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**Ideophones in Kambaata**

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# **Ideophones in Kambaata**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This dissertation describes the phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic aspects of ideophones in Kambaata, one of the Highlan East Cushitic languages (HEC) from the Afro-Aasiatic phylum spoken in SNNPR, especially in Kambaata Tembaaro Zone. It is a qualitative descriptive research. Elicitation, observation, introspection and written corpus are used to collect data from various sources.

The phonology of ideopohnes is a bit different from the phonology of the language. Ideophones have CV, CVV, CVC and CVVC syllable structure. Many monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophones with long vowels are suggestive of sound symbolism. Some obstruents do not combine with sonorants due to phonotactic constraints. Ideophones display little morphology in many languages, but in Kambaata they are subject to some productive morphological operations: derivation, reduplication, triplication and compounding. Generally, ideophones are morphologically invariable and cannot be segmented into smaller parts. To some extent, the syntax of ideopohnes is different from the syntax of the language. They obligatorily co-occur with auxiliary verbs and this enables them to be integrated into the syntax of the language. Ideophones carry the core lexical meaning, while auxiliary verbs convey the grammatical functions. They appear in all types of sentences. They are sub-part of verbs and follow the syntactic patterns of verbs in the language.

As semantics regards, ideophones demonstrate sense relations like antonymy, synonymy, homonymy and polysemy. They display a wide array of semantic fields in the language. The perceptual domain subsumes vision, touch, taste, smell and hearing. Another semantic aspect of ideophones is sound symbolism, the sound-meaning relation. Onomatopoeic ideophones include sounds made by humans, animals, objects and liquids. Synaesthesia is used to indicate shape and size (largeness and smallness of liquid and objects). However, conventional sound symbolism is used in limited environment and denotes the most common type of association between sound and meaning. Furthermore, pragmatic and discourse functions of ideophones has been attested in proverbs, storytelling, riddles, traditional games, traditional songs and poetry.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
AAN	agentive derivation
B.C	before Christ
C	consonant
CAUS2	double causative <i>-siis</i>
COM	commutative
COND	conditional
COP1	locative copula
COP2	<i>-ha / -ta</i> copula
COP3	VV- <i>t</i> copula
CRD1	coordination with <i>-V</i>
CRD2	coordination with <i>-na</i>
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
dem	demonstrative
DEM1	demonstrative attribute: proximal
DEM2	demonstrative attribute: medial
DEM3	demonstrative attribute: contrastive
DEM4	demonstrative attribute: distal
DIM	diminutive
DS	different subject
E.C	Ethiopian calendar
F	female
FEM	feminine

GA	poly-functional marker of various subordinate clauses (complement, purposive, similative); adverbializer on adjectives; similative and accord marker on nouns
GEN	genitive
HEC	High Land East Cushitic
HON	honorific
IDPH	ideophone
INACT	past tense, counterfactual
ICO	imperfective converb
ICP	instrumental-comitative-perlative
INF	infinitive
IMP	imperative
INTJ	interjection
IPV	imperfective
JUS	jussive
LEC	Low Land East Cushitic
LOC	locative
M	male
MAS	masculine
MID	middle voice
MID PAS	middle passive
NP	noun phrase
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
NOMIN	nominalizer
OBL	oblique
OBJ	objective
PAS	passive
PCO	perfective converb
PL	plural
POSS	possessive

PRED	predicate form
PROG	progressive
PRV	perfective
PURP	purpose
Q	question marker
RED	reduplication
SG	singular
SNNPR	Southern Nations, Nationalities and People Region
SUBJ	subjunctive
SS	same subject
V	vow

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Background

The linguistic phenomenon called *ideophone* or *expressive language* has been identified in many languages of the world (Kulemeka 1993: 1). Similarly, Voeltz and Kilian-Hatz (2001: 3) point out that ideophones are found in many languages. Although ideophones exist in many languages, Dingemanse (2018: 10) states that ideophones in the linguistic literature have not been given scholarly attention they deserve. In addition, Childs (1994: 178) notes that ideophones have been neglected and rarely integrated into linguistic description. Furthermore, Samarin (1967: 117) reports that ideophones are ignored in grammatical description and in general linguistic discussions.

Ideophones are sound-symbolic lexical items that vividly evoke perceptual representations. The term and its current meaning have been rooted in African linguistics, ever since Doke first introduced it as a “vivid representation of an idea in sound” (Doke 1935: 118). However, Dingemanse’s definition of ideophones is the latest one. According to Dingemanse (2012: 655), ideophones are a particular lexical class of expressive words depicting perceptual events or states, and are said to be a universal or near-universal feature of language. Ideophones are often sound-symbolic in that they imitate sounds made in the real world, or contain phonesthemes, i.e. particular sounds or sound sequences that suggest a certain meaning, often through iconicity (Martin 2008: 32). Dingemanse (2011: 164) defined iconicity as a perceived resemblance between form and meaning.

