafa department students have been selected.
3. From Jimma College of Teacher Education, all Afaan Oromo teachers and English language teachers whose mother tongue is Oromo are selected. In addition to this, all third-year and second-year Afaan Oromo department students have been selected.
4. In addition to this, five other native speakers of each of the three languages with a total number of 15 informants have been selected purposively based on their expressive skills. This number of informants is only to get a large amount of data.

The data are collected regardless of gender. Informants selected for this study are aged between 20-60 years. I have done this for the following reasons; first children below 20 are not asked to give data for such specialized studies because of their maturity level. Second, the age range between 20 and 60 helps to incorporate different age group informants as much as possible. Third, people beyond this age (60) may not be interested to take some training on the concept of ideophones and respond to different questions by watching different videos and listening to different sounds. After selecting the informants, I have given a short PowerPoint presentation on the concepts and nature of ideophone by providing enough examples in each language for both instructors and students separately. Immediately after the training, I have also presented different movies that depict several motions, events, states of being, sounds, shapes, colors, manners, light, and abundance of things, which help to elicit ideophonic data. I made them have some focus group discussions and fill formats with ideophonic data. Then, I asked some oral questions to elicit ideophonic data by creating different situations. Finally, I gave them formats to write on ideophonic words for several conditions listed clearly. In addition to this, extended speeches are recorded and are transcribed on different thematic areas that are designed to get much more ideophonic data. Ordinary daily conversations are recorded to gain more ideophonic data.

2.3. The data

The data of this research is collected through stimulus questions using different videos, pictures and object depictions, interviews, elicitation question with different thematic issues, recoding spontaneous speech, asking informants to tell some stories, I have collected the ideophonic data from recoded corpus data, songs (lyrics), and dictionaries. Tables and texts are used to present the data collected through various techniques and methods. Both phonetically and phonemically accurate transcriptions of the data are provided. To examine the morphological and syntactic structure of ideophones, a three-line glossing method (morphological segmentation, glossing, and free translation) are used. The phonology, morphology and syntax of the ideophones in Amharic, Kafa and Oromo are described, compared and contrasted. Then, the results of the findings are discussed. Finally, based on the findings of the study, summary and conclusions are forwarded.

Chapter Three: Review of related literature

3.0. Introduction

This part of the study presents both general previous studies on ideophones of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages and all available studies on the ideophones of three languages; Amharic, Kafa and Oromo. Moreover, general theoretical literatures on ideophones are also presented briefly to support the findings with theories.

3.1. Previous works on ideophones in Ethio-Semitic languages

Meyer (2019:15) identifies three ideophone types in Ethio-Semitic languages. These are lexical ideophones, constructed ideophone via reduplication of simple nouns and derivative ideophones from verb roots. As Meyer (2019:18) notes that all Ethio-Semitic languages have lexical ideophones as in Amharic **tʃʌtʃa-ta** ‘chattering’. In addition to this, except Ge’ez, Tigre and Dahaalic all Ethio-Semitic languages have constructed ideophone types, such as in Amharic **tʃəw~tʃəw al-ə** ‘taste salty’. Moreover, derived ideophones exist in Ethio-Semitic languages in Amharic, Argobba, Tigre, Tigrinya, Harare and Kistane but they lack in the rest languages, such as in Dahaalic, Silte, Wolane, Zay, Kistane, Muher, Inor and Chaha. According to Meyer (2019:21) derived ideophones also show template variation across languages in which they exist. Amharic, Argobba and Kistane display attenuative template pattern $C_1VC_2VC_3$ (C_3) and intensive template pattern $C_1VC_2C_2VC_3$. On the other hand, Tigrinya has attenuative template pattern $C_1VC_2VC_3$ and intensive template pattern $C_1VC_2C_2VC_3$. Unlike the above two, Tigre and Harari have only attenuative ideophones with template pattern $C_1VC_2VC_3$.

3.2. Amharic

There are many descriptive studies on Amharic language but with little attention to ideophones. Some works like Leslau (1995), Taddese (1980), and Baye (1999) describe the morphosyntactic properties of Amharic ideophones in terms of composite verbs and verbs to say. In their works, they note that the verb ‘say’ and verb ‘make’ often collocates with the invariable bound stem. Wetter (2002) shows how the Amharic verb *alə* ‘say’ losses its specific semantic meaning and

becomes a carrier of ideophones. As Wetter (2002) explains the Amharic verb *alə* 'say' loses its semantic meaning saying of a human being through the process of grammaticalization (metaphoric meaning expansion) to express inanimate saying, prepotency proprioceptive of objects and expressing any action and phenomenon. Wetter (2002:1834) notes that since it loses its regular semantic meaning ('ones the metaphorical abstraction starts') it carries ideophones as in its compound verb form ideophone plus *alə*. Wetter further states that the ideophone with pattern $C_1\bar{a}C_2C_2\bar{a}C_3C_3$ expresses attenuative and the ideophone with pattern with $C_1iC_2C_2iC_3C_3$ expresses intensity. He also suggests that in such a structure the vowels /ə/ and /i/ have connotations with attenuative and intensity respectively.

In addition to this, Wetter (2003) describes Amharic ideophones based on dictionaries and Leslau (1995) composite verb description (see Wetter 2003:257). He claims the existence of ideophones in Ethio-Semitic languages. In this work, he again notes that Amharic ideophones often collocate with auxiliary verbs /*alə*/ and /*adərrəgə*/, which mean 'he said' and 'he did' respectively. The auxiliary verbs in this type of construction have an auxiliary-like function of carrying only grammatical information like tense-aspect, person, and number. In addition, they form transitive and intransitive ideophonic verbs respectively. Wetter (2003:260) identifies three main patterns of ideophones in Amharic based on a sound symbolic scale of arbitrariness. These are (1) CV, e. g. *Ca* or *C^wa* like in *k'a*- 'snap' and *g^wa*- 'bang' which are exclusively imitative sound symbolic; (2) $C_1VC_2C_2$ pattern as in *k'əss*- 'slow' which is synesthetic sound symbolism; and (3) $C_1VC_2(C_2)VC_3C_3$ as in *fəf(f)ənn*- 'cover' is conventional sound symbolic. Mengistu (2010) also describes Amharic ideophones in the light of complex predicate construction. Mengistu (2010:303) notes that the non-inflecting coverb plus and light verbs *alə* 'say' and *adərrəgə* 'do/make' are the two elements of the light verb.

As Mengistu (2010:315) describes, coverb (ideophones) often collocates with the light verbs *alə* 'say' and *adərrəgə* 'do/make' in complex predicate construction. He also notes that in the language *alə* 'say' and *adərrəgə* 'do/make' are the two proactive light verbs that combine with their many first members (coverbs) to form complex predicates. Mengistu further shows that coverb plus *alə* 'say' is intransitive and coverb plus *adərrəgə* 'do/make' is a transitive form respectively. Similarly, Azeb (2010:162) notes that V_1+V_2 in complex predicate construction, V_1 is often ideophone and V_2 is a restricted word class that has translational equivalent meanings

with ‘say’ and ‘do/make’ is widely attested. She further notes that V₁ plus alə ‘say’ is intransitive and V₁ plus adərrəgə ‘do/make’ is a transitive verb form.

Zealelem (2011) describes onomatopoeic ideophones in Amharic and some selected Ethiopian languages. In his study, Zealelem discusses different theories of language origins and explains the contribution of the onomatopoeic theory for language origin. He compares some selected Ethiopian languages and other foreign languages like Chinese. In this work, Zealelem shows some cross-linguistic similarities which ideophones illustrate. He also claims the existence of two types of ideophones in Amharic. These are lexicalized ideophones that are contained in dictionaries and none lexicalized ideophones (treated in discourse) that appear as compounded verbs with auxiliary verbs; al- ‘say’ and adərrəg- ‘do’. Zealelem (2011) classifies Amharic onomatopoeic as ideophones imitated from sounds produced by man [+HUMAN], by animals [+ANIMATE], and by objects [-ANIMATE] and by the act of human beings on natural objects [+HUMAN] > [-ANIMATE] semantic feature. Shimelis (2014) touched the ideophones in Semitic languages (Amharic and Tigrinya) in relation with attenuative and intensive verbs.

According to Shimelis (2014:85), attenuative and intensive ideophones are composite of ideophone plus a verbal auxiliary. In these languages the auxiliary verb undergoes inflection and the ideophone remain unchanged. He explains the difference between the two forms of verbs in relation to some phonological properties of ideophones. First, a vowel in intensive verb is /i/. Second, the vowel in attenuative verb is /ə/. The ideophone in intensive verb geminates consonants but the attenuative verbs do not. In addition to this, he claims that in Amharic, Tigrinya and Oromo the simple compound verb can be formed by the formula ideophone plus verb. He also concludes that these languages have composite verbs of general form ideophone plus auxiliary (‘say’ and ‘do’).

As Meyer (2019:15) states the presence of three ideophone types in Ethio-Semitic languages namely lexical ideophones, constructed ideophones via reduplication of simple nouns, and derivative ideophones from verb roots. Meyer (2019:9) suggests that Amharic ideophones do not show phonological variation from regular phonology. Baye (2021) also notes that in Amharic, a physical movement of a figure from source to goal is expressed through ideophone-based compound verbs. According to Baye (2021:175), the first member in the compound manner

ideophone ends with a geminate segment as in k'əss '(be) slow' and zəgg '(be) patient' and this is a general characteristic of such forms in Amharic. As noted above, ideophonic verbs contain the ideophone bound stem as their first member and the auxiliaries alə 'say' and adərrəgə 'do/make' as the second member of the ideophonic compound verbs. Besides, ideophones can also comprise bare nonverbal ideophones (ideophones without auxiliaries). This ideophone can be derived from onomatopoeic nominal ideophone like fʷafʷate 'waterfall' as in (Zelealem 2011).

3.3. The Omotic Languages

Azeb (2001) distinguishes two different groups of ideophones in Wolaitta based on their phonological shape and syntactic function. Azeb (2001:50) states that in this language, ideophones undergo both total and partial reduplication. Total reduplication involves base forms, which have the segmental structure of CVCC or CVVC. Azeb (2001:51), states that group I ideophones take all nominal and adverbial inflections. She also notes that Wolaitta these ideophones share morphological characteristics and syntactic functions with adjectives with slight phonological and semantic differences. According to Azeb (2001:59), group II ideophones in Wolaitta express manner, duration and intention. She identifies some similarities between type II ideophones and verbs but there are some fundamental differences which group II ideophones and the prosaic verbs show. These are in the converb plus main verb structure, the main verb carries message but when group II ideophones combine with auxiliaries, ideophones carry the main message

Hellenthal (2010) also identifies two groups of ideophones in Sheko: the intensifying ideophones and the predicative ideophones. According to Hellenthal (2010:83), Sheko ideophones are generally disyllabic or trisyllabic words. They involve partial and complete reduplication. Ideophones in Sheko contain a lot of geminated consonants (Hellenthal 2010:237). A consonant lengthening in Sheko ideophones is used to add intensity of actions. The tone of ideophones in this language is unknown in most cases.

Moreover, Hellenthal (2010:240) identifies that in Sheko, intensifying ideophones have strong collocation with adjectives or verbs. Syntactically, ideophone that modify adjectives usually precede adjectives and those that modify verbs precede verbs. She further claims that in this

language predicative ideophones occur with gé ‘to say’, semantically the predicative ideophones denote manner, and it is the ideophone but not the verb that carries the meaning of the predicate.

Lydall (2000) is another study on Omotic languages. In this article she states that in 1974 she wrote the Grammar sketch of Hamar for Bender’s (1976b) book entitled “Non-Semitic languages of Ethiopia.” Lydall (2000:1) notes that she has already described the ideophones under the title of “Expressive words and compound descriptive verbs”. She discloses that she was not aware of the name given to this class of words by Doke (1935). Lydall (2000:3) states that Hamar ideophones can be linguistically categorized as words which are never qualified by suffixes and can always be compounded with the verb ama ‘say, intend, declare’ or with the verb aya ‘do, perform, accomplish’ to produce descriptive verbal expressions. According Lydall (2000:4), in Hamar the expressive processes are used to produce a wide range of variant ideophones and she identifies the following process under the phone-semantic features of ideophones in the language.

- a. Stem or syllable reduplication for repeated action or intensity
- b. Vowel or consonant lengthening for extension
- c. Variation in stress and/or intonation, tempo and/or volume

Lydall (2000:18) claims that in Hamar ideophones form a distinctive class of words that are mainly used as summary <sensory> words evoking sound/motion images. Some are also used as intensifiers, vocatives or attitude markers. Moreover, onomatopoeic ideophones connect similarities between speech and other sensations. These ideophones often go with mimetic movements, hand gestures, and/or facial expressions. In this language, ideophones are used in all types of discourse but especially in narrative forms such as oral history, myths, funny stories, and accounts of journeys, adventures, hunts or raids.

3.4. Kafa

We have seen almost all ideophonic studies found in Omotic languages in the above section. We have also realized that there is no any work on the ideophones of Kafa. However, ideophones of the language may share by default some linguistic properties of the above Omotic languages since they are genetically related. Nevertheless, to examine the general linguistic properties of the

language, I present all available studies on the language. These studies comprise descriptive studies on the phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and some sociolinguistic studies like code switching and linguistic variation.

Fleming (1976) and Cerulli (1951) are studies on the dialectal variations among Manjo-A Manjo-B Manjo-C groups. Cerulli's comparative dialectal study of Manjo was done on the Manjos of two clans that lived in different places. These were 'Bedo' (Manjo A) who lived between Anderacha and Sherada towards 'Mera' in Chara district, and the same clan 'Bedo' (Manjo B), who lived in Anderacha, and another clan 'Oddo' (Manjo C) who lived in Gawata district. Finally, his findings showed there was lexical variation between these Manjo Groups.

Later, Fleming added one Manjo group to the three of Cerulli's Manjo clans, which he considered that they speak the Kafa dialect. He called this group the Manjo of the Gojeb tribes. They are very close geographically to Manjo A. After making his comparative analysis, he found out that Cerulli's finding was unchanged except for the glottalization mark, where tʃ' is substituted for tʃ. He finally concluded that the Gojeb Manjo only phonetically differs from the ordinary Kafa. Fleming reported this in Bender (1976:357), as follows: "Items are arranged semantically for comparability. Only enough Manjo of the Gojeb material is given to match other Manjo because the Gojeb data is only phonetically different from the ordinary Kafa". No attempt was made to present etymologies, except for a few cases where some explanation is necessary.

According to Bender (1976b:361), Fleming finalizes his explanation on the internal dialectal variations among the Manjos and indirectly on the Gomeros as follows: "it is the Manjo of Gojeb which is simply Kafa, albeit with implosive /B, D, G/ in place of /p'/t'/, and /k'/". Teferi (2012:97) disproved some of these conclusions on Manjo and the Gomero, which were referred to as Kafa in Fleming's conclusion, and came up with new results. The problems identified by Fleming (1976) are two. First, Gomero, the dialect proposed by Fleming (1976) is not real Gomero dialect. Teferi (2012) in the current study. Second, finding that Fleming reported as the Manjo dialect replaces implosive sounds b, d, g for the Gomero plosive sounds /p'/, /t'/ and /k'/ seems not acceptable. It has been identified in the current study that the Manjos replace the Gomero /t'/, with [d] or /k'/ and the Gomero /g/ with /k'/ or /g/ or the Manjos use all the Gomero variants as the Gomero ethnic groups use them.

Bender (2000) compares the phonology and morphology of other Gonga languages. In this work, he summarizes all available studies found on Kafa and compares them with his own data. Finally, he concludes on the phonological and morphological status the language. Bender claims that the language has five short vowel (i, e, a, o, u) with their counter long vowels (ii, ee, aa, oo, uu). Bender also notes that (/ta/, /ne/ and /bi/) and (/no/, /iito/, /boono/) are singular and plural pronouns consecutively in Kafa.

Theil (2007) studied the phonology Kafa and presented two phonological analyses on the languages, which he calls Kafa I a contemporary phonology of Kafa and Kafa II is the historical stage preceding when Amharic loan words started to enter? the Kafa in large quantities. The phonology of Kafa at historical stages imported many Amharic loan words. Because of this, the phonology of Kafa is highly influenced by these Amharic loan words. In his phonological analysis he identifies that the language to has only 18 consonant pure phonemes. These are /**p, b, t, d, k, g, ʔ, h, m, n, ʃ, l, w, j, p', t', tʃ', k'**/. According to him consonant phoneme (**p, s, s', l** and **z**) are latter developments via contact mainly from Amharic. He also claims that the trill phoneme /**r**/ is the allophone of the lateral consonant sound /**l**/. Unlike consonants phonemes, there is no ambiguity on number and quality of vowel phonemes across all studies on Omotic languages. Thus, all agree that Omotic languages have five short vowels and the counter long vowels such as (/i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/, /ii/, /ee/, /aa/, /oo/ and /uu/). Theil's (2007:206) analysis confirms the same number of vowels in Kafa.

Concerning Tone of the language, Theil (2007:179) summarizes the following points: Kafa was considered as accentual language by scholars like Reinisch (1888:87-88) and Cerulli (1951:50-52). However, later (Fleming 1974 , Ashenafi et.al 1994 and Taddese 2001) identified that Kafa is a tone language. Theil (2017) also states that Fleming (1974) is the first scholar who identified the tones of the language without showing any tone analysis. Ashenafi and Wedikend did the first tone analysis and claimed that the language has low (\grave{v}), high (\acute{v}) and a phonemic glide (\hat{v}). Later Taddese did a detailed tonal analysis and reported that Kafa has two distinctive level tones: High and Low.

Tilahun (2009) studied the morphology of Kafa. He tried to present the inflectional and derivational morphology of the language. However, in his work the vowel lengthening and consonantal geminations in the language are not well treated though out his work.

In his description of Kafa syntax, Taye (2012) notes that “arguments in S/A function bear no marking but consist of the bare stem; the nominative owes its status as a nominative to the existence of marked cases” In the language. He notes in the language simple nouns in object function are optionally marked. They can either be marked by -n or by vowel lengthening plus (-n) as mít'ó-(n) ‘the wood’ or gèppòó-(n) ‘the hill’. Moreover, he suggests that reduplication in Kafa is rare except for the irregular plural formations of a few words.

Teshome (2015) studied the clausal structure in Kafa. He identifies that the simple active clause structure in this language, determiner phrase is only found at the subject position and the verb head at the predicate position but both determiner phrase and verb phrase can add more constituents. According to him, in this language complex clause may have a relative clause at subject position. He also claims that Kafa has two heads that can be projected as noun phrase, determiner phrase, inflectional phrase and complementizer phrases. These heads are lexical and functional heads. He further claims that in this language the noun phrase has a restricted order or specific complement head. In addition, Kafa phrasal verbs heads differ in their constituent selection. Moreover, in the language a causative verb in a simple clause is marked by /-i/which appears next to the root verb and /-é/ is attached next to the same vowel to mark passive clause. /-é/ is suffixed at the final position of the verb yes/ no questions. Furthermore, in the language /-át/, -án/, /-álla /and /-ah/ are attached to a simple clause to mark negation.

Kifle (2013) described and documented the noun morphology of Kafa. He asserts that nouns in Kafa inflect for number, gender and case. He argues that animate nouns express gender by differentiating between masculine and feminine forms. While /-o ~ -oo/ signifies masculine, /-e ~ -ee /and /-i/ indicate feminine. The feminine marker also co marks the diminutive and the masculine marking vowels mark augmentative when they are attached to in animate nouns. He also identifies that Kafa is a head final language in its noun phrase construction but this order can be reversed where there is emphasis on the head noun. Dawit (2004) studied the process of code switching and code shifting between Kafa and Amharic. In this work, he identifies the inter-

sentential and intra-sentential code switching among the young generation in Bonga town. He notes that youngsters who speak both languages frequently code switch. In this process, many Amharic and Kafa words are used when they speak both languages. As the preceding review shows, there is no work on ideophones¹ of the language.

According to Teshome (2015), Kafa has the following four aspects. These are in the language perfect is marked by /-t/, imperfect marked by /-h/, imperfective marked by /-émm/ and progressive which marked by /-àbèèt/. Moreover, this language has copula /-ne/ which is auxiliary like. According to Girma (2010), in Kafa there are distinct pronoun forms for subject, object, possessive and reflexive functions and the subject pronouns are used as possessive adjective. In his study the personal pronouns, nominal and how nouns are marked for case is presented. Girma (2010:76) concludes that in this language, the noun phrase (NP) consists of either bare noun, headless noun or a noun and one or more modifiers. In the case when a noun phrase consists of a modifier the head noun occupies the final position but this can be reversed when the emphasis is both initial and medial positions are possible.

3.5. The Cushitic Languages

There are some partial (parts in dissertation) and independent studies on the ideophones of Cushitic languages. Among these Tosco (2006) article on Gawwada and Girum's (2013) MA thesis on Sidaama ideophones, Desalegn (2020) dissertation on Kambata ideophones and Amina (2013), MA thesis on Oromo ideophones are also very important studies on the ideophones of Cushitic. Tosco (2006) is an article on phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics of Gawwada. He claims that phonologically Gawwada ideophones use the same phones that other normal words in the language use but ideophones vary from those in their phonotactic. Gawwada nouns always end with vowels but ideophones end with consonants. In Gawwada the formula, CV (V) C that specifies can define all syllable types; CV, CVV, CVC and CVVC but ideophones violate this formula. Gawwada ideophones morphologically involve both total and partial reduplications and mostly bi-syllabic ideophones involve total or complete reduplication. In

¹ Since Kafi Noonoo is one of the Omotic languages, ideophones of the language may share some features described in the studies other Omotic language ideophones such as Wolaitta, Sheko and Hamar.

addition, Gawwada ideophones involve complete vowel harmony. Syntactically, Gawwada ideophones exist in association with imperatives either with singular or with plural of the verb páy ‘to say’. Tosco (2006:886) claims that the semantic feature of Gawwada ideophones and Cushitic the whole satisfies Dokes definition of ideophones. He claims that Gawwada ideophones are definitely nominal rather than verbal. However, it is obvious that ideophones do not conform to a single universal criterion or lists of criteria, and that in general. Tosco (2006:887) notes that the most important feature that distinguishes Cushitic ideophones from their counterpart in the other languages families is the fact that in Cushitic languages ideophones are nominal in character.

Girum (2013) is a research on the phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics of Sidaama ideophones. He lists the following seven Sidaama ideophone phonological characteristics:

1. Nasalization of ideophones (ideophones are expressed by nasalized vowels.)
2. They end in terminal vowel /i/ that is less common in other word classes.
3. They lack glottal stop plus sonorant cluster such as /ʔn/ and /ʔl/ and, sonorant-sonorant sequence which is common in other word categories.
4. The sonorant-obstruent cluster, ideophones are not productive.
5. They are characterized by extra-long syllables but this does not occur in other words.
6. They employ vowel harmony unique to them.
7. In ideophones, metathesis is frequent, but not in other word classes.

Girum also asserts that Sidaama ideophones are used to derive nouns, adjectives and verbs by addition of suffixes.

1. Ideophone + nominalizer suffix (-o, -naate, -ʃʃa -ttʃaa,-sa and -essa) produce nouns.
2. Ideophone + adjectivalizing suffixes (-ttʃa, -tte, -ʃa, -uk’a,-ima and -aga) produce adjective.
3. Ideophone + verbalizing suffixes (-fata, -sa, -ak’a, -ʃʃa, -a, and -na) produce verbs.

Ideophones in Sidaama are also derived by adding the suffixes -kki or -mmi to other ideophonic bases.

According to Girum (2013), compounding is one of the main morphological processes that ideophones involve. Syntactically, the transitive ideophones occur with **j**-‘say’, and with the auxiliary verb **ʔass**-‘do’. They simply serve bearing of derivational and inflectional information such as aspects that ideophones characteristically cannot carry. In Sidaama ideophones, the verbal inflections such as person, number, gender and aspect are attached to auxiliary verbs. Finally, he claims that Sidaama ideophone resemble converbs.

Girum (2013) argues that Sidaama ideophones have a non-arbitrary correlation between sound and meaning that is supported by expressive prosody, onomatopoeia, and expressive reduplication. He also claims that in this language semantically there are two major classes of ideophones. These are perceptual ideophone related to aural and sight ideophones and tactile ideophones that are related touch.

According to Desalegn (2020), Kambata ideophones use a similar phonological process when communicating in prosaic language. Kambata ideophones do not exhibit new phonemes or sounds in the inventories. All the five /i, e, a, u, o/ vowels in the regular phonology of the languages are distributed word initial, medial and final positions. Almost all consonants of the language appear in word initial, medial and final positions. In ideophones of the language, gemination, accent and vowel lengthening are the most prominent phonological phenomenon. In Kambata ideophones when sonorants combine with the glottal stop /ʔ/, the sonorants often geminate and form the [CC₁C₁] consonant clusters.

As Desalegn (2020) notes Kambata constitute monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and multisyllabic ideophones. He also claims that morphological processes such as derivation, compounding and reduplication can be applied to ideophones to derive other word classes such as nouns and adjectives. Suffixes, such as *-imata*, *-itta* and *-éema* derive nouns from ideophones and the suffix *-eema* derives adjective from ideophones. Syntactically, ideophones construct phrase, clauses and sentences. In addition, ideophones are found in all sentences types in Kambata. Semantically, Kambata ideophones entail synonymous, antonymous, homonymous, and polysemy sense relation. Desalegn also classifies Kambata ideophones under perceptual semantic domains, such as tactile, mouth feeling and auditory ideophones. Furthermore, he also notes that

ideophones of the language constitute onomatopoeic, synesthetic and conventional sound symbolism.

3.6. Oromo

There are many studies on Oromo language but only a few ideophonic studies are available. Amina (2013) is a study on the ideophones of Oromo. It is the only complete work on the phonology, morphology syntax, semantics and sound symbolism of ideophones of the language. According to Amina (2013:13), Oromo ideophones contain imitative and synesthetic sound symbolisms. She also claims that Oromo has onomatopoeic ideophones. These ideophones show semantic differences when they appear as simple and reduplicated forms.

According to Amina (2013) the simple ideophone **bač'** 'sound of water when something is dropped into it' will have different meaning when it is reduplicated as **bač'bač'** 'of hitting water by our palm.' As Amina (2013) notes that vowel lengthening and consonant gemination are prominent phonological features of Oromo ideophones. *ɟaaaa...* 'rushing sound of water falls' and *hamm* 'eat, wolf (food)' are examples of vowel lengthening and consonant gemination in the ideophones of the language. She also notes that Oromo ideophones involve derivational but not inflectional morphology. In addition to this, Oromo ideophones employ complete and partial reduplication.

Amina (2013) identifies monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and multisyllabic ideophonic words that the language possesses. According to Amina (2013) lexically Oromo ideophones form intransitive and transitive compound verbs in combination with auxiliaries **dʒed-** 'say' **god-** 'did', respectively. The lexical meaning is on ideophones and in this construction, auxiliary verbs carry elements that communicate grammatical information. She further explains that the ideophones of Oromo express intensity, feeling, and events or actions. According to Amina (2013), ideophones of the language express non-arbitrary association between sound and meaning.

According to Tolemariam (2009), in Oromo ideophones can be verbalized by the addition of the causative morpheme –is and this types of verbs are intransitive. For instance, verbs like, *t'all-is-* 'to struggle to survive' and *k'att'-is-* 'to walk cautiously and slowly' are intransitive verbs derived from ideophones. Besides, Tolemariam states that in the language ideophones can be used as a verb by compounding them with the auxiliary verb **dzed-** 'to say'.

Teferi (2019) a dissertation on the grammar of Raya Oromo also described ideophones of the language to some extent. He claims that in this variety of the language, ideophone precede the auxiliaries such as **-dzed** and **-gode** to form compound verbs like **gib gode** 'hit, kill' and **guf dzed** 'sit'. He further describes that in the compound verbs auxiliaries carry the grammatical aspects. According to him, **ideophone plus dzed** verbs are intransitive whereas **ideophone plus gode** verbs are transitive.

3.7. Theoretical issues in ideophones

There are several reasons why ideophones are systematically ignored in most descriptive grammatical studies. Childs (1994:179) suggests some of the reasons these are: they are difficult to analyze, variable across languages, challenging the researchers to elicit, difficult to interpret from the context they appear, and they have little morphosyntactic properties. In addition, the unique pragmatic and aesthetic properties of ideophones that challenges researches contribute for the ideophone to be disregarded from earlier descriptive studies.

In line with Childs, Smoll (2014:15) suggests some causes for marginalizing ideophones from descriptive linguistic studies. These are ideophones do not generally make significant parts of the lexicon in well-attested Indo-European languages. He also points out the absence of a clear, cross-linguistic definition for the term "ideophone." Moreover, the nature of ideophones in terms of form, syntax, semantic and use are quite variable across languages. However, the above factors influenced for longer time, these days there are several works on ideophones of African languages.

As Childs (1994:180) notes that ideophones constitute a very large number of lexicon in a language. In addition to this, they are parts of human language and have high expressive functions. Therefore, the significance of ideophonic studies in human language is unquestionable.

3.7.1. Definitions

Prior to 1935, various academics made multiple attempts to define ideophonic word classes. Voeltz and Kilian-Hatz (2001:1) state that the terms employed to refer to ideophones were descriptive adverb, descriptive complement, uninflected verb, onomatopoeic vocabulary, adverb, and substantive.

However, in 1935 Doke gives the first widely accepted definition for these grammatical word groups. In his study on Bantu languages, Doke tried to systematize and prescribe the grammatical terminology for those complex and hard words densely found in this language. He also proposed the term ideophones to represent this grammatical category. Finally, Doke (1935:118), defines the term ideophone as “A vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, color, sound, smell, action, state, or intensity.” (Samarin 1971 and Dixon 2010) also share this semantic definition of the term.

However, Ameka (2001) notes that researches on ideophones were affected by problems of finding a cross-linguistically valid definition for the term ‘ideophone’ and its development has been hindered by stressing the peripheral and the irregular nature of ideophones. Dingemanse (2012) later made comments regarding Doke's definition, pointing out that it was limited to the Bantu languages and lack universality. He has also tried to define the term as marked words that depict sensory imagery Dingemanse (2012:655). According to this definition, ideophones have three crucial characteristics: organizational, semiotic and semantic. Dingemanse (2012), states that ideophones are “noted for their special forms, distinct grammatical behavior, rich sensory meanings, and interactional uses related to experience and evidentially”. He believes that his definition is general by design, capturing the essential cross-linguistic features of ideophones, which gives place for details and difference to be indicated out for individual languages. Doke's (1935) concept of ideophone is extensively utilized, as evidenced in previously published studies on the subject. However, the idea of ideophones the sensory imagery is now frequently applied in works that follow Dingemanse's (2012) definition.

3.7.2. Working definition of Ideophones

The distinctive phonological and semantic characteristics of ideophones were emphasized in the previous definitions. Ideophones are seen as components of broader typological patterns in the more inclusive modern definitions.

In a more concise way, the ideophones of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages can be defined as open-word class types that add new ideophones to existing lists; these are specially marked words that evoke sensory experiences. In The Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages, ideophones are characterized by their distinctive phonology: they exhibit click-like sounds that do not exist in the regular phonology; they have different suprasegmentals (consonant and vowel lengthening, unique tone patterns, and unique syllable structures).

Morphologically, in most cases, they are invariable bound stems. These special word classes enter into noun and verb word classes via derivation and compounding. Once they enter the ideophonic noun word classes, they employ all morphological processes, such as inflectional morphology. Syntactically, ideophones fairly integrate into the grammatical structures of the languages: functioning as subject, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs.

3.7.3. Classifications of ideophones

Ideophones can be classified based on their linguistic features. These are phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic features. Phonologically, ideophones show peculiar phonology that separates them from the rest words of languages. However, in some languages, including Nigerian languages such as Yoruba and Edo Moses (2015:171, and Kambata Desalegn (2020), ideophones only employ the phonemes of the regular phonological inventory of the language.

Some languages, such as Basque, employ additional unique phonemes and/or sounds that are missing from standard phonology (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2017:4). In addition, ideophones can be also classified based on their morphological features. As Childs (1994) notes ideophones have little morphology. Nevertheless, in many languages, such as Balto-Fennic (Voeltz and Kilian-

Hatz 2001), Wolaitta (Azeb 2010), Oromo (Amina 2013) and Kambata (Desalegn 2020) ideophones undergo complex morphological process.

Furthermore, ideophones across languages can be categorized according to the syntactic patterns they exhibit. However, it is difficult to put ideophones under one grammatical category because of their nature. Ideophones do not form a major grammatical class in a language. Newman (1968:108) notes that cross linguistically ideophones form subclass of the main grammatical categories. As Ameka (2001:26) notes, ideophones are a phonosemantic class of words with expressive and imaginistic semantics. These groups of words are first and foremost special word classes that do not want to restrict themselves under one grammatical word classes rather they are like deictic words with a particular semantic function.

According to the semantic function they provide, they fall into different grammatical word class. For this reason, ideophones in languages can be ideophonic nouns, ideophonic verbs, ideophonic adjectives and ideophonic adverbs among other forms. The literature shows that in some languages, ideophones do not integrate with the grammar of the languages such as Dagaare and Cantonese (Bodomo 2006). On the contrary, in some languages ideophones fit well to the grammar of the prosaic language, such as in Kambata (Desalegn 2020). Furthermore, ideophones can also be classified based on semantic criteria. This classification type comprises perceptual ideophones and verbal ideophones. Perceptual ideophones can also be classified in two main classes. These are aural ideophones that are related to hearing and sight ideophones. The aural ideophones are onomatopoeic representations of natural sounds. Whereas, sight ideophones express different manners related to light, color and appearance of things. Moreover, verbal ideophones express the verbal meanings and manner, motion, directions, and intensity of events expressed. Touch (tactile), emotion, taste and smell ideophones can take other categories of ideophones (see Childs 1994).

3.7.4. The phonology of ideophones

According to Dixon (2012) “ideophones may have rather different phonology from the rest of the lexicon; but they have regular function and certainly each is a grammatical word.” Bodomo (2006:204) states that ideophones are phonologically distinct groupings from other words in the language. Ideophones employ similar phonological lists as other words but they have unique

phonological properties. This property of ideophones also brings the markedness of these word groups in the way that they diverge from other words in a language. In addition, Franck (2014:15) states that ideophones contain phonemes which do not exist in the regular phonology of a language. The phonemes do, however, occur in human languages. Because of the syntactic or depictive use, or due to the nature of ideophones themselves, some aspects of tone or length that is normal in a particular language might be changed. The above phonological features seem very common properties that the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages depict. Hellenthal (2010:237), states that ideophones are marked from others by special phonotactics and morphological structure. Mpahnde (2017:118) claims that the phonology of ideophones can be characterized based on the study of tone, vowel nasality, vowel length, consonantal contrast and other recurrent phonological features. These have been identified in African languages, mainly in Bantu languages. According to him, the above-mentioned phonological features of ideophones maximize the capacity to suggest the perceptual qualities of events and objects with a vivid clarity and expressiveness. Furthermore, ideophones can serve as intensifiers when they are duplicated, triplicated, or even quadruplicated.

3.7.5. The morphology of ideophones

Many literatures on the morphology of ideophones describe ideophones use a very little morphological inflection or they totally do not employ morphological inflections that are very common in other word class in languages. Dingemanse (2012) notes that cross-linguistically ideophones tend not employ inflectional morphology. In the same way Bodomo (2006:204), states that the morphology of the ideophones usually shows more iconicity and sound-symbolism than other words in the language. In many African languages, ideophones resemble to be longer words to describe repetition or the intensity of an action or event they lexicalize. A striking feature that separates ideophones from many other words is they do not almost employ affixation in the morphology. At the same time Childs (1994:185-187) note that ideophones deploy little morphological processes. He further identifies some common features in the morphology of ideophones such as they employ reduplication, they also deploy some derivational process and this is manifested from the strong relationship between ideophones and verbs. Although it is sometimes challenging to identify the direction of the derivation, a new form of ideophones from verbs is a commonly attested direction.

According to the literature, the morphological process that ideophones deploy in many languages is compounding and reduplication. These theoretical issues can be confirmed from the findings of some ideophonic studies in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. For instance, Tosco (2006:891) states that Gawwada ideophones usually involve complete or partial reduplications. As to him, ideophones are original, invariable and cannot function as basis for derivation. In quality of vowel lengthening, they involve total vowel harmony and this is typical feature of the disyllabic ideophones.

Ameka (2001:26) suggests that several properties written in general about ideophones differ according to the typological nature of the languages in the ideophones exist. For example, the little morphological inflection property of ideophone will not be thought for isolating languages and vice versa. Even in some inflectional languages like Wolaitta, ideophones use morphological inflections.

Azeb (2001) notes that Wolaitta group I ideophones share all nominal and verbal inflection that adjectives in the language take. The common morphological process in ideophones is reduplications. This reduplication can be full reduplication or partial reduplication. As Azeb indicates Wolaitta group I ideophones depicted both partial and full reduplications. Hellenthal (2010:238) also states that morphologically ideophone in Sheko exhibit several patterns of reduplication and those, which involve complete reduplication, drop an [a]. Generally, she classifies Sheko ideophones in to two. These are predicative and intensifying ideophones. In general, we understand from literatures on the morphology of ideophones two productive morphological processes. These are reduplication (partial and total) and compounding. These morphological processes seem common features in the ideophones of African languages. Other generalizations on the morphology of ideophones stated above can be variable cross linguistically.

3.7.6. The syntax of ideophones

According to Dixon (2010a:34 and 2010b:35), syntax is a discipline concerned with the organization and interrelation of grammatical elements. As literatures indicate, ideophones seem to show distinctive syntactic properties cross linguistically. Childs (1994:186-188) notes the following syntactic features of ideophones such as they are often introduced by auxiliary verbs

which have the meanings of “do,” “say,” “quote,” or “think.” In addition, it is difficult (impossible) to define ideophones under single word class according their syntactic feature. This is due to their affiliation in languages they exist variously under different word classes. Moreover, ideophones have a very restricted collocation with verbs or adjectives. In a language, ideophones either occur with one of these word classes or with both. He concludes that the syntax of ideophone is variable cross-linguistically. This fact makes the syntax of ideophones language specific.

In the same way Smoll (2014) states that the syntax of ideophones are not uniform cross-linguistically. Cross-linguistically, they occur with in different clauses and in both affirmative and negative sentences. Bodomo (2006) also describes that ideophones cannot normally be syntactically modified whereas like that of other words in the language. They usually do not enter into phrase structure constructions with other words like adjectives to form compound words and phrases. At the same time Franck (2014), note that the syntactic properties of ideophones do not fit well in to the grammar of other word classes in the language. Several languages present ideophones in sentences with a verb or particles of direct quotation. de Jong (2001) states that in Didinga ideophones can be grouped into two categories based on their syntax functions. Certain ideophones carry a full semantic load and use a form of the verb ‘to say’ as an auxiliary. Whereas other ideophones succeeding the main verb often follow the adverb, ‘just’. The syntactic properties of ideophones in some Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages are presented as follows:

Tolemariam (2009:20) states that in Oromo for instance, ideophones can be used as verbs by compounding them into the verb ‘to say’. Hellenthal (2010:237) notes that ideophones may have a dissimilar syntactic status among different languages. However the “evoking sensory perceptions” or feelings in a more direct expressive way than a paraphrase would have been the common feature of ideophones. She also claims that ideophones in Sheko (Omoti) syntactically occur with the verb gé ‘say’ or have a strong collocation with adjectives or with verbs. Moreover, in Sheko, syntactically, an ideophone modifying an adjective occurs preceding the adjective.

Azeb (2001:53), states that in Wolaitta ‘group II’ ideophones obligatorily appear with the verb g- ‘say’ for intransitive. On the other hand, for the transitive they conjugate with another auxiliary

verb ጐoott- ‘do’. Tosco (2006:891) mentions that syntactically in Gawwada ideophones collocation is restricted to the role of direct object of the verb *-páy* ‘to say’ and its causative ‘páás’ ‘to make say’. According to the above literature, the syntax of ideophones seems to show distinctive syntactic properties. In addition to this, ideophones seem to be the major features of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages with the typical occurrence of complex ideophonic fashion which involves a word with geminate consonant and verb “to say” or verb “to do” as in Amharic and other languages of Ethiopia.

3.7.7. The semantics of ideophones

Samarin (2007:118) states that ideophone are semantically like qualificative in other languages they cover sound, colour, smell, manner, appearance, state, motion, texture, and intensity. At the same time he notes that in Bantu languages ideophones semantically express appearance, arrangement, emotion, measure, motion, odor, quality, shape, sound, state, taste, temperature, time, touch and weight. Childs (1994), notes some semantics features of ideophones such as based on their sense appealing nature and the non-arbitrary scale correlation between sound and meaning. Ideophones usually demand to the sense and have specific denotation. They evoke either concrete meaning or image about the referents enabling the listener to perceive through sense. On the other hand, ideophone can also be classified in different class based on their reliance on the sound and meaning linkage. Based on this sound symbolism (iconicity) property of ideophone he classifies them in the following three subtypes, such as onomatopoeia, synesthesia, and conventional (or language-specific) sound symbolism. Dingemanse (2012:660-663) also note that the sensory imagery described by ideophones covers a broad range of perceptions, sensations, and inner feelings. He further notes that ideophone system go beyond simple onomatopoeic nature. They depict movements often combined with sound. In addition, ideophone system covers a wider range of sensory imagery such as visual patterns, shapes, textures, taste, inner feelings and others.² In earlier studies, especially Doke's (1935:118) definition of the term shows this semantic feature of ideophones. As he states they are often onomatopoeic words that vividly represent ideas in sound.

² Dingemanse (2012) arranges the implicational hierarchy as SOUND < MOVEMENT < VISUAL PATTERNS < OTHER SENSORY PERCEPTIONS < INNER FEELINGS AND COGNITIVE STATES.

In line with the above explanations, Tosco (2006:890) note that Gawwada ideophones cover a narrow range of meaning like that most other African languages especially Bantu. He notes that the commonest semantic field that Gawwada ideophones cover is sounds, noises, actions and movements the latter generally of a sudden, unexpected or swift kind. Following Childs (1994), Girum (2013) identifies that in Sidaama most ideophones significantly encompass non-arbitrary sound-meaning correlation. According to him, onomatopoeia and synesthesia are the dominant subtype ideophones in the language.

3.7.9. Sound symbolism

Linguistics and psychology are special fields of studies that confirm the significance of sound-symbolism to the study of both language and mind. According to Nuckolls (1999), typologically prevalent form of sound symbolism happens as a kind of lexical class known as the ideophone. Samarin (2007:119) states that sound symbolism refer to the correlation between certain meanings and certain phonemes. Dixon (2010b), also describes sound symbolism as follows: ‘iconicity or sound symbolism typically found in demonstratives which distinguish degrees of distance. As a first approximation, the ‘near’ term is more likely than ‘non-near’ terms to involve a front high vowel and/or laminal or dental consonant(s).’ He justifies his explanations by using demonstratives in some languages such as *this* and *that* in English, *-ci* and *-là* in French, *yīnu* and *ηunu* in yidiñ, *nīh* and *nūh* in Khmer, *ii* and *aa* in Telugu.

Dingemanse et al. (2016:118), state that ideophones have the nature of iconic words and prosody, which play a significant role in appealing and supporting the interpretations of sound-symbolism. According to Dingemanse et al. (2016:119) words have several layers of meaning and are interpreted in context and this depicts that forms and uses of sound symbolism in natural languages.

The controversial properties of sound symbolism among different disciplines is stated by Nuckolls (1999:227), notes that sound symbolism is a highly controversial subject which continues to provoke empirical study among linguists, anthropologists and philosophers. The challenging nature of sound symbolism arises from its conflict with structural linguistic axiom that sounds do their own work via contrastive relation with other sounds rather than through their inherent sound potentials. According to Nuckolls (1999:228-230), the term sound symbolism is

used when sound units such as phoneme, syllable, feature or tone go beyond their linguistic use as a contrastive, non-meaning bearing unit, to directly express certain meaning. In addition, an ideal sound symbolism should identify lexical and iconic relations. Whereas, all types sound symbolism should necessarily involve conventional symbolic correlations. According to Hinton et al. (1994), sound symbolism is the direct connection between sound and the meaning. They classify the overall concept of sound symbolism based on the direct relationship between sounds and meaning in to four classes.

The first type is the **corporeal sound symbolism**. It is the use of certain sounds or intonation patterns to express the internal state of the speaker, emotional or physical. This class of sound symbolism contains ‘symptomatic sounds’ like **hiccup** and **coughing**. Sounds in this category are simple and are unconventionalized utterances. They are also structurally simple but do not well fit into the conventionalized vocabulary of the language.

The second type is **imitative sound symbolism**. This type includes onomatopoeic words and phrases representing the environmental sounds. This class includes utterances that utilize sound patterns outside of conventional speech and it also includes sounds of birds, animals and sounds created by the interaction of human and nature and animate or inanimate and nature. Imitative sound vocabularies are conventionalized and are often highly structured linguistically.

The third type is **synesthetic sound symbolism**. This is the system, whereby certain vowels, consonants, and suprasegmentals are preferred regularly to denote visual, tactile, or proprioceptive properties of objects such as size or shape. They further explain that symbolic frequency shifts and durational patterns, other acoustic parameters may also serve symbolic roles such as rise time, fall time, loudness, continuancy, and the contrast between periodicity and aperiodicity. **Synesthetic sound symbolism** is sound-symbolic speech that is strongly conventionalized and is often highly structured.

The fourth type is **conventional sound symbolism**. This category of sound symbolism is the analogical association of certain phonemes and clusters with certain meanings. As the name illustrates it is highly conventionalized and may be largely language-specific in its choice of phonetic segments. In conventional sound symbolism, the connection between sound and

meaning is more arbitrary than the preceding three types of sound symbolisms. The above four types of sound symbolisms are prominent in the ideophones of Afro-Asiatic languages.

3.8. Theoretical framework

This section presents the theoretical framework used in the study. As the literature shows, there are several works on ideophones around the globe but there is no single and agreed-upon best theoretical framework for ideophonic studies. However, for this comparative study, I followed Dingemane (2019) 'Ideophones' as comparative concepts for a theoretical framework. Dingemane foregrounded his theoretical framework on Haspelmath's (2010) comparative concepts. Dingemane (2019:13) notes that ideophonic studies were hindered by the absence of a communal framework is significant to the key magnitudes of distinctions. Ideophones have five key dimensions that help to illustrate cross-linguistic comparative studies. These key dimensions are ideophones are marked words, they are special word classes, they invoke sensory imagery, they have depictive power, and they are open word class. Based on these dimensions, in the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages, a canonical ideophone is defined as a member of an open lexical class of marked words that depict sensory imagery. This definition emphasizes five key elements:

1. Open lexical class: Ideophones belong to an open-ended category, meaning that new ideophones can be created as needed to describe specific sensory experiences.
2. Marked words: Ideophones are distinct from ordinary words, often characterized by unique phonological and morphological features.
3. Depiction of sensory imagery: Ideophones primarily convey information about sensory perceptions, such as sounds, movements, colors, smell, manner, appearance, state, intensity, internal feelings, emotions, and textures.
4. Cross-linguistic diversity: While ideophones share common characteristics, they exhibit significant variation across languages in terms of their form, function, and distribution.
5. Typological space: Ideophones occupy a specific position within the larger typological space of language, alongside other linguistic phenomena that involve the depiction of sensory experiences.

This comparative approach of ideophones allows for a systematic analysis of their similarities and differences across the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages (Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo). It enables researchers to identify common patterns and explore the diverse ways in which languages use ideophones to express sensory experiences.

The morphological and syntactic behavior of ideophones varies significantly across languages. While many studies suggest that ideophones often lack complex morphology, some languages, such as Wolaitta, exhibit inflectional morphology on ideophones, similar to adjectives.

A common morphological process for ideophones is reduplication, which involves repeating a syllable or a part of a word. Derivational morphology, such as adding prefixes or suffixes, is also possible, but it can be challenging to determine the original form of the ideophone. In addition to this, compounding (the process of combining) two or more words, is another way to create new ideophones in Ethiopian Afro-asiatic languages.

Syntactically, in some languages ideophones often occupy peripheral positions in sentences and may not integrate into phrasal structures. However, in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages, ideophones can function similarly to other word classes like nouns, verbs, adverbs, and adjectives, suggesting a more integrated role in the syntax.

Chapter Four: Phonology

4.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the phonological analysis of ideophones of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages based on selected languages (i.e. Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo). The phonological analysis is done as follows: the phonology of Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo are described in depth and the summary of each section is done. Kafa is a language of two-tone systems that are raising and falling tone systems. In the phonology of the language, the tone patterns are described. Finally, a discussion of results is done based on the findings of phonological features cross-linguistically.

4.1. The phonology of Amharic ideophones

In this section, the phonological analysis of Amharic ideophones includes phoneme inventory, the distributions of phonemes and non-phonemic sounds, phonotactics, and suprasegmental features, such as consonant and vowel lengthening, syllable structures, syllabification, and open and closed syllable types.

4.1.1. Phonemic inventory of Amharic ideophones

This part presents the phonemic inventory of Amharic ideophones in three sections. The first section offers consonant inventory; the second section presents inventory of non-phonemic sounds and the third section presents the inventory of vowel phonemes.

4.1.1.1. The consonant phonemes inventory in ideophones

Many studies in Amharic phonology report different consonant inventory of the regular language. For example, Mulugeta (2001:9) lists only 21 consonants. According to him, the following sound such as /tʃ/, /dʒ/, /ɲ/, and /tʃ̣/ are derivations of other basic sounds and are not phonemes. However, Baye (2010), Leslau (1995:4) and Gragg & Hoberman (2012:160) identify the following 30 consonants. These are 24 pulmonic /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /kʷ/, /g/, /gʷ/, /ʔ/, /m/, /n/, /ɲ/, /f/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /h/, /tʃ/, /dʒ/, /l/, /r/, /w/, /j/, / and 6 glottalic such as /pʔ/, /tʔ/, /tʃ̣/, /kʔ/, /kʷʔ/ and /sʔ/. As the evidence from the literature shows, the above scholars viewed the phoneme /ʔ/ in different ways. Baye incorporates the phoneme /ʔ/ in his consonant table but Leslau did not

fully include this phoneme (/ʔ/) in his consonant table but he keeps it as an optional (marginal) phoneme. Unlike Baye and Leslau, Gragg & Hoberman (2012) exclude the phoneme /ʔ/ from their Amharic consonant inventory table. They argue that the phoneme /ʔ/ was lost with the entire inherited pharyngeal inventory.

On the other hand, Leslau (1995) and Gragg & Hoberman (2012) include another sound /h^w/ as the Amharic phoneme. The assumption for this is the language system recreates a /h/ via spirantization of /k/ taking as in the Ge'ez word *konə* 'be, exist' equivalent to the Amharic word *honə* 'be, exist' for granted. (See Gragg & Hoberman 2012:159). However, in recent studies, there is no such big difference among scholars concerning the number of vowels in the language. Mulugeta (2001) and Baye (2010) identify seven vowels while Derib (2011:150-151) shows new phonological systems in the language such as phonemes /ə/ instead of /i/, and /ɜ/ instead of /ə/. Here I also use Mulugeta and Baye's vowel inventory of the language. Therefore, a vowel phoneme inventory of Amharic has seven vowels. That is the high front vowel /i/, the mid-front vowel /e/, the high central vowel /ɨ/, the mid-central vowel /ə/, the high back vowel /u/, the mid-back vowel /o/, and the low central vowel /a/.

My data shows that ideophones of the language use all phonemes of the language and other click-like sounds that do not exist in the regular phonology of the language. According to Lionnet (2021) none phonemic clicks function as verbal gestures in almost all languages of the world. On the other hand, Grenoble (2014:105) defines verbal gestures as "a set of sound segments or segments which stand outside the language's phonemic inventory and are still means of communicative systems of a language." Similarly, in Amharic, click-like sounds are not phonemic but they function as verbal gestures in ideophones. These click-like sounds /verbal gestures have ideophonic forms and functions. They exist either as bare ideophones (they stand by themselves as ideophones without auxiliary verbs) or as ideophones with auxiliary/auxiliary verbs in the form of compound verbs. This will be presented in detail in the morphology chapter later.

The existence of such unique phonemes and/or sounds is a common phonological feature in ideophones. Franck (2014) notes that ideophones contain phonemes that do not exist in the regular phonology of a language but these phonemes do exist in human languages. Bodomo (2006:204) also states even ideophones that use similar phonological lists as other words in a language may have peculiar phonological properties. The new (peculiar) phones those Amharic ideophones exhibits are presented in the following sub-section.

4.1.1.2. The click-like sound inventory in ideophones

Bradfield (2014) and Lionnet (2021) state that click is conventionally used to describe consonant speech sounds. According to Bradfield (2014:1-2), clicks are made by producing a 'vacuum' within the oral cavity, the portion of the cavity being restricted by the dorsal against the soft palate, and the rest either by the laminal and front part of the tongue against the hard palate, alveolar ridge or teeth, or by the lips. The Southern African languages make widespread use of clicks. Bantu languages that borrowed the clicks from Khoisan also exhibited click sounds in their phonemic inventory. The typical Khoisan languages exhibited the following five basic oral click sounds such as the bilabial click /ʘ/, the dental click // the post-alveolar click /!/, the lateral click /l/, and the palatal click sound /ɕ/.

In addition to this, Lionnet (2021) identifies four non-phonemic click sounds in Laal (an isolate language in Southern Chad) such as dental [l], lateral [ll], velar [ɣ³], and bilabial fricated click (tchip) or (suck teeth). According to Lionnet (2021) in Laal the dental [l] is a negative click and its logical meaning is "no". It expresses negative affective meanings, such as disapproval, commiserations, and other aspects of negative affective meaning. The lateral [ll] click is a positive click and its logical meaning is "yes". When it is used with affective meaning, it expresses positive affective such as approval, satisfaction, and other sort of positive affect. It is also used frequently for backchanneling strategy. As Lionnet reports the velar click [ɣ] in Laal is synonymous with the preceding lateral click [ll] but it is less frequently used in back channeling strategy. Lastly, the bilabial fricated click, which he calls (chip), referred to as suck teeth is a negative click and has the

³ The symbol [ɣ] was used to indicate a velar click in earlier IPA chart versions (such as the 1949 edition). However, it was removed from every IPA chart in 1979 when it was determined that velar clicks were not conceivable.

logical meaning "no". It also expresses negative affective. This verbal gesture expresses a wide range of negative meanings. These meanings range from disapproval to pure disdain and can be interpreted as insults. As data shows, the phonology of ideophones of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages exhibits five non-phonemic click-like sounds. These are [ǃ], [ǂ] and [ǁ], [ɽ] and the tchip (suck teeth) click-like sounds. All of these click-like sounds exist in Amharic ideophones. Consider the descriptions in example 1.

Ideophones

- [1].(a) imǃa adərrəg-ə
 IDEO.kiss made:PFV-3SGM
 'He kissed with audible sound'
- (b) !u!u!u al-ə
 IDEO.urge say:PFV-3SGM
 'He urged the horse'
- (c) lululu al-ə
 IDEO.call say:PFV-3SGM
 'He called dog'
- (d) lɨlɨlɨ al-ə
 IDEO.regret say:PFV-3SGM
 'Regretted/ show regression'
- (e) ɣi al-ə
 IDEO.disapprove say:PFV-3SGM
 'He disapproved'
- (f) tchip al-ə
 IDEO.show sympathy say:PFV-3SGM
 'He expressed sympathy'

As noted above the ideophone verbs in [1] are formed from the combination of click-like sounds and auxiliaries alə 'say' and adərrəgə 'do/make.' From the above description, we notice that most ideophones with click-like sounds imitate natural sounds. The ideophone verb in (1. a) shows an imitated sound produced when someone gives a strong kiss on somebody's cheek. Likewise, the ideophone verb in (1. b) shows the imitated sound when a horseshoe is pulled out of the mud of

swampy ground, and the ideophone in (1. c) shows a sound produced during masticating food in the mouth. In general, these types of ideophones have an imitative sound symbolic nature. Wetter (2003:261) notes that sound imitation ideophones function to copy the sound of the environment. On the other hand, ideophones in (1.d, e &f) are types of conventional sound symbolism. As Hinton, Nichols, and Ohala (1994:5) note these types of ideophones are “an analogical association of certain phonemes and with certain meaning.”

As Herbert (1990) notes the southern African languages make widespread use of clicks. Khoisan languages exhibit the following five basic oral click sounds (oral gestures) the bilabial click sound /ɔ/, the dental click sound // the post-alveolar click sound !/, the palatal-alveolar click sound ʎ/, and the alveolar lateral click sound #/. The sounds, which I call clicks-like sounds in the phonology of Amharic ideophones, show some similarities with some of the above-mentioned click sounds. They are non-pulmonic consonants like those of click sounds. They also show similarities in the place of articulation. For this reason, I use the same IPA symbols of click sounds to represent these five click-like sounds except the **nasal** and **tchip** click-like sounds. Therefore, the five click-like sounds of Amharic ideophones are the [ɔ] bilabial click-like sound, the post-alveolar click-like sound, [!] alveolar click-like sound [!], the click-like nasal sound [ɣ] and the tchip (suck teeth). In the production of these sounds, different speech organs are involved. The click-like sound [ɔ] is produced when the upper and lower lips come into contact sucking air into the mouth and when the lips move apart from each other. The click-like sound [!] is produced when the tip of the tongue encounters the post-alveolar ridge sucking the air into the oral cavity and when these articulators move apart from each other. The click-like sound [!] is produced when the body of the tongue meets the hard palate sucking air into the oral cavity and when these speech organs move apart from each other. The click-like nasal sound [ɣ] is produced when air passes into the nasal cavity when the velum obstructs sucking the air and when these articulators move apart from each other and in this case, the mouth remains closed. In the production of tchip/suck teeth air is sucked between the two sides of the molars and into the mouth. In this case, the mouth remains partially closed and the front part of the tongue becomes in contact with the alveolar and the hard palate.

4.1.1.3. The vowel inventory in ideophones

Like that of the number of consonant phonemes, in earlier studies, the numbers of Amharic vowels were debatable. According to Derib (2011:3), different researchers claim different numbers of vowels in the language. Some scholars claim three vowels, some identify six and others claim seven or nine vowels. However, in recent studies, there is no such big difference among scholars concerning the number of vowels in the language. Mulugeta (2001) and Baye (2010) identify the seven vowels of Amharic. However, Derib's (2011) finding shows new phonological developments in the language such as phones /ə/ instead of /i/, and /ɜ/ instead of /ə/. Here I also use Mulugeta and Baye's vowel inventory of the language because it is widely cited in many studies. Therefore, the vowel phoneme inventory of Amharic has seven vowels. These are the high front vowel /i/, mid-front vowel /e/, high central /ɨ/, mid-central vowel /ə/, high back vowel /u/, mid-back vowel /o/ and low central vowel /a/. According to the data, Amharic ideophones use all of these vowels. In the preceding sub-sections, we have considered the phoneme and non-phonemic sound inventory in Amharic ideophones. Next, let us proceed to the description of the distributions of the phonemes and non-phonemic sounds in the ideophones of the language.

4.1.2. The phonemic and non-phonemic sound distributions in ideophones

This sub-section presents the distributions of all consonant and vowel phonemes and other sounds, such as clicks-like sounds and labialized sounds in the ideophone words. As pointed out in the preceding sections, ideophones show some similarities and differences with the regular phonology of the language. The phonemes and non-phonemic sound distribution depict these phonological properties. Consider the following descriptions.

4.1.2.1. The consonant phoneme's distributions

Almost all consonants of the regular phonology of the language are distributed in the ideophonic words of the language. As can be observed in the following table, the consonant phonemes of the regular phonology occur in ideophonic word-initial, medial, and final positions. Consider the following descriptions.

Table 1: The consonant phoneme distributions in Amharic ideophone words

C	WIP	Gloss	WMP	Gloss	WFP	Gloss
/b/	bissitt-	‘penetrate’	libbiss-	‘wear’	wullibb-	‘pass by’
/d/	diblikk’-	‘mix up’	bidigg-	‘raise’	gurridd-	‘cut off’
/dʒ/	dʒigginn-	‘be a hero’	fɪdʒdʒitt-	‘finish/burn’	gildʒidʒdʒ	‘clumsy’
/f/	fɪllikk’-	‘gush out’	tʃʷiffinn-	‘close eyes’	gilliff	‘tempered’
/g/	gillitt’-	‘open’	dɪngizgizz-	‘gloaming’	tʷirrigg-	‘clean’
/gʷ/	gʷa-	‘banged’	gʷagʷa-	‘banged’	-	-
/h/	himhim-	‘murmur’	uhuʔuhu-	‘cough’	ʔuhʔuh-	‘cough’
/j/	jazz-	‘grasp’	wujjibb-	‘worn-out’	iffoj-	‘get relief’
/k/	kissitt-	‘skinny’	sikkitt-	‘stab’	fətləkk-	‘runaway’
/kʷ/	kʷatʃʷill-	‘small bell’	fəkʷəkkʷ-	‘move’	kʷakʷ-	‘vomited’
/kʷʷ/	kʷakʷkʷ	‘vomit’	ikʷa-	‘snapped’	-	-
/l/	ləbb-	‘warm’	gələll-	‘gone away’	finkʷill-	‘flinch’
/m/	mulfitt’-	‘spoiled’	tʷimmədd-	‘yoked’	figgimm-	‘die out’
/n/	nɪkkʷitt-	‘awake’	kʷinnitt-	‘jealous’	ʃiffinn-	‘cover’
/ɲ/	ɲɪɲɪɲi-	‘insistence,’	ɲɲɪkk-	‘bolus/chew’	mutʷɲɲ-	‘clung’
/p/	pəpəpə-	‘surprise’	pəpəpə-	‘surprise’	-	-
/pʷ/	pʷippʷiss-	‘become bishop’	kʷulpʷispʷpʷiss-	‘proud of’	pʷiipʷ-	‘blow horn’
/r/	rɪsriss-	‘wet’	ɪrrəbb-	‘fall’	fɪntʃʷɪrr-	‘die, fall’
/s/	sɪlkʷitt’-	‘swallow’	kissill-	‘burnout’	kiskiss-	‘crashing’
/ʃ/	ʃɪnkʷitt’-	‘slim’	kɪʃʃɪbb-	‘break’	ɪnkʷɪʃʃ-	‘break’
/sʷ/	sʷidditt-	‘neat’	nissʷitt-	‘clearer’	kʷirrisʷ-	‘sharpen’
/t/	tɪnfɪʃʃ-	‘breath’	bittinn-	‘shatter’	bittʷitt-	‘puncture’
/tʷ/	tʷissikkʷ-	‘tie tightly’	kʷinttʷiss-	‘cut’	fɪrgittʷ-	‘wiggle’
/kʷʷ/	kʷa-	‘knock’	kʷakʷa-	‘knock’	-	-
/tʃ/	tʃiffigg-	‘profuse’	kɪrtʃʷɪmm-	‘closed’	nɪkkɪtʃʷ-	‘touch’
/tʃʷ/	tʃʷinnikkʷ-	‘worry’	kʷurtʃʷɪmm-	‘ate’	kʷɪlbitʃʷ-	‘precise’
/w/	wussidd-	‘take’	kɪwkɪww-	‘restless’	bɪww-	‘burn’
/z/	ziffinn-	‘sing’	kʷizziff-	‘paddle’	fɪzizz-	‘fade’

/ʒ/	zərrərr-	‘gush’	k’ibzizizirr-	‘prattle’	biʒʒ-	‘blurry’
/ʔ/	⁴ (ʔ)immərr	‘jump’	(ʔ)iʔi	‘not/no’	hiʔʔ-	‘was in labor’

As can be observed from Table 1, except for /g^w/, /k^{hw}/, and /k^w/ almost all consonant phonemes are distributed in ideophones in word-initial, medial, and final positions. However, these complex consonant phonemes appear in word-initial and medial positions in reduplicated forms mainly. In addition to this, the voiceless bilabial consonant phoneme /p/ has the same distributions as the preceding complex phonemes. It is restricted to the word-initial position and appears in the word medial position in the reduplicated form. The phonemic distribution of Amharic ideophones is almost the same as regular phonology. However, the phoneme /p/ only occurs in the ideophonic word-initial position but it does not appear in the prosaic word-initial position. Moreover, the above-mentioned click-like sounds also have their distributional restrictions as the following examples show.

4.1.2.2. The click-like sound’s distributions

Like the regular phoneme distribution, the clicks-like sounds also show some distributional properties in the ideophone words they appear. Consider the following descriptions.