Treis (2008: 86) states that Kambaata has a large number of ideophones. She explains that ideophones are part of complex verb forms that are known as “compound verbs”, “descriptive compounds”, “idiomatic compounds” or “phrasal verbs” in Cushitic linguistics.

This thesis is concerned with phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic aspects of ideophones in Kambaata, a Highland East Cushitic language spoken in Southern Nations, Nationalities and People Region (SNNPR) of Ethiopia.

## 1.2. The People

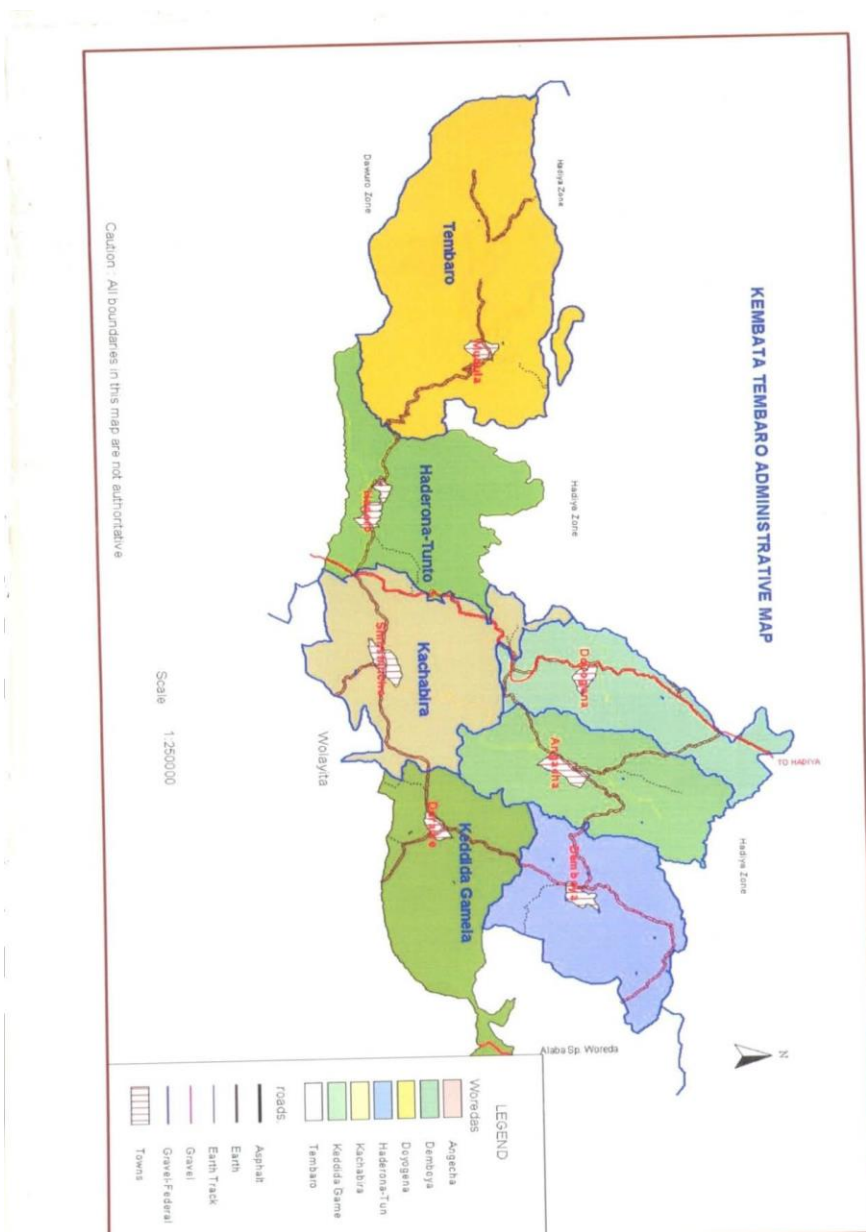
Kambaata is the name of the people and the ethnolinguistic group. Different scholars referred in their studies to this ethnolinguistic group and its language together as *Kambaata*, *Kambatta*, *Kambata*, *Kembata* and *Cambata*. Scholars such as (Leslau 1956; Tesfaye 1992 and Yacob 2002) used *Kambata*. Treis (2008) used *Kambaata*. However, Singer (1973; 1975; 1978 and 1980) used *Cambata*. In this study, I use *Kambaata* to refer to the people and the language.

Kambaata is in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region (SNNPR). They live in the highland areas around the Abarrichcho massif about 300km southwest of the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, between the Omo River to the west and the Billate River to the east. The Kambaata Tembaaro Zone comprises three major ethnic groups: Kambaata, Tembaaro and Donga. The capital of the zone is Duuraame, 300 km from Addis Ababa. According to the 2007 Ethiopian housing and population census, the number of Kambaata speakers is 685, 167 among them 337, 852 male and 345, 315 female.

The zone contains three city administrations and seven wärädas (districts). The three city administrations are Duuraame city administration, Shiinshichcho city administration and Haddaro city administration. The seven wärädas are Qadiida Gaameela wäräda, Qaacca Biira wäräda, Angacca wäräda, Tembaaro wäräda, Haddaro and Tunto Zuriya wäräda, Daambooyya wäräda, and Dooyyeeganna wäräda.

The immediate neighbours of the Kambaata are speakers of other Highland East Cushitic languages namely Haddiyya in the north, Alaaba in the east and Tembaaro in the west (in the Omo Shalaqo wäräda of the Kambaata Tembaaro Zone) respectively. To the south and south west speakers of Omotic languages Wolaitta and Dawuro are other immediate neighbours of Kambaata.

**Figure 2: Administrative map of Kambaata Tembaaro zone**



Source: Planning and Economic Department, Duuraame

The Kambaata economy is based on subsistent farming. The peasants are hard-working agriculturalists practicing a complex system of crop rotation. They have developed remarkable skills and survival strategies to cope with rapidly degrading natural resources and deteriorating environmental conditions. The worsening ecological problems negatively affect the agriculture.

Almost every farmstead involves in some way in livestock production. They keep cattle, such as oxen for draft power in farming; they keep cows for milk and generate supplementary cash. They keep sheep, goats and poultry for consumption or sale. Horses and mules are used for riding and transporting loads, whereas donkeys are used exclusively for transporting goods. The Kambaata were well-known for their horse-breeding in the past. Having quality horses and mules symbolizes high status in the society.

The main crops in the area are: wheat, barley, maize, sorghum, beans, peas, and *teff*. In addition, sugarcane, potato, coffee, chili pepper *chat* are cultivated for consumption and as cash crop.

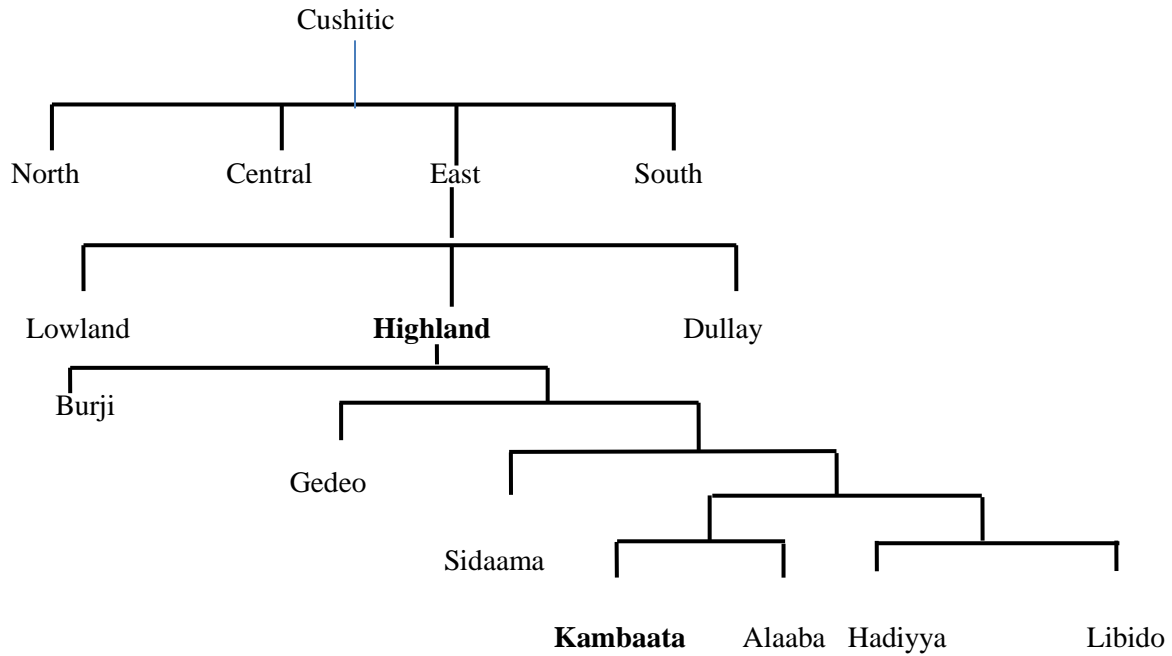
### **1.3. The Language**

Ethiopia is the home of languages that belong to three families of the Afro-asiatic phylum, i.e. Semitic, Cushitic and Omotic languages. Along the western border of the country, languages of the Nilo-Saharan phylum, particularly languages of the Eastern Sudanic and Koman branches are spoken.