Table 2: The click-like sound distributions in Amharic ideophones words

Sound	WIP	Gloss	WMP	Gloss	WFP	Gloss
[ʘ]	ʘ ^w a-	‘kiss’	imʘ ^w a-	‘kiss’	-	-
[ɰ]	ɰi-	‘disapproval’	ɰiɰiɰi ...	‘expressing the feeling of pain’	-	-
[ʘ]	ʘi-	‘show sympathy’	ʘiʘiʘi ...	‘express regression’	-	-
[!]	!a-	‘urge horse’	!a!a!a ...	‘urge horse’	-	-
[tchip]	tchip-	‘show sympathy’	-	-	-	-

These click-like sounds are mostly limited to the initial locations in the ideophone words, as Table 2 illustrates. It is evident from the sample above that the word medial position is where the

⁴ The existence of phoneme /ʔ/ in Amharic ideophonic word initial position is controversial. It needs some phonetic laboratory examination. For this reason, in this study I preferred using vowels at the ideophonic word initial positions instead of /ʔ/.

bilabial click-like sound [ʘ] occurs. If the duplicated forms are taken into account, the remaining tends to occur in word medial places. The word's starting point is the only place where the tchip click-like sound occurs. It appears that there is only one usage of this sound. From the data, we understand that some click-like sounds have different meanings in the non-reduplicated and reduplicated forms. The click-like sound [ɣ] with vowel /i/ shows a disapproval expression in its non-reduplicated form. However, its reduplicated form expresses the feeling of serious pain. As the description shows, the click-like sounds seem mainly to occur in word-initial positions. In addition to this, ideophones also use many labialized consonant sounds. The following subsection presents the distribution of labialized sounds.

4.1.2.3. The labialized sound's distributions

Several labialized sounds that are less common in the standard language are employed by Amharic ideophones. The following examples show that, similar to the previous complex phonemes, these labialized sounds are limited to the start and medial locations of the ideophone words.

Table 3: The labialized sound distributions in Amharic ideophone words

Sound	WIP	Gloss	WMP	Gloss	WFP	Gloss
[d ^w]	d ^w a-	‘explode’	d ^w ad ^w ata	‘explosion’	-	-
[f ^w]	f ^w a-	‘gush’	f ^w af ^w ate	‘waterfall’	-	-
[ʃ ^w]	ʃ ^w a-	‘rustle’	ʃ ^w aʃ ^w ate	‘rustling’	-	-
[t ^w]	t ^w a-	‘burst’	t ^w at ^w a-	‘burst repeatedly’	-	-
[ʒ ^w]	ʒ ^w a-	‘fall’	ʒ ^w aʒ ^w a-	‘fall repeatedly’	-	-
[tʃ ^w]	tʃ ^w a-	‘slap’	tʃ ^w atʃ ^w a-	‘slap repeatedly’	-	-

Table 3 shows that several of these sounds are used by Amharic ideophones to describe mimicked actions and sounds. These data allow us to conclude that most click-like sounds, labialized phonemes, and labialized sounds express imitations of sounds and movements. The description as a whole demonstrates the shared distributional constraints of these phonemes and sounds. They show up in the word-initial and medial locations of ideophones. In general, from the preceding descriptions, we can say that labialized phonemes /g^w, k^w, k^w, tʃ^w, f^w, ʃ^w, t^w, ʒ^w, d^w

etc./, the click like sound [ʘ], [ʘ], [ʘ] and [ʘ] and the [tchip], and phoneme /p/ have the same distributional restrictions and they lack in ideophones word-final positions.

4.1.2.4. The vowel phoneme's distributions

The preceding seven vowels show some distributional restrictions in ideophonic words of the language. Consider the following description.

Table 4: The vowel phonemes distribution in Amharic ideophone words

V	WIP	Gloss	WMP	Gloss	WFP	Gloss
/a/	ankəss-	'limp'	f ^w af ^w ate	'waterfall'	t ^w a-	'burst'
/e/	etʃtʃ	'disapprove'	hedd-	'walk'	wəffəffe-	'creasy'
/ə/	ərə-	'sure?'	wəgəgg-	'glow'	zərəərə-	'stream'
/i/	-	-	dididi-	'runaway'	tirkimirki-	'rubbish'
/i/	ibbiss-	'wipe, gone'	mintʃ ^ʔ tʃ ^ʔ ikk'-	'tug'	tʃ ^ʔ itʃ ^ʔ itʃ ^ʔ i-	'bird's chat'
/o/	oha-	'instruct oxen'	kəʃəʃʃilla	'thistle'	dotʃ ^ʔ tʃ ^ʔ o	'chubby'
/u/	uute-	'undermine'	kurʃimm-	'crisped'	kururu	'dwarf'

As the data in Table 4 displays, almost all vowel phonemes except vowel /i/ are found at the initial, middle and final locations of ideophonic words. As the above description illustrates the low central vowel /a/, the high-front vowel /e/, the mid-central vowel /ə/, the high central vowel /i/, the mid-back round vowel /o/, and the high back round phoneme /u/ occur in initial, medial and final positions. However, as the data above demonstrates, the high-front vowel /i/ does not appear in the beginning position. This phoneme can only be found in the medial and final positions of ideophones. Baye (2008) claims that in the regular phonology of Amharic back vowels do not occur in the initial position of a word. However, the above data shows that the back vowels /o/ and /u/ do appear in the initial position of ideophones. Furthermore, the recorded data does not show enough numbers of ideophones, which contain the front-mid vowel /e/ in the language. However, this vowel is predicted in ideophones of the Wollo variety. In this dialect, the alveolar stop phoneme /d/ is typically palatalized as **d** > **dʲ** and this phonological process triggers another progressive assimilation. The palatalized alveolar stop sound influences the mid-central /ə/ to share its palatal feature. Thus, [**dʲ**+ə > **dʲe**] and ə > **e/dʲ**- as in *dʲemək* 'became bright'.

Likewise, the intensive ideophones syllable pattern $C_1iCC_2iCC_3$ shows different syllable structures due to the labialized alveolar stop phoneme [dʲ]. In this variety usually, $i > i / dʲ-$. Therefore, $dʲ+i > dʲi$ as in dʲikkimm ‘fatigue/tired’. In general, this variety of Amharic attenuative ideophones and intensive ideophones show different syllable patterns on the quality of vowels because of the palatalized alveolar stop sound [dʲ] in the Wollo variety. The following data in example 2, clarifies this phonological phenomenon.

	Ideophone	Gloss
[2]. (a)	dʲeməkʼkʼ-	‘became bright’
(b)	dʲengətʼtʼ-	‘became annoyed’
(c)	dʲengəzɡəzz-	‘became blurred’
(d)	dʲembərbərr-	‘became confused’
(e)	dʲellekʼkʼ-	‘hit with a fist’
(f)	dʲebəsbəss-	‘touched lightly’

As is observed in [2] Wollo variety attenuative ideophonic words that start by the palatalized alveolar stop [dʲ] follow the $C_1eC_2əC_3C_3$ pattern. Whereas, the general pattern of attenuative ideophonic words in Amharic is $C_1əC_2əC_3C_3$ Wetter(2003). Likewise, the intensive ideophonic words syllable pattern $C_1iCC_2iCC_3$ shows different syllable pattern due to the palatalized alveolar stop phoneme [dʲ]. In this variety usually $i > i / dʲ-$. Therefore, $dʲ+i > dʲi$. Consider the following data in example 3.

	Ideophone	Gloss
[3]. (a)	dʲibbinn-	‘died’
(b)	dʲingitt-	‘shock’
(c)	dʲikkimm-	‘fatigue, tired’
(d)	dʲirribb-	‘put something on top of something’
(e)	dʲillittʼ-	‘slipped’
(f)	dʲissikkʼ-	‘hit with a fist’

As observed in [3] Wollo dialect intensive ideophonic words that begin with the labialized alveolar stop [dʲ] follow the $C_1iC_3C_2iC_3C_3$ pattern. However, the Amharic intensive ideophonic verb bound stem pattern is $C_1iC_2C_2iC_3C_3$. Thus, in general in this variety of Amharic attenuative

ideophones and intensive ideophones show different syllable patterns on the quality of vowels because of the palatalized alveolar stop sound [dʲ] of the Wollo variety. Moreover, the high front vowel is abundant in Amharic ideophones for example ideophonic words like **didididi...alə** ‘runaway’ and **kilkilkil... alə** ‘the sound of small bell.’

4.1.3. The phonotactics of Amharic ideophone consonants

Phonotactic deals with a permissible and impermissible sound sequence in a given language. All languages have their own permissible and impermissible sound sequences. As Yule (2006:229) notes phonotactics are restrictions on the arrangement and organization of phonemes in a given language. This is also best studied in syllables. Katamba (1989) and Kenstowicz (1994) note that syllables are units in which phonotactics are best specified. Mulugeta (2001:13) notes that the phonotactic rule of Amharic does not allow more than two consonant sequences. Even in the word-final position, the phonotactic rule does not allow the consonant sequence (obstruent preceded by liquid). If they appear in syllable-final position in this sequence, the epenthetic <i> must be inserted between the obstruent and liquid. In addition to this, either similar or different vowel sequences are not allowed in the language.

However, ideophones do not obey some of these phonotactic rules. In the regular phonology of the language, of course there are several words like **libb** ‘heart’ and **kibb** ‘circle’ which contain two identical consonant sequences ($C_1VC_2C_2$) in the word-final positions. The vast majority of monosyllabic ideophonic verbs show a strong tendencies to have the $C_1VC_2C_2$ syllable template sequences as in ideophones words **bogg-** ‘lite suddenly’, **t’əbb-** ‘dipped’, and **dubb-** ‘fall’. From the structure, we can see that the $C_1V[C_2C_2]$ consonant sequences are only permissible the in coda position but the $[C_1C_1]VC_2C_2$ or $[C_1C_2]VC_2C_2$ sequence does not exist.

In addition, in disyllabic ideophonic words, either two identical or different consonant phonemes cannot occur within a syllable except in syllable boundaries (in the boundaries of the coda of the first syllable and the onset of the second syllables) as in **dib.bik’k’**-‘hide completely’ and **bir.gidd-**‘open wide completely’. The syllable structures of the former are $C_1V[C_2.C_2]VC_3C_3$ and the syllable structure of the latter is $C_1V[C_2.C_3]VC_4C_4$. On the other hand, in disyllabic ideophones, two identical consonant phoneme sequences are only permissible in a syllable-final position like in the preceding monosyllabic ideophones. Therefore, $[C_2C_2]$, $[C_3C_3]$, and $[C_4C_4]$

are permissible in the syllable structure of Amharic ideophones. Moreover, as can be observed from the above structure the [-C₂C₃-] appears in the word-medial position of the disyllabic quadric-radical ideophones where the [C₂] is the coda of the first syllable and [C₃] is the onset of the ultimate syllable. According to the data, in Amharic ideophones vowels seem not to show phonotactic variation from the regular phonology. As the result of the following suprasegmental study shows, Amharic ideophones display expressive vowel and consonant lengthening. Consider the following descriptions.

4.1.4. The Suprasegmentals of Amharic ideophones

Suprasegmental is also a phonological unit that deals with length, stress, tone, and intonation in general. Smoll (2014:18) reports that ideophones are inclined to have different suprasegmental features from regular phonology. In this sub-section, the suprasegmental analysis deals with consonant and vowel lengthening. As data shows, consonant and vowel lengthening is a very common phonetic property in Amharic ideophones. In ideophones of the language, many imitative ideophones use expressive lengthening in word-final positions. In addition to this, there are also a few ideophonic words, which deploy vowel lengthening in a word medial position. Consider the following descriptions.

4.1.4.1. Consonant lengthening

As literature shows, in some languages consonant lengthening is one of the phonological features that distinguish ideophones from the rest words of a language. As Childs (1994:193) notes ideophones universally deploy expressive lengthening (unlimited) reduplication. For example, in Gbaya ideophone undergoes iconic/expressive lengthening **dirr**: expresses ‘a long rolling rumble like thunder or like an earthquake’. Beck (2005:14) reports that in Upper Necaxa Totonac language ideophones deploy consonant lengthening. Ko (2017:325) also notes expressive lengthening is "a universal process with language-specific variation in its semantic and phonological implementation." Nevertheless, expressive consonants and vowel lengthening in Amharic ideophones are mainly phonetic properties. On the other hand, expressive lengthening in ideophones displays some phonological features as in **birr** ‘the Ethiopian money note/coin’ and **birr**: ‘flay way’ and **gim** ‘bad smell’ and **gimm**: ‘heavy sound of big dram’ but such phonological properties are observed in a few instances. Amharic ideophones deploy the word-

final consonant lengthening. Expressive consonant lengthening is uncommon in regular phonology what is common in regular phonology is the language is gemination. Before describing consonant lengthening, we shall first explain the difference between gemination and consonant lengthening. Gemination is a process in which a single or non-geminate consonant undergoes lengthening to become a geminate consonant. Gemination is phonetically often represented by writing double identical consonants. In ideophonic words, gemination is a common process. In words like **gəllət’ə** 'made open/ uncover' the prosaic word undergoes gemination in its ideophones form as in **gillitt’** adərrəg-ə 'He made (it) open completely.' Based on acoustic analysis, Derib (2017:1) identifies that in Amharic geminated consonants are twice longer than singleton. In addition to this, the word-final gemination is longer than the word medial gemination in the regular phonology of the language. Moreover, voiceless consonants are longer than voiced consonants in both singleton and geminated forms in word medial and final positions. This is also true in the case of ideophonic words. Lengthening is a process whereby consonants or vowels are produced with greater length than they were before. Consider the following descriptions.

Table 5: Consonant lengthening in Amharic ideophones

	Ideophone	Gloss
a.	birr:	‘flew’
b.	dibilbill:	‘became very fat, rounded’
c.	figgimm:	‘die completely’
d.	dibbinn:	‘die completely’
e.	tʃʷisiss:	‘over angry’
f.	gumzizz:	‘became completely sour’
g.	kumʃiff:	‘became shrunk/completely humiliated’
h.	wutiftiff:	‘nonsense, slovenly done things’

Table 5 illustrates how lengthy the last consonants are. The intensity and duration of the action and happenings are conveyed by these prolonged consonants. These elongated consonants typically convey the intensity of events and activities. However, consonant lengthening in Table 5 example (a) also show durativity. Such consonant lengthening is characteristic of ideophonic words, as previously mentioned. It is evident from the description above that the consonants that

have been prolonged are liquid, nasal, and spirant. Similar to this, vowel lengthening in Amharic ideophones conveys emphasis. Consider the following descriptions.

4.1.4.2. Vowel lengthening

The process of having two identical vowels or two or more distinct vowel sequences occur in the same location or at the syllable nucleus is known as vowel lengthening. Childs (1994:185) notes that in several languages, ideophones use expressive lengthening (extra-long vowels) to show 'extension in time and space' as in Kisi ideophones *sii* 'continuing for short distance or period' and *piiàà* 'quickly cutting through water'. In the same way, Ameka (2001:30) notes that in Ewe ideophones undergo the final vowel lengthening for expressive uses. This is also true in Amharic ideophones. As we have considered earlier, Amharic does not have long vowels in its regular phonology or diphthongization and triphthongization is not permissible. However, ideophones typically deploy expressive vowel lengthening in the word-final positions. Consider the following description.

Table 6: Vowel lengthening in Amharic ideophones

	Ideophone	Gloss
a.	<i>k^waa:</i>	'snapping sound when metals are hit, a sound made when knocking on
b.	<i>g^waa:</i>	'bang of a door when closed by force'
c.	<i>k^{'w}aa:</i>	'snap/make a click sound'
d.	<i>t^waa:</i>	'bursting sound/popping sound'
e.	<i>d^waa:</i>	'bang sound/explode/crack'
f.	<i>f^waa:</i>	'splash/rushing sound of water'
g.	<i>ʃ^waa:</i>	'fall in a cascade'
h.	<i>tʃ^waa:</i>	'bang/clap'
i.	<i>t^{'w}aa:</i>	'popping/bursting sound'
j.	<i>tʃ^{~w}aa:</i>	'sound made when slapping'

Amharic ideophonic words have extremely long vowels, as Table 6 shows. These long vowels often follow the labialized consonant such as /*k^w, g^w, k^{'w}, t^w, d^w, f^w, ʃ^w, tʃ^w, t^{'w}*, and *tʃ^{~w}*/ as in Table 6 (a-j). Expressive vowel lengthening is purposefully used in these onomatopoeic ideophones to convey the duration and intensity of activities and events. On the other hand, in Amharic

ideophones, the above consonant phonemes and sounds with simple vowels, such as k^wa ‘snap,’ g^wa ‘bang,’ t^wa ‘burst,’ d^wa ‘explode,’ f^wa ‘splash,’ and ʃ^wa ‘fall in a cascade,’ etc. express simple imitated sounds. It is obvious that most imitative ideophones display word-final vowel lengthening and these long vowels lose their vowel quality. That is the long vowel grave in breathy or creaky sounds as far as they are produced for a longer time. For example, when we produce some ideophones such as [g^waaa...ahhh] and [d^waaa...ahhh] for a long time we can easily perceive the preceding breathy sounds but not the pure low central vowel /a/ at the end of the ideophone words. Therefore, the fact that extreme lengthening of vowels in ideophones grave breathy or creaky sounds. Furthermore, some imitative ideophones like p’iii...p’- ‘blow horn’ also undergo a vowel lengthening in word-medial position. In such ideophones, the long vowel shows the durativity.

4.1.5. The syllable structures of Amharic ideophones

The language's phonotactics rule governs the syllable structure of regular phonology. As we have noted in the preceding section, phonotactic rules restrict the permissible sound sequence and the syllable structure of a given language. In the regular phonology of Amharic, Alemayehu (1987), Getahun (1997), and Baye (2008) identify the V, CV, CVC, VC, CVCC, and VCC syllable types. According to Taddese (2018), the regular phonology of Amharic has a (C)V(C) (C) syllable template. From these, it is obvious that the language has six-syllable patterns at the underlying and surface levels. However, as the explanation that follows demonstrates, there are certain phonotactic norms of regular phonology that Amharic ideophones breaks or violate. In Amharic ideophones, extra-long consonants and vowels are allowed. As a result, there are now nine syllables instead of just six, as seen in the instances below.

	Syllable structure	Ideophones	Gloss
[4] (a)	V	i!-	‘yes’
(b)	CV	g ^w a	‘bang’
(c)	VC	in.kitt	‘break completely’
(d)	CVCC	bogg	‘lit suddenly’
(e)	VCC	akk	‘clear throat’
(f)	VV	uu.te	‘Undermine’

(g)	CVV:	f ^w aa:	‘gush/cascade’
(h)	CVV:CC	p’ii:p’p’	‘blow horn’
(i)	CVCC:	turr:	‘fly away’

In addition to this, as we have considered in the preceding section, in ideophones there is a tendency to lengthen nasals, liquids, fricatives, and trills similarly as Kusaal ideophones a language spoken in north-eastern corner of Ghana (see Abubakari 2017:47-48). As such, the syllable template for these ideophones can be CVCC: as in example (4.i), which differs from the syllable template in example (4.d) above, where the coda can be liquid, trill, nasal, or fricative, as in the long consonant instances found in the previous Table 5. As the above examples illustrate the last syllable type (4.f-i) are found exclusively in ideophones. Having examined the syllables of various ideophone varieties let us now go on to their syllabification.

4.1.6. The syllabification of Amharic ideophone words

According to Bartlett, Kondrak, and Cherry (2009:303), the phonological process of dividing words or sentences into syllables is known as syllabification. This section presents the syllabification of ideophones as follows. As the following data shows, Amharic ideophones can be roughly grouped into monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic, and polysyllabic. Consider the following.

4.1.6.1. Monosyllabic ideophones

Table 7: Monosyllabic Amharic ideophones

	Monosyllabic	Ideophones	Gloss
a	V	i!-	‘yes’
b	CV	ɣi	‘disapproval’
c	CVV:	g ^w aa:	‘a heavy sound of bang’
d	VCC	aŋŋ-	‘bite’
e	CVCC	k ^w əmm-	‘stop’
f	CVCC:	tuss:	‘fart with a hissing sound’

Data in Table 7 depicts monosyllabic ideophones in Amharic with the following six syllable patterns V, CV, CVV:, VCC, CVCC, and CVCC:. Ideophonic words in Table 7(a-f) respectively satisfy the above syllable structures. As noted above, ideophones like in (f) are common Kusaal.

4.1.6.2. Disyllabic ideophones

Table 8: Disyllabic Amharic ideophones

	Disyllabic	Ideophones	Gloss
a	VC.CVCC	ibbiss-	‘wipe, gone’
b	CVC.CV	dɨjk’a-	‘heavy machine gun’
c	CV.CV	səka-	‘pin’
d	CVC.CVCC	fərgətt’-	‘wiggle’
e	VV.CV	Uute	‘undermine’

The data in Table 8 indicates that Amharic contains many disyllabic ideophones. In the language, disyllabic ideophones like in Table 8(a) usually geminate their penultimate and ultimate consonants roots. Disyllabic ideophones as in Table 8(b) contains medial dissimilar consonant clusters and end with vowel. Furthermore, some ideophone like in Table 8(c) contain none geminated medial consonant. On the other hand, some disyllabic ideophones as in Table 8(d) contain dissimilar consonant cluster in medial position and geminated consonants in their word final position. Finally, disyllabic ideophones as Table 8(e) contain two identical vowels at word initial position. Disyllabic ideophones also include both open and closed syllable types. Amharic disyllabic ideophones roughly comprise the following syllable structures. These are the VC.CVCC, CVC.CV, CV.CV, CVC.CVCC, and VV.CV. The ideophones in Table 8(a-e) above fit the preceding syllable structure respectively. Amharic ideophones also contain trisyllabic ideophones as in the following description.

4.1.6.3. Trisyllabic ideophones

Table 9: Trisyllabic Amharic ideophones

	Trisyllabic	Ideophones	Gloss
a	CVC.CVC.CVCC	gindisdiss-	‘fall down’
b	CVC.CVC.CVCC	dɨngɨrgirr-	‘confused’
c	CV.CVC.CVCC	sibirbirr	‘broken down into several parts’

As ideophones in Table 9 depict, Amharic trisyllabic ideophones roughly exhibit the following syllable structures. These are CVC.CVC.CVCC, CVC.CVC.CVCC, and CV.CVC.CVCC. The trisyllabic ideophones analyzed in Table 9(a-c) satisfy the above syllabic structures respectively.

Most trisyllabic ideophones contain a light syllable at the initial syllable position and a heavy syllable at the medial and final syllable positions. In ideophones of the language, most trisyllabic ideophones are the results of reduplication. Amharic ideophones also contains quadrisyllable ideophones. Consider the following descriptions.

4.1.6.4. Quadrisyllabic ideophones

Table 10 Quadrisyllabic Amharic ideophones

	Quadrisyllabic	Ideophones	Gloss
a	CVC.CVC.CV.CV	dɪnbuldok'a	'full bight moon'
b	CV.CVC.CVC.CV	sələwlawwa	'pretty/gorgeous'
c	CVC.CVC.CVC.CV	dənbərbarra	'confused'

As can be observed in Table 10, Amharic ideophones comprise some quadrisyllabic ideophones. These ideophone also include some compound ideophonic nouns like in Table 10(a) and some adjectival ideophones as in Table 10(b&c). The Amharic quadrisyllabic ideophones listed in Table 10(a-c) display the CVC.CVC.CV.CV, CV.CVC.CVC.CV, and CVC.CVC.CVC.CV syllable structures respectively. Amharic also comprises polysyllabic ideophones. Consider the following descriptions.

4.1.6.5. Polysyllabic ideophones

As the following data illustrates Amharic, polysyllabic ideophones are the results of reduplication. Consider the following descriptions.

Table 11: Polysyllabic Amharic ideophones

	Polysyllabic	Ideophones	Gloss
a	CVC.CV.CVC.CVC.CV	burrakərrəjju-	'became furious'
b	VC.CV.CVC.CVC.CV	ɪnb ^w akərrəjju-	'up roared about'
c	CVC.CVC.CVC. ...CVCC	kətkət...kətt-	'crackled, lightered'
d	CVC.CVC.CVC...CVC	gofgofgof...gof-	'walk of old person'
e	CVC.CVC...CVCC	gɪlbit'bit'...bitt'-	'turned upside down'
f	CVC.CV...CV	dəblələ ...lə-	'rolled'
g	CV.CV.CV...CV	dididi...di-	'runaway'

The data in Table 11 shows, that Amharic ideophones constitute polysyllabic words. As the above data illustrates, Amharic polysyllabic ideophones contain some compound ideophonic verbs as in Table 11(a & b) and reduplicated ideophonic verbs as in Table 11(c-g). As observed from the above data most polysyllabic ideophones like in Table 11(c-g) are extremely long. Such types of lengthy words do not exist in non-ideophone words in the language and these long ideophonic words are the result of reduplication. As described in the above table, in the language, several polysyllabic ideophones are derived from monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic ideophones via reduplication. The type of reduplication in polysyllabic ideophones is either total or partial. Monosyllabic words presented in Table 11 (c, d, & g) employ total reduplication. They repeat the first syllable of the ideophonic word fully several times and become polysyllabic words. Disyllabic words such as ideophones in examples Table 11(e & f) employ partial reduplication. As the data shows, in Amharic most ideophones reduplicate the last syllable several times. In addition to this, the ideophonic word in Table 11(g) dididi... is trisyllabic. Ideophonic words like these become polysyllabic words by reduplicating the entire syllable many times. Except for some ideophones, like in Table 11 (a&b) Amharic polysyllabic ideophones are not real polysyllabic rather they are the result of reduplication and the speaker can determine their length. Furthermore, as the entire description illustrates, Amharic ideophones comprise open and closed syllable shapes. These syllable types are summarized in the follows. Consider the following examples.

4.1.6.6. Open syllables ideophones

As the entire description shows Amharic ideophones comprise both open and closed syllable types. The following are examples of open syllable types that can be found in ideophonic words. These are V, VV, CV & CVV: and some examples of these types are given in the table below.

Table 12: Open syllable Amharic ideophones

	Syllable	Ideophones	Gloss
a	V	i!-	‘yes’
b	VV	uu.te	‘disapproval’
c	CV	t’ə.ga-	‘approach/come closer’
d	CVV:	f ^w aa:-	‘waterfall/cascade’

From Table 12 we can observe the type of open syllables in Amharic ideophones. From the preceding description, we can observe that the open syllable V and VV are found in ideophone word-initial positions. In addition to this, the CV syllable type can also be found in word-initial, medial, and final positions in ideophonic words. Moreover, the CVV: syllable type seems restricted in monosyllabic ideophonic words exclusively in onomatopoeic ideophones. Furthermore, Amharic ideophones also contain closed syllable types consider the following examples.

4.1.6.7. Closed syllables ideophones

Like open syllables, ideophones also constitute the VC, VCC, CVC, CVCC, CVV:C, and CVCC: closed syllable types. As can be seen from the preceding description, these syllable types are found in numerous ideophonic words. The following are some examples.

Table 13: Closed syllable Amharic ideophones

	Syllable	Ideophones	Gloss
a	VCC	akk-	‘clear throat’
b	VC.CVCC	ibbiss-	‘wipe, gone’
c	CVV:CC	p’ii:p’p’	‘blow horn’
d	CVC.CVC.CVCC	gindisdiss-	‘fall down’
e	CVCC	k’ibb-	‘sit on horseback’
f	CVCC:	firr:	‘eject on needle head’

As examples in Table 13 show Amharic ideophones comprise the above listed closed syllable types. When we see their distribution across different ideophone words, the VC and VCC syllable types occurs in word-initial. In addition, this syllable type seems to happen in monosyllabic ideophonic words as examples in Table 13(b and a). Whereas the CVC syllable type occurs in ideophonic word initial, medial, and final positions as in example Table (d). On the other hand, the CVCC and the CVCC: happen in monosyllabic ideophones, and the ultimate syllables of disyllabic, trisyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic, and polysyllabic ideophones. As we have considered from the above descriptions, Amharic ideophones, comprise open and closed syllable shapes. In general, from the descriptions of syllable types and syllabification, we have

considered that open syllable shapes include the V, VV, CV, and CVV:, and the closed syllable shape contain the VC, VCC, CVC, CVCC, CVV:CC and CVCC: structures.

4.1.7. Summary

The purpose of this section of the study is to describe the phonology of Amharic ideophones. The analysis of the data reveals that Amharic ideophones differ from the regular phonology of the language in a few distinct phonological characteristics. The following inferences about Amharic ideophonic words can be made based on the previous discussion. Amharic ideophones use all phonemes of the regular phonology plus five click-like sounds [ǀ, ǃ, ǂ, ǁ, and tchip], which do not exist in the regular phonology.

In addition to this, Amharic ideophones use many labialized consonant sounds. As the phoneme distribution result shows, all labialized phonemes /k^w, k^{hw}, g^w, f^w, d^w, ʃ^w, ʒ^w.../ and the entire above four click-like sounds do not occur in the ideophone word-final position. They often occur in the ideophone word-initial position and word-medial positions if reduplication is considered. Moreover, except /i/ almost all vowels occur in ideophone word initial, medial, and final positions. Furthermore, the result on the phonotactics of Amharic ideophones shows that most monosyllabic ideophones show strong tendencies to end with sequences of two identical consonants. Disyllabic ideophones permit the sequences of two consonants to be either identical or different in ideophone word medial position. The syllable break often takes place between these consonant sequences. Besides, most disyllabic ideophones permit the sequences of two identical consonants in the coda of the ultimate syllable.

As the result of the suprasegmental, study illustrates, Amharic ideophones deploy expressive long vowels in ideophone word-medial and final positions. However long vowels are not predictable in regular phonology, ideophones illustrate phonetically long vowels, which express intensity, durativity, and space. Expressive consonant lengthening is also observed in ideophonic word-final positions. These phonetically very long consonants also express intensity, durativity, and space. Amharic ideophones constitute monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic, and polysyllabic ideophones words. Finally, all syllable types constitute both open and closed syllable shapes. Thus, V, VV, CV, and CVV: are open syllable types and VC, VCC, CVC, CVCC, CVV:CC and CVCC: are closed syllable types found in ideophones of the language.

4.2. The phonology of Kafa ideophones

This part of the study presents the phonology of ideophones of the language. Unlike Amharic and Oromo, Kafa is a tone language. Under this phonological description, phonemic and non-phonemic sounds inventory, phonemic and non-phonemic sounds distributions, the phonotactics, suprasegmentals, syllable structures and syllabifications of ideophones of the language are examined.

4.2.1. Phonemic and non-phonemic sound inventory of ideophones

This sub-section presents consonant and vowel phoneme inventory and the inventory of click-like sounds (verbal gestures) in ideophones of the language. The phonemic inventory shows the use of the regular consonants and vowel phonemes in ideophones of the language. On the other hand, the inventory of non-phonemic sounds examines the existence of some click-like sounds in ideophones of the language.

4.2.1.1. The consonant inventory in ideophones

The phonemic inventory of Kafa ideophones exhibit the twenty-three (23) consonant phonemes of the language plus five (5) click-like consonant sounds. Theil (2007) is a relatively recent and detailed work on the phonology of Kafa. In this work, he made two different phonological analyses of the language that he calls Kafa II and Kafa I phonology.

According to him, Kafa II is regarded as a historical reconstruction, and Kafa I is the modern phonological system of the language. In his Kafa II phonological analysis, he identifies eighteen (18) basic consonants such as /**p, b, t, d, k, g, ʔ, h, m, n, ʃ, l, w, j, p', t', tʃ', k'**/. He claims that these are purely native consonant phonemes of the language. In his Kafa I analysis, he notes four (4) loan phonemes such as /**f, s, z, and r**/ are introduced to the phonemic inventory of language via language contact, especially from Amharic. In addition to this, he claims that two consonant sounds such as [**tʃ** and **dʒ**] are the allophones of /**ʃ** and **j**/ respectively. The result of the phonemic inventory of ideophones language shows that ideophones use all phonemes of the regular phonology. It also comprises the above recently introduced phonemes except /**z**/. In short, Kafa ideophones exhibit the seventeen (17) pulmonic /**p, b, t, d, k, g, ʔ, h, m, n, f, s, ʃ, r, l, w, j**/ and

four (4) ejectives phonemes /p', t', tʃ', k'/ and five (5) click-like non-phonemic sounds that completely lack in the phonology of the language. Consider the following descriptions.

4.2.1.2. The click-like sound inventory in ideophones

As pointed out in the preceding section, Kafa ideophones comprise five click-sounds. These click-like sounds have similar phonetic properties to the phonemic click sounds found in the Khoisan language described by (Herbert 1990, Bradfield 2014, and Lionnet 2021). They have similar IPA symbols and functions across Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo. The forms are (the nasal click-like sound [ɲ], the lateral click-like sound [l̥], the post-alveolar click-like sound [ʎ], the bilabial click-like sound [ɔ]) and [tchip]. However, the tchip (suck-teeth) has no IPA symbol designation and as pointed out in the preceding section it is not phonemic in any language. In addition to this, as ideophonic words, they stand alone by themselves or conjugate with auxiliaries to form compound ideophonic words like Amharic. Moreover, most of these sounds are found in onomatopoeic ideophones. Consider the following descriptions in example 5.

Ideophones

- [5] (a) umθa áj-h-è
 IDEO.kiss make:PFV-3SGM
 ‘He kissed with audible sucking sound.’
- (b) x̣i íí-h-è
 IDEO.disapprove say:PFV-3SGM
 ‘he disapproved(it)’
- (c) ʎa íí-h-è
 IDEO.sympathy say:PFV-3SGM
 ‘he showed sympathy’
- (d) ʎuʎu íí-h-è
 IDEO.call say:PFV-3SGM
 ‘He called dog.’
- (e) !u!u!u íí-h-è
 IDEO.urge say:PFV-3SGM
 ‘He urged horse to trot.’

- (f) tchip íí-h-è
IDEO.sympathy say:PFV-3SGM
'He expressed sympathy'

As we have considered in the preceding section, the above ideophone with click-like sounds (verbal gestures) in example (5.a-f) have almost similar semantic functions as in Amharic and most of them are onomatopoeic ideophones. As noted above the click-like sound tchip has no an IPA symbol. I used the name tchip as it is.

4.2.1.3. The vowel inventory in ideophonic words

The phonemic inventory of Kafa ideophones exhibits all the five short and their counter long vowel phonemes of the language. Phonologists who studied Kafa phonology including Theil (2007) agree on the number of vowels of the regular phonology of the language. Theil (2007:199) summarizes the vowel inventory of the language and identifies five short vowel such as /i, e, a, o, u/ and their counter long vowels /ii, ee, aa, oo and uu/. As pointed out in the preceding discussion ideophones use all vowel phonemes of the regular phonology. In the previous sections, we have noted that ideophones use the all phonemes (consonants and vowels) of the regular phonology and some other new click-like sounds that completely lack in the normal phonology. Since we have seen the phoneme and non-phonemic sounds inventory in ideophones of the language, next we shall examine the distributions of the above phonemes and sounds in ideophonic words of the language. Consider the following descriptions.

4.2.2. The phoneme and click-like sound distributions in ideophones

This sub-section presents the distributions of the above phonemes and the non-phonemic (click-like) sounds in the ideophones of the language. In this part, I will examine the consonant phonemes distributions, non-phonemic (click-like) sounds distribution and vowel phoneme distributions in Kafa ideophones. These distributions are examined by the occurrences of phonemic and non-phonemic click-like sounds in ideophonic word initial, word medial and word final positions. Consider the following descriptions.

4.2.2.1. The consonant phonemes distributions

This section presents the distribution of consonant phonemes in ideophones of the language. As noted above, almost all consonant phonemes of the regular phonology occur in word-initial, word- medial and word-final positions. Consider the following descriptions.

Table 14: The consonant phonemes distributions in Kafa ideophonic words

C	WIP	Gloss	WMP	Gloss	WFP	Gloss
/b/	bák'k'ák'-	'abandoned'	hóbúbb-	'glow'	ǰǰbb-	'grasp'
/d/	dábbdább-	'nightfall'	bédó	'giant/big'	búggúdd-	'cut quickly'
/f/	fétt-	'slaughter'	t'óft'óf-	'writhe'	ǰǰfǰf-	'bat'
/g/	gáágǰf-	'smirked'	búggúll-	'role eyes'	bágg-	'mongoose'
/h/	híkk'in-	'hiccup'	háwháw-	'bad smell'	táh-	'hit forcefully'
/j/	júmbúr-	'slipped out'	jújé	'owl'	Hajj	'is that?'
/k/	káwáǰf-	'break glass'	makat-	'disapproval'	núknúkk-	'trot of dog'
/k'/	k'ák'ák'-	'crackling'	k'áp'íkáp'-	'greedy'	p'áák'k'-	'glitter'
/l/	lúúngó	'tall'	kallkall-	'fast walk'	bíll-	'disappear'
/m/	mútf'ír-	'appear suddenly'	gímǰím-	'nightfall'	gúggúm-	'fall'
/n/	níp'p'-	'stab, pierce'	ǰúúngút'-	'pinched'	dúnn-	'very black'
/p/	pátpát-	'seeped out'	téptép-	'leak, drip'	tópp-	'kill'
/p'/	p'ák'k'-	'sparkle'	p'ét'élp'éeǰf-	'care less'	tǰ'íp'p'-	'full'
/r/	rrr...	'signal to stop dance'	ǰóróól-	'very tall'	hórrr	'lead to tripe'
/ss/	-	-	másséméw-	'undermine'	t'ess	'slap'
/ǰ/	ǰét't'-	'sit tightly'	kùǰíkùnd-	'black ant'	kǰǰf-	'break glass'
/t/	túút-	'rain bird'	ǰótt-	'drag'	fútfút-	'slipped out'
/t'/	t'óp-	'kiss loudly'	dát't'ábótt'-	'jabbered'	mót't'-	'uproot'
/tǰ'/	tǰ'ííp'-	'became full'	dùtǰ'idtǰ'-	'move'	t'ótǰtǰ'-	'grab'
/w/	wúllwúll-	'fluttered'	tǰíiwúll	'dive'	-	-
/z/	-	-	-	-	-	-
/ʔ/	ʔááp'p'-	'spit food'	hááʔáá-	'breath'	háʔáhúʔ-	'chatter'

The data in Table 14 shows that Kafa ideophones use almost all consonant phonemes of the regular phonology. These consonant phonemes can occur in the word-initial, medial and final positions of ideophones. Theil (2007:212) notes the lack of phoneme /r/ in word initial position with reference of Shekki Noonoo in Leslau (1958: 137). In contrast, as the above data shows phoneme/r/ occurs in word-initial position in ideophonic words. In addition to this, Theil (2007:207) claims that phonemes /s/ and /z/ are foreign phonemes and /z/ totally lacks his consonant frequency analysis. In line with Theil (2007) claim, phoneme /z/ is hardly found in ideophonic words. However, phoneme /s/ rarely occurs in ideophonic words like [massemew] ‘ideophone used to show superiority over someone (ideophone used to make someone disclose secrets he or she knows)’. In addition, phoneme /s/ occurs in ideophonic words like [t’ess] ‘slap forcefully’. As the above data shows /s/ occurs in ideophonic word-medial and final positions. From the examples it obvious that phoneme /s/ occurs in its geminated form/ss/. Since we have seen the consonant phonemes distributions, now let us proceed to investigation of the distribution of non-phonemic click-like sounds in ideophones of the language. These sounds have their own distributions in the ideophones of the language. Consider the following description.

4.2.2.2. The click-like sound’s distributions

In the preceding section, we have noted the existence of five click-like consonants in the ideophones of the language. Here also we will delve the distributions of these sounds in the ideophones of the language. Consider the following descriptions.

Table 15: The click-like sounds distributions in Kafa ideophonic words

Sound	WIP	Gloss	WMP	Gloss	WFP	Gloss
[⊙]	⊙a-	‘kiss’	um⊙a-	‘kiss (onomatopoeic)’	-	-
[ɿ]	ɿi-	‘disapproval’	ɿiɿiɿi ...	‘expressing feeling of pain’	-	-
[]	lla-	‘show sympathy’	llalalala...	‘express regression’	-	-
[!]	!u-	‘urge house’	!u!u!u...	‘urge house (onomatopoeic)’	-	-
[tchip]	tchip	‘show sympathy’	-	-	-	-

As can be observed from Table 15, click-like sounds occur in word initial and word medial positions. These sound distributions seem the same with the distributions they have in Amharic

ideophones. Ideophones formed with click-like sounds show little differences when compared the form they have in Amharic. That is the kissing (onomatopoeic ideophone) formed with the bilabial click-like sound [ɔ] is preceded in Amharic by the high central vowel /i/ and bilabial nasal consonant phoneme /m/ as in *im*ɔa-‘kiss’ and by the high round back vowel /u/ and the bilabial nasal phoneme /m/ as *um*ɔa-‘kiss’ in Kafa. In addition to this, the ideophonic word formed by the lateral click-like sound [l] is followed by the high central vowel /i/ as in *li* -‘show sympathy’ *lililili*...‘express regression’ but followed by the low vowel /a/ in Kafa as in *la*-‘show sympathy’ and *lalalala*...‘express regression’. The nasal click-like sound seems to combine with the Amharic high central vowel /i/ in both languages as in *ɣi*-‘disapproval’. Moreover, the suck teeth (tchip) click-like sound seems not to combine with any vowel in the languages under the study. Up to here, we have seen the distributions of click-like sounds in Kafa ideophones. Next, let us continue to the description of vowel phonemes distributions in ideophones.

4.2.2.3. The vowel phoneme’s distributions

As the following data shows, Kafa vowel phonemes seem to occur in any position. Consider the following examples.

Table 16: The vowel phonemes distributions in Kafa ideophonic words

V	WIP	Gloss	WMP	Gloss	WFP	Gloss
/a/	ámábábò	‘flood’	háw-háw-	‘bad smell’	ǰá-	‘slapped’
/aa/	áákkòò	‘scavenger’	kááwútǰǰ-	‘break down’	k’áá	‘snap’
/e/	émǰǰ-	‘goat’	t’ép’ér-	‘arrived’	p’érité	‘shiny worm’
/ee/	ééllòò	‘colobusmonkey’	kéngééng-	‘very red’	kéngeléé	‘beautiful’
/i/	índzíndz-	‘beetles’	ǰungit’-	‘pinch’	bángí	‘starvation’
/ii/	ííǰǰrábáǰǰ-	‘nonsense’	tǰ’írít’-	‘skinny’	híi: híi:	‘stop dance’
/o/	óndzóndz-	‘sluggish’	hótǰ’ótǰ’-	‘abundance’	ǰákǰákò	‘loose’
/oo/	óóngóng-	‘clumsy walk’	dóppóór-	‘elephantiasis’	ǰórólóó	‘very tall’
/u/	úgè	‘pigeon’	búdd-	‘cut, split out’	ǰitu-	‘spit’
/uu/	úúkó	‘yell for help’	túútè	‘rain bird’	tutu...	‘blow horn’

As the description in Table 16 shows all vowel phonemes, occur in word-initial, word-medial, and word-final positions of ideophonic words. From the above data, it is obvious that both short and long vowels are used in ideophones of the language. Likewise, as in the regular phonology of the language, two different vowels do not occur immediately one after the other. When ideophones are reduplicated vowel /i/ is used as an epenthetic vowel as in the ideophonic word k'ap'ikap'o which means 'greedy'.

4.2.3. The phonotactics of Kafa ideophone consonants

As Bjorkman and Zeijlstra (2015:11) note cross-linguistic descriptions of inventory, phonological processes, and phonotactics are inseparably bound up with some theoretical concept of segments. According to Kager and Pater (2012:1), phonological analysis of a language normally takes phonotactics as part of the data to be considered. Every living language in the world has also its permissible sound sequences or phonotactic rules but ideophones sometimes show similar phonotactics or deviate from the regular phonology. As the following description shows, most Kafa ideophones display similar phonotactics with the regular phonology but some ideophones show different phonotactics.

Theil (2007:213-214) notes that in the language, the word medial $-C_1C_2-$ or $-C_2C_3-$ sequence is permissible. These consonantal sequences are nasal + voiced obstruent, nasal + unvoiced obstruent, obstruent +trill. According Theil (2007:213-214), two identical consonant sequences VC_1C_2 and $C_1VC_2C_3$ in word-final positions and as in the non-ideophonic word **and** 'now' and **wond** 'before' are permissible but such consonant sequences seem found in a few words in regular phonology. Two identical consonant sequences cannot occur in word final position. Two identical and /or different consonant sequences in the regular phonology are intervocalic. In such cases, syllable break occurs between the two consonant sequences. On the other hand, Theil (2007:212) reports that in the regular phonology words do not begin with trill phoneme /t/.

As the data shows, the phonotactics of ideophones seems to violate some of the above stated phonotactic rules. In ideophones the sequence of two identical consonants $C_1VC_2C_2$ are permissible in monosyllabic ideophonic word-final positions as in **ɟibb** 'hold swiftly', **díll** 'fire gun', **kúmm** 'rap/chip off', **dúnn** 'extremely back', **t'ópp** 'die abruptly', **jútt** 'hit suddenly', **tʃ'íp'p'** 'become completely full' and **t'arr** 'fart' respectively. In addition to this, some

monosyllabic ideophones also permit $-C_2C_3$ consonant sequences in the coda positions as in ideophonic word **kúmb** ‘swell’. From this word, structure $C_1VC_2C_3$ illustrates the permissible different consonants in the coda position.

Moreover, in disyllabic ideophonic words, two identical consonant sequences such as $-C_3C_3$ or $-C_4C_4$ in ideophonic word-final position are permissible as in **búggill** ‘role eyes’ **kanbatt** ‘breakdown/finished abruptly’. Furthermore, unlike the above Theil (2007:212) claims, in ideophonic word the trill phoneme occurs as ideophonic word by itself as **rr**: [rrrrr...] ‘signal used to stop cultural song and dance’.

Therefore, $-C_1C_2$, $-C_2C_3$, $-C_2C_2$, $-C_3C_3$ and $-C_4C_4$ consonant sequences in ideophonic word-final position are permissible. The $-C_1C_2$ and $-C_2C_3$ consonant sound sequence in ideophonic word **bill** ‘disappear’ and **k’ind** ‘burnout’ and in the regular words like **and** ‘now’ and **wónd** ‘before’ are common in ideophones and the regular phonology but the $-C_2C_2$, $-C_3C_3$ and $-C_4C_4$ are exclusively found in ideophones as Theil (2007:212) notes in the regular phonology words end with vowels. Like Amharic, in Kafa ideophones the vowel phonotactics seem not to show variation from the regular phonology. Since we have seen the phonotactics of ideophones, next let us examine suprasegmental features.

4.2.4. The suprasegmentals of Kafa ideophones

According to Hyman (1975:187) suprasegmental denotes phonological and grammatical units beyond segment. As we have considered in the preceding section, suprasegmental deals with lengthening, tone, intonations and stress. Out of these suprasegmental features, in this sub-section I examine the expressive consonant and vowel lengthening and tone which Kafa ideophones deploy. In addition to this, tone plays important role in ideophones of the language. Consider the following descriptions.

4.2.4.1. Consonant lengthening in ideophones

Childs (1994:186) notes expressive lengthening is connected with iconic lengthening and it undergoes (unlimited) reduplication of segments or forms. Ideophones often deploy expressive lengthening at phonological and morphological levels. In the former case, ideophones undergo

consonant and vowel lengthening. In the latter case, they undergo words lengthening via segment, syllable and word reduplication. Most of the time in ideophones lengthening takes place in word final position. In the same way in many languages, ideophones use expressive consonant and vowel lengthening to show extension, strength and duration of action and events. Lydall (2000:4) identifies the role of vowel and consonant lengthening in Hamar ideophones. In the language, ideophones use vowel and consonant lengthening to show extension. For example, **lei** shows (being/going a short while/distance) while **le::::::::::::i:** expresses (being/going a long time/distance). On the other hand, **pärr** shows (spread out once/one thing) whereas the use of consonant lengthening in **pärrrrrrrrrr** expresses (spread out far and wide). Similarly, Smoll (2014:50) notes that in Katuena ideophones deploy expressive consonant and vowel lengthening to show duration, speed and/or spatial characteristics of events. In the same way, in Kafa, ideophones also use expressive vowel and consonant lengthening to shows duration and strength of actions and events. Consider expressive consonant lengthening in the following examples.

Table 17: consonant lengthening in Kafa ideophones

No.	Ideophones	Gloss
a.	kíjǃ:	‘sound of breaking glass’
b.	bíll:	‘ideophone of cursing (damn)’
c.	díll:	‘sound of gun fire’
d.	gúgúmm:	‘fall in full length’
e.	hórr:	‘sound used to lead animals trap(pre)’
f.	rrr: rrr: rrr:	‘sound used to signal stop cultural dance’

As can be seen in Table 17 ideophones use expressive consonant lengthening in the word-final positions. In ideophones of the language, continuants such as fricatives, liquids, nasals and trills are extra-lengthened word final position. As mentioned above ideophonic word-final consonant lengthening expresses intensity and durativity of actions and events. However, this phonological feature is not common in the regular phonology of the language. As noted above, similarly ideophones also undergo extra vowel lengthening. Consider the following descriptions.

4.2.4.2. Vowel lengthening in ideophones

According to Akumbu (2016:4) in Kejom ideophones deploy vowel lengthening as one of the phonological pattern that distinguishes them from non-ideophonic words. This vowel lengthening can be extended based the speaker’s need and the ability to articulate them. Akumbu also concludes that in the language ideophones are formed via vowel lengthening and reduplication Akumbu (2016:12). Childs (1994:186) also notes that ideophones are characterized by their use of extra-long vowels as in **sũ̀** ‘continuing for short distance or period’. Kafa ideophones similarly undergo expressive extra vowel lengthening to express durativity and intensity of actions and events. This can be observed in ideophones like **káá: (kááá... (h)** ‘hit something by force’ and in some visual ideophones like **wáá: (wááá... (h)** ‘become extremely white’. On the other hand, extra-long can be used in ideophonic words like **híí: híí: híí:** ‘ideophone used to signal stop/end cultural song and dance’ and the ideophone that follows the ending signal and articulated by the entire dancer is **ahojéé:** ‘ideophone used to help dancers keep the same rhythms and stop dance uniformly.’ In these ideophones, the length of the vowel is determined by the ability to articulate by the singer and dancers respectively. Consider the following descriptions.

Table 18: Vowel lengthening in Kafa ideophones

No.	Ideophones	Gloss
a.	jáá: (h)	‘is that? (sure?)’
b.	máá:(h)	‘sound used call calf, disapproval of someone else’
c.	ǰáá: (h)	‘giving a forceful slap on one’s face’
d.	wáá: (h)	‘become extremely white’
e.	táá: (h)	‘hit forcefully’
f.	k’áá: (h)	‘sound of breaking dry wood’

As can be observed from Table 18, some ideophones in Kafa use expressive vowel lengthening. This vowel lengthening in here is quite different form long vowels of the regular lexicon. The expressive vowel lengthening in ideophones are extra-long long vowels. As the above description shows, these extra-long vowels form the CVV: syllable structure that is uncommon in the regular phonology. In addition to this, the word final long vowels express surprise, duration, intensity of

actions and events and imitated sounds. As the data shows in most cases, the extra-long vowel used in ideophones is vowel /a/. The extreme vowel lengthening in ideophones results change in vowel quality. These changes can be seen from the above examples. In examples ideophones in Table 18(a-f), the extra lengthening of vowel /a/ yields the breathy sound (h) word final positions. However, like the regular words of the language, most ideophones use both short and long vowels. Moreover, most nominal ideophones use the normalizer suffixes è/èè and ò/òò. The former is feminine nominalizer whereas the latter is masculine nominalizer. We shall see this in detail in the morphology chapter. As pointed out in the preceding section, Kafa is a tone language. The following sub-section present tones in ideophones.

4.2.4.3. The role and patterns of tones in Kafa ideophones

As we have noted in the preceding section, tone is one of the suprasegmental features. In this section, we will examine the tone patterns and functions in Kafa ideophones. Taddese (2001:34) identifies two-tone systems in the regular phonology. These are the high (H) and low (L) tones. From the entire data, it is observed that Kafa ideophones uniformly bear high (H) tone except the final vowel. Like the non-ideophonic words, in most ideophones the final vowels are nominalizing suffixes. In ideophones, these terminal vowels carry low tones as in túútè ‘rain-bird’. On the other hand, the high tones in ideophonic words show the intensity of actions or events. Since we have seen the suprasegmentals of ideophones, we shall move to the descriptions of syllable structures and syllabifications of ideophones.

4.2.5. The syllable structure of Kafa ideophones

However there is no much work on the syllables the language, Taddese (2001:4) identifies nine syllable structures in the regular phonology. These are V, VV, VVC, VCC, CV, CVV, CVC, CVVC, and CVVC(C). As the data shows, the above syllable types are also common in ideophones. In addition to this, ideophones deploy five more syllable structures and these are the [CVCC], [CVV:], [CVCC:], [CVV:C], [CVV:CC] and [CC:]. Consider the following examples.

	Syllable structure	Ideophones	Gloss
[6] (a)	V	ířírábářárò	‘nonsense’
(b)	VV	éé	‘yes’
(c)	VVC	ááp’	‘take food out of mouth’
(d)	VCC	óndzóndz	‘talk nonsense/gibberish’
(e)	CV	gágířó	‘smirking’
(f)	CVV	dópóóròò	‘elephantiasis’
(g)	CVC	řúh-	‘swift’
(h)	CVVC	p’ét’élp’ééř-	‘careless/thoughtless’
(i)	CVV:C	túú:t-	‘blow horn for long time’
(j)	CVV:CC	p’úř’p’	‘blow horn’
(k)	CVV:	waa:	‘become extremely white’
(l)	CVCC	múřřř	‘cut quickly’
(m)	CVCC:	dill:	‘sound of gun’
(n)	CC:	rr:	‘signal to cultural song and dance’

As can be observed from example [6], the syllable structures (6.a-h) are common in both ideophones and non-ideophonic words. However, the [CVVC] structure in (6.h) is rare in ideophones. On the other hand, structures from (6.i-n) are typical of ideophones. As we have noted in the preceding section, except few, most regular words in the language end with vowels. In contrast, ideophonic verbs end with consonants. To sum up this section, ideophones have syllable structure that distinguishes them from the regular phonology of the language. In general, ideophones display thirteen syllable structures including the nine syllable types which Taddese (2001:4) identifies. In the preceding section, we have observed the syllables types in ideophones of the language. Next, we shall move to the description of syllabifications of ideophones.

4.2.6. The Syllabification of Kafa ideophones

As we have noted in the preceding section, syllabification is a phonological process in which segments are positioned (slotted) around the nucleus of the syllable. As Gussmann (2002:91) notes syllabification is process that encompasses phonological construction of a language and is not merely slotting phonetically transcribed segments. Gussenhoven and Jacobs (2017:12-7) note

languages differ in types of syllables they exhibit. Some have CV and a few contain (C) V some others may have CVC and others even include one segment in the onset, nucleus and coda. However, out of these differences cross-linguistically they show the same phonological properties that the intervocalic consonants are governed by the maximum onset principle. Thus, inter vocalic consonants are slotted to the onset of the second syllable than the coda of the first syllable as far as the onset maximum principle is legitimate. As the data shows, Kafa ideophones comprises both simple and complex syllable types. According to the syllabification result, Kafa ideophone range from monosyllabic to polysyllabic ideophones. Consider the following descriptions.

4.2.6.1. Monosyllabic ideophones

In the language, most monosyllabic ideophones are verbal ideophones. They comprise from light to supper heavy syllable types and the following are some examples.

Table 19: Monosyllabic Kafa ideophones

	Monosyllabic	Ideophone	Gloss
a	VC	áh!	‘sound used to make others cautious’
b	CV	tʃʷá	‘sound of slapping someone’
c	CVV:	máá:	‘sound used to call calf, sound of undarning someone’
d	CVVC	jíif-	‘fallen (for seeds)’
e	CVC	jút-	‘hit by force something with a stick’
f	CVCC	dúdʒdʒ-	‘enter suddenly’
g	CVV:C	túú:t-	‘blow horn for long time’
h	CVV:CC	p’íí:p’p’-	‘blow horn’
i	CVCC:	t’arr:	‘fart for longer time’

As observed from the data in Table 19, monosyllabic Kafa ideophones roughly comprise nine-syllable patterns. These are VC, CV, CVV:, CVVC, CVC, CVCC, CVV:C, CVV:CC, and CVCC:. In addition to this, most ideophonic words formed by the click-like sounds (verbal gestures) as in **ɲi** ‘disapprove’, **ŋa**- ‘kiss’, **la**-‘show sympathy’, **!u**- ‘urge horse’ have the CV and also are monosyllabic. Moreover, the monosyllabic ideophone described in Table 19(c) that

displays the syllable structure CVV:, the monosyllabic ideophone in Table 19(g) that displays the CVV:C, the example ideophone CVV:CC in Table 19(h) and example ideophone in Table 19 (i) that display syllable structure CVCC: are not permitted in the regular phonology of the language. In the former case, ideophones deploy extremely long vowels in word-final positions. In the second cases, ideophone undergo the extremely long nucleus. While in the latter case, the final consonants can be produced for a very long time as much as the speaker can produce it. Moreover, as examples in Table 19 (a, e, f & g) depict most monosyllabic ideophones that have the CC and/or (CC:) coda sequences have short vowels. Furthermore, the above data shows that the phonology of monosyllabic ideophones constitute in Table 19 (a b, & c) light syllables, ideophone Table 19 (h) is heavy syllable type and ideophone in Table 19 (i) is super heavy syllable type respectively. Kafa ideophones also constitute disyllabic ideophones. Consider the following description.

4.2.6.2. Disyllabic ideophones

As the data shows, most disyllabic ideophones are verbal ideophones. Like the above monosyllabic ideophones, they also comprise light to super heavy syllable types. They following are some examples of disyllabic ideophones.

Table 20: Disyllabic Kafa ideophones

	Disyllabic	Ideophones	Gloss
a	V.CVC	áp'ér-	'became full for fluid'
b	VVC.CVV	Úúkkóó	'yell for help'
c	CVV.CVV	ʃíifòò	'genet'
d	CVC.CVC	junbur-	'slip suddenly'
e	CV.CVC	mútʃír-	'appear suddenly'
f	CVV.CV	t'éejò	'thunder'
g	CVC.CVCC	tʃúbbíll-	'fall into the water'

As can be observed from Table 20, disyllabic Kafa ideophonic words roughly follow the next seven syllabic patterns such as V.CVC, VVC.CVV, CVV.CVV, CVC.CVC, CV.CVC, CVV.CV, and CVC.CVCC. In the language, most disyllabic ideophones follow the normal syllable types of

the regular phonology of the language. In addition to this, the above analysis illustrates certain positional restrictions in disyllabic ideophones such as the CVCC pattern appears word-final, the CV, CVV, and CVC patterns occur either in word-initial or final syllable positions and V and VVC occur word-initial syllable. From the above examples, it is obvious that most disyllabic ideophonic nouns as in Table 20(c & f) end with VV and V sequences respectively. These vowels are often nominalizing suffixes in the regular phonology. On the other hand, most disyllabic ideophonic verbs end with consonants C and CC sequences as example ideophones in Table 20 (a, d & e) and Table 20 (g) respectively. Moreover, as noted above, disyllabic ideophone in the language constitute light and heavy syllable types like those described in monosyllabic ideophones. Thus, Kafa disyllabic ideophone constitutes the same syllable patterns the regular phonology of the language employ. Since we have seen the syllabication of disyllabic ideophones, let us proceed to the descriptions of trisyllabic ideophones in the language.

4.2.6.3. Trisyllabic ideophones

As the following description shows, Kafa ideophones comprise ideophonic verbs, ideophonic nouns and adjectival ideophones. Like monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophones, trisyllabic ideophones also include light, heavy and super heavy syllable types. In addition to this, most trisyllabic ideophonic verbs end with consonant (s) but most trisyllabic ideophonic nouns end with vowel(s). Likewise, with ideophonic nouns, trisyllabic adjectival ideophones end with vowels. Consider the following descriptions.

Table 21: Trisyllabic Kafa ideophones

	Trisyllabic	Ideophones	Gloss
a	VC.CVC.CV	ámábàmbò	‘flood (from the sound of gush)’
b	CV.CV.CVCC	p’ít’ík’inn-	‘turned upside-down suddenly change position’
c	CVC.CVC.CVC	ǰúkkúkkíl-	‘swing, pendulum’
d	CV.CV.CV	gágǰfò	‘smirk (insultative)’
e	CVC.CVC.CV	métǰǰfékkò	‘type of bird named by its song’
f	CV.CVC.CV	tútúttó	‘to chase something/somebody’
g	CV.CVV.CVV	dópóóròò	‘elephantiasis, swollen legs’
h	CV.CVC.CVV	ǰóróóllóó	‘very tall’

i	CVC.CVC.CVV	dúmbúlléé	‘fat and attractive(usually a woman)
j	CVC.CV.CVCC	nákkínákk-	‘trot (dog)’
k	CVV.CV.CVVC	dóókídóók-	‘sluggish, bleary’

As data in Table 21 depicts, trisyllabic ideophonic words roughly display the following syllable patterns. These are VC.CVC.CV, CV.CV.CVCC, CVC.CVC.CVC, CV.CV.CV, CVC.CVC.CV, CV.CVC.CV, CV.CVV.CVV, CV.CVC.CVV, CVC.CVC.CVV, CVV.CV.CVVC and CVC.CV.CVCC. As the above data illustrates that, almost all trisyllabic ideophones possess onsets necessarily but contain optional codas. As we have noted above trisyllabic ideophones include ideophonic verbs. Examples in Table 21 (b, c, j and k) are ideophonic verbs and they end with consonants. Example ideophones in Table 21 (a & e) are ideophonic nouns and like any non-ideophonic noun they end with vowels. Example ideophones in Table 21 (g, h & i) are ideophonic adjectives and they end with vowel sound like any other non-ideophonic adjectives. Ideophones in Table 21 (b, d, h & i) are basic trisyllabic ideophones. On the other hand, most trisyllabic ideophones like in Table 21 (a, c, f, j & k) are formed through reduplication.

Trisyllabic ideophones in Table 21 (j&k) become trisyllabic ideophones via reduplication of the monosyllabic bases and inserting vowel <i> to connect the CVCC and CVVC bases respectively. Thus, CVCC<i>CVCC ⇒ CVCCiCVCC and CVVC<i>CVVC ⇒ CVVCiCVVC. For example, the monosyllabic ideophone tʃóbb- which means ‘sparkle/nasty’ becomes trisyllabic ideophonic verb via reduplication as in tʃóbb<i>tʃóbb í-h-è ‘become nasty’ and the monosyllabic ideophone dóók ‘blurry’ become trisyllabic ideophone dóókídóók í-h-è ‘become blurry/sluggish’. In addition to this, disyllabic ideophones also become trisyllabic ideophonic nouns through suffixing nominalizing vowels as in Table 21 (a, e, & f). The final vowel(s) in this trisyllabic ideophonic nouns are suffixed to the disyllabic ideophonic bound stems. Moreover as pointed out in the preceding discussion, in the language most trisyllabic ideophonic adjectives like in Table 21 (g, h & i) are formed by suffixing the final vowel(s) to the disyllabic ideophonic word roots. Since we have seen trisyllabic ideophonic words, we shall move to the description of quadricsyllable ideophonic words.

4.2.6.4. Quadrisyllabic ideophones

Kafa ideophones constitute numerous quadricsyllable ideophonic words. As the data shows, most quadric syllabic ideophones are formed through reduplication but some are real quadricsyllable. The following description presents the syllabification of these ideophone types. Like the preceding trisyllabic ideophones, quadrisyllabic ideophonic nouns and ideophonic adjectives end with vowel(s) and ideophonic verbs end with consonant(s). In the description, it is observed that most quadrisyllabic ideophones are light syllables and some are heavy syllable types. In short, the former types contain short vowels and the latter types contain long vowels in their nucleus. Consider the following descriptions.

Table 22: Quadrisyllabic Kafa ideophones

	Quadricsyllable	Ideophones	Gloss
a	VC.CV.CV.CV	Ámbédánè	‘very small’
b	CVC.CVC.CV.CV	wák’k’ák’k’ílò	‘fraudulent’
c	CV.CV.CV.CV	kófíkófò	‘a poison warm which damages fingers’
d	CVC.CV.CVVC.CV	wúllíwáákkò	‘spin, rotate something’
e	CVC.CV.CVC.CV	jámbírá’t’ò	‘stretch-out legs when sitting’
f	CV.CVC.CV.CVC	fúritfúrit-	‘slipup,
g	CVC.CV.CVC.CV	bándzíbándzò	‘jabbered/talked nonsense’
h	CVV.CV.CVV.CV	núútʃínúútʃ’ò	‘smile, show smiley face’
i	CV.CVC.CV.CVC	bágárbágár	‘drop tears/cry’

As can be observed from Table 22, Kafa quadrisyllabic ideophones roughly display nine syllable patterns. These are VC.CV.CV.CV, CVC.CVC.CV.CV, CV.CV.CV.CV, CVC.CV.CVVC.CV, CVC.CV.CVC.CV, CV.CVC.CV.CVC, CVC.CV.CVC.CV, CVV.CV.CVV.CV and CV.CVC.CV.CVC. From the above description, it is obvious that quadric-syllable ideophones constitute two classes. Ideophones in Table 22(a, d & e) are pure quadrisyllabic ideophones and those in Table 22(b, c, f, g, h & i) are the results of reduplication. In addition to this, most of these ideophones deploy full reduplication and some of them deploy partial reduplication. I shall give a detailed description of this in the morphology part. Moreover, Kafa ideophones also

comprise polysyllabic ideophones. The next description presents the syllabification of polysyllabic ideophones.

4.2.6.5. Polysyllabic ideophones

There are too many polysyllabic ideophonic words in Kafa. The data in Table 22 presents some examples of polysyllabic ideophone in the language. As can be seen from the data, most of these ideophone types deploy reduplications but a few ideophonic words are purely polysyllabic. In addition to this, almost all polysyllabic ideophones have short vowels and these seem because of the ideophonic word length. Consider the following description.