Cushitic, to which Kambaata belongs, constitutes one of the six branches of the Afro-Asiatic phylum, which is the fourth largest linguistic phylum in the world. Cushitic is mainly spoken in the area stretching along the Red Sea and around the Rift Valley. The speakers of the Highland East Cushitic (HEC, hereafter) languages are located between 5 degree and 8 degree latitude, and between 37 degree and 39 degree longitude. Mous (2012: 342) points out that Cushitic has over thirty languages, and some scholars extend the number to forty-five; for instance, Appleyard (2012: 200) states that there are just over 30 Cushitic languages. The Cushitic languages, which are spoken in the Horn of Africa (Northeast Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya, and Tanzania), constitute one family of the Afro-Asiatic phylum Hayward (2000) cited in Treis (2008: 3).

The following family tree shows the overall skeleton of the Cushitics, particularly Highland East Cushitic subgroup.

**Figure 1: Internal classification of Cushitic**



**Adopted from Sim (1989:4)**

Kambaata is not only the name of an individual language but also the name of a small HEC branch, the Kambaata sub group, which consists of Kambaata (in the narrow sense) and Tembaaro as well as Alaaba and Qabeena. Treis (2008:4) states that Alaaba differs from Kambaata in parts of the lexicon and with respect to certain grammatical features. On the other hand, she points out that the differences between Kambaata and Tembaaro are marginal, but they are mutually intelligible. Qabeena is most closely related to Alaaba Crass (2001) cited in Treis (2008:4). Scholars hold different views with regard to the classification of (HEC). The inclusion of Burji into the (HEC) branch has been a contentious issue (Hudson 1976: 241-244). Hence, most scholars group Burji as a separate branch under HEC.

Since 1993 E.C Kambaata has been the medium of instruction in primary schools. Starting from 2007 E.C, it has been taught as a subject in high schools. The official orthography is Latin-based.

#### **1.4. Statement of the problem**

Although many linguistic researches have been conducted on the different aspects of Kambaata, due attention has not been given to ideophones of the language. Hence the present study is

intended to describe the phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic aspects of ideophones in the language.

### **1.5. The objective of the study**

The main objective of this study is to describe ideophones in Kambaata at different linguistic levels. To achieve this, the study addresses the following specific objectives:

1. to study the phonological features;
2. to provide the morphological structures;
3. to demonstrate the syntactic characteristics;
4. to discuss the semantic features and
5. to investigate the pragmatic functions

### **1.6. Significance**

Most of the previous linguistic researches conducted on Kambaata are limited to other aspects of the language such as, phonology, morphology, non-verbal predication, number, case, motion events, noun phrase and others. Thus, this research will contribute to the description of ideophones in language. It is also believed that the study will help to fill the gap in Cushitic languages in Ethiopia in general and Kambaata in particular with regard to ideophones. It would also provide additional insights into linguistic typology of ideophones. Moreover, it is hoped that the study will serve as linguistic and cultural profile of the speakers of Kambaata.

### **1.7. Scope**

The study is limited to describing the phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics of Kambaata ideophones. Although ideophones have close connection with the paralinguistic feature or gesture in the domain of pragmatics, gesture falls beyond (or out side) the focus of the study.

### **1.8. Methodology**

This study follows qualitative research paradigm to describe the phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic aspects of ideophones in kambaata. It is a qualitative

descriptive study. Elicitation, observation, written text and combination of introspection or intuition are employed. Using intuition about language is an indispensable part of all linguistic research, as the researcher cannot avoid having some knowledge of the subject. However, intuition is not sufficient, and will, therefore, be supported by empirical studies or other methods.

The study belongs to the area of descriptive research, and the research method used is qualitative. Both primary and secondary data are used for the study. With regard to using secondary data, Bowerman (2008: 184) states that a linguist can use previously documented materials to identify potential areas of interest.

### **1.8.1. Data collection**

Bamgboye & et al. (2006: 151) state that there are two common methods of gathering information for a research purpose. They are: 1) routine collection from a source and 2) data generated through survey and experiments. Young and middle-aged male and female native speakers in Duuraamee and Shinshicho areas were employed as informants on the basis of random selection (see appendix 5). Different discourse genres are used to elicit data from the informants: stories, proverbs, folktales, riddles, traditional songs, traditional games and poems. These are all primary data which are collected during fieldwork (from 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 2009 E.C to the end of March 2011 E.C). Using document analysis or written texts, I collected secondary data from school text books, Kambaatissa-Amharic-English dictionary and a book on Kambaata oral literature.