Table 23: polysyllabic Kafa ideophones

	Polysyllabic	Ideophones	Gloss
a	V.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	íjírábáǎrò	‘nonsense, rubbish’
b	CVC.CV.CV.CVC.CV.CV	k’iŋgírak’iŋgírò	‘twisted’
c	CV.CV.CV.CV...CV	t’át’át’át’á...t’á -	‘repeated popping sound’
d	CVC.CVC.CVC...CVC	két’két’két’két’...két’-	‘shrieked with laughter’
e	CVC.CVC.CVC...CVCC	bét’ét’ét’ét...t’ét’t’-	‘offensive pungent smell’
f	CV.CV.CV.CV...CVC	tʃ’órórórórórór...rór(r)-	‘sound of pouring liquid’
g	CVC.CV.CVC.CV...CVCC	k’índík’índí... k’índ-	‘burn black’
h	CVC.CVC.CV...CVC.CVCC	fókkóllí... fókkóll-	‘walk limply’
i	CVC.CV.CVC.CV....CVCC:	díllídíllí...díll:	‘sound of an automatic gun’

From Table 23 it is observed that polysyllabic ideophones roughly display the following nine syllable patterns. These are V.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV, CVC.CV.CV.CVC.CV.CV, CV.CV.CV.CV...CV, CVC.CVC.CVC...CVC, CVC.CVC.CVC...CVCC, CV.CV.CV.CV...CVC, CVC.CV.CVC.CV...CVCC, CVC.CVC.CV...CVC.CVCC and CVC.CV.CVC.CV....CVCC:. As indicated above, polysyllabic ideophones in the language are of two types. Ideophones as in Table 23 (a) are none reduplicated (basic) polysyllabic ideophonic words. On the other hand, polysyllabic ideophonic words as in Table 23 (b-i) are the results of reduplication. The above description indicates that in polysyllabic ideophonic words, the (V) syllable structure is restricted at initial syllable position and the CV and CVC syllable structures

occur at word-initial, medial and final syllable positions. Moreover, the CVCC and CVCC: remain occurring in the word-final syllable positions. Furthermore, polysyllabic ideophones deploy both total and partial reduplications. Ideophone like in Table 23 (b, c, d, g & h) and ideophones in Table 23 (d&e) are some examples these types respectively. As can be observed from the above description, polysyllabic ideophones can be made loner according to the interest of the speaker, as they believe enough message is conveyed via the ideophonic words. Furthermore, the above description shows that polysyllabic ideophone that underwent reduplication geminate the coda of the ultimate syllables to indicate the intensity or strength of the actions or the events. Besides this, in the above description we have seen that Kafa ideophones comprise monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic and polysyllabic ideophones. In all of these syllable types, open and closed syllable types are abundant. The following description shows these closed and open syllable types. Consider the following descriptions.

4.2.6.6. Open syllables ideophones

From the above description, we have noted that almost all ideophonic verbs have closed syllable types in the coda of their ultimate syllables. On the contrary, most ideophonic noun and ideophonic adjectives have open syllable types in their ultimate syllable codas. The following description shows some examples open syllable types.

Table 24: Open syllable Kafa ideophones

	Syllable	Ideophones	Gloss
a	CV	ʃá-	‘sound of slapping someone’
b	CVV.CVV	déékòò	‘dwarf, very short’
c	CVV:	wááá...	‘become very white’

From Table 24 we can observe that ideophones of the language encompass open syllable types. These open syllable types comprise the CV, CVV, and CVV: syllable types. As Theil (2007) notes all Kafa, regular words end with vowels. However, the CVV: type exclusively found in ideophones. In addition to this, Kafa ideophones also encompass closed syllable types. Consider the following examples.

4.2.6.7. Closed syllables ideophones

Like Amharic ideophones, Kafa ideophones contain closed syllable types. From the entire description, we have noticed that all syllable types constitute closed syllable types, such as VC, CVC, CVCC, CVVC, CVVCC, CVV:C, CVV:CC, and CVCC:.. Consider the following decryptions.

Table 25: Closed syllable Kafa ideophones

	Syllable	Ideophones	Gloss
a	VC	Áh	‘be cautious’
b	CVC.CVC	búggúd-	‘cut and split’
c	CVVC	júúf	‘enter without quickly’
d	CVV:C	tʃúú:t’	‘catch tightly’
e	CVV:CC	p’í:p’p’	‘blow horn’
f	CVVCC	tʃ’úút’t’	‘catch tightly’
g	CVC.CVC.CVCC	fót’fót’fót’t’-	‘simmer/babble’
h	CVC.CV.CVC.CV.CVCC:	díllidíllidíll:	‘sound of an automatic gun’

As the data in Table 25 shows, all syllable types such as monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic and polysyllabic ideophones in the language constitute closed syllable types. As the entire data depicts, monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophones have numerous closed syllable types compared with the rest syllable types.

4.2.7. Summary

As the result of the finding depicts, Kafa ideophones use almost all consonants and vowel phonemes of the regular phonology. In addition to this, the phonemic inventory shows that ideophones exhibit five click-like sounds and these click-like sounds are [ɲ], [ʘ], [ɺ], [!] and **tchip** (suck-teeth).

As the phoneme distribution analysis shows, except phonemes /z/, /s/ and the click-like sounds almost all consonants of the regular phonology are distributed in word-initial, medial and final position in ideophonic words. According to the data, phoneme /z/ seems lacking in ideophones

but it may happen in some borrowed ideophones. However, phoneme /s/ is restricted in word medial and final positions only. These phoneme /s/ occurs in a few ideophonic words, as in **mássáméw** ‘a word used contextually either to declare superiority over someone or to make someone disclose secret by using a negative imposition through this word’ and imitative ideophonic word **t’éss** ‘slap’. The word **mássáméw** also exists in several Omotic languages, such as Shekki Noonoo, Dawuroo and Woliyyita having the same form, meaning and use. As the finding of the study shows, the above click-like sounds are distributionally restricted in word initial and medial positions.

In addition to this, the phonotactics analysis of ideophones shows that ideophones violate some phonotactic rules of the regular phonology. However Theil (2007:212) claims in the regular Kafa words phoneme /r/ doesn’t occur in word initial positions, in ideophonic words it occurs as in **rr**: (**rrrr...**) ‘to signal stop cultural dance and song’ and as in **hórr**: (**hórrr...**) ‘sound of leading a prey into trap’. Besides, in the prosaic language two different consonant sequences VC₁C₂ and C₁VC₂C₃ regular words and **and** ‘now’ and **kemb** ‘sale’ are permissible in the coda position. In addition to these consonant sequences, most monosyllabic ideophones allow two identical consonant sequences C₁VC₂C₂ as in ideophonic word **fett** ‘slaughter quickly’. As the data shows, the VC₂C₃ structure does not exist in monosyllabic ideophones. This structure is also rare in regular monosyllabic words except in the above example **and** ‘now’. Here also it seems that the glottal phoneme /ʔ/ disappeared or deleted. Therefore, the two identical consonant sequences C₁VC₂C₂ in monosyllabic ideophones is typical to ideophones. As noted earlier, the vowel phonotactics in ideophones remain the same with the regular phonology except the show expressive lengthening in ideophones.

Moreover, the result on the suprasegmental features shows that Kafa ideophones employ extreme consonant lengthening as in imitative ideophonic word **kíff**: (**kífff...**) ‘sound of glass breaking’ in word final positions. Likewise, ideophones also use extra-long vowels that are different from lexical long vowels in word final positions as in **wáá**: (**wááá...(h)**) ‘become very white’ and **jáá**: (**jááá...(h)**) ‘slap force fully’. Such lengthening in ideophones shows intensity of actions and events. Besides, extreme vowel lengthening affects the vowel quality. Consequently, vowels that underwent expressive vowel lengthening usually grave as breathy or creaky vowels.

In addition to this, ideophones use evenly high /H/ tones in the entire syllables of words. These high /H/ tones in ideophones show the intensity of actions and events.

As the result of the finding also shows, syllable types CVCC, CVV:, CVV:C, CVV:CC, CVCC: and CC: are typical to ideophones. In addition to this, ideophones also display the eight syllable types which Taddese (2001:42) identifies in the regular phonology of the language. Based on the result of the finding, Kafa ideophone are classified as monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic and polysyllabic ideophones.

Kafa ideophones constitute open syllable types V, VV, CV, CVV and closed syllable types VC, VCC, CVC, CVCC, CVVC, CVV:C, CVV:CC, CVVCC and CVCC:. In conclusion, Kafa ideophones have unique phonological features, which distinguish them from the regular phonology of the languages. These phonological deviations are observed in phoneme inventory, phoneme distribution, phonotactics, suprasegmental features such as expressive consonant lengthening, vowel lengthening and tone patterns, syllable types and syllable shapes. In the language, ideophones use high (H) tone in all ideophonic stems and low tone systems in Nominalizer suffixes and adjectivalizing suffixes such as /è//èè/ and /ò/ (òò).

4.3. The Phonology of Oromo ideophones

This section presents the phonology of Oromo ideophones. This phonological description comprises phonemic and non-phonemic sound inventory, phonemic and non-phonemic sound distributions, phonotactics, suprasegmental features, syllable structures, syllabification and syllable shapes in Oromo ideophones respectively. Like the Amharic and Kafa ideophones, Oromo ideophones also show unique phonological features. As we have considered in the earlier descriptions the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages ideophones share the universal unique phonological features.

4.3.1. Phonemic and non-phonemic sound inventory in ideophones

As the ideophonic data shows, Oromo ideophones contain the regular phonemes and other non-phonemic click-like sounds (verbal-gestures). The phonemic inventory includes all consonants and vowels of the regular phonology of the language. On the other hand, the non-phonemic sound inventory includes the inventory of click-like sound exclusively found in ideophones. Consider the following descriptions.

4.3.1.1. Consonant phoneme's inventory in ideophones

As pointed out above consonant phoneme inventory deals with the inventory of consonant of the prosaic language. Oromo has 24 consonants and 5 short vowels with their long counterparts. Researchers like (Teferi 2019:30, Fikadu 2001:188 and Lloret 1997:495) identify consonant phonemes such as 19 pulmonic /b, d, t, k, g, ʔ, m, n, ɲ, f, s, ʃ, h, tʃ, dʒ, l, r, w, j/, one implosive phoneme /ɗ/ and four ejectives /p', t', tʃ', k'/. The regular phonology of the language exhibits these consonant phonemes. In the same way, Oromo ideophones use all of these consonant phonemes of the regular phonology and some click-like sounds. The following explanation presents the symbols and their phonological characterizations.

4.3.1.2. Click-like sound's inventory in ideophones

In addition to the above regular consonants phoneme, Oromo ideophones use five non-phonemic click-like sounds. These click-like sounds are the nasal click-like sound [ɲ], the lateral click-like sound [l̥], the post-alveolar click-like sound [ʎ], the bilabial click-like sound [ɔ] and [tchip]. As we have considered in the preceding descriptions, all of these click-like sounds are distributed in Amharic and Kafa ideophones. In Oromo, these click-sounds are found almost with similar forms, meanings and function as in Amharic and Kafa. The following are some Oromo ideophones that contain the above five click-like sounds.

Ideophones

- [7] (a) umɔa god'e
IDEO.kiss made:PFV-3SGM
'kissed audible sound'
- (b) ɲi dʒed'e
IDEO.disapprove say:PFV-3SGM
'disapproved'
- (c) !a!a!a dʒed'e
IDEO.urge say:PFV-3SGM
'urged horse'
- (d) lalala dʒed'e
IDEO.regrate say:PFV-3SGM
'regretted'
- (e) lululu dʒed'e
IDEO.call say:PFV-3SGM
'call dog'
- (f) tchip dʒed'e
IDEO.sympathy say:PFV-3SGM
'expressed sympathy'

As the description in [7] shows, Oromo ideophone exhibit the above five click-like sounds. Like any other ideophonic words, ideophones formed with the click-like sounds also combine with

auxiliaries to form ideophonic verbs. The kissing ideophone umθa conjugates auxiliary goḁe ‘do/make’ but all the rest can combine with auxiliary dʒede ‘say’. They can also be used alone (without conjugating with auxiliaries) so that they can also function as verbal gestures. Sometimes some of the above ideophones have different meanings the non-reduplicated and reduplicated forms. The ideophones !a dʒed-e accompanied with frown facial expression it means ‘hatred of someone’. However, the reduplicated form as in example (7.d) expresses regression. In addition to this, ideophone !a dʒed-e sometimes has a derogative meaning. This will be treated under the morphology section. Since we have seen the inventory of consonant phonemes and click-like sounds, we shall move to the inventory of vowel phonemes in ideophones of the language.

4.3.1.3. The vowel inventory in ideophones

As mentioned above in the regular phonology of the language there are five short vowels and long counter parts of these short ones such as short vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ and long vowels /ii, ee, aa, oo, uu/ (Teferi 2019:37 and Lloret 1997:494). Like the consonant phonemes, Oromo ideophones use all vowels of the regular phonology. Since we have seen the phonemes and non-phonemic sounds inventory, we shall move to the descriptions of the phonemics and the non-phonemic sounds distributions in ideophones of the language.

4.3.2. The Phonemic and non-phonemic sound distributions in ideophones

This sub-section presents the phoneme distributions in ideophonic words. As pointed out above the phonemic and non-phonemic sounds distribution covers the distributions of consonant and vowel of the regular phonology and the click-like sounds identified in the preceding inventory.

4.3.2.1. The consonant phoneme’s distributions

As the data shows, almost all consonant phonemes of the language are distributed in ideophonic words-initial, medial and final positions. Consider the following ideophonic words.

Table 26: Consonant phoneme distributions in Oromo ideophonic words

C	WIP	Gloss	WMP	Gloss	WFP	Gloss
/b/	biddik'u	'to walk'	birbirbir-	'shivered'	t'ab-	'drip, trickle'
/p'/	p'iip'	'blow horn'	k'urup'e	'gazelle'	gip'p'-	'bang'
/m/	murt'ut't'-	'sprint'	dambal-	'tumbled off'	k'uk'um-	'crush/chew'
/f/	Furafuree	'pendulum'	fuurr-	'throw'	kartʃaf-	'bite'
/t/	tuturuu-	'horn'	tuturuff-	'hopped'	ʃaatatt-	'lumpy'
/d/	diditʃu	'run/tapping'	dok'dok'ee	'motorbike'	ʔadud-	'pigeon'
/d'/	ɗaa-	'annoyed'	ɗuɗuɗii	'genet'	-	-
/t'/	t'aʔt'aʔt'aʔ-	'popped'	k'urt'um-	'crash'	limit'-	'very dark'
/s/	Suksuku	'trotting'	sefelsefel-	'restless'	tʃammi-	'mastication'
/n/	Nufuu	'boredom'	hobonbole	'hurricane'	funun-	'bleed'
/l/	lip'p'-	'extinguish'	hulluk'-	'slipped out'	bilbill-	'blaze'
/r/	rambaa-	'fall'	furtuu	'key'	dunfur-	'pretty'
/tʃ'/	tʃ'alāh-	'entered'	tʃ'aal-	'silent'	batʃbatʃ	'slopped'
/ʃ/	ʃaaʃoo	'white'	kaʃam-	'break'	kaʃ-	'break down'
/tʃʃ/	tʃʃuuh	'chase ape'	kartʃabbu	'scorpion'	ʔililtʃ	'rejoice'
/dʒ/	dʒorggaa	'fall'	dʒardʒar-	'hasty'	badʒodʒ-	'trembled'
/ɲ/	-	-	mɲɲuk'u	'tiptoed'	haɲɲ-	'bite abruptly'
/k/	karkarroo	'warthog'	kurkurs-	'steer'	suksuk-	'trot'
/g/	godissee	'crossed-legs'	ʔurunguu	'owl'	gututʃunge	'bird/parrot'
/k'/	k'orop'iissa	'grasshopper'	k'utʃumee	'very short'	tʃafak'-	'capture'
/ʔ/	ʔudududu-	'gush out'	haʔah	'vomiting'	golgolaaʔ	'dawn'
/h/	hiʔi-	'denied'	boh	'rejection'	haʔah	'vomiting'
/w/	wango	'civet cat'	t'awalwaallee	'hesitant'	hawhaw-	'bark'
/j/	jejji	'wolf'	ʔiijja	'cry for help'	ʔaajj	'no/not'

As observed from Table 26, Oromo ideophones use all consonant phonemes in the regular phonology of the language. Except for some phonemes such as /d' and ɲ/ almost all phonemes of the language occur in the initial, medial and final positions of the ideophonic words. Phoneme /d' occurs at word-initial and medial positions and phoneme /ɲ/ occurs in a medial and final positions.

Amina (2013:18) claims that two phonemes such as /tʃ/ and /j/ do not occur in Oromo ideophones. However, my data shows phonemes /tʃ/ and /j/ occur in the ideophones of the language. They occur in all positions of the word, such as word-initial, word-medial and word-final positions. In addition to this, in the regular phonology of the language phonemes like / h, w and ʔ/ do not occur at word-final positions but in ideophones of the language they occur in words like juuh- ‘swift’ and gaw ‘sound of bang’ and golgolaaʔ which means ‘dawn’.

4.3.2.2. The click-like sound’s distributions

As we have seen in the preceding sections, there are ideophonic words that contain click-like sounds. However, they are few in number click-like sounds have their own distributional restrictions. Consider the following descriptions.

Table 27 the distributions of click-like sound in Oromo ideophones

Sound	WIP	Gloss	WMP	Gloss	WFP	Gloss
[ɣ]	ɣi-	‘disapproval’	ɣiɣiɣi ...	‘expressing feeling of pain’	-	-
[ʘ]	ʘa-	‘kiss’	umʘa-	‘kiss (onomatopoeic)’	-	-
[tchip]	tchip	‘show sympathy’	-	-	-	-
[ll]	lla-	‘show hatred’	llalla...	‘express regression’	-	-
[!]	!a-	‘urge house’	!a!a!a...	‘urge house (onomatopoeic)’	-	-

As can be observed from 27, none of the above click-like sounds occurs in ideophonic word-final positions. They are mainly restricted to happen in ideophonic word-initial positions. On the other hand, the bilabial click-like sound [ʘ] also occurs in word-medial positions. The rest seem to happen in word-medial positions in the reduplicated forms. This distributional restriction is the same across the three languages under the study. In addition to this, the above click-like sounds are consonant sounds. Up to this, we have seen the distributions of consonants in Oromo ideophonic words. Next, we shall move to the descriptions of vowel phonemes distributions in ideophonic words. Consider the following descriptions.

4.3.2.3. The vowel phoneme's distributions

Teferi (2019:39) and Habte (2003:19) claim that in Oromo vowels only occur in word-medial and final positions. In the same way in ideophones, vowel phonemes occur in word-medial and final positions. Consider the following examples.

Table 28: Vowel phoneme distributions in Oromo ideophonic words

V	WMP	Gloss	WFP	Gloss
/a/	Kakawe	'thunder'	tʃa	'slap'
/aa/	ʃaaʃoo	'white'	ʃaa:	'rushing sound of falling water'
/e/	Lelala	'convalescent, relapse'	k'oke	'boiled'
/ee/	weetʃa	'very white'	tʃotʃoree	'mixed colored'
/i/	ʔililtʃa	'rejoice'	hiʔi-	'deny, the sound of denial'
/ii/	Kanniissa	'bee'	ʔiʃii:	'sound for something preposterous'
/o/	Kolkolle	'empty'	tuntuno	'very fat'
/oo/	Karkaroo	'warthog'	ʃaaʃoo	'white'
/u/	hamumatʃu	'yawn'	hirk'infu	'hiccup'
/uu/	ʃuuh-	'swift, fly away'	ifuu:	'ideophone for a sudden bad smell'

As observed in Table 28, vowel phonemes do not happen in ideophonic word-initial positions. The data makes it is clear that every Oromo vowel, long and short, may be found in the word-final and word-medial places of the ideophones. Nonetheless, Amina (2013:19) notes that ideophonic words have short vowels in both the word-final and word-medial positions. Ideophonic words such as ʃaa:, which means "rushing sound of falling water," ʔiʃii, which means "sound for something preposterous," and ʔifuu:, which means "ideophone for a sudden bad smell," are examples of this. Long vowels occur in the final position of ideophonic words. Vowel lengthening will be covered in the section on suprasegmental development. Above we have seen the phonemes distributions. Next shall move to the descriptions of the phonotactics in Oromo ideophones. Consider the following descriptions.

4.3.3. The phonotactics of Oromo ideophone consonants

The phonotactic is one of the issues in phonological analysis. Like the languages of the world, Oromo has its own permissible sound sequencing system. As Lloret (1997:498) notes, Oromo words end with vowels. In the language, vowels do not start words. In addition to this, Lloret (1997:502) notes that in the language more than two successive consonant sequences are not impermissible. This CC sequence occurs intervocalically and syllable breaks often take place in the middle of the two consonants. Moreover, Fikadu (2014:188) reports some phonotactic rules of the regular phonology as follows:

- a) It is not permitted to use more than two consonant sequence, either the same or different.
- b) Consonant clusters and gemination take place in the word-medial position.
- c) More than two consecutive vowel sequences are not permitted.

Since we have considered some general phonotactic rules of regular phonology, let us start the descriptions of consonant phonotactics in Oromo ideophones. As data shows, most monosyllabic ideophones end with [-CC] sequences as in **lip’p’**- ‘extinguish’ **dubb-** ‘drop’, **ball-** ‘gunfire’, and **tarr-** ‘sew a cloth quickly’. In these ideophonic words, monosyllabic ideophones have CV[C₂C₂] patterns. However, as noted above in the regular phonology the [-C₂C₂-] sequence is intervocalic. In addition to this, in the language some disyllabic ideophones end with [-CC] sequences as in ideophones like **k’artjaff-** ‘bite something’, **tj’illimm-** ‘slap forcefully’. These final consonant sequences are often [-C₃C₃] pattern. Therefore, unlike the regular phonology, ideophonic word final consonant sequences -C₂C₂ in monosyllabic ideophones and -C₃C₃ disyllabic ideophonic words are permissible.

Like in Amharic and Kafa, Oromo vowels also do not show different phonotactics from the regular phonology. Like the regular phonology, vowel phonemes do not start ideophonic words. In Oromo, ideophones employ expressive consonant and vowel lengthening. Consider the following suprasegmental features descriptions.

4.3.4. The suprasegmental of Oromo ideophones

Suprasegmental features are phonological units that deal with length (duration), stress, tone, and intonation, as we have seen from the explanation that came before it. One of the suprasegmental feature lengths is the subject of this section of the investigation. Similarly, to Amharic and Kafa, Oromo ideophones also use lengthening of vowels and consonants. Think on the descriptions that follow.

4.3.4.1. Consonant lengthening

Consonant lengthening is a frequent phonological feature in Oromo ideophones. Compared to the language's lexically long consonants, this consonant lengthening is distinct. Consonant lengthening in ideophones of the language is expressive lengthening, like in Kafa and Amharic. Expressional lengthening typically occurs at the word's last position. Such expressive consonant lengthening employed in ideophones is phonetic. Look at the information below.

Table 29: Consonant lengthening in Oromo ideophones

No.	Ideophones	Gloss
a.	ball:	‘sound of gun fire’
b.	birr:	‘bird’s fly’
c.	furr:	‘sound of stone when thrown by force’
d.	puss:	‘continuous release of a hissing fart’
e.	fiŋŋ:	‘continuous release of urine’
f.	tʃillimm:	‘slap someone forcefully’
g.	buff:	‘sound of gun which does not produce heavy sound’
h.	bumm:	‘continuous release of loud fart’

As can be observed from Table 29, ideophone deploy consonant lengthening at ideophonic word-final positions. Such consonant lengthening is done to depict the duration and the strength of the action or the events expressed. As the above example ideophones show, the lateral sound /l/, the trill sound /r/, the spirant sounds /s/ /ʃ/ and /f/ and the nasal consonant /m/ are lengthened. In such cases, the speaker only determines the lengthening of final consonants. The speaker can make

consonant pronunciation as longer as he/she can produce until he/she feels that enough messages are conveyed. In addition to this, ideophones also use vowel lengthening in word-medial and final positions. Consider the following descriptions.

4.3.4.2. Vowel lengthening in ideophones

Lydall (2000:4) points out that Hammer ideophones, like the ideophonic word *le*, use extra-vowel lengthening. *le::::::::::::i:* express (existing for a long time or traveling far). According to Ameka (2001:30), vowel lengthening should be used in ideophonic word-final locations. In line with this claim, in Oromo, the vast majority of ideophones use expressive vowel lengthening in the word-final positions. As the following descriptions illustrates, ideophones use expressive vowel lengthening to express duration and intensity of activities and events. However, this expressive vowel lengthening in language is solely a phonetic characteristic. Consider the following description.

Table 30: Vowel lengthening in Oromo ideophones

No.	Ideophones	Gloss
a.	faʃaa:	‘splash water’
b.	ʔifii:	‘sound produced for something ridiculous/disapproval’
c.	hatt’ijfoo:	‘sound of sneeze’
d.	ʔifuu:	‘sound produced when bad smell suddenly comes to nose’
e.	muu:	‘disapproval’
f.	ʔuu:woj	‘yell for help’
g.	p’ii:p’	‘blow horn’

As the description in Table 30 depicts, vowel lengthening in ideophones is quite different from the lexically long vowels of the regular phonology. In ideophones of the language, almost all vowels can undergo expressive lengthening. However, Amina (2013:20) claims, in Oromo ideophones only three vowels such as (/a/, /u/ and /o/) deploy word-final lengthening and front high vowel /i/ often remains short word-final position. In contrast to this claim, in ideophones vowel /i/ can extremely be lengthened word-final position as in the ideophonic word in Table 30(b) ʔifii: (ʔifiii...) ‘disapproval’. Likewise, the Amharic and Kafa ideophones, Oromo

ideophonic word final extra-long vowels grave as voiceless breathy or creaky sounds. For instance, the above ideophonic words **ʔifii**: ‘disapproval’, and **ʔifuu**: ‘Sound used in reaction of sudden offensive smell’ end with the breathy /h/ as in **ʔifiii... (h)** and **ʔifuuu...(h)**. From this, we realize that word-final position expressive vowel lengthening in ideophones affects the vowel quality. Since we have seen here the suprasegmental features in ideophones, let us move to the description of syllable structure and syllabification in ideophones.

4.3.5. The syllable structures of Oromo ideophones

In this part, we will examine the syllable structures of Oromo ideophones. As Habte (2003:25) reports Oromo has the **C V₁ (V₁) (C)** syllable template in its regular phonology. Similarly, (Wako 1981:37, Lloret 1991:155, Griefeno-Mewis 2001:21, Habte 2003:19 and Teferi 2019:43) note that the language has the CV, CVV, CVC and CVVC syllable structures in its regular phonology. Amina (2013:20) also identifies the above four syllable types in ideophones of the language. However, as the result of the study show, the number of syllables in ideophones is more than the above syllable types. The following description illustrates that ideophones comprise four additional syllable types. These are CVV:, CVV:CC, CVCC and CVCC:. Consider the following descriptions.

	The syllable structures	Ideophone	Gloss
[8] (a)	CV	!a-	‘sound used to urge horse’
(b)	CVV	k’aa-	‘snap’
(c)	CVC	lab-	‘snatch’
(d)	CVVC	ʃuuh	‘fly away’
(e)	CVV:	ʃaa:	‘rainfall’
(f)	CVV:CC	p’ii:p’p’	‘blow horn’
(g)	CVCC	lipp’	‘extinguish’
(h)	CVCC:	furr:	‘throw away’

As observed in example (8), Oromo ideophones roughly comprises eight (8) syllable types. As noted above, Oromo ideophonic words in examples (8. e, f, g &h) show CVV:, CVV:CC, CVCC

and CVCC: syllable structures respectively. These syllable structure are typical to ideophones in the language. The next sub-section presents the syllabification of ideophonic words in the language.

4.3.6. Syllabification of Oromo ideophones

As Bartlett, Kondrak, and Cherry (2009:308) note that syllabification is a phonological process which involves allocating a word into its basic syllables. In addition to this, from the previous sections we have noted that the process of syllabification also includes slotting segments before and after the peak of the syllable. Based on the above concepts, in this sub-section we examine the syllabifications of Oromo ideophones. As the data shows, Oromo ideophones comprise monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic and polysyllabic ideophones. Amina (2013:22) also reports the language to have monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and multisyllabic ideophones. However, as we have considered in the previous section, the result of this study shows substantial differences from Amina’s (2013) claims in terms of vowel lengthening and syllable types in Oromo ideophones. Here also the result of the study depicts considerable differences in syllabifications of ideophones of the language. The following description delves into syllabification of Oromo ideophones.

4.3.6.1. Monosyllabic ideophones

As the data shows, Oromo monosyllabic ideophonic words can be syllabified as CV, CVV, CVV: CVC, CVVC, CVV:CC, CVCC, and CVCC: syllable structure. The following are some examples ideophonic words, which display the above syllable types.

Table 31: Monosyllabic Oromo ideophones

	Mono syllabic	Ideophones	Gloss
a	CV	k’a-	‘snapping sound’
b	CVV	t’aa-	‘sound of traditional wiper ‘ <i>alanga</i> ’
c	CVV:	ʔuu:	'sound produced because of powerful pain'
d	CVC	k’us-	‘touch’
e	CVVC	ʃuuh-	‘fly away’

f	CVV:CC	p'ii:p'p'	'blow horn'
g	CVCC	lip'p'-	'became dark, a sudden extinguish of fire'
h	CVCC:	tj'orr:	'pour the liquid substance into the container'

Table 31 presents Oromo monosyllabic ideophonic words that demonstrate the eight syllable forms mentioned previously. The ideophonic words in Table 31(a-h) display the CV, CVV, CVV:, CVVC, CVV:CC, CVC, CVCC and CVCC: syllable structures in Oromo ideophones. As we have noted above, the CVV:, CVV:CC, CVCC and CVCC: syllable structure in the above monosyllabic ideophones are typical to ideophones. They are not found either in the regular phonology or in Amina (2013) phonological descriptions. From this fact, we can say that the phonology of ideophones deviates from the regular phonology and this deviation is a normal phenomenon in the phonology of ideophones.

4.3.6.2. Disyllabic ideophones

The vast majority of Oromo ideophones are disyllabic ideophones, which essentially correspond to the following seven syllable patterns. CV.CVC, CVC.CV, CVC.CVC, CV.CVV, CVVCVC, CV.CVVC, and CV.CVCC are these. Both light and heavy syllable types are present in Oromo ideophones, as the description that follows shows. Consider the following examples.

Table 32: Disyllabic Oromo ideophones

	Disyllabic	Ideophones	Gloss
a	CV.CVC	k'uk'um-	'crack food in the mouth'
b	CVC.CV	k'amba-	'sound during kissing some on a chick'
c	CVC.CVC	tj'illim-	'slapped by force'
d	CV.CVV:	fajaa: -	'splash water'
e	CVV.CVC	tj'aamul-	'blend, combine'
f	CV.CVVC	suruur-	'became terrified'
g	CV.CVCC	turuff-	'rush'

As can be observed from Table 32, disyllabic Oromo ideophones constitute the above seven syllable patterns. From the above descriptions, it is obvious that most the disyllabic ideophones

are ideophonic verbs. In addition to this, most them contain closed syllable types in their ultimate syllables. Moreover, as can be observed from examples in Table 32(b & c) the syllable break happens between the medial CC consonant sequences. Furthermore, Oromo disyllabic ideophones also contain the CVV: and CVCC syllable structures in contrast to Amina (2013). As mentioned above, Oromo ideophones constitute trisyllabic ideophones. Consider the following descriptions.

4.3.6.3. Trisyllabic ideophones

Oromo ideophones include large number of trisyllabic ideophones. They encompass ideophonic verbs, ideophonic nouns and ideophonic adjectives. As the data shows, some of them are purely trisyllabic but some are the result of reduplication. The syllabification of these trisyllabic ideophonic words roughly displays the following syllable patterns, such as CV.CV.CV, CV.CV.CVC, CV.CVC.CV, CVC.CV.CVCC and CVC.CVC.CVC. Consider the following descriptions.

Table 33: Trisyllabic Oromo ideophones

	Trisyllabic	Ideophone	Gloss
a	CV.CV.CV	dudugi	'genet'
b	CV.CV.CVC	hamumajt-	'yawn'
c	CV.CVC.CV	?urunguu	'owl'
d	CVC.CV.CVC	k'urtj~utj~um-	'cracking dry food in the mouth'
e	CVC.CVC.CVC	duk'duk'duk'-	'sound of pouring liquid into container'

As can be observed from Table 33, Oromo nominal ideophones end with vowels and ideophonic verbs end with consonants sounds as in ideophonic words in Table 33 (a & c) and Table 33 (d&e) respectively. From the data, it is obvious that most trisyllabic ideophone of the language reduplicate the first syllable as in Table 33 (a, d & e). The medial and the final syllables of the trisyllabic ideophone may follow the CV or CVC syllable patterns. Moreover, Oromo ideophones also include quadrisyllabic ideophones. Consider the following descriptions.

4.3.6.4. Quadrisyllabic ideophones

Oromo ideophones comprise a number of quadrisyllabic ideophones. There are two categories for these ideophones: reduplicated quadrisyllabic ideophones and pure quadrisyllabic ideophones. These ideophonic words' syllabifications generally follow the following syllable patterns. CVC.CV.CVC.CV, CV.CVC.CV.CVV, CV.CVC.CV.CVC, and CVC.CVC.CVC.CVC are these. Consider the following descriptions.

Table 34: Quadrisyllable Oromo ideophones

	Quadrisyllable	Quadrisyllable	Ideophones Gloss
a	CVC.CV.CVC.CV	furrafurre	'pendulum/ swing'
b	CV.CVC.CV.CV	t'awalwale	'hesitant, uncertain'
c	CV.CVC.CV.CVV	?obonbole	'hurricane'
d	CV.CVC.CV.CVC	sefelsefel-	'became restless'
e	CVC.CVC.CVC.CVC	birbirbirbir-	'flay from here and there'

As observed in Table 34, most Oromo quadrisyllabic ideophones display the regular syllable types, such as CV, CVV & CVC. Like in disyllabic and trisyllabic ideophones, the syllable break takes place between the CC (consonant) sequences in word medial positions. In addition to this, the ideophonic nouns as in Table 34(a & c) and the ideophonic adjectives as in Table 34(b) end with open syllable types. On the other hand, most quadrisyllabic ideophonic verbs as in Table 34 (d & e) are the result of reduplication and they often end with closed syllable types. Like in the preceding trisyllabic ideophones, most quadrisyllable ideophones also contain the CV syllable pattern in the initial syllable position. The medial and the final syllables contain either the CV or the CVC patterns. Moreover, Oromo ideophones also comprise polysyllabic ideophones. Consider the following descriptions.

4.3.6.5. Polysyllabic ideophones

A large number of polysyllabic ideophones are also found in Oromo ideophones. Oromo polysyllabic ideophones are the result of iconic reduplications, just like the Amharic and Kafa polysyllabic ideophones. Oromo polysyllabic ideophones have the following four syllable types.

These are CVC.CVC.CVC, CV.CV.CV.CV, CV.CV.CV and CV.CVC.CV.CVC. Consider the following descriptions.

Table 35: Polysyllabic Oromo ideophones

	Poly syllable	Ideophones	Gloss
a	CVC.CVC.CVC...	k'irk'irk'ir...	'tickle someone'
b	CV.CV.CV.CV...	?udududu...	'sound of gushing fluid'
c	CV.CV.CV...CVC	bolololo...lol-	'over blazing wildfire'
d	CV.CVC.CV.CVC...CVCC	turufturuf...turff-	'dashed off from here and there'

Oromo polysyllabic ideophones are extremely long due to reduplication, as shown by the data in Table 35. In such cases, ideophones reduplicate the entire syllable as in Table 35 (a & d) and the final syllables as in Table 35 (b & c). In such polysyllabic ideophones, the speaker controls the number of reduplication. This continuous reduplication depicts consistency of events as the example ideophonic words **balbalbalbalbal...** 'continuously blazing fire' and **?udududu...** 'sound of gushing fluid/diarrhea'. The above data clearly shows that most polysyllabic ideophones contain the CV structure in initial syllable positions. They also constitute the CVC or CVCC syllable structures in word medial and word final positions. Furthermore, Oromo polysyllabic ideophones constitute both open and closed syllable types. Consider the following descriptions.

4.3.6.6. Open syllabic ideophones

In Oromo, open syllabic ideophones display one of the three types. These are the CV, CVV and CVV:. The first and the second syllable types contain lexically short and long vowels but the last syllable type contains expressive (extra-long) vowels. The following are some examples of open syllable types in monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic and polysyllabic ideophones.

Table 36: Open syllable Oromo ideophones

	Syllable	Ideophones	Gloss
a	CV	tʃa	‘slap’
b	CVV	t’aa-	‘sound of traditional wiper ‘alanga’’
c	CVV:	ʃaa:	‘rushing sound of falling water’

Table 36 illustrates that Oromo ideophones have open syllable types. The majority of words in the language end in vowels. As the whole set of data shows, open syllables are prevalent in ideophonic words that are monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic, and polysyllabic. They make up the initial, medial, and final syllable positions of words. Extra-long vowels are used in word ending position by open syllable ideophones as was discussed in the foregoing sections. Many open syllabic ideophones with severe terminal vowel lengthening frequently end up sounding creaky or breathy.

4.3.6.7. Closed syllabic ideophones

Oromo ideophones include closed syllable types as well, as was previously established. These kinds of closed syllables include CVC, CVCC, and CVCC:. Ideophonic words with antepenultimate, penultimate, or ultimate syllables contain the first syllable type. Nonetheless, ideophonic word ultimate syllables frequently contain the second and last closed syllable forms. In the language, ideophones are the only syllable kinds that have these characteristics.

Table 37: Closed syllable Oromo ideophones

	Syllable	Ideophones	Gloss
a	CVC	sat’	‘snatch’
b	CVV:CC	p’ii:p’p’	‘blow horn’
c	CV.CVCC	turuff-	‘rush’
d	CVCC:	fiʃʃʃ...	‘release urine for longer time’

The data in Table 37 summarizes close syllables in Oromo ideophones. The whole data indicates that the aforementioned three closed syllable patterns are present in the language's monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic, and polysyllabic ideophones. Furthermore, the above closed

syllables types can occur in the final, penultimate, or antepenultimate syllables of Oromo ideophones.

4.3.7. Summary

The results indicate that there are some similarities and differences between Oromo ideophones and regular phonology. As was noted in the descriptions that came before, Oromo ideophones employ nearly every phoneme in the standard phonology. In addition to this, Oromo ideophones use five click-like sounds (verbal-gestures) namely, [ʘ], [ɓ], [ʔ], [ɣ] and **thcip**. These click-like sounds are also identified in Amharic and Kafa ideophones.

Almost all consonants phonemes of the regular phonology are distributed in word-initial, medial and final positions of ideophonic words. Phoneme /d/ is restricted in ideophonic word-initial and medial positions. In addition to this, the distribution of phoneme /ɲ/ is restricted in ideophonic word medial and word-final positions. However, phonemes /h/, /w/ and /ʔ/ lack word final position in the regular phonology, they happen in ideophonic word-final positions as in *juuh* ‘swift’, *gaw* ‘sound of bang’ and *huuʔ* ‘sound produced when someone vomits’. In contrast to Amina’s (2013) claim, phones /tʃ/ and /j/ in ideophones exist in Oromo ideophones. The former, occurs in ideophonic word-initial, medial and final positions. The latter occurs in ideophonic word-initial and medial position. It can also happen in ideophonic word-final positions as in Amharic loan ideophone **ʔaaj-** ‘no/not’.

In Oromo, like the regular phonology, vowels are restricted in ideophonic word-medial and word-final positions. The majority of Oromo ideophones follow the language’s typical phonotactics. In other words, distinct vowels are not discovered according to standard phonology. There are no more than two vowel sequences, with the exception of extremely long vowels. Consonants, however, depart from the language’s regular phonotactics. More than two consonant sequences are forbidden in regular phonology, and these consonant sequences are intervocalic. On the other hand, in ideophones, the ideophonic word-final positions may contain two consecutive consonants. Precisely, monosyllabic ideophones display the [-CC] sequences in their coda positions and many onomatopoeic ideophones deploy expressive lengthening in the final position and result in [-CC:] sequences.

Ideophones of the language also show peculiar suprasegmental features. As noted above consonants and vowels can be made extra-long to show time, space length, and intensity of events. These extra-long consonants and vowels are quite different from the lexical long consonants and vowels. In other words, ideophones undergo expressive consonant and vowel lengthening, which lack in the regular phonology of the language. In Oromo ideophones, spirants /s, ʃ & f/, nasals /m & n/, liquid /l/ and the trill /r/ are lengthened in ideophonic word-final positions. Vowel lengthening takes place in ideophonic word final position but also in word medial position rarely.

Oromo has four syllable kinds in its regular phonology. The CV, CVV, CVC, and CVVC are these. Nevertheless, in addition to the previous four syllable forms, ideophones of the language display four more types. CVV:, CVV:CC, CVCC, and CVCC: are these. These syllable types are a result of vowel lengthening, expressive consonants, and various word shapes. The study's findings indicate that Oromo ideophones roughly correspond to eight (8) different syllable kinds.

Oromo ideophones can be categorized as monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic, or polysyllabic ideophones in terms of syllabifications. Reduplication is the cause of the majority of polysyllabic ideophones, according to the data. Furthermore, all types encompass open and closed syllable types.

In conclusion, as was already mentioned, Oromo ideophones differ from normal phonology in several phonological characteristics. The differences can be observed in phonemic inventory, phonemic and non-phonemic sound distributions, phonotactics, suprasegmentals, syllable structure, and syllabifications.

4.4. Results and discussions on the phonological study of Amharic, Kafa and Oromo ideophones

This section presents the result and discussion of the phonology of the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic ideophones. As the preceding chapter show, the phonological studies of ideophones of Amharic, Kafa and Oromo are carried on independently. The phonological study comprises the inventories of phonemic and non-phonemic sounds, the distributions of phonemic and non-phonemic sounds, the consonant and vowel phonotactics, suprasegmental features such as consonant and vowel lengthening, syllable structures, syllabification and syllable types such as open and closed syllable types. According to Frajzyngier (2012:527) typologically many African languages encompass ideophones as distinctive word classes with peculiar phonology and that conjugate with other words (verb to say and verb to do/make). Similarly, Mous (2012:381) notes a large number of Afro-asiatic languages have ideophones with unique phonology such as strange sounds and phonotactics and they also undergo expressive lengthening and reduplications. Mous (2012:397) also states that universally ideophones are introduced by ‘verb to say’. The Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages are not different from African languages and the above generalizations are true in this phonological study of the languages under the study. Consider the following result discussions.

As the result of the phonemic inventories shows, the ideophones of the Ethiopian Afro-asiatic language under the study use almost all phonemes of the regular phonology with respect to each phylum. One of the most striking points in this phonological study is that ideophones exhibit five additional non-phonemic click-like sounds. These click-like sounds are distributed in Amharic, Kafa and Oromo ideophones. They are completely absent in the regular phonology of the each language and in general in the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. These non-phonemic click-like sounds are the nasal click-like sound [ɲ], the lateral click-like sound [ɺ], the post-alveolar click-like sound [ɻ], the bilabial click-like sound [ɸ] and [tchip]. Moreover, these click-like sounds have similar place and manner of articulation with the Khohisan language click sounds reported by Bradfield (2014:1-2) and the Laal (an isolate language in Southern Chad) click as verbal gestures reported by Lionnet (2021). Due to this reason, I have represented them by their nearly IPA equivalent symbols except the tchip (suck-teeth). As Lionnet (2021) reports the tchip is not

phonemic in any human language and has no an IPA representation symbol. These click-like sounds combine with auxiliaries to form ideophonic words like any other ideophones. However, when they stand by themselves they play the verbal-gesture semantic feature as in Laal Lionnet (2021). Moreover, the result on the phonemic and non-phonemic inventory of the Ethiopian Afro-asiatic languages illustrates the universal generalizations on the peculiar phonology of ideophones asserted by (Dixon 2012:455, Bodomo 2006:204 & Franck 2014:15). Furthermore, the presence of the above five click-like sounds in the representative Ethiopian Afro-asiatic languages seems an impact of areal contact. As the result of the finding shows, these click-like sounds exist in these languages almost with the same form, meaning and functions. Amharic ideophones typologically use several labialized consonants, such as /f^w, d^w, t^w, ʒ^w, t^{'w}, tʃ^{'w} tʃ^w k^w, g^w and k^{'w}/. On the other hand, labialized phonemes are not attested in ideophones of Kafa and Oromo.

This study has also examined the distributions of phonemic and non-phonemic sounds in ideophones of the three languages. As the result of the finding shows, almost all regular phonemes of each language are distributed in the ideophonic word-initial, medial and final positions. However, some phonemes show distributional restrictions. In Amharic, the distribution of phoneme /p/ is restricted in the word-initial positions and sometimes it occurs in ideophonic word-medial positions if reduplication is considered. In Kafa, phonemes /z/ and /s/ are reported as foreign phonemes in Theil (2007:211). The former does not occur in Kafa ideophones but may occur in some borrowed ideophones and the latter lacks in ideophonic word initial position. In addition to this, in the regular phonology of Kafa, words do not start with phoneme /r/. However, this phoneme occurs in ideophone as syllabic segment as in rrrr... ‘Sound used for signaling to stop cultural dance and song’. In ideophones of the language, the trill phoneme/r/ is distributed elsewhere. In Oromo, phonemes /d/ and /ɲ/ also show distributional restrictions. They are distributed in ideophonic word-initial and medial positions and the latter can also occur word-final positions as in *dāa*- ‘annoyed’ and *dudugii*-‘genet’ and *mup̄p̄uk*’- ‘tiptoed’ and *ʔaɲɲ goḏe* ‘bite suddenly’ respectively. Moreover, Amina (2013:18) reports the nonexistence of phonemes /tʃ/ and /j/ in ideophones. On the contrary, as the result of the finding shows, these phonemes do exist and occur elsewhere in Oromo ideophones. In Amharic, particularly phoneme /p/ and the labialized phonemes and sounds have similar distributions with the above click-like sounds. In the language, these phonemes and sounds are mainly restricted to the word-initial position.

Typologically, Kafa and Oromo have five short and the counter long vowels but Amharic has only short vowels. In Kafa, all of these short and long vowels occur in ideophonic word-initial, medial and final positions. However, in Oromo vowels do not occur in ideophonic word-initial position. This is also true in phonology of the prosaic language (Teferi 2019:39 and Habte 2003:19). On the other hand, Amharic ideophones uses almost all vowels of the regular phonology. As the result of the study depicts, almost all Amharic vowels occur in ideophonic word-initial, medial and final positions except vowel /i/. In Amharic, ideophonic words seem not to start with vowel /i/ and this vowel seems rare in ideophones. Nevertheless, as the result of the finding shows, in Wollo variety vowel /e/ occurs after the palatalized [dʲ] in attenuative ideophonic words. In Wollo dialect, phoneme /d/ is usually palatalized /dʲ/. Besides, in Amharic intensive ideophones mainly contain vowel /i/ as in *dibbin-* ‘die completely’. In Wollo variety, vowel *i* ⇒ *i*/-dʲ and the preceding intensive ideophone becomes *dʲibbin-* ‘die completely’. As the result of the finding shows, in Amharic attenuative ideophones contain vowel /ə/ as in *dəllək’k’-* ‘slightly hit with fist’ but in Wollo variety *ə* ⇒ *e* /dʲ- and *dʲellək’k’-* ‘slightly hit with fist’. Moreover, in Amharic ideophones, the back vowels /u/ and /o/ occur elsewhere in ideophones in contrast with Baye's (2008:20) claim on the non-occurrence of these vowels in the word-initial positions in the regular phonology. Furthermore, in the regular phonology, words do not start with vowel /e/ but ideophones like **etʃtʃ** ‘dejecting/showing boredom’ breaks this regular phonology.

The result of the finding depicts that ideophones of the languages under the study show peculiar phonotactics from the regular phonology. The results of the finding shows, in all languages consonants violate the phonotactics while vowels remain the same with their respective languages phonology. As scholars like (Childs 1994:184, Klammer 2001:167, Beck 2008:41, Dingemanse 2011:105, Kwon and Masuda 2019:45) note ideophones have peculiar phonotactics from the regular phonology. In line with the above claims, in the languages under the study, across the monosyllabic ideophonic word, the identical consonant sequence (-CC) in the coda of the ultimate syllable is similar phonotactic. From this, it is obvious that monosyllabic ideophones permit the sequence of two identical consonant (C₁) V [C₂C₂] in the coda position. In Kafa monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophones, the sequences of two different consonants in the coda position (C₁) V [C₂C₃] happens sporadically. Moreover, disyllabic ideophones permit the sequences of two successive consonants in the word-medial and final positions. The word-medial

[-CC-] sequence can be either two identical or different consonant. In short, cross-linguistically, monosyllabic ideophones allow [-C₂C₂] in the ideophonic word-final positions and disyllabic ideophones allow [-C₂C₂- or -C₂C₃-] in word-medial positions and [-C₃C₃- or -C₄C₄-] sequences in ideophonic word-final positions. In contrast to the regular phonology, Kafa ideophones sporadically show phoneme /r/ sequences as in **rrrr...** ‘a signal used to stop cultural song’ word initial positions and this consonant seems to occur without combining with vowel. In the language, words cannot start with the phoneme /r/.

The suprasegmental features of ideophones depict some important differences from the suprasegmentals of the regular phonology. As Smoll (2014:18) notes the suprasegmental feature violation is common in ideophones. In line with this claim, ideophones of the languages under the study show some suprasegmental variations from their corresponding regular phonology. Cross-linguistically, ideophones commonly deploy expressive consonant and vowel lengthening. As the result of the finding shows, the expressive long consonants in Kafa and Oromo ideophones are quite different from the lexically long ones. In many languages, expressive consonant lengthening happens in the ideophonic word-final position. Likewise, in these languages most ideophones deploy expressive vowel lengthening at the end of the ideophonic words. These expressive consonant and vowel lengthening show intensity and durativity of actions and events expressed through ideophones. In addition to this, some ideophones deploy word-medial position expressive vowel lengthening. In the languages under the study, the word-final position expressive vowel lengthening results in grave creaky or breathy vowel qualities. On the other hand, spirants, nasals, trill, and liquids play an important role in word-final lengthening in ideophones of the languages under the study. As the result of the finding shows, these expressive consonant and vowel lengthening are only phonetic properties. They are used to show time length, intensity, and distance of action and events. In addition to this, typologically in Kafa, ideophones use high tones (H) patterns across each syllable of ideophonic verb stems. These high tones (H) express intensity and durativity of actions and events. On the other hand, ideophonic words that undergo multiple reduplications seem to lose their high tone bearing features. In some tonal languages like in Cilubà, ideophones exhibit unstable suprasegmental. That is, ideophones often use long vowels and low (L) tones but the speaker can use preferably different tone patterns and vowel quantities (Kabuta 2001:143).

As the result of the study it is observed that the number of syllables in ideophones exceed from the number of syllables of the regular phonology. In addition to this, the ideophones of the three Ethiopian Afro-asiatic languages illustrate similar syllable classifications. They are classified as monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic and polysyllabic ideophonic words. These ideophones also constitute open and closed syllable types. Moreover, most onomatopoeic ideophones are typically open syllable types. Furthermore, most monosyllabic ideophonic verb stems end with consonants. Besides, most polysyllabic ideophones are the results of total or partial reduplication.

4.1. Summary

In this cross-linguistic comparative study, it is observed that ideophones of the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic language share the universal features of ideophones. These are they violate the regular phonology each languages. These phonological violations include the phonemic inventories, phoneme distributions, phonotactics, suprasegmentals, syllable structure and syllabifications. However they violate their own language regular phonology, ideophones of the three languages show some phonological feature convergence. These phonological convergences can be because of areal contact and some universal features of ideophones. In the former case, the existences of the same click-like sound with almost the same number, form, meaning and functions across the languages entails the impact of areal contact. In the latter case, the existence of the preceding non-phonemic sounds and the above deviation generally brings about the universal similarities shared by ideophones.

On the other hand, ideophones of the languages under the study show some typological variations. These are the existence of abundant labialized sounds in Amharic ideophones; abundant open ideophonic verb stems in Oromo ideophones, the existence of two identical vowels in Kafa and Oromo ideophones and the unique tone pattern (the use of H ton in all ideophonic words) in Kafa ideophones are some examples of typological differences. The following table summarizes the general phonological features of the Ethiopian Afro-asiatic language with reference to Amharic, Kafa and Oromo. Consider the following summary table.

Table 38: Phonological comparison in the ideophones of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages

Phonological features	Languages		
	Amharic	Kafa	Oromo
Phonemic inventories			
	Uses almost all Consonants and vowels of the regular phonology	Uses almost all Consonants and vowels of the regular phonology	Uses almost all Consonants and vowels of the regular phonology
Other phonemes	Exhibits five click-like sounds [ʘ, ɰ, ɓ, ! and tchip]	Exhibits five click-like sounds [ʘ, ɰ, ɓ, ! and tchip]	Exhibits five click-like sounds [ʘ, ɰ, ɓ, ! and tchip]
Phoneme distributions			
Consonants	All consonants occur except /p/ in the word initial, word medial and word final positions.	All consonants except /z/ occur in the in the word initial, word medial and word final positions.	All consonants except /d/ occur in the in the word initial, word medial and word final positions.
Vowels	All vowels except /i/ occur in the word initial, word medial and word final positions.	All vowels occur in the word initial, word medial and word final positions.	All vowels occur in the word medial and word final positions.
Click like sounds	All click-like sounds occur in in the word initial, word medial positions.	All click-like sounds occur in in the word initial, word medial positions.	All click-like sounds occur in in the word initial, word medial positions.
Phonotactics			
The sequences of two identical consonants	Permissible in the word medial and final positions	Permissible in the word medial and final positions	Permissible in the word medial and final positions

The sequence of two different consonants	Permissible in the word medial and final positions	Permissible in the word medial and final positions	Permissible in the word medial and final positions
Suprasegmentals			
Consonant lengthening	Permissible in the word final position	Permissible in the word final position	Permissible in the word final position
Vowel lengthening	Permissible in the word medial and final positions	Permissible in the word medial and final positions	Permissible in the word medial and final positions
Tone	-----	Ideophones bear high tone (H)	-----
Syllable structure			
	Exceeds the number of regular syllables	Exceeds the number of regular syllables	Exceeds the number of regular syllables
Syllables structures typical to ideophones	CVV: CVV:CC CVCC: CVCC VV	CVV: CVV:CC CVCC: CVCC CVV:C CC:	CVV: CVV:CC CVCC: CVCC
Syllabic classification			
	Monosyllabic Disyllabic Trisyllabic Quadrisyllable Polysyllabic	Monosyllabic Disyllabic Trisyllabic Quadrisyllable Polysyllabic	Monosyllabic Disyllabic Trisyllabic Quadrisyllable Polysyllabic
Syllable types			
	Constitutes open and closed syllable	Constitutes open and closed syllable	Constitutes open and closed syllable

Chapter Five: Morphology of ideophones

5.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the morphology of ideophones in the three Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages under study, Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo. In the preceding chapter, I have described the phonology of the three languages and examined the phonological features they have comparatively. In this chapter, I examine in detail the morphological processes in the ideophones of the languages. Therefore, this chapter offers the morphological descriptions, analyses, and comparison of ideophones. Finally, the discussions of the results of the findings and the summary of the chapter are forwarded.

5.1. The Morphology of Amharic ideophones

This section presents some morphological processes that the ideophones of Amharic undergoes. In linguistics, scholars like Dixon (2010) and Katamba (1993) use morphology as the study of the internal structure of words and the relationship between them. Amharic is one of the morphologically complex languages. The common morphological processes in language are compounding, reduplication, derivation, and inflection. As Mengistu (2010) notes, Amharic is a Semitic language that creates words using root and pattern systems. The root is composed of consonantal radicals, and the pattern creates confusion between vowels and consonants. Nevertheless, ideophones are universally attested word-classes that undergo very few morphological processes. Despite of this, Amharic ideophones undergo at least the following three morphological processes: compounding, derivation, and reduplication.

According to the result of the study, Amharic ideophones are mainly classified into two different grammatical categories. These are verbal and nominal (noun) ideophones. As the result of the study shows, non-reduplicated ideophone-based verbs function as a verb and the reduplicated ideophone-based verbs have an adverbial function. The following presents the above morphological process, which the ideophones of the language undergo respectively. Consider the following descriptions:

5.1.1. Compounding in ideophones

In morphology, compounding involves the process of combining two or more free morphemes to produce new compound words. It is one of the major morphological processes in Amharic ideophones. Amharic compound ideophones can be classified into two groups. These are:

1. Compound ideophonic verbs
2. Bare ideophonic compound nouns

Amharic ideophones comprise the above two compound ideophone types. Compound ideophone verbs can be further classified into three groups: These are antonymous compound verbal ideophones, synonymous compound verbal ideophones and other compound ideophone verbs. As the following data analysis shows, most of these compound ideophone verbs constitute composites of ideophone verbs. Some also contain compounds of ideophone words and non-ideophone word classes like nouns. In addition to this, in the ideophones of the language, there are also several compound bare ideophonic nouns. The following sub-section presents the above-mentioned compound ideophones respectively.

5.1.1.1. Compound ideophonic verbs in Amharic

As stated above, Amharic compound ideophonic verbs include the antonymous and synonymous compound ideophonic verbs and other compound ideophones. The following sub-sections delve into these types of ideophonic verbs.

5.1.1.1.1. Antonymous compound ideophonic verbs

Antonymous compound ideophonic verbs contain two opposite ideophonic verbs. They express opposing actions performed by the agents of the action. Amharic ideophones constitute a large number of these types. In the language like prosaic (ordinary) words, ideophones can have gradable antonyms like **t'illikk' al-** 'enter completely' **bikk' al-** 'come out partially' and **witt'itt al-** 'come out completely' and non-gradable antonyms like **nik'k'ill adərrəg-** 'uprooted' and **tikkill adərrəg-** 'planted'. However, this is not the scope of this study. This section concentrates, on how ideophonic words are formed through compounding words of opposite meanings. Consider the following description.

- [1] (a) itt'iff-zərga al-ə
 IDEO.fold-stretch say:PFV-3SGM
 'It became obsequious.'
- (b) ʃɪrr-bittinn al-ə
 IDEO.spin-scatter say:PFV-3SGM
 'It walked for joy.'
- (c) bikk'-t'illikk' al-ə
 IDEO.appear-disappear say:PFV-3SGM
 'It fluctuated (appeared and disappeared repeatedly).'
- (d) gənbəs-k'əna al-ə
 IDEO.bend-unbend say:PFV-3SGM
 'It endeavored (worked hard).'
- (e) billitʃʃ'-dirgimm al-ə
 IDEO.light-extinguished say:PFV-3SGM
 'It flickered.'
- (f) k'utʃʃ'~bidigg al-ə
 IDEO.sit-standup say:PFV-3SGM
 'It suffered a lot.'
- (g) hedd-mələss al-ə
 IDEO.go-retun say:PFV-3SGM
 'It reoccurred.'
- (h) dərəss-mələss al-ə
 IDEO.reach-retun say:PFV-3SGM
 'It does not stay for longer time.'
- (i) jazz-lək'ək'k' adərrəg-ə
 IDEO.catch-freed made:PFV-3SGM
 'He did a wok intermittently.'
- (j) wəga-nək'əll adərrəg-ə
 IDEO.stab-uproot made:PFV-3SGM
 'He looked again and again quickly.'

As can be observed from the data in examples (1.a-j) antonymous ideophonic verbs are formed from words with contrasting meanings. These types of compound ideophones have high predictability in word sequences. That is when once the first word is uttered; the second of the composite is automatically predicted.

5.1.1.1.2. Synonymous compound ideophonic verbs

The following compound ideophonic verbs include synonymous ideophonic verb stems or nearly synonymous ideophone in the composite. Consider the following.

- [2] (a) watt'-silk'itt' adərrəg-ə
 IDEO.swallow-gulped down made:PFV-3SGM
 'He swallowed (it) completely and abruptly.'
- (b) irirr-dibbinn-al-ə
 IDEO.burn black-die say:PFV-3SGM
 'It become angry or burned out completely.'
- (c) illim-sillimm al-ə
 IDEO.disappear-unconscious say:PFV-3SGM
 'It become in a state of unconscious.'
- (d) irirr-kumtirr al-ə
 IDEO.burn black-shrunk say:PFV-3SGM
 'It became very angry.'
- (e) fīzizz-k'izizz al-ə
 IDEO.stund-stupified say:PFV-3SGM
 'It became stupefied.'
- (f) figgimm-kirirr al-ə
 IDEO.fall flat- fall one's face say:PFV-3SGM
 'It died falling on the face.'
- (g) s'ətt'-lətt' al-ə
 IDEO.silent-sleep say:PFV-3SGM
 'It becomes subdued.'

Synonymous compound ideophonic verbs have two free morphemes that have nearly identical lexical meanings, as evidenced by the data in (2.a-i). To convey intensity, these ideophones

reduplicate the ultimate radicals of the composite's first and second ideophonic words. The second ideophones' ultimate radicals can be repeated indefinitely to express great intensity, as in the phrase "become very angry," *irrr-kumtirrr al-ə*. Furthermore, the compound contains words that represent two successive actions carried out by the same agent. The speaker pauses, the first action before beginning the second. The first ideophonic word in the compound expresses the starting action and the second word in the composite expresses the following second action.

5.1.1.1.3. Other compound ideophonic verbs

These compound ideophones differ from the above two types in that the compound contains neither synonymous nor antonymous ideophones. As indicated above, such ideophonic verbs follow a pattern where an ideophonic verb is followed another ideophonic verb or other word class of prosaic language (nouns) patterns. The following description shows these categories of compound ideophonic verbs in the language. These compound ideophonic verbs express different concepts, such as different motions, states, recurrent conditions, consecutive activities, and some behavioral conditions. Consider the following descriptions.

- [3] (a) *ififf-kumfiff al-ə*
 IDEO.wornout-humiliated say:PFV-3SGM
 ‘There felt guilty or apprehensive.’
- (b) *imb^wa-kərəjju al-ə*
 IDEO.moan-kərəjju say:PFV-3SGM
 ‘It up roared about.’
- (c) *burra-kərəjju al-ə*
 IDEO.rage-kərəjju say:PFV-3SGM
 ‘It became furious.’

As can be observed from the data described in [3] the above ideophonic compound verbs express different activities. Ideophones in (3. a) illustrate a state of mind of the person and ideophones in examples (3. b & c) describe the emotional condition that the subject shows under certain unfavorable conditions. As the above description illustrates these ideophonic compound verbs have high depiction power of sensory imagery in the hearer's mind. That is the hearer visualizes

how the subject is feeling and acting under certain conditions. In Amharic, ideophonic compound verbs constitute very large numbers of these types.

5.1.1.2. Bare ideophonic compound nouns (ideophones without auxiliary verbs)

Bare ideophone compound nouns occur without an auxiliary verb. Amharic ideophones include many bare ideophone compound nouns. As the following description illustrates, most of these compounded ideophone nouns undergo systematic reduplication. In the language, such types of compound ideophone nouns express low quality of things. Consider the following:

- [4] (a) k'ira-k'imbo
IDEO.old staff
'Old staff'
- (b) into-fənto
IDEO.nonsense
'Useless thing'
- (c) asəs-gəsəs
IDEO.riff-raff
'Riff-raff'
- (d) andza-grandza
IDEO.side-side
'Futile contrastive talk or chatter'
- (e) arti-burti
IDEO.hocus-pocus
'Hocus-pocus'
- (f) ziba-zinke
IDEO.worthless/trivial
'Useless thing'
- (g) tırki-mırki
IDE.hocus-pocus
'Mishmash or useless items'

As can be seen from the above description in [4] most of the bare compound ideophonic nouns denote worthless things and objects. The examples in (4. a-d) illustrate, at least, one of the composite words of the compound has its basic meaning and is combined with another word. On the other hand, compound ideophonic nouns in examples (4. e-g) either of the composite word has no basic meaning rather that they give meaning only in their compound forms. As the above description shows, most compound words in the compound illustrate similarities in their penultimate and ultimate syllables. Most of these compound ideophonic nouns illustrate synonymous reduplications. Since we have seen compounding in ideophones, let us move to the description derivational morphology of ideophones.

5.1.2. Derivation of ideophones in Amharic

Derivation is one of the most productive morphological processes in Amharic ideophones. The result of the following data analysis identifies, two major derivational processes in Amharic ideophones, these are:

1. Derivation of ideophonic verb from consonantal roots
2. Derivation of ideophonic nouns from ideophonic bound stems

This section presents the above two morphological processes consecutively. The first part of this section illustrates the derivation of ideophonic verbs from consonantal roots⁵. As the result of the finding shows, in Amharic, most ideophonic verbs are derived from the consonantal roots. In addition to this, almost all derived ideophonic verbs have intensive and attenuative forms that express intensive and attenuative manner of events. Moreover, these two types of ideophonic verbs illustrate different structural patterns. Intensive ideophones mainly follow the $C_1iC_2C_2iC_3C_3$ pattern and attenuative ideophones mainly follow the $C_1əC_2əC_3C_3$. The data analysis illustrates that intensive ideophones have the following three patterns: ($C_1-C_2C_2$, $C_1-C_2C_2-C_3C_3$, and $C_1-C_2C_3-C_4C_4$). In the ideophones of the language bi-radical, tri-radical and quadric-radical consonantal root intensive ideophones follow their preceding patterns in the root. On the other hand, as the result of data analysis shows the bi-radical, tri-radical and quadric-radical consonantal root attenuative ideophones illustrate the following five patterns, such as

⁵ Amharic consonantal roots do not have specific meanings but they carry thematic meanings.

(C₁-CC₂, C₁-C₂-C₃C₃, C₁-C₂ (C₂)-C₃C₃, C₁-C₂C₃-C₄C₄, and C₁-C₂C₃-C₄). Baye (1999:64) notes that Amharic verbs are only tri-radical roots. However, at the surface level, Amharic verbs show less than tri-radical (mono-radicals and bi-radicals) and more than tri-radical roots (quadric-radicals and beyond). Those verbs that show less than tri-radical roots are the result of root reduction and those that show more than tri-radical roots are the result of root extensions. In the morphology of the language, the root reduction process is only limited to consonantal radicals of gutturals (laryngeals) and glides, such as (h & ʔ) and (w & j). These consonants only disappear from the verbal stems and they appear in their counter nominal. √b-l-ʔ- ⇒ bəlla ⇒ billitt- ‘eat’, √m-w-t- ⇒ motə ⇒ muttitt- ‘die’, √h-w-k- ⇒ awwəkə ⇒ iwwikk- ‘disturb’, √s-j-t’- ⇒ ʃət’ə ⇒ ʃitt’itt- ‘sale.’ As can be seen from the examples, the places of the missing roots are filled in by the placeholder consonants [t]. Baye (1999: 74). In the derivation of intensives ideophonic verbs, the placeholder consonant [t] fills in the missing guttural sounds. The glide sound /w/ disappears, by transferring its round phonological feature to the following sound central vowel /ə/, which turns it to /u/ as in √m-w-t- ⇒ motə ⇒ muttitt- ‘die.’ On the other hand, the glide consonant /j/ disappears from the root by transferring its palatal feature to the preceding alveolar sound /s/, which turns to /ʃ/ a process of regressive assimilation. This section examines the derivation of intensive and attenuative ideophonic verb stems from surface bi-radical and quadric-radical roots and basic tri-radical verb roots. In addition to this, intensive verb stems are formed via geminating the ultimate and penultimate radicals and with the vowel /i/ and the attenuative verb stems are formed through gemination of the ultimate radicals and with the vowel /ə/. The first section includes the derivation of intensive ideophonic verbs from roots and the second section presents the derivation of attenuative ideophonic verbs from roots. Consider the following:

5.1.2.1. Derivation of intensive and attenuative ideophonic verbs from verb roots

Table 39: Derivation of intensive ideophonic verbs

	√ Root	Intensive verb stems	Ideophonic verbs
a.	b-g	bogg- 'Flash'	bogg al-ə IDEO.flash say:PFV-3SGM 'It becomes very bright.'
b.	b-g	bogg- 'Flash'	bogg adərrəg-ə IDEO.flash made:PFV-3SGM 'He lit (it) suddenly'
c.	d-b-k'-	dibbikk'- 'Hide'	dibbikk' al-ə IDEO.hide say:PFV-3SGM 'He hid completely.'
d.	d -b-k'-	dibbikk'- 'Hide'	dibbikk' adərrəg-ə IDEO.hide made:PFV-3SGM 'He hid (it) completely.'
e.	d-n-g-t'-	dɪngitt'- 'Shock'	dɪngitt' alə IDEO.shock say:PFV-3SGM 'It extremely shocked.'
f.	d-n-g-t'-	dəngətt'- 'Shock'	dɪngitt' adərrəgə IDEO.shock made:PFV-3SGM 'He shocked (it) extremely.'
g.	m-w-f-l-k'-	muɟlɪkk'- 'Peel'	muɟlɪkk' alə IDEO.peel:PFV-3SGM 'It peeled completely.'
h.	m-w-f-l-k'-	muɟlɪkk'- 'Peel'	muɟlɪkk' adərrəgə IDEO.peel made:PFV-3SGM

			‘He peeled (it) completely.’
i.	g-w-n-b-s-	gunbiss-	gunbiss alə
		‘Bend’	IDEO.bend say:PFV-3SGM
			‘It bent completely.’
j.	g-w-n-b-s-	gunbiss-	gunbiss adərrəgə
		‘Bend’	IDEO.bend made:PFV-3SGM
			‘He bent (it) completely.’

The data in Table 39 shows how intense ideophonic verbs are derived from consonantal roots using the four patterns mentioned above (from the surface level bi-radicals, tri-radicals, quadric-radicals, and poly-radicals). As can be observed from the table, intensive ideophonic stems are derived from the surface bi-radical and quadric-radical roots in Table 39(a & b) and Table 39 (e-k) respectively by geminating the ultimate radical of the root and from basic tri-radical verb roots by inserting the epenthetic /i/. The data description also illustrates that some morpho-phonological processes take place. Except the examples in Table 39(a & b) all roots have slots for the aspectual vowel /ə/ in radical final positions stems. The second morpho-phonological process is the deletion of the glide radical /w/ causing the vowel /ə/ to become a round /u/. Moreover, intensive verb stems derived through the above morphological processes are only bound converb stems. Hence, they need further compounding with the auxiliaries (light verbs) **al-** ‘say’ and the causative stem **adərrəg-** ‘do/make’ to derive the complete compound verb. Attenuative ideophone verbs are also derived in the same manner. The following table shows this.

Table 40: Derivation of attenuative ideophonic verbs

	√ Root	Attenuative forms	Form of the ideophone
a.	m-w-k'-	mökk'- 'Warm'	mökk' al-ə IDEO.warm say:PFV-3SGM 'It becomes warm.'
b.	m-w-k'-	mökk'- 'Warm'	mökk' adərrəg-ə IDEO.warm say:PFV-3SGM 'He warmed (it).'
c.	s-b-r-	səbərr- 'Break'	səbərr al-ə IDEO.break say:PFV-3SGM 'It becomes broke.'
d.	s-b-r-	səbərr- 'Break'	səbərr adərrəg-ə IDEO.break made:PFV-3SGM 'He broke (it) lightly.'
e.	ʃ-f-n-	ʃəf(f)ənn- 'Cover'	ʃəf(f)ənn al-ə IDEO.cover say:PFV-3SGM 'It becomes cover.'
f.	ʃ-f-n-	ʃəf(f)ənn- 'Cover'	ʃəf(f)ənn adərrəg-ə IDEO.cover made:PFV-3SGM 'He covered (it).'
g.	f-r-k-s-	fərkəss- 'Crack'	fərkəss al-ə IDEO.crack say:PFV-3SGM 'It become crack.'
h.	f-r-k-s-	fərkəss- 'Crack'	fərkəss adərrəg-ə IDEO.crack made:PFV-3SGM 'He cracked (it).'
i.	g-n-d-s-	gəndəss- 'Fall'	gəndəss al-ə IDEO.fall say:PFV-3SGM 'It becomes fall down'
j.	g-n-d-s-	gəndəss- 'Fall'	gəndəss adərrəg-ə IDEO.fall made:PFV-3SGM 'He made (it) fall down.'

The data in Table 40 illustrates that in Amharic attenuative ideophone verbs are derived from the consonantal roots. The examples in the table are derived from the roots through gemination of the ultimate radicals of the root. The glide /w/ in Table 40(a &b) underwent the same morpho-phonological process as in the intensive verb stem derivation. In addition to this, the fricative consonantal radical /f/ in Table 40(e &f) is optionally geminated or weakened. Like the intensive ideophone verbs, attenuative ideophone verbs are also combined with **al-** ‘say’ and **adərrəg-** ‘do/make’ to form the intransitive and transitive attenuative verb ideophone forms respectively. In the preceding descriptions, I have shown the intensive and attenuative ideophone verb derivations. In what follows, I show the morphology of the derivation of Amharic nominal ideophones. Such ideophones are derived from ideophone bound stems. The following is a description of this process.

5.1.2.2. Derivation of ideophonic noun from ideophonic bound stems

In Amharic, ideophonic bound stems can also serve to derive nominal ideophonic words. In this morphological process nominalizers (NMLZ) [-ta,-te- and -je] are suffixed to the ideophonic bound stems. The following description illustrates this morphological process.

Table 41: Derivation of ideophonic nouns

	Verbs ideophones	Nominal ideophone
a.	k ^w ak ^w a- IDEO:rattles repeatedly ‘Rattles repeatedly’	k ^w ak ^w a-te IDEO.rattl-ratle-NMLZ ‘Rattling object’
b.	ʃ ^w aʃ ^w a- IDEO.rush-rush ‘Repeatedly rushed’	ʃ ^w aʃ ^w a-te IDEO.rush-rush-NMLZ ‘Something that rushes’
c.	f ^w af ^w a- IDEO.gush-gush ‘Gush out continuously’	f ^w af ^w a-te IDEO.gush-gush-NMLZ ‘Waterfall’
d.	t’at’a- IDEO.pop-pop ‘Pop repeatedly’	t’at’a-te IDEO.pop-pop-NMLZ ‘Popping, crackling’

e.	kaka-	kaka-te
	IDEO.crackle-crackle	IDEO.crackle-crackle-NMLZ
	‘Crackle’	‘Chattering bird’
f.	dudu-	dudu-te
	IDEO.noise-noise	IDEO.noise-noise-NMLZ
	‘A dudu sound’	‘A rain bird’
g.	s’ətt’-	s’ətt’-i-ta
	IDEO.silent	IDEO.silent-EP-NMLZ
	‘Silent’	‘Silence’
h.	wəggeg-	wəgəg-ta
	IDEO.dawn	IDEO.dawn-NMLZ
	‘Gets dawn’	‘Dawn, daybreak’
i.	gɪrr-	gɪrr-i-ta
	IDEO.confuse	IDEO.confuse-EP-NMLZ
	‘Confuse’	‘Confusion’
j.	bullikk’ al-ə	bullikk-i-ta
	IDEO.gush	IDEO.gush-EP-NMLZ
	‘Gush out’	‘Jet (of water)’
k.	gumgum-	gumgum-ta
	IDEO.murmur-murmur	IDEO.murmur-murmur-NMLZ
	‘Murmur repeatedly’	‘Murmur/mumble’
l.	k’urr-	k’urr-i-je
	IDEO.gurgle	IDEO.gurgle-EP-NMLZ
	‘Gurgle’	‘A type of bird’

As can be observed from Table 41 many ideophonic bound stems are also used to derive some noun ideophones in different ways. These ideophonic nouns are derived by suffixing nominalizer suffixes **-te**, **-ta** and **-je** to ideophonic verb bound stem as in Table 41(a-f), (g-k) and (l) respectively. The suffix **-te** derives ideophonic nouns referring to entities and the suffix **-ta** derives ideophonic nouns referring to processes. As the data illustrates the nominalizer suffix **-te** seems to attach ideophonic stem that ends with vowel. Whereas, the nominalizer suffixes **-ta** and

-je seem to attach to ideophonic stem that ends with consonantal stem. As we can see from the description, the epenthetic vowel /i/ should be inserted between the geminated final consonant and the nominalizer suffix consonant to avoid the impermissible consonantal clusters or the CVCCCV clusters as in Table 41(g, i, j & l). Thus, the insertion of the epenthetic vowel /i/ satisfies the permissible CVC.CVC template of the language. As can be observed from the description, ideophonic nouns derived in this process refer to naming of process and entities.

5.1.3. Inflectional morphology in Amharic ideophones

As noted earlier, nominal ideophones that are formed via derivation deploy all inflectional morphology that the regular nouns undergo. This is one of the most striking unique features of the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages ideophones. As the following examples depict Amharic, nominal ideophones undergo inflectional morphology for number, gender and case. Consider the following examples.

	Number	Gender	Case
5 (a)	kakate-otʃtʃ	kakate-wa	kakate-wa-n
	IDEO:bird-PL	IDEO:bird-3SGF	IDEO:bird-3SGF-ACC
	‘The birds’	‘The female bird’	‘The female bird’
(b)	dudte-otʃtʃ	dudute-w	dudutee-w-n
	IDEO:rainbird-PL	IDEO:rainbird-3SGM	IDEO:rainbird-3SGM-ACC
	‘The rain birds’	‘The mail rain bird’	‘The mail rain bird’

As can be observed from example 5, the above Amharic ideophonic nouns inflected for number, gender and case. However, in the most ideophonic studies ideophones are reported no to deploy inflectional morphology.

5.1.4. Reduplication in Amharic ideophones

Reduplication is one of the morphological processes in ideophones. Reduplication is word formation process that repeats a total root, stem, word or some part (s) of these with or without change. Such reduplicated words express manner of actions such as iterativity, intensity, pluractivity, durativity, distance. Hinton, Nichols, and Ohala (1994:3) note that reduplication is a

linguistic strategy used to express repeated movements and imitated sounds. Similarly, Dixon (2012:172) state that reduplication in general expresses repeated actions. Katamba (1993:180) states the general functions of reduplication as expression of several notions, for example, distribution, plurality, repetition, increase in size, extra intensity, and continuation of events.

In morphological analysis of reduplication, the form that undergoes reduplication and the reduplication (repetitions) of forms are very crucial. An X⁶ form can undergo Y⁷ number repetition (reduplication). A form that deploys reduplication can be total /whole form (root, stem or word) or some part of the form (segment or syllable). The former denotes total reduplication and the latter denotes partial reduplication. From number of repetition perspective ideophones can undergo from simple to complex types of reduplication that is forms can be repeated once, twice, three times and beyond. In other words, ideophones can undergo reduplication, triplication and multiplication. This can be determined by the speakers own desire of expression. Childs (1994:185) notes that the number of repetitions of a form and the length of a segment in ideophones is determined by the limitation of the system or by the speaker's physical condition.

Akumbu (2016:6) identifies that in Bejom (Babanki) ideophones deploy different types of repetition forms. These are repetition of a form once, twice, and multiple times. (Baye 1999:75-77) identifies total and partial reduplications in Amharic. He notes that total reduplication shows iterative action of intensive and attenuative manner and partial reduplication shows adverbial functions. Reduplication in Amharic ideophones also includes:

- a. Partial reduplication in Amharic ideophones
- b. Total reduplication in Amharic ideophones

In the following sub-section, I describe partial and total reduplications in ideophones of the language. I use **reduplication** in a sense that repeating the total or part of a form one time and **multiplication** in a sense that repetition of the total or part of a form more than one time. I have classified the number of repetition into reduplication and multiplication because of lack rule that make the speaker repeat a form two times three times and so on. However, as explained above

⁶ X denotes segment, syllable or a word.

⁷ Y denotes the number of reduplication (repetition) of X =once, twice, three time or multiple times

reduplication denotes iterativity and multiplication denotes adverbial function of ideophonic verbs. I shall start with partial reduplication and move to the description of total reduplication.

5.1.4.1. Partial reduplications in Amharic ideophones

As explained earlier, partial reduplication is a repetition of part of a root, stem, or word with or without change. In Amharic, ideophonic verbs employ partial reduplication. Monosyllabic and disyllabic undergo partial reduplication to show attenuativity and intensity of actions or events. Here first let us consider partial reduplication in monosyllabic ideophones. Consider the following description.

5.1.4.1.1. Partial reduplication in monosyllabic ideophones

In Amharic, most monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophonic verbs deploy partial reduplicating. As we have considered in the preceding phonological descriptions most trisyllabic and polysyllabic ideophones are the results of reduplications. Therefore, in this section we will concentrate on partial reduplication in Amharic monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophones.

Amharic monosyllabic ideophones roughly constitute mono-radical CV, often onomatopoeic, and tri-radical $C_1VC_2C_2$ ideophone words. Of these two, the tri-radical monosyllabic ideophones deploy partial reduplication. These types of ideophone words have the $C_1VC_2C_2$ pattern. Partial reduplication in monosyllable ideophones shows durativity. As the following description illustrates, the ultimate radicals of the roots are reduplicated and geminated, and an epenthetic is inserted. Here, the reduplication involves not a simple segment but a syllable. The $C_1V_1C_2C_2 \Rightarrow C_1V_1C_2VC_2C_2$. Consider the following ideophone verb stems with respect to the syllable template given above and the corresponding functions they express.

	√Root	Stem	Partial stem reduplication /Ideophones
[6] (a)	f-tʃ-	fɪtʃtʃʼ- 'Ooz'	fɪtʃʼɪtʃtʃʼ adərrəg-ə IDEO.ooze say:pfv-3sgm 'He squeezed (it) to discharge pus (fluid).
(b)	b-g-	bogg- 'Flash'	bogəgg al-ə IDEO.flash say:pfv-3sgm

			‘It flashed.’
(c)	f-n-	finn	fininn al-ə
		‘Squirt’	IDEO.squirit say:PFV-3SGM
			‘It (fluid) squirted continuously.’
(d)	k-ʃ-	koʃʃ	koʃəʃʃ al-ə
		‘Rustle’	IDEO.rustle say:PFV-3SGM
			‘It made rustling sound.’

The data in example [6] depicts that all stems underwent partial reduplication. However, only some monosyllabic ideophones show such partial reduplication. Such partial reduplications show attenuativity of actions and events. Partial reduplication is a very common morphological process in disyllabic ideophones. Here, I shall present partial reduplication in disyllabic attenuative ideophones and partial reduplication in disyllabic intensive ideophones respectively as follows.

5.1.4.1.2. Partial reduplication in disyllabic ideophones

As noted above most disyllabic ideophones in Amharic undergo partial reduplication to attenuative and intensive adverbial function. Consider the following examples.

	√Root	Stem	Partial stem reduplication/Ideophones
[7] (a)	d-b-k’	dəbək’k’- ‘Hide’	dəbək’bək’k’- al-ə IDEO.hide.hide say:PFV-3SGM ‘He hides himself somehow.’
(b)	f-r-s	fərəss- ‘Dismantle’	fərəsrəss al-ə IDEO.dismantle.dismantle:PFV-3SGM ‘It becomes slightly dismantled.’
(c)	r-t’-b	rət’əbb ‘Wet’	rətəbt’əbb al-ə IDEO.wet.wet say:PFV-3SGM ‘It becomes wet slightly.’
(d)	k’-m-s	k’əməss ‘Test’	k’əməsməss adərrəg-ə IDEO.test.test made:PFV-3SGM ‘He tested (it) slightly.’

As can be seen in [7] attenuative ideophones underwent partial stem reduplication to express attenuative actions and events. In this partial stem, reduplication process the stem degeminates the ultimate radical. The copy and repeat the ultimate syllable and geminate the ultimate radical. Consider the following template: $C_1VC_2C_3C_3 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2VC_3 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2VC_3C_2VC_3C_3$. Likewise, disyllabic ideophones also undergo partial reduplication to show intensive actions and situations. Consider the following examples.

	$\sqrt{\text{Root}}$	Stem	Partial stem reduplication /Ideophones
[8] (a)	d-k-m	dikkimm- 'Tired'	dikimkimm al-ə IDEO.tired.tired say:PFV-3SGM 'He becomes completely tired.'
(b)	k-f-t	kiffitt- 'Open'	kifitfitf adərrəg-ə IDEO.open.open made:PFV-3SGM 'He opened (it) completely.'
(c)	g-z-f	gizziff 'Giant'	gizifziff al-ə IDEO.giant.giant say:PFV-3SGM 'He becomes extremely huge.'

As can be observed from [8] disyllabic ideophones undergo partial reduplication. In this case, partial reduplication involves several morphological processes. First, the penultimate and ultimate radicals of the stem degeminate. Then the ultimate syllable is reduplicates and the ultimate radical geminates. The following template clarifies this process: $C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2VC_3 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2VC_3C_2VC_3C_3$.

From the above description, it is obvious that partial reduplication affects the final syllable of the stem. As shown in the preceding sections, partial reduplication shows adverbial functions of such derived verbs. They express actions and manners in which certain activities are performed. The above data also illustrates that iterative attenuative and iterative intensive verb stems do not show structural variations (they have the same consonantal radicals). In both forms, the final consonant undergoes gemination. The only differences they show is that the iterative attenuative ideophones use vowel /ə/ and iterative intensive ideophones insert the vowel /i/. Baye (1999:67) notes that gemination in intensive stems requires the insertion of the epenthetic vowel /i/. He also states that the adverbial function in such verbs stems come from the reduplications of the ultimate syllable.

In partial reduplication, there are two levels of reduplications. The first level is reduplication of the ultimate and penultimate radicals of the root and gemination of the same final radicals to show iterative manner of attenuative and intensive actions as in the preceding examples. The second level is the extension of the first level of partial reduplication. This is the process in which radicals with vocalic elements (syllables) undergo reduplications multiple times to show extreme iterative intensity of actions, see Baye (1999:77). Therefore, in the following section, I shall describe multiplication of partial reduplications in forms that express iterative manner of intensive actions.

5.1.4.2. Multiplication of partial forms in Amharic ideophonic intensive verb stems

In this morphological process, mono syllabic and disyllabic intensive stems undergo multiple partial reduplications. This type of reduplication is motivated by the speaker's desire to express extreme iterative and intensive actions or events. Here, also such multiple reduplications show adverbial functions. The number of reduplication is controlled by the speaker's intention to convey enough messages, see also (Childs 1994:185 and Baye 1999:77). Consider multiplications of partial reduplications in forms like the following.

	√Root	Stem	Multiplication of partial stems/Ideophones
[9] (a)	k'-l-t-	kīllit't' 'Melt'	kīlit'lit'lit'lit'lit'litt'...al-ə IDEO.melt-melt-melt-melt...say:PFV-3SGM 'It extremely melted.'
(b)	w-l-k-	wīllikk' 'Dismantle'	wīlik'lik'lik'lik'lik'ikk'... al-ə IDEO.dismantle-dismantle...say:PFV-3SGM 'It dismantled into several parts.'
(c)	l-m-t'	limmit't' 'Bend'	limit'mit' mit' mit't'... al-ə IDEO.bent-bent-bent-bent say:PFV-3SGM 'It becomes completely bent.'

As can be observed from the data in [9] the ideophone stems undergo iterative reduplication show simple iterative manner of actions. Nevertheless, the multiply reduplicated intensive stems show complex/multiple iterative-intensive actions. The two forms show the iterative manner of actions

and hence they are adverbial in function. As the entire data shows, the reduplicated stems are compounded with auxiliaries to give a completed verbal reading. In the preceding section, we have examined partial reduplications with iterative, intensive and attenuative stems and multiple partially reduplicated stems that show intensity of action. Now let us proceed to the second type of reduplication, which is total reduplication.

5.1.4.3. Total reduplication in Amharic ideophones

Total reduplication is a repetition of the whole form (root, stem and word). It is a common morphological process in both prosaic and ideophonic forms of the language. Total reduplication expresses a wide range of grammatical functions. These include intensity, iterativity, distributive, increased size, continuity, and pluraction of events. As Wood (2006:429) notes, the multiplicity of events in time, space or across distinct participants is known as event pluractionality. Total reduplication in Amharic ideophones comprises two types, namely, total reduplication of verbs and of nouns. These types are presented in the following sub-sections in their respective order. The first sub-section presents the full or total reduplication of verbal ideophones, which express intensive and attenuative events. The second sub-section presents total reduplication of nominal ideophones.

5.1.4.3.1. Total reduplication in ideophonic verbs

Amharic ideophones on the surface level illustrate monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic and multisyllabic ideophone verbs. However, ideophone stems more than disyllabic are the results of reduplication. In this section, I focus on total reduplication in monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophones only. I shall start with total reduplications in monosyllabic ideophones. As described in the preceding section, monosyllabic ideophones are of CV and C₁VC₂C₂ syllable templates. In the former case, C denotes the complex labiovelar consonant /k^w, g^w and k^ʷ⁸ and/or complex labialized consonants⁹ like [f^w, d^w, t^w, tʃ^w...]. The vocalic element in this pattern is often /a/. The entire pattern denotes often times onomatopoeic ideophones. In the latter case, the template is C₁VC₂C₂, the difference is in the initial radical. The

⁸ Complex consonants are not the results of phonological processes; rather they are independent complex sounds. Amharic has the three complex labiovelar sounds k^w, g^w and k^ʷ.

⁹ Labialized consonants are results of phonological process of contexts where there is a glide. Any consonant in the language can be labialized when a consonant with the feature of rounding deletes leaving its feature to a preceding segment. Examples are f^w, d^w, t^w and tʃ^w.

second and the third radicals are the same. Therefore, a pattern like $C_1VC_2C_3$ is not allowed. Since we have seen the syllable templates in monosyllabic ideophone stems, we shall move their reduplication process.

5.1.4.3.1.1. Total reduplication in monosyllabic mono-radical and bi-radical ideophones

As discussed in the preceding sections total reduplication is the process of copying and repeating the entire form (template). Therefore, the above two syllabic monosyllabic templates undergo total reduplication as follows:

1. $CV \Rightarrow C_1V-C_1V$
2. $C_1VC_2C_2 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2C_2-C_1VC_2C_2$

Below are some examples of monosyllabic ideophonic verb that undergo total reduplication to express iterative and pluractive action and events. Total reduplication in monosyllabic mono-radical ideophones with template $CV \Rightarrow CV-CV$ are given below in example (10.a-e) considers their forms and functions.

	$\sqrt{\text{Root}}$	Stem	Reduplicated stems/Ideophones
[10] (a)	k^w-	k^wa- 'Knock'	k^wak^wa adərrəg-ə IDEO.knock-knock made:PFV-3SGM 'He knocked (it) repeatedly.'
(b)	g^w	g^wa- 'Bang'	g^wag^wa adərrəg-ə IDEO.bang-bang made:PFV-3SGM 'He banged (it) repeatedly.'
(c)	$k^'w-$	$k^'wa-$ 'Snap'	$k^'wak^'wa$ al-ə IDEO.sanp-snap say:PFV-3SGM 'It snapped repeatedly.'
(d)	$t-w-$	t^wa- 'Burs'	t^wat^wa al-ə IDEO.burst-burst say:PFV-3SGM 'It burst from here and there.'
(e)	$d-w-$	d^wa-	d^wad^wa al-ə

‘Explode’ IDEO.explode-explode say:PFV-3SM
‘It exploded here and there.’

As the data in [10] shows, the monosyllabic mono-radical (CV) ideophone stems undergo total reduplication $CV \Rightarrow CV-CV$ to show iterative and pluractional actions or events but the non-reduplicated stems show single instance of actions and events. Examples in (10. a-c) show iterative actions while examples in (9. d &e) show pluractional events. In the same way, monosyllabic tri-radical ideophones with the template $C_1VC_2C_2$ reduplicate $\Rightarrow C_1VC_2C_2-C_1VC_2C_2$ to show iterativity and pluractivity of actions and events. Consider the following example in (11).

	$\sqrt{\text{Root}}$	Stem	Reduplicated stems/Ideophones
[11] (a)	b-g-	bogg ‘Flash’	bogg bogg al-ə IDEO.flash-flash say:PFV-3SGM ‘It (light) flickered repeatedly.’
(b)	l-b-	ləbb ‘Warm’	ləbb ləbb adərrəg-ə IDEO.warm-warm made:PFV-3SGM ‘He warmed (it) repeatedly lightly.’
(c)	d-b-	dubb ‘Fall’	dubb dubb al-ə IDEO.fall-fall say:PFV-3SGM ‘It dropped here and there.’
(d)	k’-tʃʷ	k’utʃtʃʷ ‘Sit’	k’utʃtʃʷ k’utʃtʃʷ al-ə IDEO.sit-sit say: PFV-3SGM ‘It sat down here and there.’

From the presentation in [11], we see that non-reduplicated ideophone stems shows single actions but those with total reduplication in examples (11.a &b) show iterative actions and examples in (11.c&d) pluractional events. In short, monosyllabic ideophones that result from total reduplication show iterativity and pluractivity of actions and events. Similarly, disyllabic ideophones that result from total reduplication are considered next.

5.1.4.3.1.2. Total reduplication in disyllabic ideophones

Amharic disyllabic ideophones comprise attenuative and intensive verb stems. Disyllabic attenuative stems follow templates of tri-radicals ($C_1VC_2VC_3C_3$) with vowel /ə/ and templates of quadric-radicals ($C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4$) with a first vowel ($V_1=ə$) or with variant vocalic elements like /o/ and a second vowel ($V_2=ə$). On the other hand, disyllabic intensive stems follow templates of tri-radicals ($C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3$) with the vowel /i/, and templates of quadric-radicals ($C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4$) the same vowel ($V_1=i$) or with variant vocalic element /u/, and a second vowel ($V_2=i$). As shown in the preceding sections, attenuative and intensive ideophone stems are derivatives of verb roots. These derivative stems further undergo total reduplication to show iterative attenuative, and intensive and pluractional actions, and events. The reduplicated stems take the auxiliaries al- ‘say’ and adərrəg- ‘do/make’ to form a compound that renders a verbal reading. In the following section, I present total reduplications of such disyllabic attenuative and intensive ideophone verb stems in that order

5.1.4.3.1.3. Total reduplication in disyllabic attenuative ideophonic verbs

Disyllabic attenuative ideophone verb stems undergo total reduplication to show iterative attenuative actions. As shown in the preceding section, total reduplication involves copying and repeating of an entire template without any further change. The above disyllabic tri-radicals and quadric-radical attenuative ideophone stems undergo total reduplications in the manner shown below.

- 1 Disyllabic tri-radicals: $C_1VC_2VC_3C_3 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2VC_3C_3-C_1VC_2VC_3C_3$
2. Disyllabic quadric-radicals: $C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4 \Rightarrow C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4$

Some examples of disyllabic ideophone verb stems are given below in [12].

	$\sqrt{\text{Root}}$	Stems	Total reduplication of stems/Ideophones
[12] (a)	w-d-k'-	wədəkk'- 'Fall'	wədəkk' wədəkk' al-ə IDEO.fall say:pfv-3sgm 'It slightly fell repeatedly.'
(b)	l-k'-m-	lək'əmm- 'Grab'	lək'əmm lək'əmm adərrəg-ə IDEO.grab made:pfv-3sgm 'He captured one and another.'
(c)	g-l-m-t'-	gəlmətt'- 'Look'	gəlmətt' gəlmətt' al-ə IDEO.look a side say:PFV-3SGM 'Look at one's side repeatedly.'
(d)	k-m-t-r	komtərr- 'Shrink'	komtərr komtərr adərrəg-ə IDEO.shrink made:PFV-3SGM He made (it) shrink repeatedly.'

As can be observed from [12] non-reduplicated tri-radical attenuative ideophone stems of the pattern $C_1VC_2VC_3C_3$ and those of quadric-radical stems of $C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4$ show non-iterative actions. On the other hand, the tri-radical disyllabic ideophones in (12. a&b) ($C_1VC_2VC_3C_3 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2VC_3C_3-C_1VC_2VC_3C_3$) and of the quadric-radicals disyllabic ideophones in (12.c&d) ($C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4 \Rightarrow C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4-C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4$) are results of total reduplication and they show iterative attenuative actions. Such reduplicated attenuative ideophone stems are compounded with the auxiliaries al- 'say' and adərrəg-'do/make' to render verb reading. From the data, it becomes clear that iterativity is expressed in reduplicated stems and the auxiliaries show their category as verbal. This is as regards total reduplication of attenuative ideophone verb stems, what follows is total reduplication of intensive ideophone stems.

5.1.4.3.1.4. Total reduplication in disyllabic intensive ideophonic verbs

Total reduplication in disyllabic intensive ideophone verb stems shows iterative intensive actions and events. As shown in the preceding sub-section, disyllabic ideophone verb stems are based on tri-radical stem roots forming the template $C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3$ and the quadric-syllable ideophone stems are based on the template $C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4$. Such ideophone stems show single intensive

actions. However, they can undergo total reduplication to show iterative intensive actions of the type below.

1. $C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C-C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3$
2. $C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4 \Rightarrow C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4-C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4$

Below in [13] some tri-radical disyllabic and quadric-radical disyllabic stems of intensive functions are given. The intensive ideophone stems undergo total reduplication to show iterative intensive actions. Consider total reduplications of syllabic templates and the corresponding adverbial functions in the table below.

	$\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$	Stems	Reduplicated stem /Ideophones
[13] (a)	f-f-n-	fiffinn- 'Covered'	fiffinn fiffinn adærræg-ə IDEO.cover made:PFV-3SGM 'He covered (it) repeatedly completely'
(b)	d-k-m-	dikkimm- 'Tired'	dikkimm dikkimm al-ə IDEO.tired-tired. say:PFV-3SGM 'He tired completely now and then'
(c)	g-l-b-t'-	gilibitt'- 'Turned-upside'	gilibitt' gilibitt'al-ə IDEO.turn upside-turn upside say:PFV-3SGM 'It turned upside completely here and there'
(d)	f-r-g -t'-	fīrgitt'- 'Wriggle'	fīrgitt't' fīrgitt' al-ə IDEO.wriggle-wriggle say:PFV-3SGM 'It wriggled completely repeatedly.'

As can be observed from [13] all intensive ideophone stems with total reduplication show iterative intensive actions and pluractional events. Tri-radical disyllabic ideophone stems in (13.a) with total reduplication ($C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3-C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3$) express iterative intensive action and the quadric-radical disyllabic ideophone stems in (13.b), which also undergo total reduplication ($C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4 \Rightarrow C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4-C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4$) show intensive pluractional event. In the same way, the quadric-radical disyllabic ideophone stems in (13.c) undergo total reduplication ($C_1VC_2C_3VC_4C_4 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2C_3VC_4C_4-C_1VC_2C_3VC_4C_4$) to show intensive pluractional event and the quadric-radical ideophone stems in (13.d) undergoes the

same process of total reduplication ($C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4 \Rightarrow C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4-C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4$) to express iterative intensive actions. From the examples, one can understand that total reduplication in disyllabic intensive ideophone stems shows iterative intensive actions and pluractional events. The reduplicated stems show the intensive iterative actions, pluractional events, and the auxiliaries determine their verbal status. Furthermore, the above ideophone stems can undergo multiplications of total attenuative and intensive functions and this is presented next.

5.1.4.4. Total stem multiplication in Amharic ideophonic verbs

As we have observed in the preceding description, stem multiplication is an extension of stem reduplication. In the language, monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic ideophonic verbs undergo total stem multiplication to show multi-iterative attenuative and intensive actions and events, and pluractional events.

5.1.4.4.1. Total stem multiplication in monosyllabic attenuative ideophones

As we have considered in the preceding section, monosyllabic ideophones in the language have CV and $C_1VC_2C_2$ templates. These templates undergo multiplication through repeating the entire stem indefinitely. Based on this rule, template multiplicities take place as ($CV \Rightarrow CV-CV-CV\dots$) and ($C_1VC_2C_2 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2C_2-C_1VC_2C_2-C_1VC_2C_2-C_1VC_2C_2\dots$). From this structure, we can observe that multiplication is an extension of reduplication. Consider the following examples and the corresponding functions of the stems.

	√Roots	Stems	Total multiplication of stems//Ideophones
[14] (a)	g-w-	g ^w a 'Bang'	g ^w a g ^w a g ^w a g ^w a g ^w a... adərrəg -ə IDEO.bang-bang-bang-bang... made:PFV-3SGM 'He banged (it) for long time continuously.'
(b)	t'-b-	t'əbb 'Drip'	t'əbb t'əbb t'əbb t'əbb... al-ə IDEO.drip-drip-drip-drip ... say:PFV-3SGM 'It dripped continuously for long time.'

As can be observed from [14], monosyllabic ideophones undergo total stem multiplication by reduplicating the whole stem without any change multiple times to show multi-iterative actions

and events. In the language, almost all monosyllabic ideophonic verbs use the same morphological process to show the above functions by the means of total stem duplications.

5.1.4.4.2. Total stem multiplication in disyllabic ideophones

As I have shown in the preceding sections, attenuative ideophones are based on the two templates $C_1VC_2VC_3C_3$ and $C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4$. In total stem multiplication, these two templates reduplicate infinitely. The number of repetitions here is controlled by the speaker's feeling of having expressing the information about the action or event with enough iterativity or intensity. The manner of multiplication of the two attenuative stem templates is as follows:

1. $C_1VC_2VC_3C_3 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2VC_3C_3-C_1VC_2VC_3C_3-C_1VC_2VC_3C_3\dots$
2. $C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4 \Rightarrow C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4-C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4-C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4\dots$

The following Amharic ideophones are formed the above patterns and they express multi iterative actions. The structures of the multiplied stems undergo another process, which is compounding with the two auxiliaries that give a verbal reading with some form of aspect. In such compounds, the multiplied stems show multiple iterative actions and the auxiliary suggest a verbal category and function. Consider the ideophones in [15] and their corresponding functions shown below.

	$\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$	Stems	Total multiplication of stems/Ideophones
[15] (a)	k-t-f-	kətəff- 'Arrive'	kətəff kətəff kətəff... al-ə IDEO.arrive-arrive-arrive... say:PFV-3SGM 'There arrived all one after another.'
(b)	g-r-f-	gərəff- 'Whip'	gərəff gərəff gərəff... adərrəg-ə IDEO.whip-whip-whip... made:PFV-3SGM 'He lashed (it) repeatedly lightly.'
(c)	f-r-k-s-	fərkəss 'Crack'	fərkəss fərkəss fərkəss... adərrəg-ə IDEO.crack - crack - crack ... made:PFV-3SGM 'He made (it) cracked several times.'

The data in [15] involving tri-radical and quadric-radical ideophone verbs and the corresponding multiplication of stems express multiple-iterative and attenuative actions. In addition to this,

monosyllabic bi-radical attenuative ideophone verb stems can undergo multiplication of stems to show multiple iterative -attenuative actions like in the example tʃəbb - ‘hit something one time lightly’ \Rightarrow $\text{tʃəbb tʃəbb tʃəbb...adərrəg-ə}$ IDEO.hit-hit-hit...made.PFV-3SGM ‘He hit (it) lightly several times.’ From the data, it is possible to conclude that multiplication of whole forms of attenuative stems is an instance of extension of complete or total reduplication of attenuative ideophone verbs shown in the preceding section. Similarly, like attenuative ideophone stems, intensive ideophone verb stems can undergo multiplication of stems through extensions to express multiple iterative intensive actions. This is described in the following sub-section.

5.1.4.4.3. Total stem multiplication in intensives ideophonic verbs

Like in attenuative verb stems, intensive ideophone verb stems employ multiplications of entire stems for an indefinite time to express multiple iterative intensive actions. The attenuative stem multiplication, like in the case of multiple intensive ideophone verb stems, there is extension of stems through total reduplication. As we have considered in the preceding descriptions, intensive ideophone verb stems have two types of disyllabic templates, which undergo stem multiplications in the manner shown below.

1. $C_1VC_2C_2 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2C_2-C_1VC_2C_2 -C_1VC_2C_2...$
2. $C_1VC_2C_3VC_4C_4 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2C_3VC_4C_4-C_1VC_2C_3VC_4C_4-C_1VC_2C_3VC_4C_4...$

The extended stems above form compounds with the auxiliaries to get their category as verbs and their tense/aspect readings as perfect/imperfect or past and non-past. Here also, the multiples of stems express multiples of iterative actions. Some intensive ideophone verb stems are shown in [16] below.

	√Roots	Stems	Total multiplication of stems/Ideophones
[16] (a)	s-b-r-	sibbirr- 'Break'	sibbirr sibbirr sibbirr... al-ə IDEO.break-break-break... say:PFV-3SGM 'It became broken completely into several places'
(b)	t'-b-b-	t'ibbibb- 'Narrow'	t'ibbibb t'ibbibb t'ibbibb... al-ə IDEO.narrow-narrow-narrow... say:PFV-3GSM 'It becomes completely narrow.'
(c)	k-f-t-	kiffitt- 'Open'	kiffitt kiffitt kiffitt... adərrəg-ə IDEO.open-open-open... made:PFV-3SGM 'He opened one and all completely.'
(d)	g-n-f-l-	gɪnfill- 'Bubble'	gɪnfill gɪnfill gɪnfill... al-ə IDEO.bubble-bubble-bubble... say:PFV-3SGM 'It bubbled continuously and completely.'
(e)	f-n-g-l-	fɪŋgill- 'Fall'	fɪŋgill fɪŋgill fɪŋgill... adərrəg-ə IDEO.fall- fall- fall- fall... made:PFV-3SGM 'He made fell one and all.'

The data in [16] are all intensive ideophone verbs stems that underwent multiplication of their entire basic stems. This is a type of infinite total stem reduplication. The tri-radical stems in in (16. a, b & c) and the quadric-radical stems in (16. d & e) are instances of total multiplication of stems that express intensity of actions. Here also the multiplied bound stems are compounded with the auxiliaries al-ə and adərrəg-ə to form complete ideophone verbs of perfective aspect. Semantically, such multiplication verb forms may express different instances of iterative actions with degrees of intensity. The example (16. b) creates in the speakers mind an iterative event of narrowing down in progress. The examples in (16. a, c, d & e) show multiple continuous intensive actions taking place. Both disyllabic and monosyllabic ideophones undergo multiplications of entire stems to show multiplicity of actions or events which I have shown in this sub-section. In the next sub-section, I shall present reduplications of nouns that derive ideophones of verbal nouns.

5.1.4.5. Total noun reduplications in Amharic ideophones

In Amharic, certain nouns undergo total reduplication and form compounds with the same auxiliary *al-* ‘say’ to express certain tastes, smells, and different feelings of objects. The auxiliaries give verbal readings of the entire compound and example 17 below presents this.

	Noun	Total reduplication/ ideophones
[17] (a)	mar ‘Honey’	mar mar al-ə IDEO.honey-honey say:PFV-3SGM ‘It has a sweet taste like honey’
(b)	iret ‘Sisal’	iret iret al-ə IDEO.sisal-sisal say:PFV-3SGM ‘It has a bitter taste like sisal’
(c)	sik ^w ar ‘Sugar’	sik ^w ar sik ^w ar al-ə IDEO.sugar-sugar say:PFV-3SGM ‘It has a sweet taste like sugar’
(d)	tʃ ^ə w ‘Salt’	tʃ ^ə w tʃ ^ə w al-ə IDEO.salt-salt say:PFV-3SGM ‘It has salty taste’
(e)	siɡa ‘Meat’	siɡa siɡa al-ə IDEO.meat-meat say:PFV-3SGM ‘It has a taste of meat’
(f)	wuha ‘Water’	wuha wuha al-ə IDEO.water-water say:PFV-3SGM ‘It has no taste (It is tasteless)’
(g)	dəm ‘Blood’	dəm dəm al-ə IDEO.blood-blood say:PFV-3SGM ‘It has a bad taste in the mouth because of illnesses’
(h)	idʒdʒ ‘Hand’	idʒdʒ idʒdʒ al-ə IDEO.hand-hand say:PFV-3SGM ‘It got loathed (spoiled taste)’

As can be observed in [17] the simple nouns, mar ‘honey’ reduplicates itself to express the degree of honey-like taste of an object. With the auxiliary alə ‘say’, it derives a verbal predicate mar mar al-ə ‘honey honey say’ that takes another noun referring to an object of honey-like taste, as in:

t’əlla-u mar mar yi- l- al
 beer-DEF honey honey 3SG-say-AUX

The beer tastes like honey’

The reduplicated nouns and the verbal status of the compound by the auxiliary express the taste of the beer. However, the taste expressed in (h) with the reduplicated noun **id3d3 id3d3** ‘hand-hand’ has no direct connection with the taste of hand but with food that has lost its freshness due touching with unclean hands. In addition to this, in Amharic, certain simple nouns can reduplicate to express different types of smells. This is described next in example [18].

	Noun	Total reduplication/Ideophones
[18] (a)	it’an ‘Incense’	it’an it’an al-ə IDEO.incense-incense say:PFV-3SGM ‘It smelled incense (It has a pleasant smell like incense)’
(b)	ḥitto ‘Perfume’	ḥitto ḥitto al-ə IDEO.perfume-perfume say:PFV-3SGM ‘It smelled perfume (It has a pleasant smell like perfume)’
(c)	albab ‘Incense’	albab albab al-ə IDEO.incense-incense say:PFV-3SGM It smelled incense (It has a pleasant smell like incense)’
(d)	lab ‘Sweat’	lab lab al-ə IDEO.sweat-sweat say:PFV-3SGM It smelled sweat (It has a bad smell like sweat)
(e)	t’is ‘Smoke’	t’is t’is al-ə IDEO.smoke-smoke say:PFV-3SGM ‘It smell smoke (It has a bad smell like smoke)’

As the data in [18] illustrates, certain nouns undergo total reduplication to denote different smells. On the other hand, there are nouns that reduplicate to express internal feelings as in example [19] below.

	Noun	Total reduplication/Ideophones
[19] (a)	dəm	dəm dəm al-ə-w
	‘Blood’	IDEO.blood-blood say:PFV-3SGM-O-3SGM ‘There become infuriated (There felt angry)’
(b)	dulla	dulla dulla al-ə-w
	‘Stick’	IDEO.stick-stick say:PFV-3SGM-O-3SGM ‘There want to fight with someone (There felt quarrelling)’
(c)	sak’	sak’sak’ al-ə-w
	‘Laughter’	IDEO.laugh-laugh say:PFV-3SGM-O-3SGM ‘There felt happy (There smiled continuously)’
(d)	lək’so	lək’so lək’so al-ə-w
	‘Cry’	IDEO.cry-cry say:PFV-3SGM-O-3SGM ‘There have a feeling crying for no reason’
(e)	bird	bird bīrd al-ə-w
	‘Cold’	IDEO.cold-cold say:PFV-3SGM-O-3SGM ‘There felt cold (There felt a chill because fever or illness)’

As can be seen from [19], like in the preceding descriptions, the nouns here also undergo total reduplication and compounding with the element al-‘say’ to show feelings, tastes and smells.

5.1.5. Summary

In contrast to the generalizations stated by Childs (1994), Bodomo (2006), and Dingemane (2012) regarding ideophones having little or no morphology, the results of this study identify the following key morphological processes. Ideophones of Amharic deploy reduplication, derivation, compounding, and inflectional morphology. These procedures are all important for the development of ideophonic words. Similar to other linguistic open word classes like nouns, new verbal or imitative nominal ideophonic words like [duk’dukk’e]‘motorbike’ can likewise lead to the introduction of new ideophonic words into the language. The language’s ideophones can be divided primarily into two groups. These are nominal and verbal ideophones. In addition to this, in Amharic ideophonic adjectives like kəwkawwa ‘flighty/irresponsible’ and dənbarra ‘bashful/fearful’ can be derived from the ideophonic bound stems kīww- and dīnbirr-

respectively. The verbal ideophones are more complex than the nominal ones. Combining the auxiliary verbs al-'say' and adərrəg-, they construct compounds.

On the contrary, nominal ideophones form compound ideophonic nouns without auxiliaries since the latter select verbal not nominal stems. Such nominal ideophone stems take suffixes to form derived nominal like kaka-te 'bird', gumgum-ta 'murmur', and simple compounds like aǰər-baǰər 'riffraff' into-fənto 'useless thing', tırki-mırki 'mishmash' and arti-burti 'hocus-pocus'.

As the preceding description shows, Amharic compound ideophones comprise compound ideophonic verbs and compound ideophonic nouns. Compound Amharic ideophonic verbs are three types. These are antonymous compounds, synonymous and non-antonymous and non-synonymous compound ideophones. The first type contains two ideophonic verb stems that are opposite in meaning. They are used to express reversal actions done by the same agent. The second types are formed through compounding synonymous verb stems. They are often used to express procedural activities performed by the same agent. The third types are formed through compounding of non-antonymous, non-synonymous ideophone verb stems or by combining ideophonic verb stems and simple nouns as in ɪmbwa-kərəjju al-ə IDEO.moan-kereju say:PFV-3SGM 'It up roared about'. Such compounds are used to express emotions, state of being, recurrent conditions, consecutive actions, and emotional conditions. As mentioned earlier, all three types of compound ideophone verb stems undergo further compounding with the auxiliaries al- 'say' and adərrəg- 'make/do' to get a complete verbal reading.

On the other hand, compounding as a morphological process includes compound ideophonic nouns. These compounds are formed by compounding different lexical words to express different semantic notions. They show poor qualities of objects, work, and personality. This compounding process has some similarities to systematic (modified) reduplications. As the findings of the study illustrate the composite words show similar segments in their penultimate and ultimate syllables as k'ira-k'imbo 'old stuff' and antepenultimate syllables as in arti-burti 'hocus-pocus'. Unlike compound ideophonic verbs, these compound nominal ideophones do not combine with auxiliaries al- 'say' and adərrəg- 'make/do'. They are bare ideophones or lexicalized ideophones.

Moreover, Amharic ideophones are also subject to derivation. As the finding of the study depicts, the morphology of Amharic ideophones comprises the derivation of ideophone verbs from verb

roots through the penultimate and/or the ultimate radical gemination. Moreover, nominal ideophones are derived from ideophonic verb stems by affixation of nominalizer morphemes (NMLZ), such as -te, -ta, and -je. As pointed out above, Amharic has attenuative and intensive verb stems that are derived from verb roots.

The verb roots in Amharic are fundamentally tri-radicals. Less than tri-radical roots are the product of root reduction, and more than tri-radical roots are the product of root extension. Attenuative ideophonic verb stems involve the vocalic element /ə/ since they are formed from basic tri-radical roots ($C_1VC_2VC_3- \Rightarrow C_1VC_2VC_3C_3$). Furthermore, quadric-radical roots ($C_1VC_2VC_3VC_4- \Rightarrow C_1VC_2C_3VC_4C_4$), where V_1 becomes /ə/ or /o/ and V_2 stays /ə/. Intensive ideophonic verb stems originate from basic tri-radical verb roots ($C_1VC_2VC_3- \Rightarrow C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3$) and create a quadric radical ($C_1VC_2VC_3VC_4- \Rightarrow C_1VC_2C_3VC_4C_4$), in which V_1 appears as /i/ or /u/ and V_2 always remains /i/.

It is clear from the description that intensive ideophone verb stems are obtained by gemination of the penultimate and ultimate radicals of the tri-radical roots and the ultimate radicals of the quadric radical verb roots, whereas attenuative ideophone verb stems are obtained by gemination of the ultimate radical of the root.

Furthermore, in Amharic, reduplication is another major productive morphological process for ideophonic word formation. As the previous description illustrates, ideophones undergo partial and total reduplication to show iterativity, pluractivity, attenuativity, and intensity of actions. Such reduplications can be extended to multiple reduplications (multiplications) when there is a need to show the multi-iterative manner of attenuative, intensive, and durative actions or events. Most monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophonic verbs deploy partial reduplication. As the description shows, tri-radical monosyllabic ideophones reduplicate the ultimate radical of the root with the vocalic element /ə/ occurring between the nucleus and the reduplicated ultimate radical as in the template $C_1VC_2C_2 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2VC_2C_2$. For example, the bound ideophone stem $koff-$ ‘rustle’ \Rightarrow $kofəff-$ ‘rustles repeatedly’ shows partial reduplication to form monosyllabic ideophones.

In addition to this, the other type of tri-radical monosyllabic ideophonic verb roots with C₁-C₂-C₂ reduplicate the penultimate and the ultimate radicals with vocalic element /ə/ and /i/ geminate the ultimate radicals as C₁-C₂-C₃-C₂-C₃C₃ to form iterative attenuative and intensive ideophonic bound verb stems via partial reduplication. The root pattern t'-r-g- undergoes the above partial reduplications as t'ərəgrəgg for iterative attenuative and t'irigrigg for iterative intensive ideophonic bound verb stems. As noted above, in such structures, iterative attenuative and intensive ideophone verb stems show iterativity and the auxiliary shows the verbal status and functions.

Amharic ideophones also undergo multiplication of the penultimate and the ultimate radical of attenuative and intensive ideophones to show multi-iterative actions. This is a third-level root extension. In this process, the verb roots involve multiple time reduplications of the penultimate and ultimate radicals of the root and geminate the ultimate radical of the root. As the result of the finding depicts, iterative and multi-iterative attenuative and intensive stem formation involves syllable reduplication. In the former case the reduplication results in [-CVCC] syllable type reduplication. The latter reduplication type results in [-CVC...CVCC] syllable type reduplication. The disyllabic tri-radical verb root with template b-t'-s- shows this morphological process as follows: b-t'-s- ⇒ bitt'iss al-ə IDEO.cut says:PFV-3SGM 'cut-off completely.' ⇒ bit'ist'iss al-ə IDEO.cut-cut says: PFV-3SGM 'cut-off repeatedly' ⇒ bit'ist'ist'is...t'iss al-ə IDEO.cut-cut-cut...says:PFV-3SGM 'cut-off into small parts multiple times. Multi-iterative attenuative ideophones are formed similarly but the vocalic element in this case is /ə/

Likewise, the surface-level monosyllabic bi-radical verb roots undergo partial reduplication and multiplication to show iterative and multi-iterative attenuative and intensive actions and events. This can be observed from the verb root b-g, which is a reduced root. As the finding of the study shows, the verb root b-g is underlyingly tri-radical that is b-w-g. As the morphophonological process shows b-w-g becomes b-g due to the reduction of glide radical /w/ causing vowel /ə/ ⇒ /o/. The process is ə ⇒ o/-w.

In Amharic monosyllabic bi-radicals undergo partial stem multiplication to show multi-iterative actions via reduplicating the ultimate radical before the nucleus and inserting vocalic element /ə/ as in bogəgəgəgə...gəgg al-ə IDEO.flash-flash-flash-flash...flash says:PFV-3SGM 'It flashed

multiple times.' The attenuative and intensive ideophone verb stems from verb roots and involves radical reduplication. On the other hand, iterative and multi-iterative attenuative and intensive verb stem derivation from verb roots involves syllable reduplication. In the former case, -CVCC is reduplicated but in the latter case -CVC...CVCC is reduplicated. Multi-interactivity is an adverbial function. In addition to this, in monosyllabic tri-radical ideophones, the reduplication structure -VC₂C₂ shows the durability of an action or an event. As the result of the finding depicts, in Amharic verbs ideophones and certain nouns undergo total reduplication.

Total reduplication is one of the most prominent reduplication types in Amharic ideophones. Almost all ideophonic verbs and some nouns underwent total reduplication to show iterative attenuative and intensive actions and events and to express various tastes, smells, and internal feelings respectively.

As noted above Amharic monosyllabic ideophones constitute three syllable types. These are the (CV), (C₁VC₂C₂), and (CVCCC...). The (CV) is often an onomatopoeic ideophone. Where the vocalic element /V/ in the CV is usually /a/ and the radical C=C^w where the C^w can be the complex labiovelar consonants k^w, g^w, and k^{hw} or the labialized simple consonants such as f^v, d^w, t^w. Therefore, the CV⇒CV-CV shows iterativity as in the example ideophone word k^wa al-ə IDEO.snap say:PFV-3SGM 'Made snapping sound.' k^wa- k^wa al-ə IDEO.snap-snap say:PFV-3SGM 'It made snapping sounds repeatedly.' As we can see from the data, the non-reduplicated stem shows the production of a single snapping sound but the reduplicated stem illustrates the production of repeated snapping sounds. The entire stem underwent total reduplication to show iterativity and the auxiliary made the whole compound have full verbal reading.

In the same way, monosyllabic tri-radical ideophones undergo total reduplication. Therefore, the syllabic template C₁VC₂C₂⇒C₁VC₂C₂-C₁VC₂C₂ shows pluractional and iterative actions and events. This can be observed in the example ideophone words dubb al-ə IDEO.drop say:PFV-3SGM 'It dropped.' ⇒dubb dubb al-ə IDEO.drop-drop says:PFV-3SGM 'It dropped here and there.' The third monosyllabic template type C₁VC₂C₂C₂...usually contains C₂ of trills, liquids, or spirants as in ideophonic words birrrrrr... al-ə IDEO.flew away say:PFV-3SGM 'It flew away for a longer time.' finnnn...al-ə IDEO.squirt say:PFV-3SGM 'It squirted it for a longer time.'

From the findings of the study, we understand that Amharic attenuative and intensive ideophone verb roots are disyllabic tri-radicals and disyllabic quadric-radicals. Attenuative disyllabic tri-radicals and disyllabic quadric-radicals have the verb stem templates of $(C_1VC_2VC_3C_3)$ and $(C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4)$ respectively. The vocalic element in attenuative stems is /ə/ except in quadric radicals V_1 . In quadric-radical, V_1 can be /ə/ or /o/.

On the other hand, intensive disyllabic tri-radicals and disyllabic quadric-radicals have the $(C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3)$ and $(C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4)$ syllabic templates respectively. The vocalic element in intensive stems is /i/. In quadric-radical, V_1 can be /i/ or /u/. The above syllable templates undergo total reduplication without any change to show the preceding corresponding functions. Disyllabic ideophone verb stems include quadric-radicals attenuative stems $(C_1VC_2VC_3C_3)$ as in *dəkəmm al-ə IDEO.tired say.PFV-3SGM* 'It becomes tired slightly.' This stem also undergoes total reduplication as in $(C_1VC_2VC_3C_3-C_1VC_2VC_3C_3)$ *dəkəmm-dəkəmm al-ə IDEO.tired-tired say:PFV-3SGM* 'It becomes tired now and then slightly.'

Disyllabic ideophone verb stems also contain multi-radicals intensive as in $(C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3)$ *sibbirr al-ə IDEO.break says:PFV-3SGM* 'it becomes broken down completely.' This verb stem undergoes total reduplication to show iterative intensive actions as $(C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3-C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3-)$ in *sibbirr-sibbirr al-ə IDEO.break-break says:PFV-3SGM* 'it becomes broken down completely iteratively.' Disyllabic ideophone stems contain multi-radical attenuative verb stem as $(C_1VC_2C_3VC_4C_4)$ *gəndəss adərrəg-ə IDEO.fall made:PFV-3SGM* 'He made fall slightly.' $(C_1VC_2C_3VC_4C_4-C_1VC_2C_3VC_4C_4-)$ in *gəndəss-gəndəss adərrəg-ə, IDEO.fall-fall made:PFV-3SGM* 'He made fall slightly iteratively.' Moreover, the same process continuous for the iterative intensive function. The reduplicated ideophone verb stems must compound with the auxiliaries for the whole compound to have full verbal reading. From the findings of the study, it is obvious that total reduplication shows verbal functions. It simply illustrates iterative attenuative and intensive actions and events. In the language, total reduplication in ideophone verb stems also undergoes multiple whole stem reduplication to show multi-interactivity of actions and events. This reduplicated structure has an adverbial function.

As the finding of the study depicts, all ideophone stems (i.e. monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophone verb stems) undergo multiple-reduplication of the entire stem to show multi-iterative

actions. Such structure shows adverbial functions. In addition to ideophone verb stems, some nouns also undergo total reduplication.

In Amharic, certain simple nouns undergo total reduplication and are compounded with auxiliary al-'say' to show tastes, smells, and internal feelings. However, the reduplicated nouns for denoting taste and smell must have a well-known denotation of tastes and smells they refer. Due to this, nouns frequently used to show taste are mar 'honey' tʃəw 'salt' ɪret 'sisal' and the like. Those used to show smell are ʃitto 'perfume' ɪtan 'incense' lab 'sweat' ɪbbət 'cow dung' ... and the like. Simple nouns used to show internal feeling are bird 'cold' firihat 'fear' dəm 'blood'... and so on. The above nouns will have ideophone function only in the total reduplication forms and compounding with auxiliary al-'say'. The non-reduplicated nouns and multi-duplication and compounding with auxiliary al-'say' is the quotative function. Therefore, mar mar al-ə IDEO.honey-honey says:PFV-3SGM 'It has a honey taste.' is taste ideophone. ʃitto ʃitto al-ə IDEO.perfume-perfume says:PFV-3SGM 'It has a perfume-like smell.' is smell ideophone and bird bird al-ə-w IDEO.cold-cold says:PFV-3SGM-O-3SGM 'It felt cold.' is internal feeling referring to ideophones.

To sum up, in the language there are two types of reduplication. These are partial and total reduplication. Partial reduplication involves syllable reduplications, total reduplication copies, and repeat total forms. Iterative construction shows verbal function but multi-iterative construction shows adverbial functions. In the language's ideophones, some nouns underwent total reduplications to show tastes, smells, and internal feelings.

5.2. The Morphology of Kafa ideophones

This section presents the morphology of Kafa ideophones. Kafa is also morphologically complex language. As pointed out earlier ideophones are universally attested word classes with no or little morphology. However, Kafa ideophones employ some morphological processes. These are compounding, derivation and reduplication. Most ideophones in the language are lexical ideophones. In addition to this, the language contains derivative ideophone types. The following section delves into these morphological processes respectively.

5.2.1. Compounding in ideophones

Compounding is one of the morphological processes in ideophones of the language. Kafa compound ideophones comprise two types. These are ideophonic compound verbs and compound adjectival ideophones. Ideophonic verb stems are combined with auxiliary **íí-h-è** 'say' are intransitive and those combined with **áj-h-è** 'do/make' are transitive.

5.2.1.1. Compound ideophonic verb

Kafa compound ideophonic verbs contain antonymous verbs. Most of these ideophonic verbs show opposing actions performed by the similar agent. The followings are some examples of these types.

Ideophonic verb compounding in Kafa

- [20] (a) náp'p'-júmbúr íí-h-è
IDEO.go out of sight-return quickly say:PFV-3SGM
'He goes and comes back very fast.'
- (b) kòpp-tʃ'át't' áj-h-è
IDEO.pick up-put down make:PFV-3SGM
'He picked up and released it quickly.'

As the data in [20] depicts, in the language most compound ideophonic verbs contain antonymous ideophonic verb stems. These compound stems are further compounded with auxiliaries **íí-h-è** 'say' and **áj-h-è** 'do/make' to make the entire compound have complete verb reading. The compound stems show actions and auxiliaries carry out all verbal functions.

5.2.1.2. Compound adjectival ideophones

In the language, most of the compound adjectival ideophones are formed in two ways. The first is by compounding two adjectival words and the second is also by compounding adjectival words with another ideophone words. These compound ideophonic words are bare ideophones (without auxiliary). Consider the following description.

Compound adjectival ideophones

- [21] (a) tʃʷúnd-báátt'-è
IDEO.small-IDEO-3SGF
'Diminutive'
- (b) tʃʷéélá-tʃʷúúl-ò
IDEO.red- IDEO-3SGM
'Mixture of things, all together'
- (c) tʃʷángál-bátʃʷ-ò
IDEO.IDEO-mixture-3SGM
'Inproportionate mixture'
- (d) íʃírá-báʃáár-ò
IDEO.none sense thing- none sense thing-3SGM
'Low-quality of things'
- (e) jot'á-máát'-ò
IDEO.asymmetrical shaped-asymmetrical shaped-3SGM
'Irregularly shaped'

As can be observed from [21] the compound adjectival ideophones express diminutiveness, mixtures of things, low quality, and irregular shapes. Some of these compounds show systematic reduplication types. This can be observed from (21.b) the vowels in the first composite /ee/⇒/uu/ in the second composite. The consonants in the first composite remain the same. On the other hand, compound adjectival ideophones are used to describe various shapes, worthless (low quality) things.

Typologically, unlike Amharic, Kafa word roots do not follow root-and-pattern morphology. In Kafa morphology, word roots are simply the consonant and vowel combinations. In the language, the vast majority of ideophonic verbs are formed from the ideophonic bound stems via compounding with the auxiliary verbs íí-h- 'say' and áj-h- 'do/make' to form complete

ideophonic verbs. Most Kafa ideophones are intensive ideophone types. These ideophones often carry H (high tone). Unlike Amharic, the language seems lack attenuative ideophones. Gestures and facial expressions often accompany ideophones in the language. Ideophones show intensity, interativity, and durativity of actions and events. Consider the following descriptions.

Table 42: Forming ideophonic verbs through compounding

	√ Root	Ideophone
a.	mútʃʃ- 'Cut'	mútʃʃ í-h-è IDEO.cut say:PFV-3SGM 'It becomes cut down completely.'
b.	tʃʷóbb- 'Flash'	tʃʷóbb í-h-è IDEO.flash say:PFV-3SGM 'It becomes over blazed.'
c.	húpʷpʷ- 'Pierce'	húpʷpʷ áj-h-è IDEO.pierce made:PFV-3SGM 'He stabbed (it) forcefully.'
d.	búdd- 'Cut'	búdd áj-h-è IDEO.cut made:PFV-3SGM 'He cut (it) completely.'
e.	kópp- 'Pickup'	kópp-áj-h-è IDEO.pickup made:PFV-3SGM 'He picked (it) up.'
f.	gípʷpʷ- 'Close'	gípʷpʷ áj-h-è IDEO.close made:PFV-3SGM 'He closed (it) with force.'
g.	tégg- 'Stop'	tégg í-h-è IDEO.stop say:PFV-3SGM 'It stops /often rain'

As can be observed from Table 42, ideophonic verbs are formed from ideophonic verb roots simply by compounding the bound stems with the auxiliaries. All of these ideophonic verbs are intensive ideophones. They bear uniformly H (high ton) across the syllables and show the

intensity of events and actions. In addition to this, in Kafa, ideophonic nouns are derived from ideophonic bound stems. The following section presents this.