The introspection method was employed. The researcher of this thesis happens to be the native speaker of Kambaata, so I used my native competence to verify the data obtained from other native speakers.

Another way of collecting the data is the observation method. Labov (1972: 209-210) points out that the aim of linguistic research is to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed. Hence, I observed the native speakers while they were engaged in storytelling in which they used ideophones.

Kambaatissa-Amharic-English dictionary contains abundant ideophones. I made every endeavour to identify ideophones and collected them. In the same way, while reading the school text books

and the book on oral literature, the researcher identified riddles, proverbs and stories incorporated into the school text as teaching material and collection of oral literature.

### **1.8.2. Data Presentation and analysis**

The method of data analysis consists of close examination and classification of the different types of ideophones collected from various sources. The data were categorized thematically. This allowed me to mark individual ideophones with certain features. Ideophones collected from the respondents and from different sources were transcribed, glossed and translated into English.

## **1.9. Conceptual framework**

I did not subscribe to any specific theory; I rather focus on a typologically oriented descriptive approach which accommodates a wide array of phenomena to describe ideophones in Kambaata. The definition of ideophones is one of the most important concepts in this section. Another issue that occupies the centre of the discussion in this section is sound symbolism and its subcategories: onomatopoeia, synesthesia and conventional sound symbolism.

### **1.9.1. Definition of ideophones**

The following definition is the latest definition of ideophones given by Dingemanse. He defines that ideophones are marked words that depict sensory imagery (Dingemanse 2012: 654).

### **1.9.2. Sound symbolism**

The idea of the existence of a motivated, non-arbitrary relation between the sound patterns and the meanings of words, most often referred to as sound symbolism, has a long history, dating from Plato's famous dialogue *Cratylus*. *Cratylus* argues that names are natural and not conventional. During the past two decades, the notion of sound symbolism has resurfaced in typological studies of phonestemes and ideophones (Hinton et al. 1994 and Dingemanse 2012). Sound symbolism is used here to denote a subcategory of ideophones, a broad class of language phenomena also referred to as phonaesthesia, phonetic symbolism, onomatopoeia, etc. Hinton et al. (1994: 9) note a cross-linguistic tendency for sound symbolism to make use of reduplicative mechanisms (if the language in question has reduplication).

Childs (1994: 189-194) points out that sound symbolism is the general name for iconic relationship. And also he states that sound symbolism has three subtypes: onomatopoeia, synesthesia, and conventional sound symbolism. 1) Onomatopoeia directly imitates sounds in nature. 2) Synesthesia is a type of ideophones which are used to represent "visual, tactile, proprioceptive properties of objects such as size or shape" (Hinton et al. 1994: 4). And 3) Conventional sound symbolism is the analogical association of certain phonemes and clusters with certain meanings (Hinton et al. (1994: 5).

## **1.10. Review of related literature**

This section deals with the research history of ideophones in Ethiopian languages and international languages.

### **1.10.1. Studies in some languages outside Ethiopia**

Except Treis's survey of ideophones in one paragraph in her dissertation about the grammar of Kambaata, there are no linguistic studies on ideophones in Kambaata. However, there are handful of works on Ethiopian languages which touch on ideophones including Oromo, Shako, Wolaitta, Borna, Saaho, Hoozo, Sidaama, Hamar, Gyeta, Konso, Khimt'anga, Gawwada and Amharic. The next sections deal with some of the previously conducted research concerning the ideophones in the aforementioned Ethiopian languages. Note that the review begins with the Cushitic languages, especially Kambaata, the focus of this study.

Treis (2008: 87) describes ideophones in Kambaata as: (i) they are morphologically invariant and cannot be segmented into smaller parts. (ii) Their accent position is not predictable. For example, *komfóʔll yi* 'be (come) dented' and *kácha yi* 'argue', which are both disyllabic but are accented on different syllables. (iii) She says that ideophones do not necessarily contain "odd" phonemes not found elsewhere in the language. (iv) In addition, she states that ideophones can often be fully reduplicated; *bátt yi* and *bátt-bátt yi* 'flutter'. (v) Further, she says that they obligatorily co-occur with *yi* 'say' or *aʔ-* 'do'.

Ideophones in Sidaama end in terminal vowel /i/ which is less common in other word classes and nasalized vowels are common (Girum 2013). He states that sonorant-obstruent cluster is one of the most salient features of ideophones. Ideophones in Sidaama are characterized by extra-long

syllable, but this does not occur in other regular lexicon of the language. Vowel harmony in ideophonic words is another special feature and metathesis is common only in ideophones. In Sidaama ideophones encompass a non-arbitrary sound-meaning correspondence. Furthermore, semantically there are two major classes of ideophones: perceptual ideophones which are related to aural and sight ideophones and tactile ideophones which are related to touch ideophones.