5.2.2. Derivations in Kafa ideophones

Derivation is one of the most productive morphological in Kafa ideophonic word formation. In the language, ideophonic nouns can be derived from ideophonic bound stems and ideophonic verbal nouns can be derived from ideophonic verbs through attaching some verb nominalizing morphemes (NMLZ). In the language, derived ideophones include the following two types.

1. Derivation of ideophonic verbal nouns from ideophonic verbs
2. Derivation of ideophonic nouns from ideophonic bound stems

These two morphological processes are presented in the following descriptions respectively. Consider following descriptions.

5.2.2.1. Derivation of ideophonic verbal nouns from ideophonic verbs

As mentioned above in the language, ideophonic verbal nouns can be derived from ideophonic verbs via suffixing the nominalizing morpheme NMLZ [-o]. In this case, the ideophonic bound stems remain invariable. However, the NMLZ is suffixed to the auxiliary. Consider the following description.

Table 43: Derivation of ideophonic verbal nouns

	Ideophonic verbs	Ideophonic verbal nouns
a.	kádʒdʒ áj-h-è IDEO.choke made:PFV-3SGM 'He made (it) choked'	kádʒdʒ áj-h-ò [ájò] IDEO.choke made:PFV-NMLZ 'Choking'
b.	dúdʒdʒ áj-h-è IDEO.enter made:PFV-3SGM 'He made(it) entered completely'	dúdʒdʒ áj-h-ò [ajo] IDEO.enter made:PFV-NMLZ 'Entering'
c.	kétʃtʃ áj-h-è IDEO.cut make:PFV-3SGM 'He cut (it) completely.'	kétʃtʃ áj-h-ò [ájò] IDEO.cut made:PFV-NMLZ 'Cutting'
d.	ʃíbb áj-h-è IDEO.catch made:PFV-3SGM 'He caught (it) tightly.'	ʃíbb áj-h-ò [ájò] IDEO.catch made:PFV-NMLZ 'Catching'

As can be observed from the data in Table 43 the person marking vowel /-e/ in the auxiliary is reduced and the verb nominalizing vowel /-o/ is suffixed. The ideophonic verbal nouns are derived from ideophonic verbs via suffixing NMLZ (-o) to the auxiliary. In this morphological process, the auxiliary verb undergoes some changes. That is the underlying causative auxiliary **áj-h-ò** ‘do/make’ becomes **ájò** ‘do/make’. From the above description it is observed that the perfective aspect marker glottal consonant /h/ deletes before the NMLZ marker /-o/ and **áj-h-ò** is reduced to **ájò**. It is obvious that in such cases glottal consonants often disappear. As noted above, in the language nominal ideophones are derived from ideophonic bound stems. Consider the following description.

5.2.2.2. Derivation of ideophonic nouns from ideophonic bound stems

Like the derivation of the ideophonic verbal nouns, in the language nominal ideophones are derived from ideophonic bound stems by suffixing nominalizing morphemes (-e and -o) to the ideophonic bound stems.

Table 44: Derivation of nominal ideophones from ideophonic bound stems via attaching (-e and -o)

No.	Ideophonic bound stems	Ideophonic nouns
a.	tút- IDEO.blow ‘Blow’	tút-è IDEO.bolw-3GSF-NMLZ ‘Pay bird’
b.	wók’-wók’- IDEO.gurgle-gurgle ‘Gurgling sound’	wók’wók’-ò IDEO.gurgle-gurgle-3SGM-NMLZ ‘Frog’
c.	jóf-jóf- IDEO.flap-flap ‘Flap repeatedly’	jófjóf-è IDEO.flap-flap-3SGF-NMLZ ‘Bat’
d.	kóf-kóf- IDEO.rustle-rustle ‘Rustle now and then’	kófjóf-ò IDEO.rustle-3SGM-NMLZ ‘Poison warm’

As can be observed from Table 44, ideophonic nouns are derived from ideophonic bound stems via attaching the nominalizing morphemes (NMLZ) (-e and -o) to the ideophonic bound stems.

As mentioned earlier, Kafa ideophones also deploy reduplication. Consider the following description.

5.2.3. Inflectional morphology in Kafa ideophones

Like Amharic ideophones, Kafa ideophonic nouns undergo inflectional morphology for number, gender and case as the following examples illustrate.

	Number	Gender	Case
22 (a)	tuut-e-naʔo	tuut-e	tuut-e-n
	IDEO:rain bird-3SGF-PL	IDEO:rain bird-3SGF	IDEO: rain bird-3SGF-ACC
	‘The rain birds’	‘The female bird’	‘The female bird’
(b)	wak’wak’-e-naʔo	wak’wak’-o	wak’wak’-o-n
	IDEO:frog-3SGF-PL	IDEO:frog-3SGM	IDEO:frog-3SGM-ACC
	‘The frogs’	‘The frog’	‘The frog’

It is observed from example 22 that Kafa nominal ideophones inflect for number, gender, and case. In the reports of earlier ideophonic studies, inflectional morphology is rare or not even found. As indicated earlier Kafa ideophones also deploy reduplication to form, new ideophonic words consider the following descriptions.

5.2.4. Reduplication in Kafa ideophones

Reduplication is one of the productive morphological processes in Kafa. Abdulfetah (2011:71) notes that Kafa deploys total reduplication only in its morphology. However, ideophones of the language undergo total and partial reduplication. Like Amharic, Kafa ideophonic verbs deploy partial and total reduplication to express intensity, iterativity, and pluractivity. In addition to this, ideophonic verbs also undergo partial and total stem multiplications to show extreme-intensity, multi-iterativity and multi-pluractivity. Furthermore, in Kafa, some nouns also undergo total reduplication to express taste and smells. These reduplication types are presented in the following sub-sections.

5.2.4.1. Partial reduplication in Kafa ideophones

As discussed in the preceding sections, partial reduplication is one of the reduplication types. It is the process of copying and repeating a segment (consonantal roots) or a syllable(s) of the ideophonic words with or without change. Ideophones typically undergo partial reduplication in the language to show iterative-intensive or multi-iterative intensive actions and events, and durativity of actions or events. In general, Kafa ideophones include the following two partial reduplication types.

1. Partial reduplication in ideophones
2. Partial stem multiplications in ideophones

The following sub-section presents the two partial reduplication types of respectively. I shall start partial reduplication in monosyllabic ideophones and proceed to disyllabic ideophones. Now, let us move to the description of partial reduplication in monosyllabic ideophones.

5.2.4.1.1. Partial reduplication in monosyllabic ideophonic verbs

The entire data illustrates that most Kafa ideophonic verbs are monosyllabic and disyllabic. Those beyond disyllabic ideophonic verbs are results of reduplication. The data shows that in the language, mainly monosyllabic ideophonic verbs can undergo partial reduplication to show intensive action and events as the following examples in 23 will show.

Partial reduplication in ideophonic verbs

	√ Verb Root	Partial reduplication of stem/Ideophones
[23] (a)	túnn 'Pervade'	túnúnn íí-h-è IDEO.pervade say:PFV-3SGM 'It produces pleasant odder.'
(b)	hub 'Glow'	húbúbb íí-h-è IDEO.glow say:PFV-3SGM 'It over glowed.'
(c)	tʃórr 'Trickle'	tʃórrr íí-h-è IDEO.sound of liquid-say:PFV-3SGM

		‘It trickle /feeble stream of water’
(d)	tʃˈátt	tʃˈáttátt íí-h-è
	‘Bitter’	IDEO.bitter say:PFV-3SGM
		‘It became completely bitter.’

As can be observed from the data in [23] monosyllabic ideophonic verbs deploy partial reduplication through reduplicating the C_2V (syllable) between the nucleus and ultimate consonantal root of the verb roots. In the reduplicated structure, the consonant (C_2) is often the ultimate consonant of the root. Furthermore, the vocalic element (V) in the reduplicated structure is the vowel of the verb root. From the data, it is obvious that monosyllabic ideophones of the language illustrate $C_1VC_2C_2$ template. In the process of partial reduplication, the coda of the ultimate syllable with the identical vowel of the verb root reduplicates after the nucleus and before the geminated coda of the root. Therefore, the $C_1VC_2C_2 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2VC_2C_2$. The reduplicated syllable structure is $(-C_2V-)$. From this fact, we conclude that in the language, reduplication involves vowel harmony. The non-reduplicated ideophonic verb roots show less intensive and non-iterated intensive actions and events. On the other hand, the replicated ideophonic verbs show very intensive and iterative-intensive actions and events. Furthermore, some disyllabic ideophones like ʔilil ‘ululate’ underwent partial reduplication as ʔilil ‘ululate’ \Rightarrow ʔililil íí-h-è IDEO.ululate-ululate say.PFV-33SGM 'It rejoiced for a longer time.' The $C_1VC_2VC_2 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2VC_2VC_2$ and hence the reduplicated structure is $(-VC_2)$. Therefore, the coda of the ultimate syllable is reduplicated with the insertion of the same vocalic element in the verb root that is /i/. Partial reduplication in disyllabic ideophonic verbs in this case shows the durativity of actions.

Like in Amharic, in Kafa multiplication of some parts of the roots (stems) is an extension of partial reduplication. The monosyllabic ideophones that underwent partial reduplication can also undergo multiplication of some parts of the roots (stems) for infinite times to show multi-iterative intensive actions and events, and extreme durativity of actions and events. As the entire data, shows the reduplicated stems are combined with auxiliaries to make the entire compound ideophonic verbs have complete verb reading. The following section presents the multiplication of partial forms in Kafa ideophonic verbs. Consider the following descriptions.

5.2.4.2. Multiplication of partial parts of verb forms

As mentioned in the preceding section, Kafa ideophones also undergo multiplications of partial forms of verb roots to show the multi-iterative intensity and extreme durativity of action and events. These multiplied structures are adverbial function. They show the multi-iterative manner of intensive events and extremely prolonged events. As we have considered in the preceding section, most monosyllabic ideophones in the language illustrate the syllable template of $C_1VC_2C_2$. In partial reduplication, these syllable templates underwent $C_1VC_2C_2 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2VC_2C_2$. However, in the multiplication of partial forms, the ideophonic verb roots (stems) continue reduplicating the $(-C_2V-)$ for an infinite time. Unlike in partial reduplication, multiplication of the $(-C_2V-)$ results in degemination of the ultimate consonantal root. Therefore, the verbs root syllabic template $C_1VC_2C_2 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2VC_2V...C_2$. The reduplication $(-C_2V-)$ continues until the speakers are satisfied with the desire they have to communicate enough amount of information, as the following are examples of this.

Partial multiplication of the ideophonic verb root in monosyllabic ideophones

	√ Verb Root	Partial multiplication of stems/Ideophones
[24] (a)	tún	túnúnúnúnún ... í-h-è
	‘Pervade’	IDEO.pervade-say:PFV-3SGM
		‘It produces pleasant odour.’
(b)	hub	húbúbúbúbú... í-h-è
	‘Glow’	IDEO.glow-say:PFV-3SGM
		‘It over glowed.’
(c)	túkk’	túk’úk’úk’úk’... í-h-è
	‘Emit’	IDEO.emit/puff-say:PFV-3SGM
		‘It emits large amount of smoke.’
(d)	bét’	bét’ét’ét’ét’é t’... í-h-è
	‘Bad smell’	IDEO.unpleasant smell say:PFV-3SGM
		‘It produces very offensive smell.’

As can be observed from the data in [24] Kafa ideophones underwent multiplication of partial forms to show extremely intensive events. The non-reduplicated verb roots (stems) show

intensive events whereas the multiplied stems show extremely intensive and prolonged events. These multiplied stems further underwent compounding with auxiliary *í-h-è* ‘say’. As the above description shows, in the language partial reduplication involves root internal reduplication. In reduplication, the [-C₂V-] is repeated but in the case of multiplication, the [-C₂V-] reduplicates multiple times. In such structure, the ultimate consonantal root reduplicates with the same vowel for an infinite times. Partial stem multiplication affects the ultimate consonant root gemination. The geminated ultimate consonants as in stems examples in (24.a-c) degeminate the ultimate consonants in ideophones formed via partial stem multiplication.

5.2.4.3. Total reduplication in Kafa ideophones

As mentioned earlier, ideophones of the language undergo total reduplication and multiplication of the whole ideophonic verb roots (stems). In addition to this, in the language some ideophones are formed through total reduplication of nouns and combining the reduplicated nouns with the auxiliary verb *í-h-è* ‘say’. This sub-section provides the descriptions of total reduplication of ideophonic verb root and some nouns, and multiplication of ideophonic verb roots (stems). I shall start with the description of total reduplication and move to multiplication of the entire verb roots (stems) which ideophones underwent.

5.2.4.3.1. Total reduplication in ideophonic verbs

In Kafa, most ideophones undergo total reduplication. As the data shows, on the surface level, ideophonic verbs comprise monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic, and polysyllabic ideophonic verbs. Out of these, quadrisyllable and polysyllabic ideophones are either nominal ideophones or the result of reduplications. In this sub-section, I shall concentrate on the description of total reduplications in monosyllabic, disyllabic, and trisyllabic ideophones.

5.2.4.3.2. Total reduplication in monosyllabic ideophones

Kafa monosyllabic ideophones roughly comprise mono-consonantal, bi-consonantal, and tri-consonantal ideophonic words. Total reduplication in monosyllabic ideophonic verbs is copying and reduplicating the whole syllable templates. In addition to this, total reduplication in

monosyllabic ideophones denotes iterativity, pluractivity, state of being, and an increase in size. Consider the following syllable templates and their corresponding functions.

No.	Monosyllabic root/ stem templates	Reduplicated forms
1	VC	VC-VC
2	CV	CV-CV
3	C ₁ VVC ₂	C ₁ VVC ₂ -C ₁ VVC ₂
4	C ₁ VC ₂	C ₁ VC ₂ -C ₁ VC ₂
5	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ -C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂
6	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ -C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃

The following are some examples of total reduplication in monosyllabic ideophones. The example ideophones in (25.a-f) are arranged in correspondence with the possible monosyllabic ideophones and the syllable template given from (1-6) above. Consider the following description.

	√ Verb Roots	Reduplication of stems/Ideophones
[25] (a)	áh!	áh!-áh! íí-h-è
	‘Cautious’	IDEO.cautious-cautious say:PFV-SGM ‘He warned (it) repeatedly.’
(b)	tʃʷá	tʃʷá-tʃʷá áj-h-è
	‘Slap’	IDEO.slap-slap.make:PFV-3SGM ‘He slapped (it) repeatedly.’
(c)	jííf	jííf-jííf íí-h-è
	‘Fly’	IDEO.fly-fly say:PFV-3SGM ‘It flew from here and there.’
(d)	p’ár	p’ár-p’ár íí-h-è
	‘Tremble’	IDEO.tremble-tremble say:PFV-3SGM ‘It is trembles/ shacks with fear.’
(e)	jútt	jútt-jútt áj-h-è
	‘Hit’	IDEO.hit-hit make:PFV-3SGM ‘He hit (it) something by farce.’
(f)	kúmb	kúmb-kúmb-íí-h-è
	‘Swell’	IDEO.swell-swell say:PFV-3SGM

‘It becomes swollen completely.’

As can be observed from the data in [25], total reduplication in Kafa ideophones denotes a range of semantic meanings. Example ideophones in (25.a, b & e) show iterative actions. These iterative actions are repeated slapping, warning, and hitting something. Example ideophone in (25.c) denotes pluractional events that are flying of things/objects from different places. Example in (25.d) shows the state of mind of someone under certain unfavorable conditions. Example ideophones in (25.f) that underwent total reduplication illustrates an increase in size and or distribution of events. That is the enlargement of size or the swelling of the body here and there. Up to here, we have seen total reduplication monosyllabic ideophones. Next, I shall move to the description of total reduplication in disyllabic ideophones.

5.2.4.3.3. Total reduplication in disyllabic ideophones

As the entire data shows, some Kafa ideophones are disyllabic and most of these disyllabic ideophones are verbal. These disyllabic verbal ideophones roughly comprise bi-consonantal, tri-consonantal, quadric-consonantal, and multi-consonantal ideophonic words. Like in monosyllabic ideophones, total reduplication in disyllabic ideophones involves copying and reduplicating the entire verb root (stems). The reduplicated disyllabic ideophone need also to combine with auxiliaries for the entire compound ideophonic bound stems to have complete verb reading. The reduplicated verb roots (stems) show the iterative actions and pluractional events, and auxiliaries carryout all the verbal functions.

No.	Disyllabic root/stem templates	Reduplicated forms
1	VC_1VC_2	$VC_1VC_2 - VC_1VC_2$
2	$C_1VC_2VC_3$	$C_1VC_2VC_3 - C_1VC_2VC_3$
3	$C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3$	$C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3 - C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3$
4	$C_1VC_2C_3VC_4$	$C_1VC_3VC_4 - C_1VC_2C_3VC_4$

The following ideophonic verbs in (26.a-d) are arranged in the order that they correspond with disyllabic ideophone templates described (1-4) above. As mentioned above total reduplication in disyllabic ideophonic verbs show iterative actions and pluractional events. Consider the total reduplication in these ideophonic verbs and the corresponding functions they denote.

	√ Verb Root	Reduplication of stems/Ideophones
[26] (a)	áp'ér 'Fill'	ap'ér-ap'ér íí-h-è IDEO.fill-fill say:PFV-3SGM 'It (one and another) become filled with fluid.'
(b)	ʃékér 'Strew'	ʃékér-ʃékér íí-h-è IDEO.strew-strew say:PFV-PFV-3SGM 'It becomes strewn repeatedly.'
(c)	tʃ'úbbíll- 'Fall'	tʃ'úbbíll- tʃ'úbbíll íí-h-è IDEO.fall-fall say:PFV-3SGM 'It falls into water from here and there.'
(d)	ʃúngút' 'Pinch'	ʃúngút'-ʃúngút áj-h-è IDEO.pinch-pinch make:PFV-3SGM 'He pinched (it) repeatedly.'

As can be observed from the data in [26] disyllabic ideophones deploy total reduplication. Examples in (26.a & c) denote iterative actions. On the other hand, example ideophones in (26.b & d) denote pluractional actions and events. From the data, it is clear that total reduplication in Kafa ideophones expresses iterativity and pluractivity of actions and events.

5.2.4.3.4. Total reduplication in trisyllabic ideophones

As the following data shows, some trisyllabic ideophonic verbs in the language deploy total reduplication to show iterativity and pluractivity. In addition to this, most trisyllabic ideophonic verbs are multi-consonantal and they produce long ideophonic words in the process of total reduplication. The ideophonic verb stems that have been reduplicated are further compounded with auxiliaries to display the entire verbal readings, as was mentioned the above sections. Some trisyllabic ideophonic verbs in Kafa display $C_1VC_2VC_3VC_4C_4$ template. In total reduplication, this trisyllabic ideophone template becomes $C_1VC_2VC_3VC_4C_4-C_1VC_2VC_3VC_4C_4$. Trisyllabic ideophones described in (27.a&b) represent the above syllable template. Consider the total reduplication, which the ideophone underwent, and its functions.

	√ Verb root	Total reduplication of ideophonic verb roots/Ideophones
[27] (a)	p'ít'ík'ínn 'Turn upside'	p'ít'ík'ínn-p'ít'ík'ínn íí-h-è IDEO.turn upside-turn upside say:PFV-3SGM 'It becomes turned upside repeatedly.'
(b)	tʃ'ítʃ'íríkk 'Silent'	tʃ'ítʃ'íríkk-tʃ'ítʃ'íríkk íí-h-è IDEO.silent-silent say:PFV-3SGM 'It (one and the other) kept silent.'

As can be observed from [27] all trisyllabic ideophonic verbs underwent total reduplication. From the structure observed that, the non-reduplicated forms express non-iterated actions, events, and single (one shot) actions. However, ideophonic verb stems that underwent total reduplication as in example (27.a) denote iterative actions. On the other hand, ideophones as in example (27.b) shows pluractive event. Furthermore, Kafa ideophones exhibit verb adverbial functions through complete verb roots/stem multiplication. Consider the following description.

5.2.4.4. Total ideophonic verb root (stem) multiplication

As mentioned in the preceding sections, Kafa ideophonic verb roots (stems) also deploy total form multiplication to show manner in which actions and events happened. This total ideophonic verb root (stem) multiplication is the extension of total reduplication. It is the process where the ideophonic verb roots (stems) reduplicate for infinite times. In Kafa, all ideophonic verb root (stem) types undergo total verb root (stem) multiplication to show multi-iterative intensive actions and pluractional events. These multiplied ideophonic verb root (stem) structure shows adverbial function. Like the preceding reduplicated ideophone types, the multiplied ideophonic verb root (stem) need to combine with the auxiliaries íí-h-è 'say' and áj-h-è 'do/make'. As discussed earlier, compounding the reduplicated ideophonic bound stems with auxiliaries make the entire compound structures have complete verb reading. In Kafa, ideophones typically undergo total verb root (stem) multiplication. As the data illustrates, monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic ideophones undergo total stem multiplication in the language. Consider the following description.

5.2.4.4.1. Total verb root (stem) multiplication in monosyllabic ideophones

As pointed out in the preceding section, monosyllabic ideophones undergo total stem multiplication, as the following are some examples of these. Consider the total stem multiplications that they undergo and the corresponding function they have.

	√ Verb Roots	Multiplicated ideophonic verb roots /Ideophones
[28] (a)	bét'	bét'-bét'-bét'-bét'...íi-h-è
	'Bad smell'	IDEO.bad smell-bad smell...say:PFV-3SGM 'It produced a very offensive smell.'
(b)	húbb	húbb-húbb-húbb-húbb... íi-h-è
	'Glow'	IDEO.glow-glow-glow-glow... say:PFV-3SGM 'It becomes extremely glowed.'
(c)	júúh	júúh-júúh-júúh-júúh-íi-h-è
	'Fly'	IDEO.fly-fly-fly-fly say:PFV-3SGM 'It flew from here and there.'
(d)	nákk	nákk-nákk-nákk-nákk...íi-h-è
	'Trot'	IDEO.trot-trot-trot-trot...say:PFV-3SGM 'It trotted with continuously with regular steps.'
(e)	díll	díll-díll-díll-díll...áj-h-è
	'Fire (gun)'	IDEO.explode-explode-explode-explode... make:PFV-3SGM 'He fired (it) continuously

As can be observed from [28], all ideophonic verb roots (stem) underwent multiplication of the entire ideophonic roots (stems) to show multi-iterative intensive actions and pluractional events. Therefore, the monosyllabic ideophones that underwent total verb root (stem) multiplication in (28a&b) show multi-iterative intensive of events. On the other hand, example in (28.c) shows extreme pluractional event. In addition to this, ideophones described in examples (28.d&e) show continuous multi-iterative actions. As we have considered in the preceding sections ideophonic verb root multiplication is an adverbial function. It shows manner of actions and events. In the language, disyllabic ideophones also undergo total ideophonic verb root (stem) multiplication. Consider the following descriptions.

5.2.4.4.2. Total verb root (stem) multiplication in disyllabic ideophones

In Kafa, disyllabic ideophones reduplicate the entire ideophonic verb roots (stems) for infinite times to show multi-iterative action and extreme pluractional events as the following are some examples.

	√Verb Roots	Multiplicated ideophonic verb roots /Ideophones
[29] (a)	fúríť	fúríť-fúríť-fúríť-fúríť... áj-h-è
	‘Slip away’	IDEO.slip out-slip out-slip out-slip out-slip out...made:PFV-3SGM ‘He slipped away (it) completely one and all.’
(b)	bágár	bágár-bágár-bágár-bágár... íí-h-è
	‘Drop’	IDEO.drop-drop-drop-drop... say:PFV-3SGM ‘It (tear) dripped continuously.’
(c)	káwáf	káwáf-káwáf-káwáf-káwáf... áj-h-è
	‘Break’	IDEO.break-break-break-break... made:PFV-3SGM ‘He broke (it) completely in to pieces repeatedly.’
(d)	ǰékér	ǰékér-ǰékér-ǰékér-ǰékér... íí-h-è
	‘Stew’	IDEO.strew-strew-strew-strew...say:PFV-3SGM ‘It become scattered completely.’

As can be observed from [29] disyllabic ideophones underwent total ideophonic verb root (stem) multiplication. Example ideophone in (29.a) shows pluractional event and ideophones those in (29.b, c& d) show multi-iterative actions. However, there few trisyllabic ideophonic verbs in the language, they can also undergo total stem multiplication to show multi-iterative actions.

5.2.4.4.3. Total verb root (stem) multiplication in trisyllabic ideophones

As we have considered in the preceding chapter, most trisyllabic ideophones of the language are nominal ideophones. In fact there are also some trisyllabic ideophones like p’it’ik’inn- ‘turn upside down’. Such trisyllabic ideophonic verbs in the language deploy total stem multiplication to show multi-iterative actions. Consider the following description.

√ Verb Roots	Multiplied ideophonic verb roots /Ideophones
[30] p'ít'ík'inn	p'ít'ík'inn-p'ít'ík'inn-p'ít'ík'inn... íí-h-è
'Turn upside'	IDEO.turn upside-turn upside-turn upside say:PFV-3SGM
	'It performed an acrobatic sport for longer time'

As can be observed from [30] trisyllabic ideophones also underwent total root (stem) multiplication to show multi-iterative actions. Here also the multiplied trisyllabic ideophonic verb roots also combine with auxiliary to show complete verb form. Up to here we have examined total reduplication and total stem multiplications in Kafa ideophonic verbs. Next, I shall describe total reduplication in some Kafa nouns. As noted above, in this language, nouns reduplicate to show tastes and smells. Consider the following descriptions.

5.2.4.5. Total noun reduplication in Kafa ideophones

Like in Amharic, some Kafa nouns also undergo total reduplication and combine with auxiliary íí-h-è 'say' to show taste and smell. In this structure, the ideophonic function comes from the entire compound. In addition to this, the reduplicated nouns illustrate some morphophonological processes. Nominalizing vowels **-o** and **-oo** are dropped in the reduplicated forms. The last consonants of the nouns undergo changes. The nasal consonant /n/, the ejective consonant /tʃ/ and the glide consonant /j/ change to palatal consonant /tʃ/ in the reduplicated forms. Terminal vowel /-a/ is added to end on the second reduplicated nouns. In Kafa, the underlying auxiliary verb (say) is **íí-h-è**. Unlike the ideophonic verb formation, when it combines with reduplicated nouns it shows the following changes. The auxiliary verb **íí-h-è** 'say' become **je** due to the following morphophonological process. As the following descriptions illustrate most reduplicated nouns end with vowel /-a/. On the other hand, the auxiliary verb íí-h-è has long vowel /ii/ at its initial position. In ideophonic verb formation, at the boundary of the reduplicated noun and the auxiliary verb the unacceptable vowel sequences happens (i.e. -a íí-h-è). In this case, the long vowel /ii/ completely disappears by changing the glottal consonant /h/ to the palatal glide /j/ and the person marker /-e/ remains as it is. Thus, the auxiliary verb **íí-h-è** 'say' becomes **je** 'say'. In this sub-section, I shall first describe nouns that undergo total reduplication to show tastes and next move to nouns those reduplicate to show smells. In the language, some nouns undergo total reduplications and combine with the auxiliary say to express tastes as in examples in 29 below.

	Nouns	Reduplicated nouns	Ideophonic nouns
[31] (a)	ééjò 'Honey'	ééjò-ééjò 'honey-honey'	éétʃ-éétʃtʃ-a íí-h-è [je] IDEO.honey-honey-TV say:PFV-3SGM 'It has honey taste.'
(b)	áátʃ̀ò 'Water'	áátʃ̀ò-áátʃ̀ò water-water'	áátʃ̀tʃ-áátʃ̀tʃa íí-h-è [je] IDEO.water-water'-TV say:PFV-3SGM 'It has water taste.'
(c)	tullò 'Ash'	tullò-tulò 'ash-ash'	túll-túll-a íí-h-è [je] IDEO.ash-ash-TV say:PFV-3SGM 'It has an ash taste.'
(d)	ǰáwòò 'Soil'	ǰáwòò-ǰáwòò 'soil-soil'	ǰáw(a)-ǰáw-a íí-h-è [je] IDEO.soil-soil-TV say:PFV-3SGM 'It has soil taste.'

As can be observed from the data in [31] the reduplicated nouns that combined with the auxiliary denote tastes of different substances. These reduplicated nouns have well known tastes and they are used to show the tastes of substances or things under the descriptions. For example, **hín dóòtʃ̀ò áátʃ̀ áátʃ̀ íí-h-è [je]** Lit.this beer water-water say:PFV-3SGM 'This beer has water taste.' The simple noun water is reduplicated and compounded with auxiliary íí-h-è 'say' to show water taste which the beer has got. As mentioned above, the noun áátʃ̀ò becomes áátʃ̀-áátʃ̀-a. From the reduplicated structure it is obvious that the nominating vowel /-òò/ is dropped, the consonant /tʃ̀/ is changed to /tʃ/, the terminal vowel /-a/ added to the end of the second reduplicated word, and the auxiliary íí-h-è is compounded with the reduplicated noun. Since we have seen total reduplication in nouns that show tastes up to here, now let us move to the description of total reduplication in nouns to show different tastes. Like the above ideophones in Kafa, some nouns also reduplicate to express some smells. Consider the following examples in 32.

	Noun	Reduplicated nouns	Ideophone form
[32] (a)	ǰééjò 'Urine'	ǰééjò-ǰééjò 'urine-urine'	ǰéétʃ̀tʃ-ǰéétʃ̀tʃ-a íí-h-è [je] IDEO.urine-urine-TV say:PFV-3SGM 'It smells urine.'
(b)	dóótʃ̀ò	dóótʃ̀ò-dóótʃ̀ò	dóótʃ̀tʃ-dóótʃ̀tʃ-a íí-h-è [je]

	‘Beer’	‘beer-beer’	IDEO.beer-beer-TV say:PFV-3SGM
			‘It smells beer.’
(c)	méénò	méénò-méénò	méétʃtʃ-méétʃtʃ-a í-h-è [je]
	‘Meat’	‘meat-meat’	IDEO.meat-meat-TV say:PFV-3SGM
			‘It smells meat.’
(d)	it’áánò	it’áánò-it’áánò	it’áán-it’áán-a í-h-è [je]
	‘Incense’	‘incense-incense’	IDEO.incense-incense-TV say:PFV-3SGM
			‘It smells incense.’

As can be observed from the data in [32] simple nouns underwent total reduplication to show different smells. The reduplicated nouns have well recognized smells. These nouns underwent total reduplication and combined with the auxiliary í-h-è ‘say’ to show some smells of certain substances and things through meaning extension. Thus, the smells of the reduplicated noun is extended to refer the smells of the unexpressed substances or things. The reduplicated nouns underwent all the morphophonological processes discussed in the preceding sections.

5.2.5. Summary

Kafa is a language with a complex morphology. As the result of the finding shows that ideophones also underwent different morphological processes. These are compounding, derivation, reduplication and inflectional morphology. Here, derived nominal ideophones deploy inflectional morphology. In addition to this, ideophones also undergo inflectional morphology. In Kafa, compound ideophones comprise antonymous ideophonic verbs and compound adjectival ideophones. The compound ideophonic verb contains mainly two antonymous ideophonic verb roots (stems) as in **kòpp-tʃ’átt’ áj-h-è** IDEO.pickup-putdown make:PFV-3SGM ‘He picked it up and put it down quickly.’ These compounds show two opposing activities performed by the same agent. On the other hand, compound adjectival ideophones contain two adjectival words as in **tʃ’éélá-tʃ’úúlò** IDEO.red-red ‘all together’. However, in such structure, the second composite word **tʃ’úúlò** ‘red’ is a little bit modified from the regular adjective **tʃ’éélò** ‘red’. Some compound adjectival ideophones also contain the composites of one adjectival word and another ideophonic word as in **tʃ’únd-báátt’-è** IDEO.small-IDEO-3SGF ‘diminutive’. In general, compound adjectival

ideophones express size, in proportionate mixtures, and low quality of things. Moreover, most Kafa ideophones are lexical ideophones.

Likewise compounding, derivation is one of the most productive morphological processes in ideophonic word formation in the language. In Kafa, ideophonic words are derived in two ways. These are (1) ideophonic verbal nouns are derived from ideophonic verbs via suffixing the nominalizing morphemes (NMLZ) **-o**, and **-e** to the auxiliary *áj-h-è* ‘do/make’ in the language as in *díll áj-h-ò [ájò]* ‘to fire gun’. (2) Nominal ideophones are derived from ideophonic bound stem through suffixing verbal nominalizing morphemes (NMLZ) such as **-o**, and **-e**. Thus, from ideophonic verb as in **kúmm** ‘hit’, ideophonic noun *kúmmò* ‘hitting’ can be derived. In the same way, from ideophonic bound stem **jóf-jóf-** IDEO.flap-flap ‘flap wings’ the nominal ideophone **jófjóf-è** ‘bat’ is derived. In the language, /-e/ and /-o/ are verb nominalizes and feminine, and masculine singular marking morphemes respectively.

As the finding of the study depicts reduplication is one of the most productive morphological processes in Kafa. Reduplication in ideophones of the language comprises partial and total reduplication types. In the language, ideophones typically undergo partial reduplication to show iterative intensive actions. This type of reduplication affects the ultimate syllables of ideophonic verb roots as in **húbb í-h-è** IDEO.glow say:PFV-3SGM ‘It glowed completely’ becomes **húbúb í-h-è** IDEO.glow-glow say:PFV-3SGM ‘It become extremely glowed’ through partial reduplication. In such structures, the (-C₂V-) is often the ultimate consonantal root that reduplicated with identical vocalic element of the ideophonic verb root (stem). Thus, in the language, reduplication results in vowel harmony. From the reduplicated structure, it is obvious that partial reduplication involves internal reduplication type, and hence the (-C₂V-) is reduplicated after the nucleus and before the ultimate consonant of the ideophonic verb root. Another reduplication type in ideophonic word formation is multiplication of the ultimate syllable of the reduplicated ideophonic verbs. Partial ideophonic verb roots (stems) multiplication is an extension of partial reduplication. In this case, the ideophonic verb roots multiply the preceding (-C₂V-) for infinite times to show multi-iterative intensive actions and events. As the result of the finding depicts, most monosyllabic ideophonic verb roots underwent multiplication as (C₁VC₂C₂) ⇒ (C₁VC₂VC₂VC₂V...C₂). This can be observed in **húbúbúbú...b í-h-è** IDEO.glow-glow-glow...say:PFV-3SGM ‘It over glowed continuously.’ As the finding of the study illustrates, the

ultimate consonant in monosyllabic ideophonic verb roots (stems) is degeminated. Furthermore, the multiplied ideophonic bound stems are compounded with auxiliaries to have a complete verb reading. Such multiple reduplication verb structure is an adverbial function. As we have noted in the preceding section partial reduplication and multiplication of partial ideophonic verb roots (stems) are typical to ideophones. Moreover, Kafa ideophones also undergo total reduplication.

Total reduplication is common morphological processes in ideophones. It involves the process of copying and repeating the entire ideophonic verb roots (stems) or words. In Kafa, all ideophonic verbs and some simple nouns underwent total reduplication and compounded with the auxiliary verbs/ auxiliaries. The former structure show iterative action and pluractional events. The latter structure shows some tastes and smells. In the morphology of ideophones, monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic ideophonic verb roots (stems) underwent total reduplication to show mainly the iterative actions and pluractional events. They sometimes also express state of being and an increase in size. On the other hand, auxiliaries carry out the entire verbal functions. These can be observed from ideophones like (1) **jútt áj-h-è** IDEO.hit made:PFV-3SGM ‘He hit (it) one time with force.’ ⇒ **jútt-jútt áj-h-è** IDEO.hit made:PFV-3SGM ‘HE hit (it) repeatedly force fully.’ (2) **júúh íí-h-è** IDEO.fly say:PFV-3SGM ‘It flew away’ ⇒ **júúh-júúh íí-h-è** IDEO.fly-fly say:PFV-3SGM ‘It flew away from here and there.’ (3) **p’ár íí-h-è** IDEO.fear say:PFV-SGM ‘It become trembled with fear.’ **p’ar-p’ar íí-h-è** IDEO.fear-fear say:PFV-3SGM ‘It become extremely trembled with fear.’ (4) **kúmb íí-h-è** IDEO.swell say:PFV-3SGM ‘It become completely swollen’ becomes **kúmb-kúmb-íí-h-è** IDEO.swell-swell say:PFV-3SGM ‘It become extremely swollen’. In the language, monosyllabic ideophonic verbs roughly have the following six syllable templates and all of them underwent total reduplication as follows.

No.	Monosyllabic templates	Reduplicated forms
1	VC	VC-VC
2	CV	CV-CV
3	C ₁ VVC ₂	C ₁ VVC ₂ -C ₁ VVC ₂
4	C ₁ VC ₂	C ₁ VC ₂ -C ₁ VC ₂
5	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ -C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂
6	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ -C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃

In addition to this, disyllabic ideophonic verb stems have the following four syllable templates and they underwent total reduplication via repeating the entire templates as follows.

No.	Disyllabic templates	Reduplicated forms
1	VC ₁ VC ₂	VC ₁ VC ₂ -C ₁ VC ₂
2	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ -C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃
3	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ VC ₃ C ₃	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ VC ₃ C ₃ -C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ VC ₃ C ₃
4	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₄	C ₁ VC ₃ VC ₄ -C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₄

Moreover, most Kafa trisyllabic ideophonic verbs display the C₁VC₂VC₃VC₄C₄ and its total reduplicated form is C₁VC₂VC₃VC₄C₄-C₁VC₂VC₃VC₄C₄. From the result of the study, is observed that monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic ideophones deploy multiplication of the entire ideophonic verb roots (stems) to show multi-iterative manner of action and events. As we have considered in the preceding discussion, there is no rule that restricts the number of reduplication of stems in ideophones. The speaker only determines the number of repetition according to the desire to communicate adequate information. The ideophonic verb stems that underwent multiplication need essentially compounded with auxiliaries to show multi-iterative intensive actions, pluractional events and durativity of actions expressed through the ideophonic verb stems.

Furthermore, as pointed out earlier, simple nouns underwent total reduplication and combined with auxiliary verb **íí-h-è** [je] ‘say’ to show different tastes and smells. As the finding of the study shows, some taste denoting nouns, such as **ééjò** ‘honey’ and **áátjò** ‘water’ deploy total reduplication and compounded with auxiliary **íí-h-è** [je] ‘say’ to show tastes. The ideophonic function in this structure comes from the whole compound of reduplicated nouns and auxiliary. There are also some morphophonological processes in structures; **éétj-éétj-a íí-h-è** [je] Lit.honey-honey-TV say:PFV-3SGM ‘It has honey taste.’ In addition, **áátj-áátj-a j-e** Lit.water-water-TV say:PFV-3SGM ‘It has water taste.’ From the structure it is obvious that in the reduplicated structures some consonantal roots, such as /n/, /tʃ/ and /j/ change to /tʃ/, the nominalizing suffix /-o/ is dropped and the tem vowel (TV) is added to the end of the reduplicated noun. Finally, auxiliary **íí-h-è** [je] ‘say’ is compounded with the reduplicated nouns. Likewise, some nouns also deploy total reduplication and combine with auxiliary **íí-h-è** [je] ‘say’ to show smells. Like taste denoting

ideophones, in smell denoting ideophones the ideophonic functions emanates from the entire compound structure. As the result of finding illustrate, simple nouns that show some common smells, such as **dóótʃ’ò** ‘beer’ and **ʃééjò** ‘urine’ are used in the reduplicated forms to refer other substance that possessed almost similar smells. Therefore, **dóótʃ’ò** ‘beer’ becomes **dóótʃ-dóótʃ-a íí-h-è [je]** IDEO.beer-beer say:PFV-3SGM ‘It has a beer like smell’ and **ʃééjò** ‘urine’ becomes **ʃééʃʃ-ʃééʃʃ-a íí-h-è [je]** IDEO.urine-urine-TV say:PFV-3SGM ‘It has urine like smell.’ The reduplicated structure also underwent the above morphophonological processes.

To sum up, Kafa ideophones include lexicalized and derivate ideophone. Kafa ideophones are intensive ideophone types they express intensive (strong) ideas that cannot express by the prosaic words. Ideophones are universally attested word class with little morphology or no morphology but Kafa ideophones underwent compounding, derivation and reduplications morphological processes. Compounding in ideophones include compound ideophonic verbs and compound adjectives. In the language, ideophonic verb roots (stems) compound with auxiliaries **íí-h-è** ‘say’ and **áj-h-è** ‘do/make’ to make intransitive and transitive ideophonic verbs. Ideophonic verbs are derived from ideophonic verb roots (stems) and ideophonic nouns are derived from ideophonic bound stems. Reduplication in ideophones comprises total partial reduplication. Partial reduplication affects the ultimate consonantal root and results in vowel harmony. Ideophonic verb roots (stems) and some nouns underwent total reduplication. Ideophonic verb roots (stems) reduplicate to show iterative actions. Simple nouns reduplicate and compound with auxiliary **íí-h-è [je]** to express tastes and smells. Furthermore, ideophonic verbs underwent multiplication of partial and total verb roots (stems) to show multi-iterative actions.

5.3. The Morphology of Oromo ideophones

Like Amharic and Kafa, Oromo is language with a complex morphology. Oromo ideophones also undergo several morphological processes. These are compounding, derivation and reduplication. In addition to this, they also deploy inflectional morphology sometimes. However, as we have noted from the literature section, many ideophonic studies report that ideophones as special word classes with little or no morphology. This section presents the above morphological processes respectively.

5.3.1. Compounding in Oromo ideophones

Compounding is one of the productive morphological processes in Oromo prosaic language. In the language, the ideophonic verb roots/stems undergo reduplication. These reduplicated ideophonic verb roots/stems undergo compounding with the auxiliary verb/auxiliary. These auxiliary verbs that usually compound with ideophonic verb stems are **dʒed-** ‘say’ and **god-** ‘do/make’ as in **ʃaa dʒede** IDEO.cascde say:PFV-3SGM ‘It becomes very white’ and **k’art’am gode** IDEO.cut made:PFV-3SGM ‘He bite (it) suddenly.’ Consider the following descriptions.

Table 45: Compounding in Oromo ideophones

	√Verb root	Compound ideophones
a.	ʃuff- ‘Appear’	ʃuff dʒed-e IDEO.appear say:PFV-3SGM ‘It appeared suddenly.’
b.	harsam- ‘Fall’	harsam dʒed-e IDEO.fall say:PFV-3SGM ‘It completely falls down.’
c.	puu- ‘Disappear’	puu dʒed-e IDEO.disappear say:PFV-3SGM ‘It has gone out of sight.’
d.	falak’- ‘Turn’	falak’ dʒed-e IDEO.turn say:PFV-3SGM ‘It returned suddenly.’

As can be observed in Table 45, in the language compound ideophones are formed via compounding base ideophones with auxiliaries *dzed-* and *god-* ‘say’ and ‘make’ respectively. As the result of the study illustrates, Oromo ideophones can be classified in to two types. These are compound ideophones (i.e. ideophones with auxiliary verbs and bare ideophones (i.e. ideophones without auxiliaries). Most of these bare ideophones are nominal and adjectival ideophones like **kakawwee** IDEO.noise-noise ‘thunder’ and ‘**tj’otj’orree**’ IDEO-IDEO.mixed color ‘spotted/decorated color’ respectively. In the composite verbs, bound ideophonic verb stems carry the main semantic loads and auxiliaries carry all grammatical functions. These are gender, number, aspect and agreements. Since we have seen the compounding processes in the ideophones of the language, let us precede to derivational morphological process in ideophones.

5.3.2. Derivation of ideophones

Derivation is a process through which a new structure of word is formed or derived from another word. Thus, derivational morphology is the process by which a new word class is formed from stems or roots via prefixing and suffixing of different word category changing affixes (morphemes). Like Amharic and Kafa, derivation in Oromo ideophones is a productive morphological process. In Oromo, ideophonic bound stems can derive different ideophonic word classes, such as nominal ideophones, and ideophonic adjectives. In addition to this, in the language, ideophonic verbal nouns are formed from ideophonic verbs. In short, derivation in Oromo ideophones comprises the following three types. These are:

1. Derivation of ideophonic nouns from ideophonic bound stems
2. Derivation of ideophonic verbal nouns from ideophonic verbs
3. Derivation of ideophonic adjectives from ideophonic bound stems

I shall describe the above three different types of derivations in the following sections.

5.3.2.1. Derivation of ideophonic nouns

As mentioned above in the language, ideophonic nouns are derived from ideophonic bound stems via suffixing nominalizing morphemes (NMLZ) **-e**, **-o** and **-uu**, to the ideophonic bound stems. Consider the following description in Table 46.

Table 46: Derivation of ideophonic nouns from ideophonic bound stems

No.	Ideophonic bound stem	Suffix	Derived adjectival ideophones
a	tʃʷulull- 'Noise'	-e	tʃʷulull-e 'kite'
b	kʷurupp'- 'Jump'	-e	kʷurupp'-e 'antelope'
c	kartʃabb- 'Bite suddenly'	-uu	kartʃabbu-uu 'scorpion'
d	wang- 'Noise'	-o	wang-o 'civet fox'

As Table 46 illustrates, ideophonic nouns are derived from ideophonic bound stems by attaching nominalizers (NMLZ) **-e**, **-uu**, and **-o**. The above derived ideophonic nouns serve in the language like basic nouns. This will be briefly discussed in chapter six in the syntax of ideophones. Likewise, in Oromo ideophonic verbal nouns are derived from the ideophonic bound stems. This can be observed from the following subsections.

5.3.2.2. Derivation of ideophonic verbal nouns

As noted above, in the language ideophonic verbal nouns are derived from ideophonic bound stems and ideophonic verbs via suffixing the nominalizer morpheme (NMLZ) **-uu**. Consider the following examples.

Table 47: Derivation of ideophonic verbal nouns from ideophonic bound stems via suffixing (NMLZ) **-uu**

	Ideophonic bound stem	Suffix	Derived ideophonic nouns
a	guluf- 'Gallop'	-uu	guluf-uu 'to gallop'
b	hikʷnf- 'Hiccup'	-uu	hirkʷinf-uu 'to hiccup'
c	diditʃf- 'Rush'	-uu	diditʃf-uu 'to rush'
d	murtʷutʷ- 'Dash'	-uu	murtʷutʷ-uu 'to dash'

As can be observed in Table 47, ideophonic nouns are formed by suffixing the nominalizer suffix **-uu** to the base ideophonic words. Furthermore, ideophonic verbal nouns can also be derived from the ideophonic by suffixing (NMLZ) **-uu**.

Table 48: Deriving ideophonic verbal nouns from ideophonic verbs

	Ideophonic verbs	Suffix	Derived ideophonic nouns
a	bukum dʒed-e 'Moaned'	-uu	bukum tʃtʃ-uu 'to moan'
b	rambaa dʒed-e 'Failed'	-uu	rambaa tʃtʃ-uu 'to fall'
c	labb god-e 'Snatched'	-uu	labb gotʃtʃ-uu 'to snatch'
d	k'imit' god-e 'Broke'	-uu	k'imit' gotʃtʃ-uu 'to break'

As can be observed in Table 48, in Oromo ideophonic verbal nouns are derived from ideophonic verbs by attaching the nominalizer suffix **-uu** to the auxiliaries dʒed- 'say' and god- 'make'. However, in this process the alveolar consonant /d/ undergoes certain morphophonological process. That is the consonant /d/ is palatalized and geminated becomes **tʃ** and geminated before the (NMLZ) **-uu** (**d**⇒**tʃtʃ/-uu**). Besides, in the language causative verbs are formed in the same morphological processes. In Oromo, from non-causative ideophonic verbs causative ideophonic verbs are formed by suffixing causative morphemes **-s-** and **-si (i)s-** directly to transitive auxiliary **god-** 'do/make' and intransitive auxiliary **dʒed-** 'say' respectively. Like in the above ideophonic verbal noun derivation, here also the alveolar consonant /d/ undergoes two morpho-phonological processes. These are dissimilation and gemination. As the data shows, the second radical /d/ of the auxiliaries in dʒed- 'say' and god- 'make' is palatalized as /tʃ/ before the causatives [**-s & si(i)s**] through dissimilation process. Furthermore, the consonantal radical underwent gemination /tʃ/ ⇒/tʃtʃ/. Thus, **d** ⇒**tʃtʃ/-s-** and **-si(i)s-** as in *batt-batt god-e* IDEO:flap-flap made:PFV-3SGM 'It flap' ⇒*batt-batt gotʃtʃ-sis-e* IDEO:flapped-flapped made-CAUS-3SGM 'He made (it) to flap'. Likewise, *bukum dʒed-e* IDEO:moan made:PFV-3SGM 'It moaned' ⇒ *bukum dʒetʃtʃ-sis-e* IDEO:moan say-CAUS-3SGM 'He caused (it) moan' and *tʃʃall dʒed-e* IDEO:quiet say:PFV-3SGM 'He

kept quiet’ ⇒ tʃall dʒed-**s-e** IDEO:quiet say-CAUS-3SGM ‘He caused it silent’. In the above descriptions, we have seen the derivations of ideophonic noun and ideophonic verbal nouns. Next, we shall see the derivation of ideophonic adjectives.

5.3.2.3. Derivation of ideophonic adjectives

In Oromo, ideophonic bound stems are also used to derive ideophonic adjectives. In this morphological process, the adjectivalizing morpheme **-isaa** is suffixed to the ideophonic bound stems to derive ideophonic adjectives. The following description briefly shows this morphological process. Consider the following description.

Table 49: Derivation of ideophonic adjectives from ideophonic bound stems

No.	Based ideophones	Suffix	Derived adjectival ideophones
a	himim- ‘Moan’	-isaa	himim-isaa ‘something that produces neighing sound’
b	book’- ‘Moan’	-isaa	book’-isaa ‘something that makes moaning sound’
c	tʃall- ‘Quiet’	-isaa	tʃall-isaa ‘something makes silence’
d	tuff- ‘Spit’	-isaa	tuff-isaa ‘something that causes spit times’

As observed from Table 49, ideophonic adjectives are derive from ideophonic bound stems by suffixing adjectivalizing morpheme **-isaa** to ideophonic bound stems. As noted earlier, like Amharic and Kafa, Oromo ideophones also deploy inflectional morphology. Consider the following descriptions.

5.3.3. Inflectional morphology in Oromo ideophones

In Oromo, derived nominal ideophones undergo all inflectional morphologies that regular nouns deploy. Consider the following example.

	Number	Gender	Case
33 (a)	tʃulull-oota IDEO:kite-PL 'Kites'	tʃulull-e IDEO:kite-3SGF 'Female kike'	tʃulull-e-n IDEO: kite-3SGF-NOM 'The kite'
(b)	wang-oota IDEO:civet fox-PL 'Civet foxes'	wang-o IDEO:civet fox-3SGM 'Male civet fox'	wang-o-n IDEO:civet fox-3SGM-NOM 'The civet fox'

As can be observed in [33], Oromo ideophones ideophonic nouns inflect for number gender and case. As the preceding descriptions illustrate, this is a common morphological property across Amharic and Kafa ideophonic nouns. Furthermore, Oromo ideophones deploy reduplications and multiplications as the following descriptions illustrate.

5.3.4. Reduplication in Oromo ideophones

Reduplication is one of the most productive morphological processes in Oromo ideophones. In the language, ideophones deploy total and partial reduplication. Ideophonic verbs that deploy total reduplication show iterativity of actions and events. On the other hand, total reduplication in ideophonic nouns show sensations of different types of tastes and smells. In addition to this, some Oromo ideophone undergo partial reduplication and ideophones that underwent partial reduplication have verb adverbial functions. They show actions and manners. Furthermore, Oromo verb ideophones deploy another second degree of level of reduplication what is known as multiplication. In the morphology of Oromo ideophones, there are no rules that control the number of repetition of syllable, roots, stems or words. Due to this, ideophones typically undergo multiplication of syllable, roots, stems or words to show manner, intensity, durativity, distance and state of being. Precisely reduplication in the language comprises the following two:

1. Partial reduplication in Oromo ideophones
2. Total reduplication in Oromo ideophones

5.3.4.1. Reduplication in Oromo ideophonic verbs

In Oromo, ideophones often deploy partial and total reduplications. In addition to this, ideophones also undergo partial and total ideophonic verbs roots/stem multiplication to express multi-iterativity and multi-pluractional events. These morphological processes are presented in the following sub-sections.

5.3.4.1.1. Partial reduplication in Oromo ideophonic verb

Like Amharic and Kafa, Oromo ideophones also undergo partial reduplication. In the language, this type of reduplication is used to express higher degree of iterative intensive actions and events. Consider the following descriptions.

5.3.4.1.1.1. Partial reduplication in monosyllabic ideophones

As noted above, in Oromo, partial reduplication is a common morphological process in ideophones and prosaic lexicons. As the data shows monosyllabic ideophones reduplicate the initial consonant with the vocalic element in the ideophonic roots/stems. Monosyllabic ideophonic verbs those undergo partial reduplication illustrate the following two syllabic templates. These are C_1VC_2 and $C_1VC_2C_2$ syllabic structures. In the processes of partial reduplication, they copy and repeat C_1V between the C_1V and C_2 and C_2C_2 respectively. The type of element reduplicated here is syllable ($-C_1V-$) as the following examples.

	$\sqrt{\text{Verb root}}$	Partial reduplication verb roots/Ideophones
[34] (a)	gimm 'Drum'	gigimm god-e IDEO.drummed-drummed make:PFV-3SGM 'He drummed (it) repeatedly.'
(b)	gipp' 'Close'	gigipp' god-e IDEO.closed-closed make:PFV-3SGM 'He closed (it/door) forcefully.'
(c)	guf 'Sit'	guguf dʒed-e IDEO.sit-sit say:PFV-3SGM 'It sat down quickly.'

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------|---|
| (d) | gib
‘Fall’ | gigib dʒed-e
IDEO.fall-fall say:PFV-3SGM
‘It fall down completely.’ |
| (e) | ball
‘Flash’ | balall dʒed-e
IDEO.flash-flash say:PFV-3SGM
‘It suddenly flashed out’ |

As can be observed in [34] ideophones undergo partial reduplication through repeating the initial consonant of the root with the same vocalic element before the final consonant and the nucleus of the root/stem. Ideophonic verb roots/stems in (34.a & b) with syllabic template $C_1VC_2C_2$ underwent partial reduplication through reduplicating the $-C_1V-$ between the C_1V and VC_2C_2 as $C_1V[-C_1V-]C_2C_2$ and hence, the partial reduplication becomes $C_1VC_1VC_2C_2$. In same way, ideophonic verbs in (34.c & d) with syllabic template C_1VC_2 reduplicated the $-C_1V-$ between the C_1V and C_2 as $C_1V[-C_1V-]C_2$. Thus, the partial reduplication in this structure is $C_1VC_1VC_2$. From this, we can understand that the C_1V is reduplicated and these structures show iterative actions and events. On the other hand, from the above data in (34.e.) it is observed that monosyllabic ideophone sometimes undergo partial reduplication as $C_1VC_2C_2 \Rightarrow C_1V[-C_2V-]C_2C_2$ but these types are in monosyllabic ideophones. In addition to this, disyllabic ideophones also undergo partial reduplication. Consider the following description.

5.3.4.1.1.2. Partial reduplication in disyllabic ideophones

As mentioned above, disyllabic ideophones undergo partial reduplication to show iterative intensive actions. Like monosyllabic ideophones, disyllabic ideophones also reduplicate some segments (syllable) of the antepenultimate syllables of the ideophones. In the language, disyllabic ideophonic verb stems that undergo partial reduplication roughly have the following three syllabic templates. These are $C_1VC_2VC_3$, $C_1VC_2VC_3C_3$ and $C_1VC_2C_3VC_4$. In the process of partial reduplication, the first two ideophonic verb stems reduplicate the antepenultimate syllable ($-C_1V-$) and the reduplicated forms become trisyllabic ideophonic verb stems $C_1V[C_1V]C_2VC_3$, and $C_1V[C_1V]C_2VC_3C_3$ respectively. On the other hand, disyllabic ideophones like the third types reduplicate the ultimate syllable (the onset and the nucleus of the ultimate syllable) $[-C_3V-]$ and the reduplicated form becomes trisyllabic ideophonic verb stem $C_1VC_2C_3V[C_3V]C_4$. In general, partial reduplication in disyllabic ideophones affects the antepenultimate and the

ultimate syllables. In addition to this, partial reduplication often adds one syllable to the ideophonic verb roots. Consider the following descriptions.

Partial reduplication in disyllabic ideophones

	√Verb root/stem	Partial reduplication/Ideophones
[35] (a)	turuf 'Hop'	tuturuf dʒed-e IDEO.sprang-sprang say:PFV-3SGM 'It hopped very quickly'
(b)	t'arapp' 'Jump'	t'at'arapp' dʒed-e IDEO.jump-jump say:PFV-3SGM 'It jumped from here and there.'
(c)	k'urtʃʊm 'Crunch'	k'urtʃʊtʃʊm god-e IDEO.crunched-crunched make:PFV-SGM 'He crunched (it) repeatedly.'

The data in [35] shows that in disyllabic ideophones partial reduplication affects antepenultimate and ultimate syllables of the ideophonic verb stems. Ideophonic verb stems in (35.a&b) reduplicate the initial consonant and the vocalic element only [-C₁V-] between the first and the ultimate syllable of the roots/stems. On the contrary, ideophonic verb stem in (35.c) reduplicated the penultimate syllable (the initial consonant and the vocalic element but not the final consonant of the ultimate syllable) [-C₃V-] after the nucleus and the final consonant of ultimate syllable of the ideophonic verb root. As shown earlier, ideophonic verb stems deploy partial reduplication to show iterative intensive actions and events. The non-reduplicated ideophonic verb stems show non-iterative actions but ideophonic verb stems that underwent partial reduplication show iterative intensive actions. In addition to partial reduplication, Oromo ideophones also undergo partial root/stem multiplication to show multi iterative intensive actions. Consider the following descriptions.

5.3.4.1.2. Partial ideophonic verb stem multiplication in Oromo ideophones

As noted above, Oromo ideophonic verbs undergo partial form multiplication to show multi-iterative intensive action. According to the data, most ideophonic verbs that undergo partial stem multiplication have C₁VC₂VC₂ syllabic template. These ideophonic verb roots/stems undergo

partial form multiplication via repeating the final consonant of the ultimate syllable with identical vocalic element of the roots/stems infinite times. The ideophonic verb root/stem ($C_1VC_2VC_2$) becomes multisyllabic ideophonic verb stem ($C_1VC_2VC_2VC_2VC_2V\dots$). As noted above the multiplied ideophonic verb root/stems combine with auxiliaries *dʒeɸ-e* ‘say’ and *goɸ-e* ‘do/make’ to show multi-iterative intensive actions and events. Consider the following descriptions.

	√Verb root/stem	Multiplication of the ultimate syllables
[36] (a)	<i>kofoɸ</i> ‘Rustle’	<i>kofofofofofofofo... dʒeɸ-e</i> IDEO.rustle-rustle-rustle-rustle...say:PFV-3SGM ‘It rustled continuously.’
(b)	<i>ʔudud</i> ‘Gush’	<i>ʔududududududu... dʒeɸ-e</i> IDEO.gush-gush-gush-gush... say:PFV-3SGM ‘It gushed continuously.’
(c)	<i>ʔelel</i> ‘Shout’	<i>ʔelelelelelelele... dʒeɸ-e</i> IDEO.shout-shout-shout-shout-shout...say:PFV-3SGM ‘It shouted for longer time.’
(d)	<i>fulul</i> ‘Gush’	<i>fululululululu... goɸ-e</i> IDEO.gush-gush-gush-gush-gush ... made:PFV-3SGM ‘It made (it) over gushed continuously.’
(e)	<i>bolol</i> ‘Blaze’	<i>bololololoolol... dʒeɸ-e</i> IDEO.blaze-blaze-blaze-blaze... say:PFV-3SGM ‘It becomes over blazed.’

As the data in [36] shows, ideophonic verbs underwent multiplication of the ultimate syllables of the ideophonic verb roots/stems. In this morphological process, the entire multiplied ideophonic verbs show intensity, continuity of actions and events. They also express the performed actions and manner how it takes place. In such structures, the multiplied ideophonic verb roots/stems have adverbial function. As can be observed from the data, the ideophonic verb root/stem template ($C_1VC_2VC_3$) becomes ($C_1VC_2VC_2VC_2VC_2VC_2V\dots$). From this syllable template, we can observe that the final consonant and identical vocalic element of the ultimate syllable underwent multiplication. Therefore, the multiplied ideophonic verb root/stem

structure has the [-C₂VC₂VC₂V...] sequence. Semantically, the non-multiplied ideophonic root/stem show non-iterated actions but the multiplied ideophonic verb stems depict multi-iterated intensive actions.

5.3.4.1.3. Total reduplication in Oromo verb ideophones

Total reduplication is the repetition of the entire ideophonic bound verb stems. From the previous phonological description, we understand that most basic ideophonic verbs in Oromo are monosyllabic and disyllabic. On the other hand, most trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic and polysyllabic verb ideophones are the results of reduplication. In the following sections, I shall describe total reduplication in monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophones. Consider the following descriptions.

5.3.4.1.3.1. Total reduplication in monosyllabic Oromo ideophonic verbs

Monosyllabic Oromo ideophones undergo total reduplication to show iterative action and pluractional events. In addition to this, monosyllabic ideophones of the language illustrate the following syllable templates. These are:

	Root/ stem templates	Reduplicated forms
1.	CV	CV-CV
2.	CVV	CVV-CVV
3.	CVVV...	CVVV...CVVV
4.	C ₁ VC ₂	C ₁ VC ₂ -C ₁ VC ₂
5.	C ₁ VVC ₂	C ₁ VVC ₂ -C ₁ VVC ₂
6.	C ₁ V C ₂ C ₂	C ₁ V C ₂ C ₂ -C ₁ V C ₂ C ₂
7.	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ C ₂ ...	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ C ₂ ...C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ C ₂ ...

The following example monosyllabic ideophones in (36.a-h) correspond with the above given (1-7) monosyllabic ideophonic verb stem templates. Consider total reduplication they underwent and their corresponding functions.

	$\sqrt{\text{Verb root/stem}}$	Reduplicated form/Ideophones
[37] (a)	ka 'Hit'	ka-ka godf-e IDEO.hit-hit made:PFV-3SGM 'He hit (it) repeatedly.'
(b)	k'aa 'Break'	k'aa-k'aa godf-e IDEO.break-break made:PFV-3SGM 'He broke (it) down repeatedly.'
(c)	p'iip' 'Blow'	piip-p'iip' godf-e IDEO.blow-blow make:PFV-3SGM 'He had blown (it/horn) repeatedly.'
(d)	faaa... 'Noise'	faaa... faaa... dzedf-e IDEO.noise-noise say:PFV-3SGM 'It made a sound of woodshed grain repeatedly.'
(e)	luf 'Mix-up'	luf-luf godf-e IDEO.mix-mix say:PFV-3SGM 'He mixed (it) up repeatedly.'
(f)	batt 'Flap wing'	batt-batt godf-e IDEO.flap-flap make:PFV-3SGM 'It flapped (it/wings) repeatedly.'
(g)	barr 'Fly'	barr-barr dzedf-e IDEO.fly-fly say:PFV-3SGM 'It (birds) flew from here and there.'
(h)	kafff... 'Break'	kafff... kafff... godf-e IDEO.break-break make:PFV-3SGM 'He broke (it) repeatedly.'

As can be observed from the data in [37] all monosyllabic ideophones underwent total reduplication. From the description, it is obvious that the non-reduplicate ideophonic stems show non-iterative actions but stems that underwent total reduplication as in (37. a, b, c, d, e, f & h) show iterative actions and events. However, example in (37.g) express pluractional event. In short, all the above ideophonic verbs stems underwent total reduplication without any change to show iterative and pluractive actions and events.

5.3.4.1.3.2. Total reduplication in disyllabic Oromo ideophonic verbs

Like monosyllabic ideophones, disyllabic ideophonic verbs in the language also deploy total reduplication to show iterated actions and pluractional events. As can be observed from the following description disyllabic ideophones roughly illustrate seven syllabic templates. In the process of total reduplication, the whole stem is reduplicated without change.

	Root/stem templates	Reduplicated forms
1.	$C_1VC_2VV\dots$	$C_1VC_2VV\dots C_1VC_2VV$
2.	$C_1VVC_2VC_3$	$C_1VVC_2VC_3-C_1VVC_2VC_3$
3.	$C_1VC_2VVC_2$	$C_1VC_2VVC_2-C_1VC_2VVC_2$
4.	$C_1VC_2VC_3$	$C_1VC_2VC_3-C_1VC_2VC_3$
5.	$C_1VC_2VC_3C_3$	$C_1VC_2VC_3C_3-C_1VC_2VC_3C_3$
6.	$C_1VC_2C_3V$	$C_1VC_2C_3V-C_1VC_2C_3V$
7.	$C_1VC_2C_3VC_4$	$C_1VC_2C_3VC_4-C_1VC_2C_3VC_4$

The following are some example of Oromo disyllabic ideophone that show the processes of total reduplication. The ideophones described below in (38.a-g) are sorted in the way that they correspond with the syllable templates listed (1-7) above. Consider total reduplication they deploy and their corresponding functions.

	√Verb root/stem	Total reduplication of verb stems/Ideophones
[38] (a)	dɔwaa... 'Fall'	dɔwaa... dɔwaa... dʒed-e IDEO.fall-fall say:PFV-3SGM 'It failed repeatedly.'
(b)	tʃ̣ʷaamul 'Blend'	tʃ̣ʷaamul-tʃ̣ʷaamul god-e IDEO.lend-blend make:PFV-3SGM 'He blended (it) repeatedly.'
(c)	suruur 'Fear'	suruur-suruur god-e IDEO.fea-fear make:PFV-3SGM 'He terrified (it) now and then.'

(d)	t'arap' 'Jump'	t'arap'-t'arap' dzed-e IDEO.jump-jump say:PFV-3SGM 'It jumped repeatedly.'
(e)	turuff 'Spring'	turuff-turuff dzed-e IDEO.spring-spring say:PFV-3SGM 'It hopped from here and there.'
(f)	tʃˀabma 'Slap'	tʃˀamba-tʃˀamba god-e IDEO.slap-slap make:PFV-3SGM 'He slapped (it) repeatedly.'
(g)	bandal 'Open'	bandal-bandal god-e IDEO.open-open make:PFV-3SGM 'He opened widely here and there.'

The data in [38] illustrates that all the above disyllabic ideophonic verb stems underwent total reduplication. The ideophonic verb stems that underwent total reduplication as in example (38.a, b, c, d & f) show iteration of actions while those in (38.e & g) show pluractional events. From the data, it is obvious that the reduplicated ideophonic verb stems are compounded with auxiliaries dzed-e 'say' and god-e 'do/make' for the entire compound structure to have complete verb reading. The non-reduplicated stems show none iterative actions and events and ideophonic verb stems that underwent total reduplication show iterative actions and pluractional events. In addition to total reduplication, Oromo ideophonic verbs also undergo multiplication of the entire ideophonic verb root (stems). Consider the following descriptions.

5.3.4.1.4. Total ideophonic verb root (stem) multiplication

As we have considered in the preceding sections, multiplication is one of the morphological processes in ideophonic verbs. We have noted in the preceding sections that there is no rule that governs the number of repetition of words in the language. Therefore, the speakers have the freedom to repeat ideophonic verbs as much as they can to the desire they have to communicate enough messages. Thus, ideophonic verbs deploy total stem multiplication to show manner of multi-iterative actions, extreme pluractional events and continuance. Ideophonic verb stems that underwent multiplication combine with auxiliaries for the entire compound render reading. This

structure has an adverbial function. In the language, monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophones undergo total stem multiplication. Consider the following descriptions.

5.3.4.1.4.1. Total ideophonic verb stem multiplication in monosyllabic ideophones

As mentioned above monosyllabic ideophones in the language underwent multiplication of the whole stems without change to show multi-iterative intensive action and extreme pluractional events. Total stem multiplication is typical to ideophones. Therefore, almost all monosyllabic ideophonic verbs that underwent total reduplication also undergo entire stem multiplication. These are the CV, C₁VC₂ and C₁VC₂C₂. These undergo total multiplication as (CV) ⇒ (CV-CV-CV-CV...), (C₁VC₂) ⇒ (C₁VC₂-C₁VC₂-C₁VC₂...) and (C₁VC₂C₂) ⇒ (C₁VC₂C₂-C₁VC₂C₂-C₁VC₂C₂-C₁VC₂C₂...). Consider the following description.

	√Verb root/stem	Total reduplicated of verb stem/Ideophones
[39] (a)	k'a	k'a-k'a-k'a-k'a... dʒed-e
	‘Snap’	IDEO.snap-snap-snap-snap... say:PFV-3SGM ‘It snapped several times.’
(b)	bat	bat-bat-bat-bat... god-e
	‘Flap’	IDEO.flap-flap-flap-flap... make:PFV-3SGM ‘It flapped (wings) repeatedly.’
(c)	kir	kir-kir-kir-kir... god-e
	‘Shiver’	IDEO.shiver-shiver-shiver-shiver... made:PFV-3SGM ‘He made (it) shiver.’
(d)	barr	barr-barr-barr-barr ... dʒed-e
	‘Fly’	IDEO.flew-flew-flew... made:PFV-3SGM ‘It flew from here and there.’

As can observe in [39] monosyllabic ideophones underwent entire stem multiplication to show multi iterative intensive and extreme pluractional events. Ideophonic verb stems in (39.a-c) underwent multiplication show multi-iterative actions. On the other hand, the ideophonic verb stem in (39.d) also deployed multiplication of the entire stem to show extreme pluractional events. In addition to this, disyllabic ideophonic verb stems also undergo total stem multiplications to show multi-iterative actions and events. Consider the following descriptions.

5.3.4.1.4.2. Total ideophonic verb stem multiplication in disyllabic ideophones

In Oromo, disyllabic ideophonic verbs also undergo total stem multiplication. These ideophonic verb stems have roughly two syllabic templates. These are $C_1VC_2VC_3$ and C_1VC_2V . In total stem multiplication, they infinitely multiply the entire stem and further compound with auxiliaries to show multi-iterative actions and extreme pluractional events.

	Root/stem templates	Multiplicated forms
1	$C_1VC_2VC_3 \Rightarrow$	$C_1VC_2VC_3-C_1VC_2VC_3-C_1VC_2VC_3\dots$
2	$C_1VC_2.C_3V \Rightarrow$	$C_1VC_2 C_3V-C_1VC_2 C_3V-C_1VC_2 C_3V\dots$

The ideophones in (40.a & b) below depict the above stem syllabic templates and multiplications of the entire roots they undergo. Consider the multiplication of total stems and the corresponding functions they have.

	√Verb	Total reduplication of verb stems/Ideophones
[40] (a)	turuf 'Sprang'	turuf-turuf-turuf... dʒed-e IDEO.sprang-sprang-sprang... say:PFV-3SGM 'It dashed off from here and there'
(b)	k'amba 'Kiss'	k'amba-k'amba-k'amba... god-e IDEO.kiss-kiss-kiss... make:PFV-3SGM 'He kissed (it) repeatedly with audible sucking sound.'

As can be observed from [40] disyllabic ideophones underwent total stem multiplication. The ideophonic verb stem in (40.a) underwent multiplication and compounded with auxiliary dʒed-e 'say' to show extreme pluractional events. Whereas, the ideophonic verb stem in (40.b) underwent entire stem multiplication to show multi-iterative intensive action. In addition to this, in the language simple nouns undergo total reduplication to denote tastes and smells. Consider the following descriptions.

5.3.4.2. Total noun reduplication in Oromo ideophones

In Oromo, some nouns deploy total reduplication to show various tastes and smells. In morphological process, some special nouns that denote well-recognized tastes and smells are only used. The reduplicated nouns further combine with auxiliary *dʒed-e* ‘say’. As in Amharic and Kafa ideophones, in this structure the ideophonic function comes not only from the reduplicated nouns but also from the entire compound. As noted above in the language, some simple nouns undergo total reduplication to express certain tastes. Consider the following descriptions in 41.

	Basic nouns	Reduplicated forms/Ideophones
[41] (a)	damma ‘Honey’	damma-damma <i>dʒed-e</i> IDEO.honey-honey say:PFV-3SGM ‘It has honey taste.’
(b)	sogida ‘Salt’	sogida-sogida <i>dʒed-e</i> IDEO.salt-salt say:PFV-3SGM ‘It has salt taste’
(c)	biʃaan ‘Water’	biʃaan-biʃaan <i>dʒed-e</i> IDEO.water-water say:PFV-3SGM ‘It has water taste.’
(d)	harka ‘Hand’	harka-harka <i>dʒed-e</i> IDEO.hand-hand say:PFV-3SGM ‘It has spoiled taste.’

As can be observed in [41] simple nouns underwent total reduplication and compounded with auxiliary *dʒed-e* ‘say’ to denote different tastes. The above simple nouns are well known for their special taste designation. These are *biʃaan* ‘water’, *sogida* ‘salt’, *damma* ‘honey’. In addition to this, *harka* ‘hand’ is used to refer spoiled taste. Food decay often happens due to bacterial contamination through touching food with unclean hands. Moreover, simple nouns can also reduplicate to show different smells. Consider the following descriptions in 42.

	Basic nouns	Reduplicated forms/Ideophones
[42] (a)	ʃittoo 'Perfume'	ʃittoo-ʃittoo dʒed-e IDEO.perfume-perfume say:PFV-3SGM 'It smells perfume.'
(b)	fintʃʷaan 'Urine'	fintʃʷaan-fintʃʷaan dʒed-e IDEO.urine-urine say:PFV-3SGM 'It smells urine.'
(c)	dʷuufu 'Fart'	dʷuufu-dʷuufu dʒed-e IDEO.fart-fart say:PFV-3SGM 'It smells fart.'

As can be observed from [42] simple nouns underwent total reduplication to show certain smells. In the language, such ideophones express various types of smells with references of smells possessed by the substances, things and a place provided to denote particular smells. As we have considered in the preceding sections, the ideophonic function in such structures emanates from the entire compound. In general, in Oromo, simple nouns reduplicate and combine with auxiliary *dʒedē* 'say' to designate or express some tastes and smells. As the data shows in Amharic, Oromo and Kafa, nouns reduplicate and combine with auxiliary to show taste and smell. In addition, nouns reduplicate and combine with auxiliary *say* to denote internal feelings in Amharic.

5.3.5. Summary

In many literatures, ideophones are considered to show only little morphology. Nevertheless, as the finding of the study depict, Oromo ideophones deploy compounding, derivation, reduplication and derivations. In the case of derivation, derived ideophonic nouns undergo inflectional morphology. Moreover, ideophones of the language comprise lexicalized and derivate ideophone types.

As Girum (2013:44 and Desalegn (2020:69) claim compounding is one the most productive morphological process in Cushitic languages like Sidaama and Kambata. However, in Oromo ideophones two or more ideophonic bound stem compounding seems absent. Ideophonic verb stems and some reduplicated nouns combine with auxiliaries/auxiliary verbs to form ideophonic words in the language. In addition to this, ideophonic bound stems that compound with auxiliary

dzed- ‘say’ are intransitive forms and those compound with auxiliary **god-** ‘do/make’ are transitive forms. Moreover, Oromo ideophones undergo derivational morphological process.

As the result of the finding shows, derivation is one of the productive morphological processes in ideophonic word formation. In the language, derivation comprises the following two types. These are nominal ideophones are derive via suffixing nominalizes (NMLZ) -uu, -e, and -o to the ideophonic verb stems or by suffixing **-uu** to the auxiliaries as in **tj’afak’ gotftj-uu** IDEO.catch made-NMLZ ‘catching’. In addition to this, ideophonic adjectives are derived through suffixing adjectivalizing suffix **-saa** to ideophonic bound stems.

In Oromo, causative ideophonic verbs are formed via suffixing causatives (**-s-**) and (**-si(i)s-**) directly suffixed to the ideophonic bound stems or to the auxiliaries as in **bukum-s** IDEO.chatter-CAUS ‘chattered’, **bukum-siis** IDEO.chatter-CAUS ‘Cause to chatter’ and **bukum dzetj-siis** IDEO.chatter say-CAUS ‘Cause to chatter.’

Likewise derivation, Oromo ideophones also undergo reduplication. As Childs (1994:185),Girum (2013:73), Akita and Dingemane (2019:3) note that reduplication is a common morphological processes in ideophones and shows iterativity or intensity of action and events. Reduplication is also one of the productive morphological processes in Oromo ideophones. Like Amharic and Kafa, Oromo ideophones comprises total and partial reduplication. As we have considered in the preceding sections, partial reduplication and total reduplication in ideophones show iterative manner action and events. Moreover, ideophones underwent partial and total ideophonic root/stem multiplication. Multiplication in ideophones shows multi-iterative actions and extreme pluractional events.

As we have considered in the preceding section, monosyllabic ideophones that undergo partial reduplication roughly have two syllabic templates. These are the C_1VC_2 and $C_1VC_2C_2$. They undergo partial reduplication as $C_1VC_2 \Rightarrow C_1VC_1VC_2$ and $C_1VC_1VC_2C_2$. As can be observed from the template, monosyllabic ideophonic verbs reduplicate the initial consonant and the vocalic element of the root/stem ($-C_1V-$) between the nucleus and the final consonant (s) of the ideophonic verb roots/stem. As the result of the finding shows that ideophonic verb roots/stem like **guf** ‘sit’ and **gipp** ‘close’ undergo partial reduplication following the above morphological process as **guf-** ‘sit’ \Rightarrow **guguf** dzed-e IDEO.sit-sit say:PFV-3SGM ‘It sat down quickly.’ and **gipp’-**

‘close’ ⇒ **gigipp**’ god-e IDEO.closed-closed made:PFV-3SGM ‘He closed (it/door) forcefully’ respectively. From this fact, we can say partial reduplication in monosyllabic ideophones mainly affects the antepenultimate syllables. However, there can be a few instances in which monosyllabic ideophones reduplicate the ultimate consonants as in **ball dʒed-e** IDEO.flash say:PFV-3SGM ‘flashed suddenly’ This ideophonic verb can undergo partial reduplication as **balall dʒed-e** ‘It flashed suddenly.’

In addition to this, disyllabic ideophones also undergo partial reduplication. Disyllabic ideophones that undergo partial reduplication roughly have three syllabic templates. These are $C_1VC_2VC_3$, $C_1VC_2VC_3C_3$ and $C_1VC_2C_3VC_4$. The first two undergo partial reduplication via repeating the initial consonant and the vocalic element of the root/stem ($-C_1V-$) between the nucleus and the final consonant (s) of the ideophonic verb roots/stem of the ultimate syllables. These can be seen in **turuf-** ‘hop’ ⇒ **tuturuf dʒed-e** IDEO.sprang-sprang made:PFV-3SGM ‘It hopped very quickly’. In the same way, the ideophonic verb root/stem **t’arapp** ‘jump’ ⇒ **t’at’arapp dʒed-e** IDEO.jump-jump say:PFV-3SGM ‘It jumped from here and there.’

On the other hands, disyllabic ideophonic verbs with syllabic template ($C_1VC_2C_3VC_4$) undergo partial reduplication via repeating the ultimate syllable ($-C_3V-$) before the coda. As in the ideophonic verb root **k’urtʃum-** ‘crunch’ clarifies this. **k’urtʃum-** ‘crunch’ ⇒ **k’urtʃutʃum god-e** IDEO.crunched-crunched made:PFV-3SGM ‘It crunched (it) completely.’ As the entire description depicts, in the ideophones of the language reduplication results in vowel harmony.

Moreover, Oromo ideophones also undergo partial root/stem multiplication to show multi-iterative intensive actions. As the result of the finding shows, most ideophones that deploy partial stem multiplication are disyllabic. These ideophones have $C_1VC_2VC_2$ template and they deploy partial multiplication as ($C_1VC_2VC_2VC_2VC_2V\dots$). From this template, it is obvious that ideophonic verb root/stem undergo multiplication of the final consonant and the vocalic element of the roots/stems. Thus, the ideophonic verb root **bolol-** ‘blaze’ ⇒ **bololololoololo... dʒed-e** IDEO.blaze-blaze-blaze-blaze... say:PFV-3SGM ‘It become over blazed.’ Furthermore, Oromo ideophones also underwent total reduplication to show multi-iterative actions and events.

As we have considered in the preceding sections total reduplication is a morphological processes that involves copying and repeating the entire root/stem or a word with or without change. The result of the finding shows that Oromo ideophones undergo total reduplication to show iterative actions and pluractional events. The result of the finding illustrates that monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophones undergo total multiplication to show iterative actions and pluractional events. In the language, monosyllabic ideophones roughly illustrate the following seven syllabic templates and underwent total reduplication as $(CV \Rightarrow CVCV)$, $(CVV \Rightarrow CVVCVV)$, $(CVVV \dots \Rightarrow CVVV \dots CVVV \dots)$, $(C_1VC_2 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2C_1VC_2)$, $(CVVC_2 \Rightarrow C_1VVC_2-C_1VVC_2)$, $(C_1VC_2C_2 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2C_2-C_1VC_2C_2)$ and $(C_1VC_2C_2C_2 \dots \Rightarrow C_1VC_2C_2C_2 \dots C_1VC_2C_2C_2 \dots)$. These reduplicated monosyllabic ideophonic verbs stems further compound with auxiliary verbs/auxiliaries **dʒed-e** ‘say’ and **god-e** ‘do/make’. Similarly, disyllabic ideophones also undergo total reduplication to show iterative actions and pluractional events as $(C_1V.C_2VV \dots \Rightarrow C_1V.C_2VVC_1 \dots V.C_2VV \dots)$, $(C_1VV.C_2VC_3 \Rightarrow C_1VV.C_2VC_3C_1VV.C_2VC_3)$, $(C_1V.C_2VVC_2 \Rightarrow C_1V.C_2VVC_2C_1V.C_2VVC_2)$, $(C_1V.C_2VC_3 \Rightarrow C_1V.C_2VC_3C_1V.C_2VC_3)$, $(C_1V.C_2VC_3C_3 \Rightarrow C_1V.C_2VC_3C_3C_1V.C_2VC_3C_3)$, $(C_1VC_2.C_3V \Rightarrow C_1VC_2.C_3VC_1VC_2.C_3V)$ and $(C_1VC_2.C_3VC_4 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2.C_3VC_4-C_1VC_2.C_3VC_4)$. Furthermore, monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophones undergo total ideophonic verb stems multiplications to show multi-iterative actions. In this process, ideophonic verb stems are repeated for an infinite time.

Besides, some simple nouns also underwent total reduplication to express some sorts of tastes and smells. Nouns such as **dama** ‘honey’ and **bijaan** ‘water’ undergo total reduplication and combine with auxiliary verbs auxiliary **dʒed-e** ‘say’ to show some tastes. On the other hand, some nouns like **fitoo** ‘perfume’ and **fiñʼaan** ‘urine’ also undergo total reduplication and combine with auxiliary **dʒed-e** ‘say’ to show smells of some substances.

To sum up, the language comprises lexicalized and derived ideophones. Oromo ideophones deploy compounding, derivation, reduplication and inflectional morphology. These are productive morphological processes. Moreover, compound ideophones are formed by combining none reduplicated or reduplicated ideophonic verb roots/stems and auxiliaries. Furthermore, derivation in ideophones comprises the derivation of nominal ideophones and ideophonic adjectives. Besides, reduplication in ideophones includes partial and total reduplications. Ideophone deploy partial and total stem reduplications to show iterative actions and pluractional

events. They deploy multiplications of partial and total ideophonic verb roots/stems to show multi iterative intensive action. Partial reduplication in ideophones of the language mainly affects the antepenultimate and the ultimate syllables.

5.4. Results and discussions on the morphological study of Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo ideophones

This section presents the result and discussion of the morphology of ideophones of the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages specifically, Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo. As many scholars like (Childs 1994:185 and Bodomo 2006:204) note that ideophones deploy little morphology. It is true that Amharic, Kafa and Oromo ideophones deploy some inflectional morphology but compounding, derivation and reduplication are the most productive morphological process. This section presents compounding, derivation and reduplication in ideophones in a cross-linguistic comparative way. Thus, I shall start with the role of compounding in ideophonic word formations across Amharic, Kafa and Oromo.

5.4.1. Compounding in ideophones of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages

As the result of the finding depicts, compounding is one of the productive morphological processes in the ideophones of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. In ideophones of the languages under the study, there are two major compounds types. The first compound type consists of (combines) ideophonic verb stems and auxiliaries/auxiliary verbs to form a complete ideophonic word. The second compound type combines two ideophonic bound stems to form new ideophonic bound stems. These ideophonic bound stems further combine with auxiliaries to make complete ideophonic words. The first compound type is the major ideophonic verb template in Afro-Asiatic languages. On the other hand, ideophones in languages like Amharic and Kafa deploy ideophonic verb stem compounding but Oromo ideophones lack ideophonic verb stem compounding.

As the result of the finding shows, Amharic ideophones comprise antonymous ideophonic stem compounds, synonymous ideophonic stem compounds and other ideophonic (non-antonymous or non-synonymous stem compounds). Similarly, Kafa ideophones include antonymous ideophonic verb stem compounds and adjectival compound stem compounds. From the result of the finding, we understand that Amharic and Kafa compound ideophones are morphologically complex. This can be seen from Amharic ideophones, which underwent synonymous as in *figgimm-kirriir al-ə*

IDEO.fall on face-die say:PFV-3SGM ‘become completely dead’ and ideophones, which underwent antonymous ideophonic verb stem compounding as in *hed-məlləss al-ə* IDEO.go-return say:PFV-3SGM ‘It recurs/ relapse’. In the same way Kafa ideophones that deploy antonymous ideophonic verb stems as in *napp’-jumbur í-h-è* IDEO.go out of sight-return say:PFV-3SGM ‘It went out and came back quickly’ illustrate complex compound ideophonic verb in the language.

In addition to this, Amharic bare ideophones deploy compounding to form ideophonic nouns as in *arti-burti* IDEO-IDEO ‘hocus-pocus’. These compounding types seem absent in Kafa and Oromo ideophones. However, Kafa ideophones have some compound adjectival ideophones like *tʃʷund-baatt’-e* IDEO.small-IDEO-3SGM ‘Diminutive/small’. These types of ideophone again are not attested in Oromo.

From this fact, we can say that Amharic and Kafa ideophones comprise simple and complex compound ideophones. On the other hand, Oromo has simple compound ideophones if reduplicated and multiplicated ideophonic verb stems are not considered here. Precisely Amharic and Kafa show some similarities in compounding morphological process compared to Oromo ideophones. That is compounding in Amharic contains typologically more complex ideophonic verb stems and nominal (bare) ideophones. Next to Amharic, Kafa ideophones also include complex ideophonic verbs stems and adjectival ideophones. As noted above Oromo ideophones are typologically simple compared to Amharic and Kafa. From the result of the finding observed that the languages under the study deploy derivational morphology. Consider the following discussions.

5.4.2. Derivation in ideophones of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages

According to literature, in many languages ideophones are subject to derivation. Beck (2008:17) reports that in Upper NecaxaTotonac (Mesoamerican language) ideophones are not target to derivation. Similarly, Mohamed (2008:128) notes that derivation lacks in Tamne (Niger-Congo language). On the contrary, as the result of the finding depicts derivation is one of the most productive morphological processes in ideophones of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. However, Amharic ideophones deploy more complex derivational process than Kafa and Oromo. That is Amharic ideophonic verb roots (stems) are derived from the regular verb roots. On the

other hand, most Kafa and Oromo ideophonic verb roots (stems) are non-derived. As the finding of the study illustrates cross-linguistically the type of derivation varies due to the typological differences of the languages. That is as Mengistu (2010:291) notes; typologically Amharic (Semitic) uses root and pattern systems in its word-formation. On the other hand, Kafa and Oromo deploy consonant and vowel combined roots system word-formation. Thus, the former derives ideophonic verb roots (stems) from the regular verb roots through geminating the ultimate and penultimate roots. Whereas, the latter two have lexical ideophonic verb roots (stems) and these lexical ideophonic verb roots (stems) undergo derivation via derivative affixes to form nominal ideophones and Oromo also adjectival ideophones. Nevertheless, the type of derivation varies across the three languages under the study. Consider the following discussion.

5.4.2.1. Derivation of ideophonic verbs

In the languages under the study, ideophonic verbs are derived from ideophonic verb roots (stems). In Amharic, most ideophonic verbs are derived from the regular verb roots. These derivatives comprise attenuative and intensive ideophonic verbs. Attenuative and intensive ideophonic stems are derived from verb root through geminating the ultimate and/or penultimate radicals of the roots respectively. Baye (1999:76) identifies that Amharic root verbs are underlyingly tri-radicals and root verbs less than this are the results of root reduction and those beyond tri-radicals roots are the results of root extension. However, ideophones do not show these basic root templates. Attenuative and intensive ideophonic verb stems have mainly the $C_1\text{ə}C_2\text{ə}C_3C_3$ and $C_1iC_2C_2iC_3C_3$ templates respectively. As the result of the findings show, attenuative and intensive Amharic ideophones are the results of root extension and root reduction. In the language, on the surface level, attenuative ideophonic verbs include bi-radical, tri-radical, and quadric-radical ideophonic verbs. These attenuative ideophones illustrate the following five roots templates. These are $(C_1-C_2C_2, C_1-C_2-C_3C_3, C_1-C_2 (C_2)-C_3C_3, C_1-C_2C_3-C_4C_4, \text{ and } C_1-C_2C_3-C_4)$. On the other hand, the surface-level intensive ideophonic verbs show three ideophonic root templates. These are also $(C_1-C_2C_2, C_1-C_2C_2-C_3C_3, \text{ and } C_1-C_2C_3-C_4C_4)$ templates. Complete ideophonic verbs are formed from the preceding stems through compounding the bound stems and auxiliaries **al-** ‘say’ and **adərrəg-** ‘do/make’. In Amharic, attenuative ideophonic verbs are used to show weaker actions and intensive ideophones are used to show strong actions.

Unlike Amharic, Kafa and Oromo do not have attenuative ideophones but most ideophones in these languages show intensive actions and events.

5.4.2.2. Derivation of nominal ideophones

As the result of the study shows, in the languages under the study nominal ideophones are derived from ideophonic verb roots (stems) and ideophonic verbs through suffixing different verb-nominalizing morphemes (NMLZ). In Amharic, nominal ideophones are derived from ideophonic verb stems via attaching the verb nominalizer morphemes (NMLZ) like (-**ta** and -**te**) as in **k'wak'wa-ta** IDEO.rattle-rattle say- NMLZ 'rattling' and **f'af'-te** IDEO.cascade cascade- NMLZ 'waterfall'. In addition to this, in the language ideophonic adjective can be derived from ideophonic bound stems by reduplication the stems as **tuss-** 'fart with hissing sound' ⇒ **tost'assa** 'noisy' and **səff-** 'eager' ⇒ **səfsaffa** 'starved'.

Besides, in Amharic nominal ideophone can be also derived from imitated ideophonic stems through attaching the NMLZ (-**je**) to the bound ideophonic stems and inserting an epenthetic vowel <ɨ> between the stem and the NMLZ (-**je**) to avoid the impermissible consonant clusters CVCCCV ⇒ CVCC<ɨ>CV as in **k'urr+je** ⇒ **k'urrije** 'a type bird'. In addition to this, verbal nouns can be derived from ideophonic verbs via suffixing verb-nominalizing morphemes to the auxiliaries. Here, the ideophonic verb stems remain invariable. The element that undergoes the morphological processes is the auxiliaries only. These can be observed form **gibitt al-ə** IDEO.enter say.PFV-3SGM 'It become completely entered' become **gibitt mə al-ə-t** IDEO.enter to-say.PFV-NMLZ 'Entering'. As mentioned above Kafa and Oromo also derive ideophonic nouns from ideophonic verb roots/stem and ideophonic verbs.

As the result of the finding depicts, in Kafa ideophonic nouns are derived from ideophonic verb roots and ideophones verbs through attaching the verb nominalizing morphemes NMLZ (-**e** and -**o**) respectively. The verb nominalizing morphemes (-**e** and -**o**) are attached to the ideophonic verb roots (stems) to derive nominal ideophones as in example **t'úpp-** 'cut' ⇒ **t'úpp-o** IDEO.cut- NMLZ 'cutting' and **fék'él-** 'limp' ⇒ **fék'él-è** IDEO.limp-3SGF.NMLZ 'limping (female)', which is a derogatory word. On the other hand, nominal ideophones can also be derived from ideophonic

verbs through attaching the verb nominalizing morpheme (-o) as in examples **t'úpp áj-h-è** IDEO.cut make:PFV-3SGM 'He cut (it) completely' ⇒ **t'úpp a-j-o** IDEO.cut make- NMLZ 'cutting'.

In the same way, in Oromo nominal ideophones are derived from ideophonic verb roots/stem and ideophonic verbs. In the former case verb, nominalizing morphemes (-uu,-e and -o) are attached to the ideophonic verb stems. In the language, some ideophonic verb stems deploy this morphological process as in **tuturuf-uu** IDEO.sprang-sprang- NMLZ 'hopping', **tfulull-e** 'kite' and **wang-o** 'civet fox'. In addition to this, many ideophonic verbal nouns are derived from ideophonic verbs by attaching the NMLZ (-uu) to the auxiliaries. This can be observed from examples **turuf dzed-e** IDEO.sprang say:PFV-3SGM 'It become hopped' ⇒ **turuf dzetfj-uu** IDEO.sprang say-NMLZ 'hopping'. Here, some morphophonological processes take place. These are the ultimate consonant /d/ of the auxiliary is changed to /tj/ before the NMLZ -uu. Besides, consonant tj also underwent gemination and become [tjtj] before the NMLZ -uu. In short, in the language, in the process of ideophonic noun derivation the implosive consonant d⇒tjtj/-uu. Furthermore, in Oromo, ideophonic adjective are derived via suffixing adjectivalizing morpheme -isaa to the ideophonic bound stems as in **tuff-isaa** 'something that causes spiting'. Moreover, the languages under the study deploy another major productive morphological process that is reduplication.

5.4.3. Inflection

As the result of the finding depicts, ideophones of the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages under the study deploy inflectional morphology. In Amharic, Kafa and Oromo derived ideophonic nouns inflect for number, gender, and case as in the following examples.

	Language	Number	Gender	Case
43.	Amharic	kakate-otfjʃ	kakate-wa	kakate-wa-n
		IDEO:bird-3PL	IDEO:bird-3SGF	IDEO:bird-3SGF-ACC
		'The birds'	'The female bird'	'The female bird'
	Kafa	jóf-jóf-è-naʔo	jófjóf-è	jófjóf-è-n
		IDEO:bat3SGF-PL	IDEO:bat-3SGF	IDEO.bat-3SGF-ACC
		'Bats'	'female bat'	'The female bat'

Oromo	tʃʷulull-oota	tʃʷulull-e	tʃʷulull-e-n
	IDEO:kite-PL	IDEO:kite-3SGF	IDEO:kite-3SGM-NOM
	‘Kites’	‘Female kike’	‘The kite’

As can be observed in 43, the above ideophonic nouns inflected for numbers, genders and cases. The Amharic and Kafa ideophonic nouns are inflected for accusative case and Oromo ideophonic nouns are inflected for nominative case.

5.4.4. Reduplication

Many scholars like Hinton (1994:185), Dixon (2012:172), Akita and Dingemanse (2019:3) note that reduplication, in general, is a linguistic strategy that expresses repeated actions. Katamba (1993:180) points out many uses of reduplication, such as it expresses distribution, plurality, repetition, increase in size, intensity, continuance, and the like. Childs (1994:185) also notes that reduplication is a productive morphological process in ideophones. In the three languages under the study, some simple nouns and ideophonic verbs undergo reduplication. The former deploys only total reduplication and the latter ideophones undergo partial and total reduplication. Ideophonic verbs that deploy reduplication also undergo partial and total stem multiplication. As the result of the study depicts reduplication shows iterativity, pluractivity, attenuativity and intensity, continuance and distributions. From the result of the finding observed that, reduplicated nouns combine with the auxiliary verb ‘say’ to express some sorts of taste, smells and internal feelings. Similarly, the ideophonic verb roots (stems) that underwent reduplication and multiplication further combine with auxiliaries to have complete verbal readings. Consider the following discussions.

5.4.4.1. Partial reduplication

Partial reduplication is common morphological process in ideophones and prosaic language of the languages under the study. In the regular morphology, many adjectives deploy partial reduplication. Likewise, ideophones also undergo partial reduplication to express iterativity, pluractivity, durativity, intensity.

As the result of the finding illustrates, Amharic, Kafa and Oromo monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophones deploy partial reduplication. Here, I shall start with partial reduplication in monosyllabic ideophones. The (CV), (C₁VC₂) and (C₁VC₂C₂) are some monosyllabic ideophones in these languages that deploy partial reduplication. Ideophones with CV structure are often onomatopoeic but those with C₁VC₂ and C₁VC₂C₂ structures are mainly synesthetic /conventional sound symbolism (Hinton, Nichols, and Ohala 1994:4). From these, a (CV) template type is not subject to partial reduplication. However, the (C₁VC₂C₂) undergo partial reduplication. Monosyllabic ideophonic verbs with (C₁VC₂C₂) template are abundant across the three languages. In Amharic, partial reduplication affects the ultimate radical of the monosyllabic ideophones as in **bogg-** ‘glow’ ⇒ **bogəgg** al-ə IDEO.glow-glow say:PFV-3SGM ‘It become over glowed’. In contrast, in Oromo partial reduplication mainly affects the initial consonant as in **gipp’-** ‘shut(door)’ ⇒ **gigipp’** god-e IDEO.shut-shut make:PFV-3SGM ‘He closed (it) by force.’ In the language, rarely a few monosyllabic ideophones like **full** ‘angry’ ⇒ **fulull** d zed-e IDE.gush-gush say:PFV-3SGM ‘It gushed completely.’ Semantically the non-reduplicated and the reduplicated forms show differences. Similarly, in Kafa it affects initial consonants as in **gumm-** ‘fall’ ⇒ **gugumm** íí-h-è IDEO.fall-fall say:PFV-3SGM ‘It fell completely’ and in the language, like in the Amharic, partial reduplication also affects the ultimate consonant of the root as in monosyllabic ideophonic verb **hubb-** ‘glow’ ⇒ **hububb** íí-h-è IDEO.glow-glow say:PFV-3SGM ‘It become over glowed.’ As can be observed from the preceding structures, in Amharic, Kafa and Oromo the [-C₂V-] is reduplicated between the nucleus and the ultimate consonant of the root. However, the vocalic element in Amharic is often /ə/ but in the case of Kafa, it is often identical vowel with in the root. In contrast, the [-C₁V-] is reduplicated between the initial syllable and the ultimate consonant in Kafa and Oromo. In this case, the reduplicated vocalic element is identical with the vowel in the verb roots. From this fact, we can conclude that unlike Amharic, partial reduplication in Kafa and Oromo monosyllabic ideophones result in vowel harmony. Typologically, Amharic and Oromo monosyllabic ideophones display contrasting (ultimate vs initial) consonantal roots reduplication respectively. However, Kafa interplays between the two (Amharic and Oromo). Besides, ideophonic verbs with the C₁VC₂ in Kafa and Oromo reduplicate the ultimate consonant with identical vocalic element [-C₂V-] in the former but the initial consonant with identical vocalic element [-C₁V-] in the latter case. Therefore, the C₁VC₂ undergoes partial reduplication as (C₁VC₂ ⇒ C₁V [C₂V] C₂) as in **bét’-** ‘got bad smell’ ⇒ **bét’ét’**

íí-h-è IDEO.bad smell-bad smell say:PFV-3SGM 'It has got a very offensive smell.' On the contrary, in Oromo the C_1VC_2 undergoes partial reduplication as $(C_1VC_2 \Rightarrow C_1V [C_1V] C_2)$ as in **guf-** 'sat down' \Rightarrow **guguf** dʒed-e IDEO.sat-sat say:PFV-3SGM 'It sat down quickly.' From the two structures, we observe that the reduplicants (- C_2V - and - C_1V -) reduplicate between the nucleus and the ultimate consonants.

As the result of the study illustrates, in Amharic, almost all attenuative and intensive ideophones are primarily disyllabic. These ideophonic verbs also deploy partial reduplication to show iterative attenuative and intensive actions. In the preceding section we have noted that disyllabic attenuative and intensive ideophone have the $(C_1VC_2VC_3C_3$ and $C_1VC_2C_3VC_4C_4)$ and $(C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3$ and $C_1VC_2C_3VC_4C_4)$ structures respectively. Attenuative ideophones underwent partial reduplications as $(C_1VC_2VC_3C_3 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2VC_3 [C_2VC_3] C_3)$ and $(C_1VC_2C_3VC_4C_4 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2C_3VC_4 [C_3VC_4]C_4)$. In short, in the former structure the [- C_2VC_3 -] and in the latter structure the [- C_3VC_4 -] are reduplicated elements. Consider ideophonic verb stems **səbərr-** 'break slightly' \Rightarrow **səbərbərr** al-ə IDEO.break-break say:PFV-3SGM 'become slightly broken' and **dəngətt-** 'shocked somehow' \Rightarrow **dəngət'gətt'** al-ə IDEO.shok-shok say:PFV-3SGM 'become shocked somehow.' On the other hand, intensive ideophones depict the above partial reduplication in the following ideophonic words such as **sibbirr-** 'break completely' **sibirbirr** al-ə IDEO.break-break say:PFV-3SGM 'become broken completely' and **dingirr-** 'confuse' \Rightarrow **dingirgirr** adrrəg-ə IDEO.confuse-confuse make:PFV-3SGM 'He made (it) completely confused.'

Likewise, Oromo disyllabic also undergo partial reduplication to show iterative, intensive and pluractive actions and events although that is not the case in most Kafa disyllabic ideophones. As the result of this research shows, partial reduplication in disyllabic ideophonic verbs affects either the first or the ultimate syllables of the root. Some disyllabic ideophonic verbs reduplicate the first syllable just before the ultimate syllable. On the other hand, some disyllabic ideophonic verbs reduplicate the ultimate syllable [- C_3V -] between just before the coda of ultimate syllable of the root. Most Oromo disyllabic ideophone roughly display the $C_1VC_2VC_3$ and $C_1VC_2C_3VC_4$. These two templates undergo partial reduplication as $(C_1VC_2VC_3 \Rightarrow C_1V[C_1V]C_2VC_3)$ and $(C_1VC_2C_3VC_4 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2C_3V[C_3V]C_4)$ respectively. In the former case, the reduplicated syllable is the [- C_1V -] of the first syllable. In the latter case, the reduplicate syllable is the [- C_3V -] of the ultimate syllable. Ideophonic verb stem **turuf** 'hopped' undergoes the first type of partial

reduplication as follows: **turuf-**‘hop’ ⇒ **tuturuf dʒed-e** IDEO.sprang-sprang say:PFV-3SGM ‘It hopped suddenly.’ Partial reduplication in this structure shows the intensity of the action. Whereas, ideophonic verb stem like **k’urt’um-** ‘crunch’ undergoes partial reduplication as ⇒ **k’urt’ut’um god-e** IDEO.crunched-crunched made:PFV-3SGM ‘He crunched (it) repeatedly.’ In this type, partial reduplication shows iterative actions. On the contrary, Kafa disyllabic ideophones hardly deploy partial reduplication. Only a few disyllabic ideophone which themselves are the result of partial reduplication undergo partial reduplication. From the result of the finding, it is observed that disyllabic ideophones with the $(C_1VC_2VC_2)$ and $(C_1VC_2VC_2C_2)$ deploy partial reduplication. Thus, $(C_1VC_2VC_2 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2V[C_2V]C_2)$ as in **bét’ét’-** ‘offensive smell’ ⇒ **bét’ét’ét’** íí-h-è IDEO.bad smell-bad smell say:PFV-3SGM ‘It has got offensive smell’ and $(C_1VC_2VC_2C_2 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2VC_2[C_2V]C_2)$ as in **húbúbb-** ‘over glow’ become **húbúbbúbb** íí-h-è IDEO.glow-glow say:PFV-3SGM ‘It become over glowed’ In such ideophones the $[-C_2V-]$ is reduplicated between the nucleus and the ultimate syllable of disyllabic ideophone. From this, we can say that partial reduplication, which disyllabic ideophones underwent, affects the ultimate syllables of the disyllabic ideophonic verb stems. This is also an extension of partial reduplication in monosyllabic ideophonic verb stem and yields triplication.

5.4.4.2. Partial stem multiplication

As the result of the finding illustrates, in the languages under the study partial stems reduplication also extends to partial stem multiplication to show multi-iterative intensive action and events. In addition to this, Amharic deploys partial stem multiplication to show multi-iterative attenuative actions and events. Consider the following result discussion.

Partial stem multiplication in Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo

	Language	Roots/stems	Reduplication	Multiplication
[44] (a)	Amharic	bogg ‘Glow’	bogəg- glow-glow	bogəgəgəgə...gəg al-ə IDEO.glow-glow glow-glow say:PFV-3SGM ‘It becomes over glowed for a long time.’
(b)	Kafa	húbb- ‘Glow’	húbúbb- glow-glow	húbúbbúbúbú...búb íí-h-è IDEO.glow-glow glow-glow say:PFV-3SGM ‘It becomes over glowed for a long time.’

(c) Oromo	full	fulul-	fululululu...lul dʒed-e
	‘Anger’	gush-gush	IDEO.gush-gush-gush-gush say:PFV-3SGM
			‘It (blood) over cascaded for a long time’

As can be observed in [44], all the languages under the study illustrate partial stem multiplication as an extension of partial stem reduplication. From the above structure, ideophonic verb root (stems) $(C_1VC_2C_2)$ deploy partial stem multiplication as $(C_1VC_2C_2 \Rightarrow C_1V [C_2VC_2VC_2V \dots C_2VC])$ and the $[-C_2V-]$ multiplication for infinite times. Thus, from the structure it is obvious that partial stem multiplication affects the ultimate consonants in Amharic, Kafa and Oromo monosyllabic ideophones. In addition to this, expressive lengthening affects gemination. As noted above, partial stem multiplication expresses multi-iterative intensive actions and continuance. In Amharic, attenuative ideophonic verbs like səbərr- ‘break’ undergo partial stem multiplication as səbərbərbər...bərr al-ə IDEO.break-break-break...say:PFV-3SGM ‘It become lightly broken into several pieces’ to show multi-iterative attenuative actions. In general, in the languages under the study, most ideophonic verb stems that deploy partial stem reduplication also undergo partial stem multiplication. Moreover, as noted earlier ideophonic verbs stems undergo total stem reduplication and multiplication. Some nouns also deploy total reduplication in the languages under the study. Consider the following result discussion.

5.4.5. Total reduplication

As the result of the finding shows, ideophonic verb roots (stems) in the languages under the study deploy total reduplication to show mainly iterative actions and pluractional events. They also express increase in size, distributions and continuance. Simple nouns also undergo total reduplication to show tastes and smell in these languages. Amharic attenuative and intensive ideophonic verb stems deploy total reduplication to show iterative attenuative and intensive actions and events. In addition to this, in the languages under the study ideophonic verbs deploy total verb root (stem) multiplication to show multi-iterative actions and events. In all the three languages under the study, monosyllabic ideophonic verbs underwent total reduplication. The following are some examples.

Total reduplication in monosyllabic ideophones in Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo

	Languages	Roots/stets	Reduplicated/Ideophones
[45] (a)	Amharic	k ^w a 'Snap''	k ^w a-k ^w a al-ə IDEO.snap-snap say:PFV-3SGM 'It snapped repeatedly'
(b)	Kafa	k ^á 'Snap'	k ^á -k ^á í-h-è IDEO.snap-snap say:PFV-3SGM 'It snapped repeatedly.'
(c)	Oromo	ka 'Snap'	ka-ka dʒed-e IDEO.snap-snap say:PFV-3SGM 'It snapped repeatedly.'

As can be observed from [45], in the above three languages, monosyllabic ideophones commonly illustrate the CV templates. In such structures in Amharic, /C/ denotes labiovelar consonantal roots /k^w, g^w and k^w and [f^v, d^v, t^w, tʃ^w...]. In this structure, the vocalic element /V/ is often /a/. On the other hand, in Kafa and Oromo C is often simple consonant. In all three languages, the whole structure denotes imitative ideophones. In total reduplication, the CV becomes CV-CV to show iterative imitative sounds. As noted above, in the process of total reduplication, the C₁VC₂C₂ becomes C₁VC₂C₂-C₁VC₂C₂ to express iterative actions and events in the languages under the study as ideophones in 44 illustrate.

Total reduplication in monosyllabic ideophones in Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo

	Languages	Root/stem	Reduplicated/Ideophones
[46] (a)	Amharic	dubb 'Drop'	dubb-gubb al-ə IDEO.drop-drop say:PFV-3SGM 'It dropped here and there.'
(b)	Kafa	t ^ó pp 'Die'	t ^ó pp-t ^ó pp í-h-è IDEO.die-die say:PFV-3SGM 'It died here and there completely'
(c)	Oromo	lipp' 'Extinguish'	lipp'-lipp' dʒed-e IDEO.extinguish-extinguish say:PFV-3SGM

‘It becomes extinguished here and there suddenly.’

As the examples in [46], illustrate the tri-consonantal ideophones undergo total reduplication via copying and reduplicating the entire roots. In such structures, the reduplicated forms show pluractivity. Moreover, all monosyllabic ideophones in Kafa and Oromo undergo total reduplication to show iterativity. Moreover, disyllabic ideophonic verbs also undergo total reduplication to show iterative actions, pluractional events, distribution, and increase in size.

As can be observed from findings of the study, all the three languages typologically have various disyllabic ideophonic verbs. Amharic has two, Kafa contains four and Oromo possess seven disyllable templates. Amharic disyllabic ideophonic verbs comprise attenuative and intensive ideophonic verbs. They include tri-radical and quadric-radical ideophonic verbs with $(C_1VC_2VC_3C_3)$ and $(C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4)$ syllabic templates respectively. The vocalic element /V/ in the former attenuative stems is /ə/. In latter later case, (quadric radicals) /V₁/ can be /ə/ or /o/ but /V₂/ remains only /ə/. These attenuative ideophonic verb stems undergo total reduplication as $(C_1VC_2VC_3C_3 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2VC_3C_3-C_1VC_2VC_3C_3)$ and $(C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4 \Rightarrow C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4-C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4)$. The ideophonic verb stem **kəfətt-** ‘open slightly’ and **g^wonbæss-** ‘bend slightly’ shows the above root templates respectively. In total reduplication, these attenuative stems are reduplicated to show iterative attenuative actions and events. Therefore, **kəfətt-** ‘open slightly’ \Rightarrow **kəfətt-kəfətt adərrəg-ə** IDEO.open-open made:PFV-3SGM ‘He opened (it) iteratively slightly’ and **g^wonbæss** ‘bend slightly’ \Rightarrow **g^wonbæss-g^wonbæss al-ə** IDEO.bend-bend say:PFV-3SGM ‘It bent iteratively slightly.’ In addition to this, disyllabic intensive ideophonic verbs have tri-radical stems with a template of $C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3$ and the quadric-syllable stems with a template of $C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4$ and in this structure /V₁/ can be /i/ or /u/ but /V₂/ is often /i/. These ideophonic verb stems undergo total reduplication as $(C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3 \Rightarrow C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3-C_1VC_2C_2VC_3C_3)$ and $(C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4 \Rightarrow C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4-C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4C_4)$ to show iterative intensive actions and events. The intensive ideophonic verb stem **bittinn-** ‘dispersed completely’ and **k’urbitftj** ‘swollen’ underwent total reduplication as **bittinn-bittinn adərrəg-ə** IDEO.scatter-scatter made:PFV-3SGM ‘He made (it) dispersed completely repeatedly’ and **k’urbitftj-k’urbitftj al-ə** IDEO.swell-swell say:PFV-3SGM ‘It become swollen here and there.’ The former shows iterative intensive action but the latter shows the distribution of swell on one’s body. As noted above Kafa and Oromo disyllabic ideophones also undergo total ideophonic verb

stem multiplication. Consider the following. As the result of the study illustrates, Kafa disyllabic ideophonic verbs roughly have the following four syllabic templates and which undergo total reduplication as:

No.	Disyllabic templates	Reduplicated forms
1	VC ₂ VC ₃	VC ₂ VC ₃ -VC ₂ VC ₃
2	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ -C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃
3	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₄	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₄ -VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₄
4	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ VC ₃	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ VC ₃ -C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ VC ₃

The following example ideophonic verbs show these four templates their corresponding functions as follows: (1) **ap'er** 'being filled' ⇒ **ap'er-ap'er íí-h-è** IDEO.filled-filled say:PFV-3SGM 'It becomes filled with liquid completely.' (2) **kaker** 'split' ⇒ **kaker-kaker íí-h-è** IDEO.split-split say:PFV-3SGM 'It becomes completely split repeatedly.' (3) **jumbur** 'slip out' ⇒ **jumbur-jumbur íí-h-è** IDEO.It slipped out-slipped out say:PFV-3SGM 'It becomes slipped out here and there.' (4) **buggul** 'roll (eyes)' ⇒ **buggul-buggul íí-h-è** IDEO.roll-roll say:PFV-3SGM 'It (eyes) rolled iteratively.' As pointed out above, total reduplication in examples (2&4) shows iterative action and total reduplication in (1&3) shows pluractional events. Likewise, Oromo disyllabic ideophones also undergo total ideophonic verb stem total reduplication. Consider the following. Oromo disyllabic ideophone verbs roughly have the following seven templates that deploy total reduplication as follows.

No.	Disyllabic templates	Reduplicated forms
1	C ₁ VC ₂ VV...	C ₁ VC ₂ VV...-C ₁ VC ₂ VV...
2	C ₁ VVC ₂ VC ₃	C ₁ VVC ₂ VC ₃ -C ₁ VVC ₂ VC ₃
3	C ₁ VC ₂ VVC ₂	C ₁ VC ₂ VVC ₂ -C ₁ VC ₂ VVC ₂
4	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ -C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃
5	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ C ₃	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ C ₃ -C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ C ₃
6	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ V	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ V-C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ V
7	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₄	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₄ -C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₄

In the process of total reduplication, the following disyllabic ideophonic verbs illustrate the reduplication and the corresponding function they have as follows. (1) **fajaa...** ‘splash’ ⇒ **fajaa...-fajaa... god-e** IDEO.splash-splash made:PFV-3SGM ‘He splashed (it) repeatedly.’ (2) **tj’aamul** ‘capture’ ⇒ **tj’aamul-tj’aamul god-e** IDEO.capture-capture made:PFV-3SGM ‘He captured it repeatedly.’ (3) **suruur** ‘shiver’ ⇒ **suruur-suruur god-e** IDEOfear-fear made:PFV-3SGM ‘He made (it) terrified now and then.’ (4) **k’uk’um** ‘crash’ ⇒ **k’uk’um-ku’um god-e** IDEO.crash-crash made:PFV-3SGM ‘He crashed (it) repeatedly.’ (5) **turuff** ‘sprang’ ⇒ **turuff-turuff dzed-e** IDEO.sprang-sprang say:PFV-3SGM ‘It hopped from here and there.’ (6) **ramba** ‘fall’ ⇒ **ramba-ramba dzed-e** IDEO.fell-fell say:PFV-3SGM ‘It fell here and there.’ (7) **bandal** ‘open widely’ ⇒ **banda-bandal god-e** IDEO.open widely open widely made:PFV-3SGM ‘He opened widely one and another.’ As the above description illustrates, total reduplication in (1, 2, 3&4) show iterative actions and those in (5, 6&7) show pluractional events. In the languages under the study, monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophonic verb roots (stems) also undergo total stem multiplication to show multi-iterativity and pluractivity of actions and events. Consider the following result discussions.

5.4.6. Total ideophonic verb root (stem) multiplication

In the preceding result discussion sections, we have seen partial and total reduplication and partial root (stem) multiplication in ideophones of Amharic, Kafa and Oromo. From the discussion, we have considered that most monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophonic verbs underwent partial and total reduplication and partial root (stem) multiplication to express mainly iterativity and pluractivity and multi-iterativity of actions and events. Likewise, ideophonic verbs that underwent total also deploy root (stem) multiplication. This total ideophonic verb roots (stems) multiplication is an extension of total reduplication. Moreover, in the languages under the study, partial and total reduplication is verbal function but partial and total root (stems) multiplication is an adverbial function. This can be observed in the following description.

Total ideophonic verb root/stem multiplication

	Language	Root/stem	Reduplication	Total root/stem multiplication
[47] (a)	Amharic	k ^w a- 'Snap'	k ^w a-k ^w a- snap-snap	k ^w ak ^w ak ^w a... al-ə IDEO.snap-snap-snap-snap say:PFV-3SGM 'It snapped multiple times.'
(b)	Kafa	k ^á 'Snap'	k ^á -ká- snap-snap	k ^à k ^à k ^à ák ^á ... íí-h-è IDEO.snap-snap-snap-snap say:PFV-3SGM 'It snapped multiple times'
(c)	Oromo	tʃ [̃] a 'Slap'	tʃ [̃] a-tʃ [̃] a- slap-slap	tʃ [̃] a tʃ [̃] a tʃ [̃] a tʃ [̃] a... god-e IDEO.slap-slap-slap...made:PFV-3SGM 'He slapped (it) several times.'

As observed in [47], total stem multiplication is the extension total reduplication. In all three languages, total ideophonic verb stem multiplication involves repetition of entire stems without any change. The non-reduplicated form shows single action or an event but the reduplicated ideophonic stems show iterative and pluractive actions and events. They also combine with auxiliaries 'say' and 'do' to have verbal functions. As the result of the study illustrates total ideophonic verb root/stem multiplication in each language that combines with auxiliaries show multi-iterative intensive manners of actions and extreme pluractivity. Specifically in Amharic, multiplied ideophonic verbs stem with vocalic element /ə/ show multi-iterative attenuative manners of actions. Precisely ideophonic verb stem that underwent multiplication and combined with auxiliaries have adverbial function. Moreover, as noted above some nouns reduplicate and combine with auxiliary 'say' to show taste and smell in the three languages and also to show some internal feelings in Amharic. Consider the following discussion.

5.4.7. Total noun reduplication

As the result of the finding shows, reduplication of certain nouns is a common morphological process in the ideophones of the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. In this morphological process, some simple nouns reduplicate and combine with the auxiliary 'say' to show the sensation of certain tastes and smells. In Amharic simple nouns, such as **mar** 'honey', **wuha** 'water', **tʃ[̃]əw** 'salt', **dəm** 'blood' and **afər** 'soil' are common nouns that undergo total reduplication and compounding with auxiliary al-ə 'say' to denote the tastes of some sorts of food or substances. In

these types, the ideophonic meaning comes not only from the reduplicated nouns but also from the entire structure.

Similarly, as observed in the morphological description of Kafa ideophones the same nouns such as **ééjò** ‘honey’, **áátj’ò** ‘water’, **dámòò** ‘blood’ and **ǰáwòò** ‘soil’ reduplicate and combined with auxiliary **íí-h-è** ‘say’ to show tastes of some food items and substances. As the finding of the study shows, some morphophonological processes take place in this ideophone structures type. These are in the reduplicated forms consonants /j/, /tʃ/ and /n/ are changed to consonant /tʃ/, the nominalizing suffix /-o/ is dropped and terminal vowel /-a/ is attached to the end of the reduplicated word. In addition to this, the consonant sound /tʃ/ underwent reduplication and hence /tʃ/ ⇒ /tʃtʃ/ in the reduplicated forms.

Likewise, in Oromo ideophones also denote some taste and smells through reduplicating simple nouns and compounding the reduplicated nouns with auxiliary **dzed-e** ‘say’. In this process, some nouns, such as **damma** ‘honey’, **sogidda** ‘salt’ **bifan** ‘water’ **bijjoo** ‘soil’ reduplicate and compounded with auxiliary **dzed-e** ‘say’. Consider the examples in [47 and 48] below.

Total simple noun reduplication to express tastes in Amharic, Kafa and Oromo ideophones

	Language	Simple nouns	Reduplicated nouns/Ideophones
[48] (a)	Amharic	mar ‘Honey’	mar-mar al-ə IDEO.honey-honey say:PFV-3SGM ‘It has honey tast’
(b)	Kafa	ééjòò ‘Honey’	éétʃtʃ-éétʃtʃ-a íí-h-è IDEO.honey-honey-TV say:PFV-3SGM It has honey taste’
(c)	Oromo	damma ‘Honey’	damma-damma dzed-e IDEO.Honey-honey say:PFV-3SGM ‘It has honey taste.’

As can be observed in [48], the languages under the study underwent some nouns to express certain tastes. In these languages, sweet tastes are expressed in relation with honey. As pointed out above, certain nouns are also reduplicated to express different smells. Consider the following examples in [49].

Total simple noun reduplication to express smell in Amharic, Kafa and Oromo ideophones

	Language	Simple nouns	Reduplicated nouns/Ideophones
[49] (a)	Amharic	it'an 'Incense'	it'an-it'an al-ə IDEO .incense-incense say: PFV-3SGM 'It has incense smell.'
(b)	Kafa	ʃittò 'Perfume'	ʃittò-ʃittò j-e IDEO.perfume-perfume-TV say: PFV-3SGM 'It has perfume smell.'
(c)	Oromo	it'aana 'Incense'	it'aana-it'aana dzed-e IDEO.incense-incense say: PFV-3SGM 'It has incense smell.'

As can be observed in [49] in the languages under the study nouns that are popular for their smells are reduplicated and combined with the auxiliary 'say' to denote different smells.

5.4.8. Summary

As the result of the study shows Amharic, Kafa and Oromo ideophones deploy the same morphological processes. These are compounding, derivation, reduplication and inflectional morphology. However, the three languages also show some similarities and differences in these morphological processes. With regard to compounding Amharic, Kafa and Oromo ideophonic bound verb stems necessarily compound with auxiliaries to have complete verb readings. In compounding morphological process, Amharic and Kafa show more similarities than Oromo does. The two languages have compound ideophonic verb stems that lack in Oromo ideophonic verbs. As the result of the finding depicts, the two languages have compound antonymous ideophonic verb stems types that shows similarity. However, Amharic ideophones comprises other two compound ideophonic verbs stem types that are specific to it. These are compound synonymous ideophonic verb stems and other (non-antonymous or non-synonymous) compound ideophonic verb stems that lack in Kafa and Oromo.

In addition to this, Amharic and Kafa have compound bare ideophones that lack in Oromo. The two languages also differ by the type of compound bare ideophones they have. Most compound bare ideophones in Amharic are ideophonic nouns but those found in Kafa are adjectival ideophones.

Moreover, derivation is a productive morphological process in the languages under the study. In Amharic, attenuative and intensive ideophonic verb stems are derived for the verb roots via gemination the ultimate and/or the penultimate radicals of the roots. In Amharic, ideophonic verb stems are derived from the regular verb roots but most ideophonic verbs in Kafa and Oromo are formed from lexicalized ideophonic roots. In addition to this, nominal ideophones are derived from ideophonic verbs stems or ideophonic verbs through attaching the verb nominalizing morphemes (NMLZ) to the ideophonic verb stems or to the auxiliaries. In addition to this Oromo derives adjectival ideophones via attaching adjectivalizing morpheme **-isaa** to the ideophonic bound stems.

Furthermore, reduplication is another major morphological process in the languages under the study. That is all the three languages underwent partial and total reduplication in ideophonic word formation. As the result of the finding shows in this study, reduplication is approached in two ways. The first is from the perspective of the reduplicating structures those are partial and total forms (segments/consonantal radicals, syllables, roots/stems and words). The second the number of reduplications of these forms those are reduplication and multiplication. The languages under the study show similarities on the number of reduplication. However, they showed some basic difference on the reduplicating forms (structures), on the internal structure that the reduplication affects, and the degree of complexity of the reduplicating structures.

One of the basic difference in these languages is only Amharic ideophones deploys partial reduplication that involves (segment/consonantal radical) reduplication to derive attenuative and intensive ideophonic verb stem formation. Kafa and Oromo lack attenuative ideophones and intensive ideophonic verb forms. Kafa shows intensity through high tone bearing vowels and through reduplication and multiplication of these forms. Oromo shows intensity of actions, through high pitch bearing segments and via reduplication and multiplication of forms. On the other hand, the three languages under the study undergo partial stem reduplication to show

iterativity, pluractivity, distribution and continuance. However, Amharic undergoes partial stem reduplication to show iterative attenuative and intensive actions. The three languages also undergo partial stem multiplication to show multi iterative actions, extreme pluractivity and extreme distributions and continuance. Here also Amharic specifically undergoes partial stem multiplication to show multi iterative attenuative and intensive action and events. Thus, partial reduplication in Amharic includes segment and syllable reduplications but in Kafa and Oromo, partial reduplication is only syllable reduplication. In these languages, partial reduplication involves vowel harmony.

As the result of the finding depicts, all the languages under the study undergo total reduplication to show iterativity, pluractivity, intensity, distribution and continuance. In this respect, all languages reduplicate the entire ideophonic verb stems without any change. In addition to this, all ideophonic verb stems typically undergo multiplication of the entire stems to show multi iterative actions, extreme pluractional events, extreme distribution and continuance. Moreover, Amharic undergoes total stem multiplication to show multi iterative attenuative and intensive actions and events. As the result of the study depicts partial and total stem reduplication shows verbal functions but partial and total stem multiplications shows an adverbial functions.

To sum up, the languages under the study show a very close relationship in simple noun reduplication to show tastes and smells. As pointed out in the preceding section simple nouns that denote well known tastes and smells undergo total reduplication and compound with the auxiliary ‘say’ to denote the tastes and smells of certain food items and other substances in relation with the described food items and substances.

Chapter six: The syntax of ideophones

6.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the syntax of the ideophones of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo. As the literature shows, the syntactic properties of ideophones seem different cross-linguistically. Childs (1994:188) notes that the syntax of ideophones is at large language-specific and does not help delimit ideophones as a class in cross-linguistic studies. As (Bodomo 2006:3, Franck 2014:15 and Moses 2015:171) described, ideophones are characterized to have syntactic aloofness, such that they do not enter into any phrase structure and they cannot be modified by other words. In addition to this, the grammatical status of ideophone is also diverse in different languages. According to Newman (1968:108), ideophones do not form major word classes but they form subclasses such as ideophonic nouns, ideophonic verbs, ideophonic adjectives, and ideophonic adverbs. Similarly, Azeb (2001:49) reports that Wolaitta ideophones do not form major word classes but they are parts of the other major word classes. In Wolaitta, group I ideophones are syntactically and semantically the same as adjectives Azeb (2001:57). On the other hand, group II ideophones are syntactically and semantically the same as verbs/converbs according to Azeb (2001:59).

Moreover, some scholars also reported the distributional restrictions of ideophones in different sentence types. Childs (1994:168,188) reports that in Kisi ideophones prominently exist in declarative sentences but they are absent in questions and negative sentences. On the other hand, Ameka (2001:26) notes that in Ewe ideophones exist in affirmative, negative, interrogative, and imperative sentences. In the same way, Desalegn (2020:77) reports that Kambata ideophones exist in declarative, negative, interrogative, and imperative sentence types.

As the following description shows, it seems that ideophones of the languages under study exist in all sentence types without restrictions. Furthermore, as scholars like Dingemanse (2017:196), reported ideophones have syntactic aloofness. They often occur in utterance final position and they remain not deeply embedded in clause structures. However, as the following description illustrates, the syntactic properties of the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic language ideophones seem different from the above generalizations. This chapter deals with the description and comparison

of the syntactic properties of ideophones in the three languages. Like what has been done in the preceding phonological and morphological chapters, this chapter is also divided into four sections. The first section presents the syntactic properties of Amharic ideophones, the second section deals with that of Kafa ideophones, the third with the syntactic properties of Oromo ideophones and the fourth one presents the cross-linguistic comparison and discussion on the findings in the syntax of the three languages.

Typologically, the three languages have the SOV word order. In addition, the distributions and the syntactic functions of ideophones are examined in light of this pattern. From the structural perspective, the distribution of ideophones across argument and predicate construction is examined. From a functional perspective, the syntactic function (role) of ideophones within the argument and predicate structure is considered. This includes the syntactic function of the ideophones in a sentence as ideophonic nouns, the oblique functions of ideophones, ideophonic verbs, and ideophonic adjectives, and the adverbial functions of ideophonic verbs. This study also delves into the role of ideophones in structures of complex predicate. The study looks into the role of ideophones in transitive and intransitive predicate constructions. Likewise, the distribution of ideophones in different types of sentences, such as declarative, interrogative, imperative, command, and exclamatory sentences will be examined. In general, the following are the focus of the chapter.

1. The structural distribution and syntactic function of ideophones
2. Ideophones in a complex predicate construction
3. Ideophone in transitive and intransitive verb constructions
4. The distributions of ideophones in different sentence types

In this chapter, the syntax of Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo ideophones are presented based on the above-stated four points respectively.

6.1. The Syntax of Amharic ideophones

In Amharic, ideophones constitute the argument and the predicate slots. Nominal (bare) ideophones can be either the subject or the object of the verb. On the other hand, the vast majority of Amharic ideophones are ideophonic verbs. These ideophonic verbs constitute the predicate slot and function as verbs, adverbs, or as adjectives.

6.1.1. The structural distribution and syntactic functions

As indicated above, nominal ideophones in Amharic constitute the subject and the object arguments in a clause (sentence). In the structure of a noun phrase (NP), the noun is a mandatory element. Thus, either the (NP) can be formed by only the mandatory syntactic head (N) or the (NP) and other modifiers that go with it. Ideophonic noun phrases (NP) also have oblique functions. On the other hand, verbal ideophones constitute the predicates slot. In this slot, ideophonic verbs strictly collocate with auxiliary verb. In this language, ideophones constitute the basic elements of a sentence that is as the subject and verb or as adjuncts. That means they occur as adjectives or adverbs of intensity, within a sentence.

6.1.1.1. Ideophonic nouns

As noted above in Amharic most nominal ideophones are onomatopoeic (derived) ideophones and they form a noun phrase (NP) as in the following sentences.

1. **dudu-te-wotftf-u** **mətt'-u**

IDEO.dudu-NMLZ-PL-DEF come:PFV-3PL

‘The rain birds came.’

2. **kaka-te-wa** birr al-ə-ətʃ

IDEO-kaka-NMLZ-DEF:3SGF IDEO:fly.PFV-3SGF

‘The bird flew away.’