Ideophones in Konso have closed syllables (Ongaye 2013). In Konso ideophones with long vowels are absent; ideophones employ only short vowels. Ideophones collocate with auxiliary verb *kid-* ‘say’ to which inflectional as well as derivational suffixes are attached; for example, some ideophones occur only with the verb stem *kiʔf-* ‘cause to say’ <*kid-f-* say-DCAUS->. In addition, ideophones denote a verbal action as well as the manner in which the action is done. Moreover, the phonological templates of ideophones, reduplication in ideophones, verbal and nominal derivations in ideophones and the metaphorical use of ideophones in Konso were given due attention.

The syllable structure of Oromo ideophones is akin to the syllable structure (Amina 2013). So ideophones and non-ideophonic words have the syllable structure of CV, CVV, CVC and CVVC where all vowels and consonants except /y/ and /č/ are used in ideophones. Ideophones do not mark number, gender, person, and etc. Syntactically, ideophones occur with verbs and adverbs where they play different roles. When they co-occur with different word classes, they form their own open word class. Morpho-syntactically, Oromo ideophones occur immediately before the auxiliary verb *dʒed* ‘say’ and such ideophones take only one argument. In addition, ideophones may also occur before the auxiliary verb *god* ‘do/make’ so, it takes two arguments. Semantically, Oromo ideophones refer to actions such as movement, breaking, hitting, entering, and etc.

Gawwada ideophones utilize the same phonemes found in other regular words of the language, but differ in their phonotactics (Tosco 2006). A large number of disyllabic ideophones involves either total or partial reduplication which is a well-known feature of ideophones (Childs 1994: 186). Syntactically, ideophones behave like nouns in a number of ways since they may be focalized just as nouns and NPs. Their collocation is restricted to the role of direct objects of the verb *páy* ‘to say’ and its causative *páyay* ‘to make say’ in Gawwada. Collocation of ideophones with auxiliary verb is observed in many of the Ethiopian languages. Semantically, the commonest semantic fields covered by the ideophones are noises, actions and movements.

Moreover, ideophones are recognized as an autonomous word class, in spite of the fact that they share a number of features with nouns. In contrast, ideophones in many Ethiopian languages do not constitute distinct or separate word class.

In descriptive grammar of Saaho (Cushitic) Esayas (2015) states that ideophones express an idea in distinctive sound or visual action. In addition, ideophones exhibit exceptional phonological characteristics such as syllable, consonant gemination and form compound verbs. In the same vein, ideophones in Hoozo, Mao branch have phonology which set them noticeably apart from other words (Getachew 2015). This is not the case in other Ethiopian languages because ideophones do not have such aberrant phonology. Moreover, ideophones are used for the formation of derived nominal in Saaho.

Teshome (2015) in the grammar of Khimt'anga (Central Cushitic) notes that ideophones are used to form composite verbs by combining different ideophones plus the verbal stem *j-say*. The predicate possession in the language is a compound verb by its very nature. It is a combination of two verbs: a main verb and an auxiliary verb. It is constructed by the use of the main verb *s'aj-* 'hold' plus the auxiliary verbs: *jəŋ*, for 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.M, 1PL and 2PL in the present tense, whereas the verb *s'aj-* 'hold' plus the auxiliary verbs *ŋi* and *naj* for the third person feminine singular and the third person plural, respectively. In contrast, the verb 'to have' (predicate possession) construction is formed by the use of the main verb *s'aj-* 'hold' plus the auxiliary verb *win-* in the past time. This auxiliary *win-* is also inflected for various grammatical categories such as person, number, gender and perfective aspect. Semantically speaking, in the verb 'to have' (predicate possession) construction, the main verb *s'aj-* 'hold' denotes the idea of possession. The auxiliary verbs: *jəŋ*, *ŋi* and *naj* show the time of actions in the present time, whereas the auxiliary verb *win-* denotes the time of actions in the past time. He generalizes that the auxiliary verbs: *jəŋ*, *ŋi* and *naj* are the tense markers for the present time, and the auxiliary verb *win-* is a past tense marker in the past time.

In Kulazngi, Kunfal variety Yaregal (2016) surveys that ideophones are semantically verb-like word groups that occur uninflected and followed by a quotative verb *n-* 'say or become' or its counterpart *ts-* 'do or make'. Ideophones in Kunfal are two types in semantic status: co-existing and independent semantic bearers. Ideophones occur as uninflected lexical base, but the auxiliary verbs carry all the grammatical information such as tense, mood, verbal agreement markers.