As can be observed in [1 and 2] the nominal ideophonic nouns constitute the argument slots of the sentences. The nominal ideophone in [1] is derived from the **du-du** sound imitated from the rain bird via attaching the nominalizer morpheme (NMLZ) **-te**. This nominal ideophone is also

inflected for number, gender, and case. The nominal ideophone in [2] is derived from the repeated sounds (chattering of the birds) **ka-ka** via suffixing the nominalizer morpheme (NMLZ) **-te**. It is also inflected for gender and number. These nominal ideophones formed the noun phrases (NP) in the sentences. As can be observed from the examples, ideophones also show similar properties to the non-ideophones nouns of the language. That is they deploy inflectional morphology. In addition to this, nominal ideophones can also be modified as in the following example. In the structure [3] below, the subject (NP) is an ideophones noun specified by a quantifier **bizu** ‘many’ occurring preceding it, unlike the subject nouns in [1 and 2] above where the definite markers occur following them.

3. **bizu k’irak’imbo** izzih all-ə
 many IDEO:cluttered:stuff LOC-here exist-3SGM
 ‘Many cluttered stuff exists here.’

In [3], the nominative ideophone [**k’irak’imbo**] ‘cluttered stuff’ is the head of the noun phrase (NP) as well as the subject of the existential clause. The ideophone **k’irak’imbo** looks like a reduplication of a syllabic structure, /CiC /⇒ /CiC- a- CiC-/ , where the vowel /a/ serves as a linker of the two syllables. Other reduplicated forms like /sir-a-sir/ ‘root types’ and /til-a-til/ ‘types of worms’ support this claim. The reference of such reduplicated forms is to a cluster of objects of the same type littered around. Such forms as **k’irak’imbo** do not take the plural marker **-otf**, partly because their reference is to the entire cluster and not to some specific parts of it. All the above ideophones constituted the attribute and they are categorically nominal ideophones occurring as subjects.

6.1.1.2. Ideophonic verbs

In Amharic, the vast majority of ideophones are ideophonic verbs. They exist in the form of compound ideophonic verbs derived from invariable ideophone verb stems and the auxiliary verbs **al-** ‘say’ and **adərrəg-** ‘do/make’. Syntactically, they constitute the predicate slot and functioning as main verbs as in the following examples.

4. tomas wajn-u-n **tʃ'illitt'** adərrəg-ə-w
 Thomas wine-DEF-ACC IDEO.drink make:PFV-3SGM-3SGMO
 'Thom drank the wine completely.'
5. ʃama-w **k'illitt' al-ə**
 candle-DEF melt say:PFV-3SGM
 'The candle melted completely.'

The examples in [4 and 5] show that the compound ideophonic verbs **tʃ'illitt' adərrəgəw** 'drink completely' and **k'illitt' alə** 'completely melted' occur as a verbal predicate. In this structure, the bound stems **tʃ'illitt-** 'drink' and **k'illitt'-** 'melt' are the ideophonic bound stems that cannot inflect for agreement. However, the second element of the compound shows the grammatical aspect and agreement with the subject. In such compound verbs, the first member, that is the ideophonic bound stems, carry the main semantic meanings. In short, Amharic ideophonic verbs constitute the predicate slots and function as main verbs. In other structures, ideophones can function as noun intensifiers, which is described next.

6.1.1.3. Ideophonic adjectives

As noted above Amharic ideophones can function as nouns modifiers (adjunct). However, in some languages, ideophones either cannot be modified by other words or cannot modify other words in the language, which mean they only constitute the core elements of the syntax. In contrast to this, in Amharic ideophones play an adjectival function. Consider the following examples.

6. mamo **dənbərbarra** lidʒ nəw
 mamo IDEO:confued lidʒ COP
 'Mamo is confused boy.'

Here also in [6] the ideophone **dənbərbarra** 'confused' is ideophonic adjective, which modifies the proper noun Mamo. From the above example, it is clear that in the language ideophonic adjectives modify the nouns they follow. In addition to this, reduplicated and relativized verbal ideophones can occur as intensifiers of attributes of nouns. Consider the following example.

7. **molla bitʃʷitʃʷ jə-al-ə k'əjj nə-w**
 Molla IDEO.deep red REL-say:PFV-3SGM red be-3SGM
 Lit. 'Molla is extremely red.' / 'Molla is very /deep red'

As can be observed [7], the ideophone **bitʃʷitʃʷ** is a reduplication of **bitʃ-** which is the base for the color noun **bitʃʷ** 'yellow'. The verbal form is derived by reduplicating/geminating the coda of the syllable [**bitʃ**] ⇒ [**bitʃitʃʷ**]. The derived form serves as an expression of the degree of redness. In the complex adjectival phrase, the head is **k'əjj** 'red', and the ideophone **bitʃʷitʃʷ** 'deep red', occurs with the relativized verb to say, **jə-al-ə**, which modifies the adjective **k'əjj** 'red' in degree. Like in the regular language, in the syntax of ideophones, ideophonic verbs function as ideophonic adverbs. Thus, most adverbial functions are expressed in other word classes like reduplicated ideophonic verbs. Consider the following description.

6.1.1.4. The adverbial functions of ideophonic verbs

As pointed out above, in Amharic, ideophones can occur in the predicate slot and modify the verbal head as in the following example.

8. **babur-u ʃiww bil-o alləf-ə**
 train-IDEO:swift say:COMPL pass:PFV-3SGM
 'The train passed swiftly.'

In [8], the verb **alləfə** 'passed' is modified by the ideophonic verb with ideophonic adverbial function **ʃiww bilo** 'swiftly'. This ideophonic word expresses the very fast manner of the train's motion. Other reduplicated ideophonic verbs also have adverbial functions. They express how something is performed. In the preceding section, we have seen the distributions and functions of ideophones in the syntax of the language. In the language, ideophones also have oblique functions consider the following description.

6.1.1.5. The oblique functions of Amharic ideophones

The grammatical relationship of a noun phrase (NP) that is neither the subject nor the direct object of a verb is known as an oblique function in grammar. These NPs are frequently identified by a case inflection or a preposition, which is why they are called oblique. In Amharic, ideophones have oblique functions. Consider the following example.

9. **bə-tʃʼatʃata-w məhal** bizu tʃigǝr tə-fəttʼər-ə
 with-IDEO:noise middle many problem PASS-creat:PFV-3SGM
 ‘Many problems happened with in the noise.’

As can be observed from example [9], the noun phrase, **bə-tʃʼatʃata-w məhal** has oblique function. In this sentence, it is neither subject nor object but it simply gives additional information. As noted above in Amharic, ideophones also play very important role in complex predicate construction. Consider the following descriptions.

6.1.1.6. Ideophones in a complex predicate construction

Mengistu, Baker, and Harvey (2010) pointed out the lack of a widely agreed-upon definition of complex predicate and the absence of a standard set of parameters to classify a given structure as complex predicate or not. However, (Rice 2010 and Butt et al. 2010) tried to define complex predicate as a term used to refer to a structure that contains two or more predicational elements (such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives) which predicate as a single constituent in mono clausal syntactic structure. This section deals with the role of ideophones in a complex predicate construction. As the finding of the study depicts, Amharic ideophonic verbs construct complex predicates. In Amharic, ideophones constitute the V_1 position and auxiliaries usually constitute the V_2 position in a complex predicate construction. In such structures, complex predicate constitutes V_1+V_2 composites. Where V_1 (ideophone) can be simple, reduplicated, or compound form. The V_2 (auxiliary) are regularly **al-** ‘say’ and **adərrəg-** ‘do/make’. In complex predicates, ideophones carry the main semantic load and the auxiliary carries other grammatical functions like agreements and aspects. Syntactically, ideophones have different functions in the complex predicate. Consider the following descriptions.

10. lidʒ-u **dibbikkʼ** al-ə
 boy-DEF IDEO.hide say:PFV-3SGM
 ‘The boy hides completely.’

In this structure [10], the ideophonic bound stem **dibbikkʼ-** ‘hide’ constitutes the base, with which the auxiliary (light verb) [al-ə] ‘say’ forms the complex verbal predicate /**dibbikkʼal-ə**/ that projects an intransitive VP. In the syntax of the language, the head of a phrase follows its modifiers or complement when there is one. In the above structure of the verb phrase, the

auxiliary (light verb) *al-* 'say' is the head and the ideophones bound stem **dibbikk'**- 'hide' with geminate consonant functions both as a verb and an adverb of the intensity of action, or attribute of the agent/subject of the clause. In other words, **dibbikk'al-** is both verbal and adverbial; the latter coming from the gemination of the consonants /bb/ and /k'k'/. In the above, the complex predicate has one base. There are, however, instances of complex predicates of bases of total reduplications and auxiliaries. The following is an example of such constructions.

11. *birtukan-u firritt'-firritt'* *al-ə*
orange-DEF IDEO.burst:apart–break: apart say:PFV-3SGM
'The orange burst completely repeatedly'

As can be observed in [11], the complex predicate consists of the reduplicated ideophonic bound stem **firritt'-firritt'**- 'break apart completely' and the auxiliary (light verb) *al-ə* 'say'. The total reduplication of the base shows the repeated instances of the breaking apart of the subject noun *birtukan-u* 'the orange'.

12. *bet-u firisrisriss...* *al-ə*
Houses-DEF IDEO.destroy say:PVF-3SGM
'The house is completely demolished.'

In structures like in [12], the base form of the complex predicate undergoes partial reduplication to show the intensity or frequency of action. In such a structure, the base form of the complex predicate undergoes reduplication of its penult and ultimate consonants of the root. The reduplication can continue indefinitely until the speaker feels that he/she has said enough of the intensity of the action or attribute of the agent. In addition to this, in the syntax of the language, ideophones can also occur with nouns of instrumental function as in the following example.

13. *kasa dinnizz bə al-ə missar zaf k^worrət'-ə*
kasa IDEO.blunt INST.with say:PFV-3SGM *ax tree cut:PFV-3SGM*
'Kasa cut a tree with a blunt ax.'

As can be observed in [13], the structure **dinnizz bə al-ə missar** 'with blunt ax' is a prepositional phrase of instrumental function, where the complex ideophonic predicate occurs as head of a

relative clause modifying the instrumental noun. Moreover, ideophones can also be found in relative clauses of complex predicates occurring with a dative noun phrase as in the following examples.

14. **dikkimm lə al-ə-w** lidz miḡib sit'ə-w
 IDEO.tried DAT.to say: PFV-3SGM-3SGMO boy food give-3SGMO
 'Give food to the exhausted boy.'

As can be seen in [14], the relative clause structure, **dikkimm lə al-ə-w** 'to the one who is completely exhausted' has the modifying function to the dative noun phrase. From this evidence, we can say that complex ideophones predicates can serve as the head of a clause that defines a noun phrase of dative functions. In addition to the role of predication in relative clauses, ideophones can also occur as the head of transitive or intransitive verbal constructions. The following section presents such constructions.

6.1.1.7. Ideophones in intransitive and transitive verb construction

In Amharic, ideophones serve as input in the construction of intransitive verbs where they combine with the verb to say, **al-**. The ideophone base can be simple or reduplicated. When reduplicated it shows repeated and/or intensive action. Consider the following intransitive structures.

15. bet-u **mokk'-mokk'** al-ə
 house-DEF IDEO.warm-warm say:PFV-3SGM
 Lit.'The house warm-warm said'/'The house became lively'

As can be observed in [15], the subject is patient undergoing the states that the ideophonic complex predicate expresses. In contrast to this, transitive complex ideophones predicates are derived with the verb 'to do or make.' Such transitive predicates select a complement NP of the accusative case and a subject NP that is in an unmarked nominative case. Consider the following example.

16. muse mäs'haf-u-n **biddigg** adərrəg-ə
 moes book-DEF-ACC pick made:PFV-3SGM
 'Moses picked up the book.'

In structure [16] above, the transitive ideophones predicate which is derived with the light verb adərrəg- 'do/make' expresses an event of intensity caused by the agent subject. Furthermore, some ideophone bases occur without the light verb in structures of proverbs like the following.

17. wət'-u si-al ji-wətəwət' wəskənbija-w **k'it'itt'**
 sauce-DEF CONJ-NEG 3SGM-cooked:be cover-DEF IDEO:squat
 Lit. 'Before the sauce is sauced the 'injera' cover pops up'
 'Before the sauce is made the 'injera' cover pops up.'

In [17] **k'it'itt'** is an ideophone of squatting and it occurs without the verb 'to say' which carries the tense and the agreement elements. With **wəskənbija-w** 'the cover' occurring as the subject, the structure looks like below.

18. wəskənbija-w **k'it'itt'** al-ə
 cover-DEF IDEO.squat say:PFV-3SGM
 Lit. 'The cover said squatted'
 'The cover popped up'

In [18], the absence of the verb to say, **al-**, turns the clause into a reduced structure of idiomatic/proverbial function. When the structure occurs with the complex ideophones predicate, it looks like the following:

19. wəskənbija-w wət'-u si-al-ji-wət'əwwət' **k'it'itt'** al-ə
 cover-DEF stew-DEF CONJ-NEG-3SGM-stew:IMPF squat say:PFV-3SGM
 Lit. 'The cover popped up while the stew not having been cooked yet'
 'The cover popped up while the stew not having been cooked yet.'

As can be observed in [19] the complex ideophonic predicate **k'it'itt' al-ə** ‘popped up’ **occurs** as a head of the VP of the main clause, which the complex predicate clause modifies. From such structures, one can understand that ideophones can serve as pragmatic (proverbial/idiomatic) functions. For someone who knows the order of things in setting up a dining table, structures like [19] imply disorderliness since it suggests that a lid/cover of a saucepan cannot come forth before the sauce is made which reminds one of the English sayings putting ‘the cart before the horse.’ As noted above, in some languages ideophones occur in declarative sentences. In other languages, ideophones happen in an interrogative sentence and the like. However, this is different in the syntax of Amharic ideophones. The following description illustrates the distributions of ideophones in different sentence types. Consider the following descriptions.

6.1.1.8. The distribution of ideophones in different sentence types

One syntactic property of ideophones in general concerns their restricted distribution. It is reported in Childs (1994:188), that ideophones are excluded from negative and interrogative structures. Contrary to this claim, Amharic ideophones seem to occur in all types of structures as the following examples demonstrate.

20. s'igerəda-w-a zare **fikkit** al-ətʃtʃ
 rose-3SG-F today IDEO.bright say:PFV-3SGM
 Lit. ‘The rose today blossomed - brisk.’
 ‘The rose blossomed-brisk today’

As can be observed in [20] ideophones occur in declarative affirmative sentences in the syntax of the language. Similarly, ideophones also happen in negative sentences as in the following example.

21. s'igerəda-w -a zare **fikkit** al-al-ətʃtʃ-im
 rose-DEF-3SGF today IDEO.bright NEG-say:PFV-3SGM-NEG
 ‘The rose did not blossom-brisk today.’

From the description in [21], we can see ideophones also occur in negative sentence types. Unlike the above in Childs (1994) claims, in Amharic syntax, ideophones can also occur in interrogative sentences as in the following sentence.

- 22 jih-n dɪŋaj man kə-izih **kɪbɪll** adərrəg-ə -w?
 this-ACC stone who from-this IDEO.roll make:PFV-3SGM-SGMO
 ‘Who moved this stone from here?’

As can be observed in [22], ideophones form complex predicates in interrogative sentences. Similarly, ideophones can also occur in the complex predicates of imperative sentences as in the following example.

- 23 ɪdʒdʒ-h-n **kəff** adɪrg.
 hand-POSS-ACC IDEO: raise make
 ‘Your hand up make slightly (Raise your hand slightly)’

As can be observed in [23] in the language, like in other sentences noted above ideophones exist in imperative sentence types. In general, Amharic ideophones do not show any distributional restrictions in different sentence types. From this, we can say that the syntactic properties of ideophones are highly language-specific in their grammatical categorization and syntactic functions.

6.1.2. Summary

As the result of the finding shows, Amharic ideophones occur both as subject and object argument slots in clauses. Ideophones also occur in the form of simple or complex predicates in clauses. Most ideophonic nouns that occur in the subject and object positions are derived onomatopoeic nominal ideophones. These ideophones can happen as an NP by themselves or follow all noun modifiers and projecting noun phrases. In Amharic, ideophones also have oblique functions. Syntactically, ideophones occur in relative clauses that modify noun phrases with various semantic functions such as instrumental, goal, locative, etc. As predicates, verbal ideophones have various functions. They function as ideophonic verbs, ideophonic adverbs, and ideophonic adjectives. In the language, simple ideophonic verbs undergo reduplication to express intensive, attenuative, and iterative manners of actions or states. Most ideophonic verbs deploy partial or total reduplication functions as adverbs of manner. As the result of the finding depicts, ideophonic verb stems compound with auxiliaries. In such complex predicates, the ideophonic verb stems carry the main semantic loads and the auxiliaries carry all grammatical functions, such as agreement and tense/aspect features that specify the verb and its arguments. In Amharic proverbial expressions, ideophonic verbs can stand alone and function as tense-less main verbs.

In Amharic, ideophones come in transitive and intransitive forms in independent and/or subordinate clauses of adverbial functions such as intensity, iterativity, etc. Such clauses leave their base position and occur preceding the main clause, which they modify. In the language, ideophones occur without any distributional restriction. They occur in affirmative, negative, and imperative clauses. This goes contrary to the claims of (Bodomo 2006:3 and Moses 2015:171) that ideophones have restricted distributions. Furthermore, the syntax of Amharic ideophones deviates from general claims like Childs (1994:188) which states the syntax of ideophones as worthless linguistic features for cross-linguistic studies.

6.2. The Syntax of Kafa ideophones

The syntactic characteristics of Kafa ideophones are discussed in this section. The structural distribution and syntactic roles of Kafa ideophones are used in this work to analyze their syntax. Ideophones are employed in the language's complex predicate construction as well as its transitive and intransitive construction, as the description that follows demonstrates. Ideophones' unrestricted distributions across various phrase kinds are also noted in the study. Consider the following descriptions.

6.2.1. The syntactic distribution and the syntactic function

As the result of the finding shows like in Amharic, in Kafa ideophones are distributed across arguments and predicates slots. In the arguments and predicate slots, they have different syntactic functions. Ideophones that constitute the argument slot can have subject or object status. On the other hand, ideophones that constitute the predicate slot can have either verb or adverbial status. This sub-section delves into these distributions of ideophones within a clause or sentence. Consider the following descriptions.

6.2.1.1. Ideophonic nouns

As we have noted in the previous chapters Kafa ideophones encompasses ideophonic nouns. These ideophonic nouns also constitute the function as subject as the following examples illustrate.

24. **jófjóf-è** gònd-gònd-a kaf-è nè
IDEO.bat-3SGF bad-bad-TV bird-SGF COP
'Bat is a very bad type of bird.'

The ideophonic noun **jófjóf-è** 'bat' in [24] is derived from the irregular wing moment and sound of the wing flap of a bat **jóf-jófe**. This sound symbolic ideophonic noun constituted in the argument slot and formed an NP. It is also the subject of the predicate. Like any non-ideophonic nouns of the language, determiners, such as deictic, quantifiers, and adjectives, can modify ideophonic noun (NP) that constitutes the argument slot as in the following example.

25. mèn gíjìjì mètj'ér-èè **wákk'ákk'**-è-naʔo jiiitʃj wáá-t-èètè
 those-small green-TV IDEO:frog-3SGF-3PL yesterday come-PFV-PL-3SGM-PL
 'Those small green frogs came yesterday.'

The nominal ideophone in [25] is derived from the **wákk'-wákk'** repeated sound produced by the small creatures (frogs). Like in Amharic, most nominal ideophones in the language are also onomatopoeic nominal ideophones. As we can see from the above example, the subject nominal ideophone **wákk'ákk'enaʔo** 'frogs' is specified by determiners deictic (those) size adjective (small) and color adjective (green) respectively. In such a structure, an ideophonic noun is the head of the noun phrase (NP). From the structure, we observe that Kafa nouns are headed final. As pointed out above, in the language, ideophones also constitute the predicate slot in the syntax as presented in the following subsection.

6.2.1.2. Ideophonic verbs

The great majority of Kafa ideophones are ideophonic verbs. Syntactically, these ideophonic verbs make up the predicate slots. They occur in the syntax as compound ideophonic verbs. Look at the following examples.

26. buʃ-òò **gúgúmm** íi-h-è
 boy-3SGM IDEO-fall say:PFV-3SGM
 'The boy falls completely.'

As can be observed from [26], the ideophonic verb **gúgúmm-íi-h-è** 'fall completely' constituted the predicate slot and formed the VP with auxiliary **íi-h-è** 'say'. In the preceding sections, we have noted that Kafa ideophonic verbs combine with auxiliaries **íi-h-è** 'say' **áj-h-è** 'do/make' to make compound verbs. Ideophonic verbs that constitute the predicate slot can be modified by adverbs like any other verbs of the prosaic language as in the following example.

27. hín búʃ-òò t'úm óógítʃi **tʃ'illí tʃ'illí tʃ'illí** ii ééppi-t-è
 this boy-3SGM night greatly IDEO:noise,noiset,noise-say:PFV-3SGM cry PFV-3SGM
 'This boy bitterly cried yesterday night.'

As can be observed in [27], the ideophonic verb in the complex predicate is modified by the adverb of manner **óógítjì** ‘greatly’. This adverb shows the manner how bitterly the boy cried. From this fact, we can say that in the syntax of the language, ideophones almost show the same syntactic behavior as regular verbs except for inflection. In the above descriptions, we have considered the distributions and functions of ideophones as ideophonic nouns and ideophonic verbs in the syntax of the language. In addition to this, ideophones can also function as ideophonic adjectives and ideophonic adverbs (adjuncts) in the syntax of the language. Let us start with ideophonic adjectives.

6.2.1.3. Ideophonic adjectives

As the following description illustrates, Kafa has some ideophonic adjectives in its syntax. These ideophonic words occur in the object argument of the complex predicate. Adjectival ideophones that occur in complex predicates can modify nouns or another adjective. This adjectival ideophones can be seen as adjective intensifiers. Consider the following example.

28. kasi-tʃtʃ ááff-òò **kénggéng** **ii-t-ø** tʃʷééllò né
 Kasa-GEN eye.NOM:3SGM IDEO: deep red say:PFV-3SGM red-3SGM COP
 ‘Kasa’s eye(s) are very red.’

As can be observed in [28], the adjectival ideophone **kénggéng** ‘deep red’ modifies the object noun **ááffòò** ‘eye’ in the object argument. This ideophonic adjective, **kénggéng** ‘deep red’ is ideophonic degree adjective and it shows the degree redness of Kasa’s eyes. In contrast to this, as we have considered in preceding sections in some languages ideophones cannot modify other word class. However, in Kafa some ideophonic adjectives can also modify another ideophone in the copular clause as in the following example.

29. maah-oo tʃʷ tʃʷúndibààtè túútè -n maa-t-e
 tiger-3SGM IDEO:small IDEO:rainbird-ACC eat:PFV-3SGM
 ‘The tiger eat a very small rain bird.’

As can be observed in [29], **tʃúndibààtè** ‘small/diminutive’ is ideophonic adjective of size and **túútè** ‘rainbird’ is ideophonic noun in the complex predicate. In this adjectival phrase, the head is **túútè** ‘rainbird’ and **tʃúndibààtè** ‘small/diminutive’ is adjectival ideophone that modifies the head noun **túútè** in the predicate slot. Moreover, as noted above ideophonic adverbs are common in the syntax of ideophones. Like any other adverb in the language, ideophones also modify verbs and show how something happens as the following sub-section presents.

6.2.1.4. The adverbial functions of ideophonic verbs

Like in Amharic, in Kafa some ideophonic verbs have adverbial functions. They show the manner how something happened or performed. Consider the following example.

30. mami féétt’-òò-n gínò-na **húpp’ aj-ø kóttʃi**
 Mamo monkey-3SGM-ACC spear INST: with IDEO make:PFV stab
 ‘Mamo pierced forcefully the monkey with the spear.’

The ideophonic verb **húpp’**-‘stab’ in [30], modifies the main verb **kóttʃi** ‘pierce’ in the complex predicate. In the language, some ideophonic verbs have almost synonymous meanings with the verbs they modify. In this sentence **húpp’**- ‘stab’ and **kóttʃi** ‘pierce’ are synonymous ideophonic and regular verbs respectively. As noted in earlier sections in the syntax of language ideophones play oblique function. Consider the following explanations and example.

6.2.1.5. The oblique functions of Kafa ideophones

Likewise Amharic, in Kafa ideophonic noun phrases (NP) ideophones have oblique functions. Consider the following example.

31. **wóddà illilè dágǵ-òtʃ** wodda àʃð ímmìr-h-é
 many IDEO:rejoice in-FOC many man happy:PFV-3SGM
 ‘In the middle of several ululations many people get happiness.’

As can be observed in [31], the ideophonic noun phrase **wóddà illilè dágǵ-òtʃ** is an oblique function. In this sentence, it gives additional meaning but it has no subjective or objective functions. Furthermore, in Kafa ideophones are also used in complex predicate construction. Consider the following description.

6.2.1.6. Ideophones in a complex predicate construction

As noted above Kafa, ideophones play very important roles in a complex predicate construction. As stated before, complex predicate is a structure that contains two or more predicational elements in mono clausal syntactic structure see Butt et al. (2010:76) and (Rice 2010:135). In complex predicate construction, ideophonic bound stems can be simple, compound, or reduplicated forms. They are further combined with auxiliaries to form complex predicate construction. Structurally the complex predicate comprises V_1+V_2 . Where V_1 is an ideophone verb stem and V_2 is an auxiliary like *íí-h-è* 'say' and *áj-h-è* 'do/make'. As we have seen in the preceding sections, the ideophone verb stems do not bear grammatical functions that mean they do not inflect for tense aspect and mood. The auxiliaries determine the category of the complex predicate as verbal.

- 32 *kasi màtʃ-é guúbb-ò-tʃ jètt' íí-h-è*
Kasa horse-3SGF back-3SGM-LOC IDEO:sat say:PFV-3SGM
'Kasa landed and sat quickly on the back of the horse.'

As can be seen from [32] the V_1+V_2 formed a complex predicate. As pointed out earlier the V_1 is the ideophonic bond stem *jètt'*- 'land on'. It is combined with the auxiliary *íí-h-è* 'say', to form the complex predicate. As noted above the ideophonic bound stem is a simple form but it does stand as a complete verb alone except for compounding with auxiliaries (V_2). From the structure, it is obvious that all the grammatical functions are carried out by the auxiliary verb. In addition to this, in complex predicate construction, the ideophonic bound stem can be in a compound form. These compound ideophonic verb stems constitute the V_1 space and they need to be compounded with auxiliaries (V_2) to have completed verbal meaning. Consider the following example.

33. *kasi kátém-ó-tʃ nápp'-júbúr íí-h-è*
kasa town-3SGM-LOC IDEO:go-IDEO:comeback say:PFV-3SGM
'Kasa went to the town and come back quickly.'

In example [33], the ideophonic verb stem **nápp’-júmbúr-** ‘went and comeback’ is a compound ideophonic bound stem. It is formed with two ideophonic bound stem **nápp’** ‘disappear’ and **júmbúr** ‘return suddenly’. As we have noted in the previously sections such structures are formed via compounding two ideophonic verb stems with opposite meanings. As the description shows, the V1 which itself is the combination $V_1+V_2=V_1$ is further combined with auxiliary verb V_2 to form complex predicate. Moreover, in complex predicate construction, the ideophonic verb stem further combines with auxiliary can in reduplicated form as in the following example.

34. kasi fátò-nà **wát-wát-wát** ... **íí-h-è**
 kasa fear with IDEO:tremble-tremble-termble...say:PFV-3SGM
 ‘Kasa trembled with fear for long time.’

As can be observed in [34], the ideophonic verb stem in the complex predicated that combined with the auxiliary is the result of total stem multiplication. As described above complex predicate has verbal and adverbial function in the syntax. In Kafa, ideophones construct transitive and intransitive verbs. Consider the following descriptions.

6.2.1.7. Ideophones in intransitive and transitive verb constructions

Like in Amharic, Kafa ideophones are also used as input in intransitive and transitive verb construction. In intransitive verb construction, ideophones usually combine with the auxiliary verb **íí-h-è** ‘say’ as in the following example.

35. kààmél-ó òppó-tf **dúdɔdɔ** **íí-h-è**
 car-3SGM hole-ABULT-into IDEO.enter say:PFV-3SGM
 ‘The car has fallen in the hole completely.’

As can be observed from [35] the ideophonic verb lacks an unaccusative object. The subject of the sentence **kààmél-ó** ‘car’ is self-agentive. On the other hand, Kafa ideophones are used as impute to form transitive verbs. The transitive verbs usually need a complement NP and a subject NP in the unmarked nominative case as in the following example.

36. buʃ-òò ʔùùt'-ò-n ʃìkòò ná búdd áj-h-è
 Boy-3SGM falsebanana-3SGM-ACC knife INST:with IDEO:cut made:PFV-3SGM
 'The boy cut off the false banana with a knife completely.'

In [36] the transitive ideophones verb **búdd áj-h-è** 'cut off completely' is derived from the ideophone bound stem *budd* 'cut off' and the causative auxiliary *áj-h-è* 'do/make'. In such constructions, the subject of the sentence actively performs the actions of the ideophonic verbs. The object is affected by the action of the subject. As stated before in some languages the distributions of ideophones are restricted to some sentence types. In Kafa, ideophones are found in all sentence types. This is shown in the examples shown below.

6.2.1.8. The distribution of ideophones in different sentences

As noted in the previous section ideophones are considered to have distributional restriction in certain sentence types. However, in Kafa they exist in all sentence types. As the following example shows, ideophones exist in declarative sentences.

37. **métʃtʃék-ò** óógà k'áàròò kíʃtʃí-h-è
 IDEO.bird-3SGM big voice produce-PFV-3SGM
 'Rain bird produces a big voice.'

As can be observed in [37], the nominal ideophone **métʃtʃék-ò** 'rain bird' constituted the subject argument in the declarative sentence. In the language, as in the above structure ideophones can exist in affirmative declarative sentences or in negative declarative sentences as in the following example.

38. **ménì** tʃ'úndíbaát'-è **buʃ-éé** **hánàtʃ** **wá-t-àtʃtʃ-èn**
 that IDEO.small-3SGF boy-3SG today come-PFV-NEG-3SGF
 'That small girl did not come today.'

As can be observed in [38], the ideophonic adjective **tʃ'úndíbaát'** 'diminutive /small' constituted in the subject argument slot as modifier of the subject noun *buʃ-éé* 'girl'. In the

language, many ideophone exist in negative declarative sentences. In Kafa, ideophones can also exist in interrogative sentences. Consider the following descriptions.

39. **t'ódzèn-ò jímaáj-ò-tj** hótj'ótj' ii-t-e?
 Star-3SGM sky -3SGM-LOC IDEO:appear abundantly say:PFV-3SGM ?
 'Did the galaxy appear in the sky abundantly?'

As can be observed in [39] ideophones are found in questions in the language. From the description, it is obvious that in the language ideophones exist in declarative and interrogative sentences. Similarly, Kafa ideophones are also distributed in imperative sentences as in the following example.

40. hin mit'o-n **kákár-kákár a-j-i** baddab-e
 this wood-ACC IDEO.split-split say.JUSS-3SGM split-2SGM
 'Split this wood quickly.'

Examples in [40] show the distributions of ideophones in imperative sentences. In the language, ideophones are also found in commands as the following sentence depicts.

41. **kópp** áj-b-è!
 IDEO.pick make:JUSS-3SGM
 'Take it up!'

From [41] we can see that in the language ideophone are used in a command. In command, ideophones had intensifying functions. Lastly, in the language ideophones are also distributed in exclamatory sentence types. The following examples show this.

- 42 ámè **tj'áttátt** ii-t-ø áttòò né?
 what IDEO.bitter say.PFV-3SGM drug COP
 'What a bitter drug is it?'

As can be observed from [42] ideophones are found in exclamatory sentences. From the entire description, we note that ideophones exist in all types of sentences. With this regard in Kafa ideophones do not show distributional restriction in various sentence types.

6.2.3. Summary

As the result of the finding shows, in Kafa ideophones constitute the argument and the predicate slots. Ideophones that constitute the argument slot construct a noun phrase (NP) and those that constitute the predicate slot construct a verb phrase (VP). The former has almost similar functions and syntactic properties with nouns in the non-ideophonic language. Moreover, ideophones that occur in the subject argument have a subject function and those that occur in the object argument have an objective function. In addition to this, Kafa ideophones also have oblique function in the syntax. Forming the noun phrase (NP), they add the meaning to the sentence.

On the other hand, ideophones that occur in the predicate slot have verbal or adverbial functions. In the syntax of the language, ideophones appear in relative clauses that modify noun phrases with various semantic functions such as instrumental, goal, locative, etc.

Syntactically, ideophones are used in complex predicate construction. In addition to this, they also construct transitive and intransitive verbs. As we have noted from the preceding descriptions ideophones that conjugate with auxiliary *í-h-è* 'say' construct intransitive verbs and those conjugate with auxiliary *áj-h-è* 'do/make' construct transitive verbs.

Moreover, as the result of the finding shows in the language ideophones are not restricted to some sentence types. They are found in affirmative and negative declarative, interrogative, imperative, command, and exclamatory sentences.

To sum up, in Kafa, syntactically ideophones construct phrases, clauses, and sentences. Syntactically, they have subjective, objective, adjectival, verbal, and adverbial functions. They construct complex predicates and they are found almost in all sentence types.

6.3. The Syntax of Oromo ideophones

This section presents the syntax of Oromo ideophones. As we have considered in the preceding descriptions, ideophones are special word classes in a language. These word classes show some syntactic distribution and functions in the syntax of a language.

6.3.1. The structural distribution and syntactic functions

In Oromo, ideophones do not show structural distributional restrictions across arguments and predicates of clauses/sentences. Functionally, ideophones in argument positions have almost similar functions to subject and object. Ideophones that constitute the predicate slot also have almost similar functions to verbs and adjectives. Consider the following examples.

6.3.1.1. Ideophonic nouns

In Oromo, several ideophonic nouns constitute in the subject and object argument slots. Most of these diaphonic nouns are onomatopoeic ideophones as in the following examples. Here, let us see subjective ideophonic nouns.

43. **haddudd-ee-n** barr-is-te
 IDEO-3SGF-NOM.pigeon fly-3SGF
 ‘The pigeon flew away.’

As can be observed from the structure in [43] the onomatopoeic ideophonic noun **hadudde** ‘pigeon’ is derived from the **du-du** sound produced by pigeons. This ideophonic noun occurs in the argument slot where it functions as a subject of the clause. As a (NP), it can occur with a modifier as in the following example.

44. **wanḡ-oo-n** ʔini gurraatʃa guddaa sun duf-e
 IDEO:fox-3SGM-NOM he black big DEM.that come:PFV-3SGM
 ‘That black big fox has come.’

As can be observed in [44], the onomatopoeic ideophonic noun **wanḡ** ‘fox’ is derived from the **wanḡ** ‘sound’ produced by the fox. Like Amharic and Kafa ideophonic nouns, Oromo ideophonic

nouns can be modified by the regular adjectives. In the language, quantifier, color, and size adjectives can occur with the onomatopoeic ideophonic noun. Typologically, Oromo head nouns occur preceding their modifiers like other non-ideophone nouns.

6.3.1.2. Ideophonic verbs

The vast majority of Oromo ideophones are ideophonic verbs. They are formed from bound stems that constitute the first member of a compound predicate with the auxiliaries' dzed-e 'say' and god-e 'do/make' as second member of the compound. These ideophonic verbs occur in the predicate slot and function as main verbs of a clause. Consider the following descriptions.

44. seree-n boojjee **gamm** god-e
 dog-NOM pig IDEO.capture made:PFV-3SGM
 'The dog captured the pig.'

The example in [44] illustrates the syntactic distributions of ideophones in the predicate slots. In such a structure, ideophonic bound stems often combine with auxiliaries and form ideophonic verbs or verb phrases (VP). In addition to this, any verb modifier in the regular language can modify such ideophonic verbs. Ideophones that constitute the predicate slot have verbal or adverbial functions. From the structure, it is obvious that the above ideophone has a verbal function. Moreover, ideophones that constitute the predicate slot can have adverbial functions. We will see this under the sub-section of adverbial ideophones. As noted above, in the languages there are also some ideophonic adjectives. Consider the following descriptions.

6.3.1.3. Ideophones adjective

Like Amharic and Kafa, Oromo ideophones also comprise ideophonic adjectives. In the syntax, these ideophonic adjectives constitute the argument slot and modify the head noun as in the following example.

45. abbaaa-n sangaa bifa **tʃ'otʃ'orree** bit-e
 abebe-NOM ox color IDEO: decorated buy-3SGM
 'Abebe bought an ox of stripped/decorated color.'

The description in [45] shows the occurrence of ideophones in the argument slot. This ideophone occurs with a color adjective *bifa* 'color' and modifies the noun in the object argument *sanga* 'ox'. As pointed out in the preceding section, in the language ideophone that constitutes an object argument can function as an object or an adjective. Therefore, the ideophones word **tʃotʃoree** 'stripped/decorated' has a similar syntactic function to adjectives of the regular language. Oromo ideophones also encompass ideophonic verbs that play adverbial function in the syntax. Consider the following description.

6.3.1.4. The adverbial functions of Ideophonic verbs

As mentioned above, in Oromo some ideophonic verbs have adverbial functions. These ideophonic verbs with adverbial functions exist in the form of reduplicated or multiplied ideophonic verb forms. Syntactically, they precede the main verb and modify it. Most ideophonic verbs with adverbial functions show the manner of action of verbs. Consider the following example.

46. *bonsaa-n k'es k'es k'es k'es ... dʒed-e kolf-e*
bonsa-NOM giggle, giggle, giggle, giggle ... say:PFV-SGM laughed:PFV-3SGM
 'Bonsa laughed for a longer time.'

As can be observed from [46] the ideophonic word **k'esk'esk'esk'es...** **dʒed-e** 'giggled' is formed via total ideophonic bound stem multiplication $CVC \Rightarrow CVC-CVC-CVC-CVC...$ and compounding with auxiliary **dʒed-e** 'say'. Structurally, it is a compound verb but it functions as an ideophonic adverb. In the above sentence, it constitutes the predicate slot and modifies the main verb *kolfe* 'laughed' and it illustrates how *Bonsa* laughed. In the syntax, when such reduplicated ideophonic verbs precede the main verb their function is often adverbial. Furthermore, like Amharic and Kafa Oromo ideophones also have oblique functions. Consider the following description.

6.3.1.5. The oblique functions of Oromo ideophones

Like that of Amharic and Kafa ideophone, Oromo ideophones also have oblique functions. Consider the following example.

47. **didditfa baaj?ee keessa-ti** nam-onni hedduu-n ni miidam-u
IDEO:rush many in-FOC man-3PL several-FOC IPFV hurt-3PL
'In middle of rushes, several people can be damaged'

As can be seen from [47], in the language ideophones play oblique functions. As the above descriptions shows, the noun phrase **didditfa baaj?ee keessa-ti** in the sentence has no subject or object functions but it adds meaning to the sentence that is the oblique function. As noted above, in Oromo ideophones serve as input in the complex predicate constructions. Consider the following description.

6.3.1.6. Ideophones in a complex predicate construction

As we have pointed out before, complex predicate is a cover term used to refer to a structure that comprises two or more predication elements in a single causal structure Butt et al. (2010:76). Therefore, this section presents the roles that Oromo ideophone play in a complex predicate construction. Like in Amharic and Kafa, in Oromo ideophones also play important roles in a complex predicate construction. In the language, the complex predicate has a V_1+V_2 structure. In this structure, ideophones usually constitute the V_1 position and auxiliaries constitute the V_2 position. As we have considered in the preceding sections, in the language ideophonic verbs are formed through compounding ideophonic verb stem and auxiliaries **dʒede** 'say' and **gode** 'do/make'. Like in Amharic and Kafa ideophones, in Oromo ideophonic bound stems can be in simple or reduplicated forms. As noted before, these ideophonic bound stems to carry the main semantic loads and auxiliaries carry all grammatical aspects such as number, gender, aspect. Consider the following descriptions.

- 48 bonsaa-n kaleesa dök'ee keessa-tti **dʒorgaa dʒed-e**
bonsa-NOM yesterday mud in-LOC IDEO.fall say:PFV-3SGM
'Bonsa fell at his full height in the mud yesterday.'

As can be observed in [48], the ideophonic verb stems **dʒorgaa** 'fall with full height' (V_1) collocated with the auxiliary **dʒed-** 'say' (V_2) and constructed the complex predicate. In addition

to this, as pointed out above the ideophonic bound stem can be in the reduplicated form of (V₁) as in the following example.

49. ʔibidd-iftʃi **balbalbalbal... dʒed-e**
fire-DEF IDEO.glowed say:PFV-3SGM
‘The fire over glowed/blazed.’

The example in [49] illustrates that in the language ideophonic verb stems that underwent reduplication can also form complex predicate collocating with auxiliaries. In such structures, the reduplicated ideophonic verb stem is also coverb. It does not stand by itself and it necessarily needs auxiliaries to become a complete verb form. As can be seen from the structure the reduplicated ideophonic verb stem carries the main semantics of the verb phrase and the auxiliary carries out the verbal functions. In general, in the language, ideophones play an important role in complex predicate construction. They usually collocate with auxiliaries to form complex predicates. In addition to this, in the language, ideophones also play important roles in transitive and intransitive verb constructions. Consider the following descriptions.

6.3.1.7. Ideophones intransitive and transitive verb construction

Like Amharic and Kafa, Oromo ideophones are also used as input in intransitive and transitive verb construction. As can be observed in the following descriptions, in Oromo ideophonic verb stems that collocate with the non-causative auxiliary **dʒed-e** ‘say’ form intransitive verbs. On the other hand, ideophonic verb stems that collocate with causative auxiliary **god-e** ‘do/make’ form transitive verbs. Consider the following examples.

50. k’errens-ø muka-irra **dipp’ dʒed-e**
tiger-NOM tree-DAT IDEO:fall say:PFV-3SGM
‘The tiger fall suddenly from the tree.’

The intransitive ideophonic verb in [50] lacks an accusative direct object. Intransitive ideophonic verbs that take patient noun phrases as a subject like in [50] are unaccusative. As observed from the sentence, the fall of the tiger happens without any causative agent. In such a structure, ideophonic verbs occupy the sentence-final position. In addition to this, ideophonic bound stems that select the causative auxiliary **god-e** ‘do/make’ are used in transitive verbs construction as in the following example.

51. mutf^ɔaa-n jaamaa ?afuura tooko-n **lipp’ god-e**
 boy-NOM candle breath one-NOM IDEO.extinguished made:PFV-3SGM
 ‘The boy extinguished the candle with a single puff.’

As can be observed from [51], the structure of the ideophonic bound stem **lipp’** ‘extinguish suddenly’ collocated with the auxiliary **god-e** ‘made’ to form a transitive verb. The action of extinguishing transferred to the direct object of the verb that is **jaamaa** ‘candle’. In general, in Oromo ideophones are inputs in the process of intransitive and transitive verb constructions

6.3.1.8. The distribution of ideophones in different sentence types

As stated in the introduction section, in some African languages, ideophones show distributional restriction in different sentence types. However, in the language ideophones do not show any distributional restrictions across all types of sentences. Therefore, in Oromo, ideophones exist in declarative, interrogative, imperative, command affirmative and negative sentences, and in exclamatory sentences. Consider the following descriptions.

52. bonsaa-n balbala **bandall god-e.**
 bonsa-NOM door IDEO.opened suddenly made:PFV-3SGM
 ‘Bonsa opened the door wide suddenly.’

As can be observed in [52], Oromo ideophones exist in affirmative declarative sentences. Similarly, Oromo ideophones are also common in negative declarative sentences as in the following example.

53. nam-ni tokko **k’uss si-n god-u**
 man-NOM one IDEO.touch you-NOM make:IPFV-3SG
 ‘Nobody will touch you violently.’

As the description in [53] shows like the Amharic and Kafa ideophones, Oromo ideophones also exist in negative sentences types. In addition to this, in Oromo, ideophones can occur in interrogative sentences as in the following example.

54. si-tu k'aww-ee **ball god-e** ?amma?
 you-FOC gun-NOM IDEO.fire made:PFV-3SGM now
 'Is that you who fired the gun?'

Example [54] shows the presence of ideophones in interrogative sentences. Moreover, as pointed out above ideophones exist in imperative Oromo sentences as the following example illustrates.

55. ?ati k'oraan kana **kaff god-i** tʃ'abs-i.
 you wood LOC.this IDEO.noise make:PFV-2SG break-PFV-2SG
 'Break down this wood completely.'

An example in [55] shows the distribution of ideophones in imperative affirmative. Furthermore, in the language, ideophones are also found in commands as the following examples.

56. **?oll dzed-i!**
 IDEO.up say.PFV-2SG
 '(You) raise up!/Command'

As can be observed from [56], ideophones are found in commands in the language. They are also used to pass commands in the language. In command sentences, often there are already understood subject that is you. From the above descriptions, we understand the distributions of Oromo ideophones in all types of sentences. As the entire description illustrates ideophones are used in all sentences without any distributional restrictions.

6.3.2. Summary

Oromo ideophones closely integrate with the regular word classes in the language. As the result of the finding shows, syntactically ideophones are constituted in the argument and predicate slots. Ideophones that occur in the argument slots construct noun phrases (NP) with noun modifiers in the regular language, such as determiners, adjectives, quantifiers, and the like. Structurally, in Oromo noun modifiers usually follow the nouns they modify. From the structure, it is obvious that the head of the noun phrase occurs at the left position. Similarly, nominal ideophones usually appear to the right positions. From this, we can say that nominal ideophones and regular nouns

show similar structural properties. On the other hand, ideophones that are constituted in the predicate also form verb phrases (VP) with verb modifiers (adverbs) of the regular language.

Functionally, as we have considered above ideophones that constituted the subject argument have subjective functions, and ideophones that are constituted the object position in the object argument function as an object. In addition to this, in the language, noun phrases (NP) also have oblique functions. Moreover, ideophones that are constituted in the verb place of the predicate slot have verbal functions. Furthermore, reduplicated ideophonic verbs constituted in predicate slots can have adverbial functions. Besides, ideophones with adjunct functions serve as adjectival and adverbial ideophones.

In the syntax of the language, ideophones play important roles in complex predicate constructions. In complex predicate structures, ideophonic bound stems often occur before the auxiliary. These ideophonic verb stems have coverbal functions. Ideophonic bound verb stems usually combine with auxiliaries to have verbal functions.

In the language, ideophones are distributed in different sentence types without any restrictions. As the result of the finding shows, syntactically ideophones exist in affirmative and negative declarative, question, imperative, commands, and exclamatory sentences. To sum up, the finding of the study shows that Oromo ideophones go counter to the general claims on the syntactic properties of ideophones. They integrate well with the grammar of the language.

6.4. Result and Discussion on the Syntax of Ideophones of the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic Languages

This section presents a cross-linguistic comparison of the syntactic properties of ideophones in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. In the preceding sections, we have considered that the three languages under study (Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo) are typologically SOV word order languages. On the other hand, ideophones in these languages have some common syntactic properties. These syntactic properties of ideophones are studied based on the following features. These are the syntactic distribution, syntactic functions, and roles of ideophones in the complex predicate, transitive and intransitive predicate constructions, and their distribution across different sentence types in the above languages. The syntactic properties of ideophones in the languages under the study go counter to Childs's (1994) claims on the irrelevancy of ideophones for cross-linguistic comparison and the claims on the syntactic aloofness of ideophones by (Franck 2014 and Akita and Dingemanse 2019). Consider the following result discussion.

6.4.1. The structural distribution and the syntactic function of ideophones

The result of the finding shows that ideophones of the languages under the study illustrate almost the same syntactic properties. That means ideophones are distributed in the attributive and the predicative slots. Ideophones that occur in the attributive slots have subjective and objective functions. On the other hand, ideophones that occur in the predicative slots have verbal, adverbial, and adjectival functions. Nominal ideophones show comparable syntactic properties with basic nouns. These are basic nouns and ideophonic nouns function as core elements of the arguments. Both basic nouns and ideophonic nouns have subject and object functions. In addition to this, they have an oblique functions the syntax.

In the syntax, basic nouns and ideophonic nouns can stand on their own or with all noun modifiers. They can be specified by quantifiers, determiners, and adjectives. This very close similarity observed in basic and ideophonic nouns seems that most ideophonic nouns that occur in the attributive slots are derived from onomatopoeic nominal ideophones. The derivation process seems helped them gain full nominal status. Due to this, like basic nouns, they inflect for person, number, and gender. Subjective ideophones are in the nominative case and objective

ideophones are in the accusative case. In the argument slots, ideophonic nouns that stand by themselves form a noun phrase (NP) and ideophonic nouns that occur with modifiers form a noun phrase (NP). In both cases, the ideophonic noun is the head of the noun phrase (NP). Moreover, in the predicative slots, ideophone verbs often exist in composite verb forms. In such structures, the ideophonic bound stems can be in simple or reduplicated form. The simple ideophonic bound stems combine with auxiliaries (verb to say) and (verb to do/make) for verbal functions.

On the other hand, the reduplicated/multiplied ideophones bound stem combines with auxiliaries (verb to say) and (verb to do/make) for adverbial functions. In the predicate slots ideophones form verb phrases (VP) by themselves or with verb modifiers (adverbs) and ideophonic verbs are the head of the verb phrase (VP). As the result of the study, shows in the three languages ideophones also have adjectival functions. The following result discussion summary shows the distribution and the syntactic functions of ideophonic nouns, ideophonic verbs, ideophonic adjectives, and ideophonic adverbs.

6.4.1.1. Ideophonic nouns

As the result of the finding shows, in the languages under study ideophonic nouns occur in the attributive positions. Ideophonic nouns that occur in the subject position have subjective functions as in the following examples.

Table 50: Nominal ideophones with subjective functions

Language	Clause (sentence)
Amharic	k'urr-ije tinnif wəf nəʃtʃ IDEO.bird-3SGF small bird COP 'k'urrije is a bird'
Kafa	wákk'ákk'-è giiḥi hállèè né IDEO.frog-3SGF small creature COP 'Frog is a small creature.'
Oromo	waŋg-ee-n bineensa t'ikk'o dà IDEO.fox-3SGF-NOM animal small COP 'Fox is a small animal.'

As observed in Table 50, in all of the three languages, onomatopoeic nominal ideophones (sound symbolic nominal ideophones) are distributed across the subjective augments preceding their modifiers in the copular clause. In Amharic, the subject nominal ideophone **k'urrije** 'bird' is modified by the regular adjective **tinnif** 'small' within the copular clause. As the description depicts the entire copular clause, **tinnif wəf nətʃf** 'is a small bird' specifies the subject nominal ideophonic noun **k'urrije** 'a kind of bird'. Similarly, the Kafa onomatopoeic nominal ideophone **wákk'ákk'è** 'frog' is derived from the **wakk'-wakk'** sound produced by frogs. As the data illustrates this nominal ideophone occurs in the attribute position and it is also modified by the regular adjective **gùjfi** 'small' found in the copular clause and this copular clause specifies the subject ideophonic noun **wákk'ákk'è** 'frog'.

Likewise, the Oromo onomatopoeic ideophonic noun in the attributive position **wanjee** 'fox' is derived from the '**wang**' sound produced by the fox. This nominative onomatopoeic nominal ideophone occurs in the subject position. It is also modified by the regular adjective **t'ikk'o** 'small' found in the copular clause. Like that of Amharic and Kafa, here in Oromo, the regular adjective in the copular clause specifies the subject ideophonic noun **wanjee** 'fox'. In general, the monomial ideophonic nouns distributed in attributive positions are the subjects of the copular clause in their respective languages. In addition to this, ideophones can be found in object positions functioning as direct objects of the predicate. Consider the following examples.

Table 51: Ideophones with objective functions

Language	Examples
Amharic	molla tillik' kərkərro jaz-ə molla large IDEO:warthog catch:PFV-3SGM 'Molla caught a big warthog.'
Kafa	kaasi óógà métʃfék-ò-n jéttʃf-ì-t-è kasa large IDEO.bird of prey-3SGM-ACC catch <EMP>PFV-3SGM 'Kasa captured a large bird of prey.'
Oromo	bonsaa-n hadudd-ee gudda k'aba bonsa-NOM IDEO.pigeon-3SGF large has 'Bonsa has a large pigeon.'

As the description in Table 51 illustrates, the Amharic onomatopoeic ideophonic noun **kərkərro** ‘warthog’ is derived from the **kərr-kərr** ‘crackling sound’ produced by the long upper and lower teeth of the warthog when it runs. This nominal ideophone occurs just before the verb of the sentence as a direct object of the verb in the SOV word order. In the syntax, it functions as a direct object of the verb and it is also modified by the regular adjective **tillik** ‘big’. In the same way, the Kafa onomatopoeic ideophonic noun **métstfékò** ‘bird of prey’ is derived from the sound **métstfékò** the ‘prey bird’ produces. It occurs in the object argument just before the verb and following the adjective **óógà** ‘big’ which modifies it. In this syntactic structure, it has an objective function. Similarly, the Oromo onomatopoeic ideophonic noun **haduddee** ‘pigeon’ is derived from the **gu-gu** sound produced by the pigeons. This onomatopoeic ideophonic noun also occurs in the object argument position before the adjective **gudda** ‘big’, which also precedes the main verb. As the structure depicts it is the direct object of the verb in the sentence. As the result of the study depicts in the Amharic, Kafa and Oromo ideophones also have oblique functions consider the following discussions.

6.4.1.2. Ideophones with oblique functions

As noted above in the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages ideophones have oblique functions. In three languages under the study, syntactically ideophonic noun phrases offer oblique functions. Consider the following examples.

Table 52: Ideophones with oblique functions

Language	Examples
Amharic	bə-tʃʹatʃʹata-w məhal bizu tʃiggir tə-fəttʹər-ə with-IDEO:noise middle many problem PASS-creat:PFV-3SGM ‘Many problems happened with in the noise.’
Kafa	wóddà illilè dágg-òtʃ wodda àʃò ímmìr-h-é many IDEO:rejoice in-FOC many man happy:PFV-3SGM ‘In the middle of several ululations many people get happiness.’
Oromo	didditʃa baajʔee keessa-ti nam-onni hedduu-n ni miidam-u IDEO:rush many in-FOC man-3PL several-FOC IPFV hurt-3PL ‘In middle of rushes, several people can be damaged’

As can be seen in Table 52, in all the three language noun phrases that constitute in argument slot syntactically do not have subjective or objective function. They simply offer additional meanings in the sentence they appear. As noted above they have oblique functions in each of the above languages. As the result of the study shows, in general, in the languages under study onomatopoeic ideophonic nouns constitute the attributive slot and function as the direct object of the main verb. From this, we understand that ideophones in the argument slots well integrate with the grammar of the regular languages in contrast to the claim that the grammatical aloofness of ideophones in the above claims. Moreover, in the syntax of the languages under study ideophones that constitute the predicate slot have verbal functions. Consider the following description.

6.4.1.3. Ideophonic verbs

As noted above, ideophonic verbs form the verb phrase (VP) in the complex predicates by themselves or with all verb modifiers as in the following summary table.

Table 53: Ideophonic verbs

Language	Examples
Amharic	isat-u bogg-bogg al-ə fire-DEF IDEO:glow-glow say:PFV-3SGM ‘The fire glowed extremely.’
Kafa	k’áákk’-ò húbb-búbb íi-h-è fire-3SGM IDEO:glow-glow say:PFV-3SGM ‘The fire glowed extremely.’
Oromo	?ibidd-i ball-ball dʒed-e fire-NOM IDEO:glow-glow say:PFV-3SGM ‘The fire glowed extremely.’

As can be observed in Table 53, ideophonic verbs constitute the predicate slots in the three languages. The ideophonic verbs in these slots form a verb phrase in composite verb forms. As noted above African ideophonic verbs exist in the form of invariable ideophonic stem plus auxiliaries (auxiliary) verbs.

In such structures, the invariable ideophonic bound stem can be in single or reduplicated forms. The above Amharic example ideophonic verb has the **bogg** (CVCC) non-reduplicated stem form. This non-reduplicated stem underwent total reduplication as **bogg-bogg** (CVCC-CVCC) to express the intensity of the burning fire. In this case, both the non-reduplicated and the reduplicated bound stem combine with auxiliaries and they have verbal functions. In the same way, the above Kafa ideophonic bound stem has the non-reduplicated stem **hubb** (CVCC). This ideophonic bound stem employed total reduplication **hubb-hubb** (CVCC-CVCC) and it is combined with auxiliary íí-h-è ‘say’ to express the intensity of burning fire. Likewise, the above Oromo ideophonic verb **ball** (CVCC) ‘glow’ underwent total reduplication **ball-ball** (CVCC-CVCC) ‘glow completely’ to express the intensity of the burning fire. In Oromo again the non-reduplicated and the reduplicated ideophonic bound stems combine with auxiliaries (auxiliary) verbs dzedè ‘say’ and godè ‘do/make’ for ideophonic verb functions. The three languages under the study also comprise ideophonic adjectives as in the following examples.

6.4.1.4. Ideophonic adjectives

Table 54: Ideophones with adjectival functions

Language	Examples
Amharic	molla bitʃtʃ’itʃtʃ’ jə-al-ə k’əjj nəw molla IDEO.deep red REL-say:PFV-3SGM red COP ‘Molla is deep red’
Kafa	kas-i-tʃtʃí ááfòò kéngéng ii-t-i tʃ’éllòò-ne kasa-NOM-GEN eye IDEO.red say:PFV-3SGM red COP ‘Kasa’s eye is heavily red.’
Oromo	fard-i ke bifaa tʃ’otʃ’orree da horse-NOM GEN color IDEO.mixed color COP ‘Your horse is of mixed color.’

As can be observed in Table 54, ideophones in the above sentences have adjectival functions. With this regard, ideophones also show similarities with the regular adjective of the languages. Similarly, ideophones also have adverbial functions in the complex predicates of the languages under study.

6.4.1.5. Adverbial functions of ideophonic verbs

Table 55: Ideophones with adverbial functions

Language	Examples
Amharic	anbəsa-w goʃʃ-u-n lək'əmm adirg-o jazə-w lion-DEF buffalo-DEF-ACC IDEO:catch-made:PFV-3SGM catch-3SGM:FOC 'The lion caught the buffalo suddenly and tightly.'
Kafa	dáhèr-ò gáh-ò-n fībb aj-ø jètʃtʃi-t-è lion-3SGM buffalo-3SGM-ACC IDEO:catch-made:PFV-3SGM siaz:PFV-3SGM 'The lion caught the buffalo suddenly and tightly.'
Oromo	leentʃ-i gaffars-a gamm god-e k'ab-e lion-NOM buffalo-NOM IDEO:catch-make:3SGM catch-3SGM 'The lion caught the buffalo suddenly and tightly.'

As can be observed from Table 55, ideophones play adverbial functions. They often show how something happened or was performed. The Amharic adverbial ideophone **lək'əmm adirg-o** 'catching tightly', the Kafa adverbial ideophone **fībb aj-ø** 'catching tightly' and the Oromo adverbial ideophone **gamm god-e** 'catching tightly' show how the objects buffalo is captured by the subject lion. In addition to this, in the languages under study ideophones have similar roles in complex predicate constructions. Consider the following descriptions.

6.4.1.6. Ideophones in a complex predicate construction

Ideophones are significant components of complex predicate constructions, as the result of the finding demonstrates. They typically co-occur with the auxiliary verbs say and do in complex predicates. Sometimes they can occur having an interjection function. In such constructions, ideophones often appear in bound stem forms. In addition to this, in the complex predicate, they carry the main semantic loads of the predicate but they do not inflect for any grammatical aspects. On the other hand, as we have considered in the preceding sections, the auxiliaries undergo inflections for tense mood, aspect, and agreements.

In complex predicate constructions, ideophones usually precede the auxiliaries. In the V_1+V_2 structure, ideophones often fill the V_1 position the auxiliaries the V_2 position. Ideophones have a

coverbal function whether they are simple or complex (compound, reduplicate, or multiplied) ideophonic verb stem forms. The following summary table presents the role of ideophones in complex predicate constructions.

Table 56: Ideophones in complex predicate

Language	Examples (Ideophone + auxiliaries = complex Predicates)
Amharic	molla tʃ̃ik'a wust' wuddikk' al-ə molla mud LOC.in IDEO say:PFV-3SGM 'Molla completely fall in the mud.'
Kafa	moll-i deng-ø dággò-tʃ gúgúmm í-h-è molla-NOM mud LOC.in-FOC IDEO:fall say:PFV-3SGM 'Molla completely fall in the mud.'
Oromo	mollaa-n dök'-ee keessa-tti ramba dʒed-e molla-NOM mud-NOM in-LOC IDEO.fall say:PFV-3SGM 'Molla completely fall in the mud.'

As can be observed from Table 56, ideophones precede the auxiliary verb (al-ə), (í-h-è) and (dʒed-e) 'say' in complex predicate constructions in the above three languages respectively. From this, we can conclude that in such constructions, ideophones show similar syntactic properties across the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. These similarities are they carry the semantic load of the predicate, they appear in the form of bound stems, in most cases or except the nominal ideophones they do not inflect for tense aspect and mood (TAM) and they usually precede the auxiliary verbs say and do. Moreover, ideophones also construct transitive and intransitive predicates when they co-occur with the auxiliaries do and say respectively. Consider the following summary table.

6.4.1.7. Ideophones in a transitive predicate construction

As pointed out above ideophones are used as inputs in transitive verb constructions in all three Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages as can be observed from the following summary table.

Table 57: The role of ideophones in transitive verb constructions

Language	Examples
Amharic	saraa dæggu-n bə-tt'iffi tʃ ^w a adərrəg-ətʃ-w sara dæg-g-ACC with-slap IDEO.slap made:PFV-SGF-3SGM 'Sara slapped Degu by force.'
Kafa	sar-i dag-i-n táppò-ná tʃ ^w áá áj-h-èn sara-NOM degu-NOM-ACC slap-with IDEO.slap made:PFV-3SGF 'Sara slapped Degu by force.'
Oromo	saraa-n daggu kabballaa-dán tʃ ^w ambaa itti god-t-e [goot-e] sar-NOM degu slap-with IDEO.slap FOC made:PFV-3SGF 'Sara slapped Degu force fully.'

As can be seen from Table 57, ideophones that collocate with the auxiliary verbs (adərrəg-ə), (áj-h-è), and (god-e) 'do/make' construct transitive predicates in the above three languages. In all cases, the action of slapping by the subject Sara passes to the direct object of the predicate Degu. The aforementioned explanations demonstrate how ideophones in the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages create complex predicates when they collocate with the auxiliary verb do/make. It is clear from the explanation above that transitive ideophonic verbs choose accusative object nouns and nominative subject nouns. Furthermore, ideophones collocate with the auxiliary verb say frequently to form intransitive predicates. Consider the following examples.

6.4.1.8. Intransitive predicate constructions

As demonstrated in the following Table, ideophones can be used as inputs in intransitive verb formation just as they are used in the transitive predicate constructions.

Table 58: The role of ideophones in intransitive verb constructions

Language	Examples
Amharic	sara zimm al-ətʃ sara IDEO.silent say:PFV-3SGF-3SGM 'Sara becomes completely silent.'
Kafa	sar-i tʃ'ikk' íi-h-èn sara-NOM IDEO.silent say:PFV-3SGF 'Sara becomes completely silent.'
Oromo	saraa-n tʃ'all dʒed-t-e [dʒett-e] sara-NOM IDEO.silent say:PFV-3SGM 'Sara becomes completely silent.'

The examples in Table 58 illustrate the roles of the ideophones intransitive predicate construction. The above example ideophones constructed intransitive predicates conjugating with auxiliary verbs (al-ə), (íi-h-èn), and (dʒed-e) 'say' in Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo respectively. It is evident from the examples that the ideophonic verb in its intransitive form does not have a direct object that is the recipient of the action (silence) carried out by the subjects of the ideophones verb. This indicates that ideophones in the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic language create transitive and predicates when they enter the complex predicate before the auxiliary verb do/make and intransitive predicates when they enter the complex predicate before the auxiliary verbs say and do/make cross-linguistically. In addition to this, ideophones are found all sentence types of the languages under study. Consider the following.

6.4.1.9. The distributions of ideophones in different sentence types

Contrary to distributional restriction noted by (Childs 19944, Bodomo 2006, and Frank 2014), the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages ideophones do not show any distributional restriction in all sentence types. As can be observed from the entire description, ideophones occur in declarative affirmative and negative sentences, in positive and negative questions, in positive and negative imperative sentences, in positive and negative commands, and in exclamatory sentences.

6.4.2. Conclusion

As the result of the study illustrates, the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic language ideophones show almost similar syntactic properties. Structurally they constitute the argument and the predicate slots. Ideophones that occur in the argument slots construct noun phrases (NP) either on their own or with other noun modifiers. In these slots, they are basic elements of the noun phrases (they are the heads of the phrases). Like the non-ideophone nouns of the regular language, they can be inflected for the case, gender, and number. Functionally, ideophones in these slots are the subject or object of the predicate. In addition to this, some ideophonic noun phrases (NP) have oblique functions. Moreover, ideophones that occur in the predicate slot often collocate with auxiliaries **say** and **do/make**. These ideophones can also be modified by adverbs like the regular verbs of the languages. They also have verbal and adverbial functions. Furthermore, ideophones construct complex predicates. In the complex predicate structure, they usually precede the auxiliaries. Likewise, ideophones also construct transitive and intransitive predicates when they enter the predicate collocating with auxiliaries **do/make** and **say** respectively. Finally, they prominently occur in all sentence types without restrictions.

Chapter Seven: Summary and Conclusion

This chapter concludes the dissertation by summarizing the main findings of the study on the general and specific objectives, and the research questions. The research problem was the less treatment of ideophones in descriptive studies even though ideophones are very important word classes used in day-to-day communication. This research tries to fill the gaps through achieving general and specific objectives by answering all the research questions by the results of the finding of the study.

The research aimed to describe the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the ideophones of the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages: namely Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo, and makes a cross-linguistic comparison and characterization of ideophones in these languages. In the study, the qualitative method and descriptive research design is used. Besides, for the comparative study mainly Dingemanse (2019) *Ideophones as Comparative Concepts* is used.

The study's findings revealed the phonological, morphological, and syntactic parallels and differences between intra-language and inter-language ideophones of Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo. The main areas of intra-language ideophone similarity are syntax, morphology, and, to a lesser extent, phonology. Inter-language and universal phonological commonalities are shaped by all the variations of ideophones exhibited from their normal phonology.

The phonological similarities observed in ideophones with their respective languages are: ideophones use almost all phonemes of the regular phonology as well as they show similar vowel phonotactics with the regular phonology. About phoneme distributions, for example, the Amharic phoneme /p/, the labialized consonants g^w , k^w , d^w , f^w , t^w , t^{hw} ... are restricted in word-initial positions in both regular and ideophone's phonology. Similarly, Oromo vowels do not occur in the initial position in both regular and ideophone phonology. Likewise, in Kafa the so-called foreign phoneme /p/ seems not to occur in both regular and ideophone's phonology.

As noted above, cross-linguistically ideophones show great similarities in their phonology. These similarities are observed in their phonemic inventories, phoneme distributions, phonotactics, suprasegmentals, syllable structures, and syllabifications. As the result of the finding shows,

cross-linguistically ideophones of the languages exhibited five non-phonemic clicks-like sounds. These are [ʘ, !, ɲ, ʌ and **tchip/suck teeth**]. The existence of these click-like sounds in ideophones is one of the most striking findings since they are lacking in the regular phonology of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages in general. Such unique phonological features support the peculiar phonology of ideophones noted in (Bodomo 2006:204 and Franck 2014:15).

Regarding phonemic and non-phonemic sound distribution, ideophones show variation from their respective regular phonology that also results in cross-linguistic similarities. As Baye (2008:19) notes, the front vowels /i & e/ and back vowels /o & u/ in Amharic do not occur in the word-initial position in the regular phonology. In ideophones, however, all of them occur in word-initial position (except the phoneme /i/) as in **ohaa** ‘instructing oxen’, **uute** ‘undermining’, and **etftf** ‘disapproval/ hatred’. In line with Baye’s claim, the phoneme /i/ is also distributionally restricted to the ideophonic word-medial and final positions. In Kafa, Theil (2007) reports that words do not begin with the phoneme /r/ but in ideophones it occurs in word-initial positions as in ideophones words like **rrrrrrr....** ‘signal used to stop cultural dance and gong.’ Similarly in Kafa, Theil (2007) also reports that /z and s/ are foreign sounds and /z/ is completely lacking in the regular native words. In line with this claim, the phoneme /z/ is hardly found but sometimes it appears in ideophones like **tʃuzz** áj-h-è ‘to express the feeling when bees sting someone.’ On the other hand in contrast to Theil’s (2007) claim, phoneme /s/ occurs in ideophones word-medial and word-final positions as in **massemew** ‘declare superiority over someone’ and **t’ess** ‘slap forcefully’.

As the phonotactic study result indicates, in the prosaic languages monosyllabic ideophones show more tendencies to have the $C_1VC_2C_2$ or identical consonant sequence in the coda position cross-linguistically. In addition, in disyllabic ideophones and non-ideophone words two identical or different consonant sequences are permissible and the syllable break often takes place in the boundaries of these word-medial consonant sequences as in $(C_1VC_2.C_2VC_3C_3)$ or $(C_1VC_2.C_3VC_4C_4)$. In disyllabic non-ideophonic words, two identical consonant sequences are hardly found. Nonetheless, in ideophones two identical consonant sequences in the ultimate syllable of the coda are typically permissible. Therefore, the identical consonantal sequences $[-C_2C_2]$ in monosyllabic ideophones and the $[-C_3C_3 \& C_4C_4]$ in disyllabic ideophones are cross-

linguistically permissible phonotactics. Comparatively, Kafa and Oromo vowel phonotactics seem not to vary concerning their regular phonotactics.

Another striking finding is the special expressive consonant and vowel lengthening in the suprasegmental features of ideophones. As the results of the finding show, ideophones deploy expressive consonants and vowel lengthening to express intensity and durativity of actions and events. The Amharic *birr*: ‘flay’ and *d^waa*: ‘heavy bursting sound’, the Kafa ideophones *kiɸɸ*: ‘sound of breaking glass’ and *waa*: ‘become extremely white’ and the Oromo ideophones *fiɸɸ*: urinate for longer time and *jaa*: ‘sound of long time rainfall/waterfall’ evident for this. Most of these expressive vowels and consonant lengthening take place at the end of the ideophonic words. The final expressive vowel lengthening in ideophones affects the vowel qualities. The more the vowels are lengthened the more they grave as creaky or breathy sounds as discussed in Childs (1994:184). In the languages under study, expressive consonant and expressive vowel lengthening are phonetic features.

As the result the finding shows, ideophones of the languages under the study exhibited an exceeding number of syllable types from their respective regular phonology. Syllable types (CVV:, CVV:C, CVCC:, and CVCC) are common structures that are typical to ideophone. Furthermore, ideophones of the three languages, exhibit commonly monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic and polysyllabic ideophones. Out of these some quadrisyllabic, ideophones and most polysyllabic ideophones are the results of partial or total reduplications of consonants. In all three languages, ideophones comprise open and closed syllables.

On the other hand, ideophones display some phonological typological differences. Attenuative ideophones are only found in Amharic. In addition to this, Amharic only contains labialized consonants in onomatopoeic ideophones. Like Amharic Kafa also shows some typological variations from the languages under the study. These variations are: Kafa is typologically tone language. The regular phonology of the language uses two lexical tones (the high (H) and low (L) tones) as in *úút’òò* ‘false banana’. In contrast to the regular phonology, ideophonic bound stem use the high (H) tone(s) across a word as *tʃ^wáá* ‘slap’. The suprasegmental domain of ideophones often violates the tone pattern rule, which is consistent with the assertion made by Smoll (2014:19) that ideophones have significantly different tones from conventional phonology. Kafa

ideophones display the (CC:) as in **rrrr...**'signal to stop cultural dance' but such consonant sequences are not attested in Amharic and Oromo ideophones. Oromo ideophones exhibit another typological variation. Unlike Amharic and Kafa, vowels do not appear to occur at the beginning of Oromo ideophones.

Ideophones have striking cross-linguistic and regular morphological similarities with the morphology of their respective languages. The primary morphological characteristics of the three languages are compounding, derivation, and reduplication, as shown by the morphological analysis of ideophones of the languages under consideration.

On the other hand, ideophones of the languages under study do not agree with some generalizations suggested by scholars (Childs 1994:188 and Bodomo 2006:204) as ideophones have no or little morphology. In opposition to, the aforementioned claim, ideophones in the three languages employ morphological processes such as compounding, derivation, and reduplication, and they can carry inflectional morphemes. These are also the main morphological features in the languages under study.

Ideophones of the language under the study also show some typological variations. As Mengistu (2010:291) pointed out Amharic uses morphology of the root-template system, whereas Kafa and Oromo use combination root systems of consonants and vowels. Additionally, in Amharic, attenuative and intense ideophonic verb stems are formed by geminating the ultimate and penultimate radicals; but, in Kafa and Oromo, there is no such derivation of an ideophonic stem.

Furthermore, compared to Oromo ideophones, Amharic and Kafa ideophones use more complicated morphological processes as in the Amharic compound ideophonic verbs **watt'-s ilk'itt' adərrəg-ə** IDEO.swallowed and IDEO.gulpeddown:PFV-3SGM 'He ingested it all at once, with great force' and the Kafa compound ideophone **kəpp-tʃ'ət't' əj-h-è** IDEO.pick-up IDEO.put-down made:PFV-3SGM 'He swiftly picked it up and let go of it.' However, such complex ideophone seem hardly found in Oromo.

As the result of the findings shows, compound ideophones in the languages under study comprise mainly compound ideophonic verbs, ideophonic nouns, and ideophonic adjectives. Ideophonic verbs are composite verbs that are formed with combinations of either simple or complex

ideophonic bound roots/stems plus one of the auxiliary verbs 'say' and 'do/make'. On the other hand, compound ideophonic nouns and ideophonic adjectives are formed from two or more ideophonic words without auxiliaries. These ideophones can be labeled as bare ideophones/ideophones without auxiliaries. As noted above, Amharic and Kafa deploy complex compounding morphology. The complex ideophonic verbal bound stems are those formed by combining two synonymous, antonymous, or non-synonymous and non-antonymous bound stems and auxiliaries. However, in Kafa synonymous compound ideophonic verbs bound stems seem hardly found. On the other hand, Oromo ideophones undergo simple compounding systems to form compound ideophones. That is in the language compound ideophones are formed by combining simple verb roots and auxiliaries.

The derivational morphological study result indicates that in the three languages, ideophones are by attaching nominalizes (NMLZ). The Amharic ideophonic word **kaka-te** IDEO.noise-noise-NMLZ 'bird' the Kafa **metʃʃek-o** IDEO.noise-NMLZ 'bird' and the Oromo **urung-uu** IDEO.noise.NMLZ 'owl' is derived from onomatopoeic sounds via suffixing the NMLZ of each language.

However, Amharic ideophones also undergo a complex derivational morphological process that is not observed in Kafa and Oromo derivational ideophones. That is the Amharic regular verb roots undergo the ultimate or and penultimate verb root gemination to derive attenuative k'-l-b-⇒ k'ələbb IDEO. catch 'catch in mid-air' and intensive k-f-t- ⇒kiffitt- IDEO.OPEN 'open completely by force' ideophonic bound verb stems that further combine with auxiliaries to derive complete ideophonic verbs. Attenuative ideophones types are only found in Amharic. In addition to this, unlike Bodomo's (2006:204) claim ideophones of the languages under the study deploy inflectional morphology. The derived ideophonic nouns can be inflected for number and gender as the Amharic ideophone **kaka-te-w** IDEO. noise.noise-NMLZ-DEF 'the male bird', the Kafa ideophone **metʃʃek-e-naʔo** IDEO.noise-3SGM-PL 'the birds', the Oromo ideophone **urung-ota** IDEO.noise-PL 'the owls'

The result of the study indicates that reduplication is one of the prominent morphological processes in the three languages. In line with Childs's (1994:185) claim reduplication is the most productive morphological process in ideophone. In the languages under study, ideophones undergo partial reduplication and total reduplication. In addition to this, ideophones also deploy

partial and total stem multiplications. Partial verb root/stem reduplication and multiplications are restricted to ideophonic verbs.

Moreover, some simple nouns also undergo total reduplication and combine with the auxiliary 'say' to express tastes, smells, and feelings. In ideophonic verbs, total reduplication expresses iterativity and pluractivity while partial reduplications express mainly intensity, manner, durativity, and distance. However, the three languages show some differences in partial reduplication. As we have considered in the preceding section, partial reduplication affects the ultimate roots to derive attenuative ideophones. These derived attenuative and intensive ideophonic bound stems further undergo partial reduplication to express attenuative, intensity, and durativity of actions. However, Kafa and Oromo deploy partial reduplication on their simple ideophonic verb stems. The result of the study shows differences between Amharic and Oromo partial reduplication processes. In Amharic, partial reduplication does not affect the antepenultimate radicals but in Oromo, monosyllabic ideophones partial reduplication affects the antepenultimate consonantal root. Kafa interplays between the two. Like in Oromo, partial reduplication mainly affects antepenultimate consonantal roots and penultimate roots, like in Amharic. In the case of total ideophonic stem reduplication and multiplication, the three languages do not show differences. In the languages under study, ideophones undergo expressive word lengthening through partial and total ideophonic verb stem multiplication. In such cases, the length of the ideophonic words can be determined by the speaker's need and ability to produce ideophonic words.

The results of the finding identify that the syntax of ideophones illustrates greater intra-language and inter-language similarities as compared with the phonology and morphology of ideophones. The study on syntax illustrates a strong syntactic convergence (similarities) in the ideophone-involving structures of the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic language. These syntactic property similarities are distributional; ideophones fill in the argument and the predicate slots in the syntax of the language. Functionally, ideophones have nominal and verbal functions as core syntactic elements. In addition, ideophones also have adjunct functions. That is they have adjectival and adverbial functions in the syntax.

In the syntax of the languages under study, ideophones play an important role as imputes of complex predicate constructions. In the complex predicate (V_1 -plus- V_2) structure, ideophones usually occupy the V_1 position and the dummy verb/ auxiliary constitutes the V_2 position. Cross-linguistically this is observed in Mengistu (2010) Amharic, Baker, and Harvey (2010) different languages such as Marra, Wagiman, and Jaminjungan languages and Azeb (2010) Woliatta. In addition, the ideophonic verb bound stem-plus-auxiliary verb 'say' is intransitive ideophonic verb construction, and the ideophonic verb bound stem plus (+) auxiliary verb 'do/make' is ideophonic transitive verb construction.

Moreover, in the syntax of the languages, ideophones are distributed in different sentence types without any distributional constraints. However, many scholars like Childs (1994), Bodomo (2006), and Moses (2015) claim the syntactic aloofness of ideophones, the distributional restriction, and the irrelevance of ideophones for a cross-linguistic comparison. On the contrary, Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic language ideophones well integrate with regular language syntax, they have almost similar syntactic functions, and distributions cross-linguistically.

Cross-linguistically, the phonology and the syntax of ideophones show more similarities as compared their morphology. This can be summarized based on similarity scale as follows: phonology > syntax > morphology. On the other hand intra-language which ideophone show similarity scale seems the opposite of the cross linguistic similarities. This can also be arranged based on similarity scale as follows: Syntax > morphology > phonology.

In conclusion, above we have seen phonological, morphological and syntactic similarities and difference in the Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages through the three representative languages under the study. From the result of the finding, it seems that the similarities observed in ideophones can be (1) from their genetic parallels, (2) from universal features especially all the deviation from their respective regular phonology and (3) from areal contact. On the other hand, the differences observed can also be (1) from their distant genetic relationship' and (2) from their typological differences.

The searcher's forthcoming work is a cross-linguistic in-depth investigation of the semantics and pragmatics of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages.

As we have considered in this study, ideophones are important parts of the lexicon and grammar of Afro-Asiatic languages and they are used in the speaker's day-to-day communication. Therefore, I suggest that the forth-coming language description and language description and documentation studies should include ideophones as one important lexical unit in their studies. Furthermore, dictionary developers, grammar book writers, and textbook developers should also consider ideophone as a very important word class.

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Appendix 1

These appendixes contain all the data use in this dissertation. The appendix has two sections. The first section contains ideophonic data collected from the natural settings of Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo. The ideophonic data in appendix1 are collected through elicitation, stimulus question, interviews, spontaneous questions, from dictionaries, and from songs. In this appendix all ideophonic data are sorted as follows: all Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo data are sorted in their order. The first column contains lists of ideophones, the second column contains the meanings (translation) of the ideophonic data and the third column show the sources of the ideophonic data. Appendix 2 contains some corpus recorded ideophonic data. This section contains some sample-recorded ideophonic data collected from the three Afro-Asiatic languages in the fieldwork. The recorded corpus ideophonic data of Amharic, Kafa, and Oromo are transcribed, glossed, and the free translation. Like in appendix1, these corpus ideophonic data are arranged in the following order. Amharic recorded corpus data comes first, Kafa recorded corpus ideophonic data comes and next, and finally Oromo recorded corpus ideophonic at the end.

Lists of ideophones	Meaning/translation	Source
1. Amharic Ideophonic Data		
!a!a!a	‘Urging horse trot’	Spontaneous speech
li!li!li	‘Express regression’	Spontaneous speech
lulululu	‘Call dog’	Spontaneous speech
Akk	‘Clear throat’	Elicitation
albab albab alə	‘Got incense smell’	From song(Lyrics)
andza-grandza	‘Futile contrastive talk or chatter’	Dictionary
ankəss-	‘Limp’	Stimulus questions
aŋŋ-	‘Bite’	Elicitation
arti-burti	‘Hocus-pocus’	Spontaneous speech
asəs-gəsəs	‘Riff-raff’	Elicitation
bidigg-	‘Raise’	Spontaneous speech
bikk’-t’illikk’	‘Fluctuated’	Dictionary
billitʃʃ’-dirgimm	‘Flickered.’	Stimulus questions
bird bird al-ə-w	‘Felt cold/a chill because fever/ illness’	Spontaneous speech
birr:	‘Flew’	Stimulus questions
bissitt-	‘Penetrate’	Elicitation
bitt’itt-	‘Puncture/incisions’	Dictionary
bittinn-	‘Shatter’	Stimulus questions
biww-	‘Burn’	Spontaneous speech
biʒʒ-	‘Blurry’	Stimulus questions
bogg	‘Lit suddenly’	Stimulus questions
bullikkita	‘Jet (of water)’	Elicitation
burra-kərəjju	‘The act of furious.’	Corpus data
dəblələ ...lə-	‘Rolled’	Stimulus questions
dəm dəm aləw	‘Become infuriated /felt angry’	Spontaneous speech
dənbərbarra	‘Confused’	Spontaneous speech
dərəss-mələss	‘Does not stay for longer time.’	Interview

dibbikk’-	‘Hide completely’	Elicitation
dibbinn:	‘Die completely’	Dictionary
dibilbill:	‘Became very fat, rounded’	Stimulus questions
diblikk’-	‘Mix up’	Elicitation
dididi-	‘Runaway’	Interview
dikkimm	‘Completely tired’	Interview
dinbuldok’a	‘Full bight moon’	Song
dinbuþbuþ	‘Greasy beautiful’	Song (lyric)
dingirgirr-	‘Confused’	Interview
dingitt’	‘Extremely shocked’	Elicitation
dingizgizz-	‘Gloaming’	Elicitation
dinnizz	‘Blunt’	Interview
diebæsbæss-	‘Touched lightly’	Elicitation
dïellek’k’-	‘Hit with a fist’	Elicitation
dïembærbærr-	‘Became confused’	Elicitation
dïemæk’k’-	‘Became bright’	Elicitation
dïengæt’t’-	‘Became annoyed’	Elicitation
dïengæzgz-	‘Became blurred’	Elicitation
dïibbinn-	‘Died’	Elicitation
dïikkimm-	‘Fatigue, tired’	Elicitation
dïillitt’-	‘Slipped’	Elicitation
dïingitt-	‘Shock’	Elicitation
dïissikk’-	‘Hit with a fist’	Elicitation
dotʃʹtʃʹo	‘Chubby’	Spontaneous speech
Dubb	‘Fall suddenly’	Spontaneous speech
dudu-te	‘The rain birds came.’	Interview
dulla dulla al-ə-w	‘Want to fight with someone’	Spontaneous speech
d ^w a-	‘Explode’	Stimulus questions
d ^w ad ^w ata	‘Explosion’	Elicitation
dʒigginn-	‘Be a hero’	Elicitation
ərə-	‘Sure?’	Spontaneous speech

etʃtʃ	‘Disapprove’	Spontaneous
fæk’æk’-	‘Move’	Spontaneous speech
færkæss	‘Crack lightly’	Stimulus questions
fætløkk-	‘Runaway’	Stimulus questions
fɪdʒdʒitt-	‘Finish/burn’	Spontaneous speech
figgimm-	‘Die out’	dictionary
figgimm-kirirr	‘Die falling on the face.’	Interview
fikkít	‘Blossomed’	Interview
fillikk’-	‘Gush out’	Elicitation
Fininn	‘Squirt continuously’	Stimulus questions
fink’ill-	‘Flinch’	Dictionary
fintʃtʃírr-	‘Die/fall’	Dictionary
fírgitt’-	‘Wiggle’	Spontaneous speech
fírr:	‘Eject on needle head’	Interview
fírritt’-fírritt’	‘Burst completely repeatedly’	Stimulus questions
fitʃ’ítʃtʃ	‘Discharge of pus /fluid’	Elicitation
fízizz-	‘Fade’	Dictionary
fízizz-k’ízizz	‘Stupefy’	Interview
fʷa-	‘Gush’	Stimulus questions
fʷafʷate	‘Waterfall’	Elicitation
gəlöll-	‘Gone away’	Song(lyrics)
gəlmətt’-	‘Look at one's side’	Spontaneous speech
gəndæss-	‘Fall down’	Elicitation
gərəff-	‘Lash’	Elicitation
gílbit’bit’...bitt’-	‘Turned upside down’	Spontaneous speech
gílbitt’-	‘Completely turn upside-down’	Stimulus questions
gíldʒídʒdʒ-	‘Clumsy’	Elicitation
gíllíff	‘Tempered’	Spontaneous speech
gíllítt’-	‘Open’	Elicitation
gínfíll-	‘Babble suddenly’	Spontaneous speech
gírrita	‘Confusion’	Elicitation

gizifziff	‘Become over weight/huge’	Stimulus questions
gofgofgof...gof-	‘Walk of old person’	Spontaneous speech
gonbəs-k’əna	‘Endeavored (worked hard).’	Spontaneous speech
gumgumta	‘Murmur’	Elicitation
gumzizz:	‘Became completely sour’	Interview
gunbiss-	‘Bend suddenly’	Spontaneous speech
gurridd-	‘Cut off’	Elicitation
g ^w a-	‘Banged’	From stimulus questions
g ^w ag ^w a -	‘Banged’	Stimulus questions
hedd-	‘Walk’	Spontaneous speech
hedd-mələss	‘Reoccurred.’	Spontaneous speech
himhim-	‘Murmur’	Spontaneous speech
hi??-	‘Was in labor’	Spontaneous speech
i	‘Yes’	Spontaneous speech
i:	‘Show an agreement’	Spontaneous speech
ibbiss-	‘Wipe, gone’	Elicitation
idʒdʒ idʒdʒ alə	‘Has spoiled taste’	Spontaneous speech
if-	‘Puff’	Stimulus questions
iffoj-	‘Get relief’	Spontaneous speech
ik ^w a-	‘Snapped’	Stimulus questions
illim-sillimm	‘Unconscious’	Dictionary
imb ^w a-kərəjju	‘Up roaring about.’	Corpus data
immərr	‘Jump’	Spontaneous speech
imθ ^w a	‘Kiss with sacking sound’	Spontaneous speech
in.kitt	‘Break completely’	Stimulus questions
inb ^w akərrəjju-	‘Up roared about’	Dictionary
ink ^w ’iʃf-	‘Break’	Dictionary
inkitkitt-	‘Break down’	Dictionary
ijɲikk-	‘Bolus/chew’	Stimulus questions
into-fənto	‘Useless thing’	Elicitation
iret iret alə	‘Got sisal taste’	Spontaneous speech

irírr-díbbínn	‘Angry or burned out completely.’	Spontaneous speech
irírr-kumtírr	‘Very angry.’	Dictionary
irræbb-	‘Fall’	Stimulus questions
íříř-kumříř	‘Feeling of guilty /apprehensive.’	Dictionary
it’an it’an alə	‘Got incense smell’	Spontaneous speech
itt’íř-zərga	‘Became obsequious.’	Dictionary
íří	‘Not/no’	Elicitation
jazz-	‘Grasp’	Elicitation
jazz-lək’ək’k’	‘Wok intermittently.’	Spontaneous speech
k’atř’íll-	‘Small bell’	Spontaneous speech
k’əməsməss	‘Taste slightly’	Spontaneous speech
k’íbb-	‘Sit on horseback’	Interview
k’íbřířřírr-	‘Prattle’	Spontaneous speech
k’ílbítř’-	‘Precise’	Dictionary
k’ínnitt-	‘Jealous’	Elicitation
k’íntt’íss-	‘Cut’	Stimulus questions
k’íra-k’ímbo	‘Old staff’	Elicitation
k’írríss’-	‘Sharpen’	Spontaneous speech
k’ít’itt’	‘Squat’	Recorded corpus data
k’ízzířř-	‘Paddle’	Elicitation
k’ulp’ísp’p’íss-	‘Proud of’	Elicitation
k’urríje	‘Bird type’	Stimulus questions
k’urtř’íř’ímm-	‘Ate’	Spontaneous speech
k’utř’íř’	‘Sit abruptly’	Stimulus questions
k’utř’íř’-bíđígg	‘Suffered a lot.’	Dictionary
k’wək’k’	‘Vomit’	Elicitation
k’wəmm-	‘Stop’	Interview
Kakate	‘Chattering bird’	Stimulus questions
kəff	‘Raise’	Interview
kətəff-	‘Open slightly’	Stimulus questions
kətəkət...kətt-	‘Crackled, lightered’	Interviews

ɣi	‘Disapproval’	Spontaneous speech
kifitfitf	‘Open completely’	Spontaneous speech
kɪllit’t’	‘Melt completely’	Stimulus questions
kirtʃfɪmm-	‘Closed’	Dictionary
kiskiss-	‘Crashing’	Stimulus questions
kɪʃʃɪbb-	‘Break’	Dictionary
kissill-	‘Burnout’	Stimulus questions
kissitt-	‘Skinny’	Stimulus questions
kiwkiww-	‘Restless’	Stimulus questions
komtərr-	‘Become sour slightly’	Spontaneous speech
koʃəʃʃilla	‘Thistle’	Dictionary
kumʃʃɪʃʃ:	‘Became shrunk/humiliated’	Dictionary
kurʃɪmm-	‘Crisped’	Dictionary
Kururu	‘Dwarf’	Interview
k ^w a-	‘Knock’	Stimulus questions
k ^w ak ^w a-	‘Knock’	Stimulus questions
k ^w ak ^w ate	‘Rattling object’	Stimulus questions
k ^w oʃ	‘Rustle’	Dictionary
lab lab alə	‘Has smell of sweat’	Spontaneous speech
ləbb-	‘Warm’	Elicitation
lək’əmm-	‘Catch firmly’	Elicitation
lək’so lək’so al-ə-w	‘Have a feeling crying for no reason’	Spontaneous speech
libbiss-	‘Wear’	Elicitation
limmit’t’	‘Bend totally’	Stimulus questions
mar mar alə	‘Got honey taste’	From song(lyrics)
mintʃ’ʃ’ikk’-	‘Tug’	Elicitations
mokk’-	‘Warm’	Spontaneous speech
mulfitt’-	‘Spoiled’	Spontaneous speech
muʃlikk’-	‘Peel completely.’	Elicitation
mut’iŋŋ-	‘Clung’	Spontaneous speech
nikk’itt-	‘Awake’	Stimulations

nikkittʃf-	‘Touch’	Spontaneous speech
niʃni-	‘Insistence,’	Interviews
niss’itt-	‘Clearer’	Stimulus questions
oha-	‘Instruct oxen’	Interview
p’iip’-	‘Blow horn’	Elicitation
p’ipp’iss-	‘Become bishop’	Elicitation
pəpəpə-	‘Surprise’	Spontaneous speech
rətəbt’əbb	‘Become wet somehow’	Spontaneous speech
risriss-	‘Wet’	Elicitation
s’ətt’ita	‘Silence’	Spontaneous speech
s’ətt’-lətt’	‘Subdued.’	Spontaneous speech
s’idditt-	‘Neat’	Elicitation
sak’sak’ al-ə-w	‘Felt happy’	Spontaneous speech
səbərr-	‘Break slightly’	Spontaneous speech
ʃəf(f)ənn-	‘Cover somehow’	Spontaneous speech
sələwlawwa	‘Pretty/gorgeous’	Song (lyrics)
sibirbirr	‘Broken down into several parts’	Spontaneous speech
ʃiffinn-	‘Cover’	Spontaneous speech
ʃiffinn-	‘Cover completely’	Spontaneous speech
siɡa siɡa alə	‘Has meat taste/smell’	Spontaneous speech
sikkitt-	‘Stab’	Elicitation
sik ^w ar sik ^w ar alə	‘Got sugar taste’	From song(Lyrics)
siik’itt’-	‘Swallow’	Spontaneous speech
ʃiik’itt’-	‘Slim’	Stimulus questions
ʃiir-bittinn	‘Walked for joy.’	Spontaneous speech
ʃitto ʃitto alə	‘Got pleasant smell like perfume’	Spontaneous speech
ʃ ^w a-	‘Rustle’	Stimulus questions
ʃ ^w aʃ ^w ate	‘Rustling’	Elicitation
t’at’ate	‘Popping/ crackling’	Stimulus questions
t’əbb	‘Drip’	Stimulus questions
t’ibbibb-	‘Become narrow’	Song (lyrics)

t'immædd-	'Yoked'	Spontaneous speech
t'irrigg-	'Clean'	Spontaneous speech
t'is t'is alə	'Got smoke smell'	Spontaneous speech
t'issikk'-	'Tie tightly'	Spontaneous speech
Tchip	'Express sympathy'	Spontaneous speech
tɪnfɪʃ -	'Breath'	Spontaneous speech
tɪrkimirki-	'Rubbish'	Dictionary
tɪrki-mɪrki	Mishmash or useless items'	Spontaneous speech
tʃ ^o w tʃ ^o w alə	'Got salt taste'	Spontaneous speech
tʃ ^o iffɪnn-	'Close eyes'	Elicitation
tʃ ^o innikk'-	'Worry'	From song (lyrics)
tʃ ^o isiss:	'Over angry'	Spontaneous speech
tʃ ^o itʃ ^o itʃ ^o i-	'Bird's chat'	Stimulus questions
tʃiffɪgg-	'Profuse'	Stimulus questions
tʃ ^w a-	'Slap'	Stimulus questions
tʃ ^w atʃ ^w a-	'Slap repeatedly'	Elicitation
turr:	Fly away'	Stimulus questions
tuss:	'Fart with a hissing sound'	Spontaneous speech
t ^w a-	'Burst'	Stimulus questions
t ^w at ^w a-	'Burst repeatedly'	Elicitation
uhu uhu -	'Cough'	Stimulus questions
uute-	'Undermine'	Spontaneous speech
watt'-sɪlk'itt'	'Swallow/gulp down completely'	Interview
wədəkk'-	'Fall slightly'	Elicitation
wəffəffe-	'Creasy'	Interview
wəga-nək'əll	'Look again and again quickly.'	Song (lyrics)
wəgəgg-	'Glow'	Interview
wɪllikk'	'Completely dislocate'	Stimulus questions
wuha wuha alə	'Got waterish taste'	Spontaneous speech
wujjɪbb-	'Worn-out'	Elicitation
wullɪbb-	'Pass by'	Elicitation

wussidd-	‘Take’	Elicitation
wutiftiff:	‘Nonsense, slovenly done things’	Interview
ziba-zinke	‘Useless thing’	Spontaneous speech
ziffinn-	‘Sing’	Elicitation
zərərərə-	‘Stream’	Stimulus questions
zərrərr-	‘Gush’	Spontaneous speech
ʒ ^w a-	‘Fall’	Stimulus questions
ʒ ^w aʒ ^w a-	‘Fall repeatedly’	Elicitation

2. Kafa Ideophonic data

!u!u!u	‘He urged horse to trot.’	Spontaneous speech
lla	‘he showed sympathy’	Spontaneous speech
lululu	‘He called dog.’	Spontaneous speech
Áákkòò	‘Scavenger’	Interview
ááp’	‘Take food out of mouth’	Spontaneous speech
áátʃtʃ-áátʃtʃa íí-h-è [je]	‘It has water taste.’	Spontaneous speech
áh!	‘Sound used to make others cautious’	Spontaneous speech
áh!-áh!	‘Warned (it) repeatedly’	Spontaneous speech
ahojéé:	Signal to stop dance uniformly.’	Song
Ámbámbò	‘Flood’	Stimulus questions
Ámbámbò	‘Flood (from the sound of gush)’	Spontaneous speech
Ámbédánè	‘Very small’	Spontaneous speech
áp’ér	‘Fill objects with liquids’	Stimulus questions
bágárbágár	‘Drop tears/cry’	Elicitation
bágg-	‘Mongoose’	Interview
bák’k’ák’-	‘Abandoned’	Spontaneous speech
bándzíbándzò	‘Jabbered/talked nonsense’	Spontaneous speech
bángí	‘Starvation’	Spontaneous speech
bédó	‘Giant/big’	Elicitation
bét’ét’ét’ét...t’ét’t’-	‘Offensive pungent smell’	Interview
Bill	‘Disappear’	Spontaneous speech

bíll:	‘Ideophone of cursing (damn)’	Elicitation
bíllábíll-	‘Get ride off/chase’	Spontaneous speech
búdd-	‘Cut/split out’	Interview
búggíll	‘Role eyes’	Elicitation
búggúdd-	‘Cut quickly’	Interview
búggúll-	‘Role eyes’	Elicitation
dábbdább-	‘Nightfall’	Interview
dát’t’ábòtt’-	‘Jabbered’	Elicitation
Déékòò	‘Dwarf, very short’	Interview
díll:	‘Sound of gun fire’	Elicitation
dóókídóók-	‘Sluggish, bleary’	Spontaneous speech
dóót[ʈʃ]-dóót[ʈʃ]-a íí-h-è [je]	‘It smells beer.’	Spontaneous speech
Dópóóròò	‘Elephantiasis’	Elicitation
dúdʒdʒ	‘Fall in hole/open space’	Spontaneous speech
Dúmbúlléé	‘Fat and attractive(usually a woman)	Elicitation
Dúnn	‘Extremely back’	Spontaneous speech
dútʃ’idútʃ’-	‘Move’	Spontaneous speech
Éé	‘Yes’	Spontaneous speech
Ééllòò	‘Colobusmonkey’	Spontaneous speech
ééʈʃ-ééʈʃ-a íí-h-è [je]	‘It has honey taste.’	Spontaneous speech
émìʃ-	‘Goat’	Spontaneous speech
fétt-	‘Slaughter’	Spontaneous speech
fót’fót’fót’t’-	‘Simmer/babble’	Stimulus questions
Fúríit	‘Slip away’	Spontaneous speech
fúríitfúríit-	‘Slipup,	Elicitation
fútút-	‘Slipped out’	Stimulus questions
gáágíʃ-	‘Smirked’	Interview
gímgím-	‘Nightfall’	Spontaneous speech
gíp’p’-	close	Spontaneous speech
gúgúmm:	‘Fall in full length’	Spontaneous speech
hááʔáá-	‘Breath’	Stimulus questions

Hajj	‘Is that?’	Spontaneous speech
háwháw-	‘Bad smell’	Elicitation
háʔáhúʔ-	‘Chatter’	Sony (lyrics)
híí: híí:	‘Stop dance’	Song (lyrics)
híí: híí: híí:	‘Ideophone used to signal stop dance’	Song
híkk’ín-	‘Hiccup’	Stimulus questions
hóbúbb-	‘Glow’	Elicitation
hórr:	‘Sound used to lead animals trap(pre)’	Elicitation
hótʃ’ótʃ’-	‘Abundance’	Interview
Hub	‘Glow’	Stimulus questions
húp’p’-	pierce	Elicitation
ííʃirábáʃár-	‘Nonsense’	Spontaneous speech
índʒíndʒ-	‘Beetles’	Spontaneous speech
it’áán-it’áán-a íí-h-è [je]	‘It smells incense.’	Spontaneous speech
jáá: (h)	‘Is that? (sure?)’	Spontaneous speech
jámbrát’t’ò	‘Stretch-out legs when sitting’	Spontaneous speech
jííf-	‘Fallen (for seeds)’	Spontaneous speech
jííf-jííf	‘Flew from here and there’	Spontaneous speech
Jófjófè	‘Bat’	Elicitation
Jújé	‘Owl’	Elicitation
júmbúr-	‘Slipped out’	Stimulus questions
Jút	‘Hit suddenly’	Spontaneous speech
jútt-jútt	‘Hit something by farce’	Spontaneous speech
juuf	‘Enter without quickly’	Stimulus questions
k’áá	‘Snap’	Elicitation
k’ák’ák’-	‘Crackling’	Stimulus questions
k’áp’ikáp’-	‘Greedy’	Elicitation
k’índ	‘Burnout’	Spontaneous speech
k’índík’índí... k’índ-	‘Burn black’	Spontaneous speech
k’íngírak’íngírò	‘Twisted’	Spontaneous speech
kááá..	‘Hit something by force’	Spontaneous speech

kááwútʃʃ-	‘Break down’	Spontaneous speech
kádʒdʒ	‘Choking’	Spontaneous speech
kákár-kákár	‘Split this wood quickly.’	Spontaneous speech
kállkáll-	‘Fast walk’	Stimulus questions
kanbatt’	‘Breakdown/finished abruptly’	Elicitation
káwáf	‘Break down’	Elicitation
kéngelée	‘Beautiful’	Interview
kénngéng	‘Deep red’	Elicitation
két’két’két’két’...két’-	‘Shrieked with laughter’	Interview
kétʃʃ	‘Cutting’	Spontaneous speech
ɣi íi-h-è	‘he disapproved(it)’	Spontaneous speech
kiʃʃ-	‘Break glass’	Stimulus questions
kópp-náp’p’	‘Picked it up and went out of sight.’	Spontaneous speech
kòpp-tʃ’át’t’	‘Picked up and released it quickly.’	Spontaneous speech
kóʃíkóʃò	‘A poison warm which damages fingers’	Spontaneous speech
Kúmb	‘Swell’	Spontaneous speech
kúmb-kúmb	‘Becomes swollen completely’	Spontaneous speech
Kúmm	‘Rap/chip off’	Spontaneous speech
kùʃíkùnd-	‘Black ant’	Spontaneous speech
kópp-	Pickup quickly	Spontaneous speech
lúúngó	‘Tall’	Interview
máá:	‘Sound used to call calf’	Spontaneous speech
Mákátòò	‘Disapproval’	Elicitation
máásséméw-	‘Undermine’	Spontaneous speech
méétʃʃ-méétʃʃ-a íi-h-è [je]	‘It smells meat.’	Spontaneous speech
métʃʃfékò	‘Rain bird’	Interview
mót’t’-	‘Uproot’	Stimulus questions
mútʃʃ’ír-	‘Appear suddenly’	Interview
mútʃʃ	‘Cut quickly’	Spontaneous speech
nákkínákk-	‘Trot (dog)’	Spontaneous speech
náp’p’-júmbúr	‘Go and comes back very fast.’	Spontaneous speech

níp'p'-	'Stab/ pierce'	Spontaneous speech
núknúkk-	'Trot of dog'	Elicitation
núútʃ'ínúútʃ'ò	'Smile, show smiley face'	Spontaneous speech
óndzóndz	'Talk nonsense/gibberish'	Interview
óóngóng-	'Clumsy walk'	Spontaneous speech
p'áák'k'-	'Glitter'	Stimulus questions
p'ár-p'ár	'Trembles/ shacks with fear'	Spontaneous speech
p'éríté	'Shiny worm'	Spontaneous speech
p'ét'élp'éeǃ-	'Careless/thoughtless'	Spontaneous speech
p'ít'ík'inn-	'Turned upside-down suddenly'	Spontaneous speech
pátpát-	'Seeped out'	Spontaneous speech
rrr: rrr: rrr:	'Sound used to signal stop cultural dance'	Song
rrr...	'Signal to stop dance'	From cultural song
ǃáá: (h)	'Giving a forceful slap on one's face'	Stimulus questions
ǃákǃákò	'Loose'	Spontaneous speech
ǃáw(a)- ǃáw-a íí-h-è [je]	'It has soil taste.'	Spontaneous speech
ǃéétʃʃ-ǃéétʃʃ-a íí-h-è [je]	'It smells urine.'	Spontaneous speech
ǃékér	'Strew'	Elicitation
ǃètt'	'Land and sit quickly'	Elicitation
ǃíbb	'Hold swiftly'	Interview
ǃíífòò	'Genet'	Spontaneous speech
ǃókkóllí... ǃókkóll-	'Walk limply'	Elicitation
ǃórólóó	'Very tall'	Interview
ǃótt-	'Drag'	Stimulus questions
ǃúh-	'Swift'	Elicitation
ǃúkkúkkíl-	'Swing, pendulum'	Spontaneous speech
ǃungít'-	'Pinch'	Spontaneous speech
ǃúngút'	'Pinch'	Spontaneous speech
ǃúúh	'Fly away'	Elicitation
t'arr	'Fart'	Spontaneous speech
t'át'át'át'á...t'á -	'Repeated popping sound'	Elicitation

t'éejò	'Thunder'	Interview
t'ép'ér-	'Arrived'	Interview
t'ess	'Slap'	Spontaneous speech
t'óft'óf-	'Writhe'	Spontaneous speech
t'óp-	'Kiss loudly'	Spontaneous speech
t'ótftj̃-	'Grab'	Elicitation
t'ópp	'Die abruptly'	Interview
táá: (h)	'Hit forcefully'	Stimulus questions
táh-	'Hit forcefully'	Elicitation
tchip íi-h-è	'He expressed sympathy'	Spontaneous speech
téptép-	'Leak/drip'	Stimulus questions
tópp-	'Kill/die suddenly'	Spontaneous speech
tj̃á	'Sound of slapping someone'	Elicitation
tj̃ángál-bátftj̃ò	'Inproportionate mixture'	Spontaneous speech
tj̃á-tj̃á	'Slapped (it) repeatedly'	Stimulus questions
tj̃átt	'Bitter'	Spontaneous speech
tj̃ééla-tj̃úúlò	'Mixture of things, all together'	Spontaneous speech
tj̃íip'-	'Became full'	Stimulus questions
tj̃íllí tj̃íllí tj̃íllí	'Cry bitterly'	Elicitation
tj̃íp'p'	'Become completely full'	Spontaneous speech
tj̃ííít'-	'Skinny'	Spontaneous speech
tj̃ítj̃íííkk	'Silent'	Elicitation
tj̃óróróróróró...ró(r)-	'Sound of pouring liquid'	Interview
tj̃úbbíll-	'Fall into water'	Stimulus questions
tj̃únd-báátt'è	'Diminutive'	Elicitation
tj̃úu:t'	'Catch tightly'	Elicitation
tj̃óbb-	flash	Elicitation
tj̃órr	'Trickle'	Stimulus questions
tj̃íwúll	'Dive'	Stimulus questions
tj̃úbbíll-	'Fall into the water'	Elicitation
túk'úk'úk'ú k'	'Emits large amount of smoke'	Interview

túll-túll-a íí-h-è [je]	‘It has an ash taste.’	Spontaneous speech
Túnn	‘Pervade’	Interview
Tútúttó	‘To chase something/somebody’	Spontaneous speech
tutuu...	‘Blow horn’	Interview
Túútè	‘Rain bird’	Interview
úgè	‘Pigeon’	Interview
umOa	‘Kiss with audible sucking sound.’	Spontaneous speech
Úúkkóó	‘Yell for help’	Spontaneous speech
waa:	‘Become extremely white’	Interview
wák’k’ák’k’ílò	‘Fraudulent’	Spontaneous speech
wók’wók’ò	‘Frog’	Spontaneous speech
Wúllíwáákkò	‘Spin, rotate something’	Elicitation
wúllwúll-	‘Fluttered’	Elicitation
?ááp’p’-	‘Spit food’	Spontaneous speech
?itu-	‘Spit’	Spontaneous speech
		Spontaneous speech

3. Oromo Ideophonic data

!a-	‘Sound used to urge horse’	Spontaneous speech
!a!a!a	‘Urged horse’	Spontaneous speech
lallala	‘Regretted’	Spontaneous speech
llullulu	‘Call dog’	Spontaneous speech
badʒodʒ-	‘Trembled’	Spontaneous speech
balank’	‘It glowed’	Elicitation
ball:	‘Sound of gun fire’	Stimulus questions
ball-ball	‘Flash’	Stimulus questions
bandal-	‘Opened (it) completely’	Elicitation
batʃˀbatʃˀ	‘Slopped’	Elicitation
batt-batt	‘It flapped (it) wings.’	Interview
biddik’u	‘To walk’	Interview

bilbill-	‘Blaze’	Stimulus questions
birbirbir-	‘Shivered’	Interview
birbirbirbir-	‘Flay from here and there’	Spontaneous speech
birr:	‘Bird’s fly’	Spontaneous speech
bifaan-bifaan dzed-e	‘It has water taste.’	Spontaneous speech
boh	‘Rejection’	Spontaneous speech
bolololo...lol-	‘Over blazing wildfire’	Stimulus questions
buff:	‘Sound of gun’	Elicitation
bukum	‘It moaned(monkey)	Spontaneous speech
bumm:	‘Continuous release of loud fart’	Spontaneous speech
dāa-	‘Annoyed’	Elicitation
dambal-	‘Tumbled off’	Elicitation
damma-damma dzed-e	‘It has honey taste.’	Spontaneous speech
diditfu	‘Run/tapping’	Elicitation
dipp’	‘Fall suddenly’	Stimulus questions
dok’dok’ee	‘Motorbike’	Spontaneous speech
dōwaa...	‘Fall’	Spontaneous speech
dūdūgi	‘Genet’	Spontaneous speech
duk’duk’duk’-	‘Sound of pouring liquid into container’	Interview
dunfur-	‘Pretty’	Interview
dūufu-dūufu dzed-e	‘It smells fart.’	Spontaneous speech
d3ard3ar-	‘Hasty’	Dictionary
d3orgaa	‘Fall suddenly’	Stimulus questions
falak’-	‘It returned suddenly.’	Stimulus questions
fajaa:	‘Splash water’	Stimulus questions
fintʃʃaan-fintʃʃaan dzed-e	‘It smells urine.’	Spontaneous speech
fiʃʃf...	‘Release urine for longer time’	Interview
Fulul	‘Gush’	Spontaneous speech
funun-	‘Bleed’	Spontaneous speech
Furafuree	‘Pendulum’	Spontaneous speech
furr:	‘Sound of stone when thrown by force’	Elicitation

Furtuu	‘Key’	Spontaneous speech
gamm	‘He held (it) firmly.’	Elicitation
gib	‘Fill’	Spontaneous speech
gimm	‘Drum’	Spontaneous speech
gip’p’-	‘Bang’	Elicitation
godissee	‘Crossed-legs’	Spontaneous speech
golgolaa?	‘Dawn’	Spontaneous speech
guf	‘Sit’	Spontaneous speech
gututfunge	‘Bird/parrot’	Interview
Hadudde	‘Pigeon’	Spontaneous speech
hamumajt-	‘Yawn’	Spontaneous speech
happ-	‘Bite abruptly’	Spontaneous speech
harka-harka dzed-e	‘It has spoiled taste.’	Spontaneous speech
harsam-	‘Fall down’	Elicitation
hatt’ijfoo:	‘Sound of sneeze’	Stimulus questions
hawhaw-	‘Bark’	Spontaneous speech
haʔah	‘Vomiting’	Spontaneous speech
himm-	‘It neighed (hors)’	Elicitation
hirk’infu	‘Hiccup’	Elicitation
hiʔi-	‘Deny, the sound of denial’	Elicitation
Hobonbole	‘Hurricane’	Dictionary
hulluk’-	‘Slipped out’	Elicitation
ifuu:	‘Ideophone for a sudden bad smell’	Spontaneous speech
Jeji	‘Wolf’	Spontaneous speech
k’aa-	‘Snap’	Spontaneous speech
k’amba	‘Kiss with audible sound’	Elicitation
k’esk’esk’esk’es... dzed-e	‘Giggled’	Spontaneous speech
k’irk’irk’ir...	‘Tickle someone’	Spontaneous speech
k’oke	‘Boiled’	Spontaneous speech
k’orop’iissa	‘Grasshopper’	Spontaneous speech
k’uk’um-	‘Crush/chew’	Elicitation

k'urtʃʊm	'Crunch'	Elicitation
k'urup'e	'Gazelle'	Spontaneous speech
k'uss	'Touch gently'	Spontaneous speech
k'utʃumee	'Very short'	Spontaneous speech
Kakawe	'Thunder'	Spontaneous speech
Kanniissa	'Bee'	Spontaneous speech
Karkaroo	'Warthog'	Elicitation
kartʃʊaf-	'Bite'	Spontaneous speech
kartʃabbu	'Scorpion'	Stimulus questions
kaʃ-	'Break down'	Elicitation
kaʃam-	'Break'	Elicitation
ɣi	'Disapproved'	Spontaneous speech
kir-kir-kir-kir-	'Shiver.'	Spontaneous speech
Kolkolle	'Empty'	Spontaneous speech
korr	'It moan'	Spontaneous speech
koʃoʃ	'Rustle'	Elicitation
kurkurs-	'Steer'	Elicitation
lab-	'Snatch'	Spontaneous speech
limit'-	'Very dark'	Spontaneous speech
lip'p'-	'Extinguish'	Interview
mujɲuk'u	'Tiptoed'	Spontaneous speech
murt'ut't'-	'Sprint'	Spontaneous speech
muu:	'Disapproval'	Spontaneous speech
p'ii:p	'Blow horn'	Spontaneous speech
puss:	'Continuous release of a hissing fart'	Spontaneous speech
puu	'It has gone out of sight.'	Elicitation
rambaa-	'Fall'	Elicitation
ʃaa:	'Rushing sound of falling water'	Stimulus questions
ʃaaʃoo	'White'	Interview
ʃaatatt-	'Lumpy'	Elicitation
sat'	'Snatch'	Interview

sefelsefel-	‘Restless’	Interview
ʃitoo-ʃitoo dʒed-e	‘It smells perfume.’	Spontaneous speech
sogida-sogida dʒed-e	‘It has salt taste’	Spontaneous speech
ʃuff-	‘Appeared suddenly.’	Elicitation
suksuk-	‘Trot’	Stimulus questions
suruur-	‘Became terrified’	Spontaneous speech
suruur-suruur-	‘Terrified now and then.’	Spontaneous speech
ʃuuh	‘Fly away’	Elicitation
t’ab-	‘Drip, trickle’	Elicitation
t’arapp’	‘Jump’	Elicitation
t’awalwaallee	‘Hesitant’	Spontaneous speech
t’aʔt’aʔt’aʔ-	‘Popped’	Stimulus questions
tchip	‘Expressed sympathy’	Spontaneous speech
tʃa	‘Slap’	Elicitation
tʃaal-	‘Silent’	Spontaneous speech
tʃaamul-	‘Blend, combine’	Stimulus questions
tʃafak’	‘He captured (it) firmly.’	Stimulus questions
tʃalah-	‘Entered’	Stimulus questions
tʃambaa	‘Slap forcefully’	Stimulus questions
tʃammi-	‘Mastication’	Interview
tʃotʃoree	‘Mixed colored’	Elicitation
tʃillimm:	‘Slap someone forcefully’	Stimulus questions
tʃuuh	‘Chase ape’	Spontaneous speech
tuff-	‘Rise up (smoke)’	Spontaneous speech
Tuntuno	‘Very fat’	Elicitation
turufturuf...turff-	‘Dashed off from here and there’	Elicitations
tuturuff-	‘Hopped’	Spontaneous speech
tuturuu-	‘Horn’	Spontaneous speech
umOa	‘Kissed audible sound’	Spontaneous speech
wango	‘Civet cat’	Interview
weetʃa	‘Very white’	Stimulus questions

ʔaajj	‘No/not’	Spontaneous speech
ʔadud-	‘Pigeon’	Spontaneous speech
ʔelelele	‘Shout continuously’	Interview
ʔifuu:	‘Sound produced for bad smell’	Spontaneous speech
ʔiijja	‘Cry for help’	Stimulus questions
ʔililtj	‘Rejoice’	Stimulus questions
ʔifii:	‘Sound for something preposterous’	Spontaneous speech
ʔobonbolelee	‘Hurricane’	Song (lyrics)
ʔudududu...	‘Sound of gushing fluid’	Elicitation
ʔurunguu	‘Owl’	Elicitation
ʔuu:woj	‘Yell for help’	Spontaneous speech

Appendix 2

1. Amharic corpus data

wət'-u si-al ji-wətəwət' wəskənbija-w k'it'itt' al- ə yə-hager-e səw!

sauce-DEF CONJ-NEG 3SGM-cooked:be cover-DEF IDEO:squat said POSS-country-1SG man!'

ahun min-u tə-jazə jih hullu ina nəw ine i- fom ine i-fom t'il?

now what-DEF IPFV-capture and this all 3SGM COP I IPFV-elect I IPF-elect quarrel?

‘Like the “cart before the horse”, why are all these quarrels for the election before nothing is been done yet?’

jə-issu-n nəgər təj-w aj-wəra! tɪnant mata adʒdʒire kə-bet-u wullikk' jil-na

POSS-his-ACC thing leave-DEF NEG-speak! yesterday night he ABL:from house-his IDEO:leave say-and mətt'ətt' bet t'illikk'.

bar house IDEO:enter.

‘It is better not to talk about him. Yester night he left his home and went to bar.’

kə-izza jih-n wiski ijǰə-as-k'ədd-a tʃ'illitt' ijǰə-as-k'ədd-a tʃ'illitt'
 from-there this-ACC whiskey PROG-CAS-pour:PFV-3SGM IDEO:drink PROG-CAS-pour:PFV-3SGM IDEO:drink
 si-adərg k'ojǰ-i-t-o t'ɪnbizz-sikkɪrr bɪll-o mitt'itt al-ə.

When-make:PFV-3SGM late-3SG-3SGM IDEO:intoxicate-intoxicate say:3SGM IDEO:come say:PFV-3SGM.

‘Then he over drank whiskey and went back home lately getting intoxicated.’

abbat jih-n aj-t-o ɪmbʷa-kərrəjju kə-al-gəddəl-hu-t al-ə.

father this-ACC see 3SGM-3SGM IDEO:moan-k ərrəjju unless-NEG-kill-1SG-3SGM say:PFV-3SGM.

bəhʷala bə-gidd haj-haj bɪll-ən gelagəl-n.

later with force IDEO:stop fighting-we say:PFV-1PL separate-1PL

‘His father saw that and became nervous and wanted to kill him. Later, we managed to separate them.’

kə-izija bə-magist-u ɪndet səw jij? jihe-w-lif k'an-u-n mulu
 from there with-next-DEF how man see? this-FOC-you day-DEF-ACC whole

ɪffɪ-kumfɪff ɪndə-al-ə al-ə.

IDEO.wornout IDEO:humiliated as-say:PFV-3SGM say:PFV-3SGM.

‘The next day he was unable to see anyone with shame and still he feels humiliated.’

(Source story telling recorded corpus)

tʃ'ərək'a dibul-dok'a as'e bet gəbb-atʃtʃ awuk'-a as'e bet jə-all-u lidz-otʃtʃ

Moo IDEO:round-glass bead king house enter-3PSGF know-3SGF king house REL-exist-3PL boy-3PL

ɪnkɪrdad fəttəg-i-otʃtʃ fəttəg-u fətattəg-u bə-k'ulbit't' as-k'əmət'-u k'ulbitt'-wa

darnel clean-3SGM-3PL clean-3PL clea-clan-PL ISNT:with small basket CAUS-put-3PL small basket-3SGF

si-ti-səbbər bə-wantʃ'a gələbbət'-u adzɔza k'olo sɪnde k'olo

when-3SGF-break with horn tumbler turn-3PL parched oat's parched wheat

ja-tʃtʃi-n tit-ə-h jih-tʃtʃi-n tolo.

that-3SGDF-ACC leave:PFV-2SGM this-3SGF-ACC quickly

‘Moon round glass bead

Deliberately she entered king's house

The children in the king's house are darnel cleaner

They cleaned it again and again

They put it in the small basket

When the small basket breaks out

They kept in the horn tumbler
 Parched Oat's parched wheat
 Take this quickly leaving that!

(Source children song recorded corpus)

təw sɪma-ŋŋ haɣər-e ɪrə sɪma-ŋŋ haɣər-e
 pleas hear-1SG country-POSS IDEO:please hear-1SG country-POSS
 'Please hear my country. Please listen me my country'
 məlləs-k'əlləs bɪll-a aʃj-ətʃtʃi-w k'əmis-wa-n
 IDEO:saw aside say:PFV-3SGF see-3SGF-3SGM dress-3SGF-ACC
 'She saw her dress turning side-to-side'
 ɪrəss-atʃtʃi-w na kə-affər mə-ləwwəs-wa-n
 forget-3SGF-PFV-2SGM and with-soil being-mix-3SGF-ACC
 'She forgot that she was spoiled with mud'
 təw sɪma-ŋŋ haɣər-e ɪrə sɪmaŋŋ haɣər-e
 pleas hear-1SG country-POSS please hear-1SG country-POSS
 'Please hear my country. Please listen me my country'

(Source begena song recorded corpus)

2.Kafa Ideophonic corpus data

This table contains the corpus data recoded in the field and used in this dissertation.

tá ne níh-òò-n arí-h-òò ógò jágínò-né
 I you father-NOM-ACC know:PFV-1SG big brave-COP
 'I know your father he is a great brave.'
 ikà káll-òò-n marígééte-nò màg dójjàà-bé k'éjà máádò-ná
 one time-NOM-ACC the chief of dəbtəra-cantors from learn-exist pass night morning-by
 'Once upon a time, from the chief of the dəbtəra-cantors, having learned, I passed the night.'
 mág hám-òtʃtʃ tá kətʃtʃá-hèná bí-ná dónò bàzáb-ná wá gòm-m-ó-tʃtʃ mútʃtʃír íí-h-tèè
 home go-ABL I came out-when he-and sir bezabih-and come-NOM:3SGM-FOC IDEO:appear say:PFV-3PL
 'When I was going home, he and sir bezabih appeared suddenly.'
 táá-n wób-è gááh-òò dánéé-m t'áá?-ò-n táá-tʃ békì-b-e íí-h-é.

I-ACC come-2SG buffalo-NOM-3SGM found-IPFV place-NOM-ACC I-FOC show-JUSS-2SG say:PFV-3SGM
'He said come and show me the place where buffo is found.'

tá-w-ò-ná dé?á íí-k'-à bònó-shìn jétʃtʃá-kà ʃíngír hám-ò
I-FOC-1SG-and ok-say:PFV-1SG them-3PL take-1SG shingir go-1SG

'I took them and went to Shingir.'

aròò-tʃtʃ nòò ʃègá-h-éé-ná iká bééd gááh-òò gòdd-òò-tʃ mík'á béé-t-èè
there-FOC we reach:PFV-1PL-when one IDEO.huge buffalo field-NOM-3PL-FOC sleep-exist:PFV-3SGM

'When we reach there one huge buffalo was sleeping.'

aròò-n tʃ'íín-ì nòò-n mít'-òò-tʃ kéj-ót-èè íí-h-é
that-ACC see:PFV-3SGM we-ACC tree-NOM-3SGM-FOC climb-JUSS-3PL say:PFV-3SGM

'Seeing that he ordered us to climb on trees.'

bí wótà téff-òò-ná ʃáwòò-tʃ k'èj-ná t'íít-òò-ná díll díll díll díll ájj jét'-ì
he again chest-NOM-3SGM-with soil-FOC sleep-and bullet-NOM-3SGM-INS:with IDEO:fire,fire,fire,fire
make:PFV hit-3SGM

'Sleeping on the earth with his chest, he fired the buffalo with bullet repeatedly.'

men gah-oo kaama tʃ'ap'-i ti-i ham-i ʃowoo-tʃ gugmm-ii-h-e
that buffalo up jump-3SGM stand-3SGM go-3SGM soil-FOC IDEO:fall say:PFV-3SGM

'That buffalo jumped up and fell down on the earth.'

bi wotta wotʃtʃ'-i ham-I ʃikk-oo na fett aj-ø guur-i
he again raun-3SGM go-3SGM knife-NOM:3SGM INS:with IDEO:slaughter make:PFV-3SGM slaughtered

'He ran very quickly and slaughtered the buffalo with knife immediately.'

bekketʃtʃ boo gah-oo-n wut'i-t-o-ne waa meen-o daami-tʃtʃa get-a wotʃtʃ-e-h-ee
Immediately he buffalo-NOM-ACC kill-PFV:3SGM-COP come meat-NOM take-FOC tel-IPFV message-TV-
PFV:3SGM

'Immediately message was sent for the people to come and take buffalo meat.'

aroo-tʃtʃe-na wode aʃ-oo waa gah-ee meno-n daam-i bi maam-o-n ari-h-oo
there-ABL-and many people come buffalo-NOM meat-ACC take-IPFV he eat-3SG-ACC kn:PFV-3SG

'Then I know that many people came, took and ate buffalo's meat'

(Source story telling recorded corpus data)

3. Oromo corpus data

gujja-n wosiil-i kia du?-e sun nat-i beke-m-e ture.

day-FOC uncle-FOC my die-3SGM that me-to know-PFV:SGM saty

‘The day my uncle die I came to know the truth.’

gujja sana oto ani buna dūga jir-uu garaa kija kessaa kirkirkirkirkir... na god-e.

day that when I coffee drink exist-1SG stomach my inside IDEO:fer,fear,fear,fear... me make:PFV-3SGM

‘That day when I was drinking coffee I was trembling with fear.’

taka tur-ee booda bilbil-i kijja kililill kililill dzed-e

One stay-3SGM latter cell-phone-FOC my IDEO:noise,noise say:PFV-3SGM

‘Latter after a while my cell-phone rang repeatedly.’

jenna bilbila kaas-u dzed-u k’aama kijja hundu kir-kir-kir-kir... dzed-e

When cellphone pick:IPFV-1SGM go:1SG body my all IDEO:shiver, shiver, shiver,...say:PFV-3SGM

‘When I tried to pick up the cellphone all my body parts were shivering with fear.’

otoo hark-i rom-u bilbila sana kaas-e ‘hello’ dzed-e jeroo sana saagle-n abaahee dzed-e

When hand-NOM-3SG shiver:IPFV-1SG cellphone that pick:PFV-1SG hello say:PFV-3SG time that sound

abaye say:PFV-SGM

‘While my hands shiver, I picked up the cellphone and said hello. Then one sound said Abaye.’

jeroo sana lep’p’e-n kijja tahtahtah... dzed-e rukut-e maall-oo nagaa miti? dzed-e

time that heart-FOC POSS:my IDEO:hit,hit,hit...say:PFV-3SGM hit what-FOC peace is’nt? say:PFV-3SGM

‘At that time my heart hit continuously and I asked is not ok?’

abaahee tesgaba?-i hund-u negaa da immm wosilee dukub-e malee dzed-e. maalloo nidarb-ee? dzed-e-n

abaye relax-3SG all-3PL peace COP IDEO:mmm uncle sick-3SGM but say:PFV-3SGM what-FOC pass:PFV-

3SGM? say:PFV-3SGM

‘Please, Abaye get relaxed everything is peace uncle sick he said. What? Has he passed? I asked.’

ee derb-e-jir-a dzed-e. sanaa oli waan ta?-e hin-beek-u lefa-irra d3orga dzed-e-n kufee.

yes pass:PFV-3SGM -exist-3SGM say:PFV-3SGM.that above what happen:PFV-3SGM NEG-kno:IPFV-1SG earth-

on IDEO:fall

say:PFV-1SGM-FOC fall.

‘Yes he has passed away he said. After that I don’t know what happened to me I fall on the earth with my full height.’

(Source story telling recorded corpus data)

bijja kana keessa woraabess-i guut-ee jir-a
 country this hyena-3SGM in full-3SGM exist-3SGM
 ‘This place is full of hyenas.

gujjaa tokko magaala oll-ee gara mana-ti ani gall-a-n tur-e
 day one town stay:PFV-3SG to home-FOC I enter:IPFV-3SG was-1SG
 ‘One day I was going home from town.’

jeroo-n sun ganna garuu dzii-n batt-ee tur-te
 time-DEF that summer however moon-DEF raise-3SGF was-3SGF
 ‘It was the summer season, even though the moon was raised.

?otoo ani deem-u dalla tokko bira gahe.
 when I walk-IPFV fence one near reach
 ‘When I was walking I reached near one fence.’

dallaa sana dzalaa waraabess-i guda tokko luff dzed-e dandi irra ba?-e
 fence that under hyena-FOC big one IDEO :appear say :PFV-3SGM street on out:PFV-3SGM
 tikk’o ture tokko amas gara miga-tin luff dzed-e
 small delay one again to right-FON IDEO:appear say :PFV-3SGM
 ‘After a while one also suddenly came out from the left side.’

tokko amass gara bita-tin truff dzed-e dandi-it duff-e
 One again to left-FOC IDEO :appear say :PFV-3SGM come-3SGM
 ‘Another again suddenly came to the road from the left side.’

ani-s gaduu issan kessa-it ana galt f-u issaan-i bare.
 suuta dzed-e ani gara dalla-t sike daabad-e
 t’ikk’o ture ani t’arapp’ dzed-e dalla gimbi iirrat ?uttaale be?-e
 small satay I IDEO :jump say:PFV-3SGM building fence on jump climb-1SG
 ‘After a while I slowly moved to the fence and jumped quickly on the fence building.’

(Source story telling recorded corpus data)