Similarly, this is the common feature of ideophones in many of Ethiopian languages. The ideophone plus auxiliary verb *n-* is used in intransitive construction, whereas ideophone and *ts-* is employed in transitive or causative sentence. There are monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic ideophones, but monosyllabic ideophones are overwhelmingly large in number. In addition, monosyllabic ideophones have CVC syllable structure with falling tone. As morphology regards, Kulazngi disyllabic ideophones are of two types: reduplicated and non-reduplicated. Such ideophones have fixed tone patterns but variable syllable structure. Furthermore, sound symbolism constitutes: onomatopoeia and image or visual sound symbolism. Onomatopoeic ideophones imitate the actions of humans, animals and objects. Semantically, ideophones convey the core or lexical meaning of the entire verbal phrase.

In documentation and grammatical description of Kara (Omotic) Alemgena (2018) puts that ideophones form a distinctive class of words and they are common in discourse, especially narrative discourse of various types. Monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophones are widely attested in the language. Ideophones are used to evoke sound or notion, images and used as intensifiers. Lexical or syllable reduplication is used to indicate intensity or repeated action. For example, the lexeme *put* ‘up/out’ can be reduplicated as *put put put* ‘getting up/out again and again’ and it is lexical reduplication or total reduplication, while the lexeme *jiri* ‘quickly’ can be reduplicated as *jiririri* ‘very quickly’ to show syllable (or partial reduplication).

In a grammar of Shako (Omotic) ideophones can be divided into two groups, based on the constructions in which they occur: the first group consists of “intensifying ideophones” which have a strong collocation with an adjective or verb (or verbs) The second group, called “predicate ideophones”, consists of ideophones which occur with the verb *gé* ‘say’ to form a predicate (Hellenthal 2010). Intensifying ideophones are characterized by a strong collocation with an adjective or verb. Other intensifying ideophones always occur in collocation with a verb, but predicate ideophones which occur with *gé* ‘to say’ used as predicate. Some ideophones likewise denote intensity are apparently not restricted to one verb, but may occur with a set of verbs and in this respect look more like normal adverbs. Semantically, predicative ideophones show manner and the ideophone carries the meaning of the predicate; however, intensifying ideophones can be described as ‘more of the verb’, where the verb carries most of the meaning.

Ideophones in Wolaitta (Omotic) are divided into two groups (Azeb 2001). This distinction is based on their different phonological shape and syntactic function. Group I ideophones typically involve reduplication; they are syntactically and semantically similar to adjectives. Ideophones of group II behave semantically and syntactically like converbs. She concludes that ideophones in Wolaitta do not form a separate word class, but there are ideophonic nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. In contrast, in Oromo, Gawwada, Hoozo, Kara and Hamar ideophones form their own distinct and separate word class (Amina 2013; Tosco 2006; Getachew 2015; Alemgena 2018 and Lydall 2000) respectively.

In documentation and description of Borna (Omotic) verb morphology ideophones represent a remarkable part of the language's grammar (Bikila 2018). He focuses on predicative ideophones and these types of ideophones always occur with dummy verbs *èttà* 'to say' and *òjà* 'to make'. In terms of their phonological property, ideophones are largely formed from the same phonemes that are used to form other words (non-ideophones). As morphological property regards, ideophones are characterized by the limited morphological display as they bear no affixes; the only productive morphological process associated with ideophones is reduplication. Onomatopoeic ideophones undergo reduplication and sometimes triplication. With regard to syntactic characteristic feature, verbal ideophones do not occur independently. In addition, semantically ideophones are more descriptive and give a more vivid picture of an event or a state than lexical verbs. Moreover, onomatopoeia and synesthesia convey the semantic notion of non-arbitrary relation between sound and meaning.

In the grammar of Hoozo (Omotic, Mao branch) Getachew (2015) states that ideophones often have phonology which set them noticeably apart from other words. Ideophones do not entirely fit into normal syntactic patterns and they are semantically highly marked while at the same time fulfilling functions of other, easier definable grammatical categories. Ideophones are syntactically independent units and can replace a clause; they appear on the clause periphery, but can also occur after the verb or noun with which they are associated. In contrast, in the vast majority of the Ethiopian languages ideophones do not have such aberrant phonology and syntactic aloofness or independence.

Lydall (2000) reports in Hamar ideophones form a distinctive class of words which are mainly used as summary words evoking sound/motion and images. Some ideophones are also used as

intensifiers, vocatives or attitude markers. Ideophones utilize onomatopoeia, similarities between sensations of speech and other sensations, as well as iconic processes such as reduplication and lengthening. They are also frequently accompanied by mimetic movement, hand gesture and/or facial expression. 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. Ideophones make the narrative more vivid, persuasive, and generally more entertaining. In like manner, Alemgena (2018) notes ideophones are common in discourse, especially narrative discourse of various types. Because of their dense and often untranslatable nature, Hamar ideophones generate feelings of shared mental and emotional states, and thence shared identity, among those who use and enjoy them. I don't agree with Lydall's statement which focuses on untranslatable nature of ideophones. If ideophones are untranslatable, how can they generate feelings of shared mental and emotional states as well as shared identity? Hence, this statement needs further elaboration and clarification. Ideophones are also prominent in religious chants where they are used primarily to revoke or expel unwanted things. In contrast, with regard to grouping ideophones, Petrollino (2016) organized Hamar ideophones into three groups on the basis of their syntactic functions: ideophones used as predicate, complement and adverb.

In the descriptive grammar of Gyeta (Semitic, Gunnän-Gurage language) phonologically, ideophones contain a lot of geminated consonants word-finally and most ideophones have closed syllables (Meheretu 2015). As morphology regards, reduplication is one of the productive morphological processes which contains full and partial reduplication. Full reduplication is common to monosyllabic ideophones and it indicates that the action is done randomly or at a longer duration. However, partial reduplication contains copy of the syllable and indicates that the action is done very quickly and it also shows a sense of urgency or small size or light weight. As far as syntax is concerned, ideophones co-occur with the auxiliary verbs *barə* 'say' for intransitive constructions and *ʔaypə* 'do' for transitive constructions or causative function to which inflectional as well as derivational suffixes are attached. The semantics of ideophones entails: onomatopoeia, synesthesia and conventional sound symbolism. Furthermore, both onomatopoeia and synesthesia demonstrate less degree of arbitrary relation between sound and meaning, but synesthetic ideophones co-occur with the verb *barə* 'say' or *ʔaypə* 'make' to form a compound verb.

Another study on ideophones is Wetter (2003) in Amharic. He investigates sound symbolic processes: 1) imitative sound symbolism: ideophones which serve to imitate acoustic phenomena and environmental sounds 2) synesthetic sound symbolism: ideophones which serve to represent visual, tactile, proprioceptive properties of objects such as size or shape and 3) conventional sound symbolism: analogical association of certain phonemes and clusters with certain meanings. In the same manner, (Girum 2013; Meheretu 2015; Yaregal 2016 and Bikila 2018) investigate onomatopoeia and synesthesia in the grammar of Sidaama, Gyeta, Kulazngi and Borna respectively; however, Getachew (2015) in the grammar of Hoozo studies onomatopoeia (or onomatopoeic ideophones). Wetter states that ideophones appear only as a part of the compound verbs together with *ale* ‘he said’ and *aderrege* ‘he did’. Similarly, in Kambaata, Inor, Konso, Oromo, Gawwada, Khimt‘anga, Hamar, Borna, Gyeta and Kulazngi ideophones collocate with auxiliary verbs (Treis 2008; Tsehay 2019; Ongaye 2013; Amina 2013; Tosco 2006; Teshome 2015; Hellenthal 2010; Bikila 2018; Meheretu 2015 and Petrollino 2016) respectively.

Hamar ideophones can be organized in three groups depending on their syntactic functions: the vast majority of ideophones attested function as predicate; the second larger group includes ideophones which are used as complements of the verbs *hamá* ‘say’ *hayá* ‘do’, but ideophonic adverbs constitute a smaller group (Petrollino 2016). As syllable structure regards, most ideophones in Hamar have monosyllabic structure. Ideophones which function as a head of a predicate phrase occur at the right edge of the clause in the slot which is normally by the main independent verb. However, there is no pronominal subject agreement or other verbal inflections marked on ideophones. Ideophones usually occur in combination with a fixed set of verbs. For instance, the ideophone *laili* often found with motion verb since it conveys the idea of a continuous movement and in some contexts it can be translated as ‘far’.

Onomatopoeic ideophones in Ethiopian languages, with particular reference to Amharic are studied by (Zealealem 2011). He assumes that onomatopoeic ideophones are common across languages with varying degrees of frequency. The wider currency of some words through borrowing and genetic relation might not directly reflect the unique property of Amharic or other Ethiopian languages. Onomatopoeic ideophones have to do something etymologically with natural sounds and exhibit a slightly different structural pattern. Furthermore, onomatopes are

not as such floating word with no word class, but they are genuine words with definite word class: verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs.

In a grammar of Inor (Semitic, Gunnän-Gurage language) Tsehay (2019) explores that ideophones collocate with the auxiliary verbs: *barə* “say” and *epə* “make, do”. Ideophones which occur with *barə* show the intransitivity of the action or state of being, while those which occur with *epə* indicate the transitivity. Ideophones are morphologically invariant, whereas the auxiliary verbs inflect for tense, aspect, mood, and etc. Similarly, almost in all languages of Ethiopia ideophones do not inflect for tense-aspect-mood, person and negation. Ideophones syntactically function as verbs since they collocate with auxiliary verbs. As far as my reading is concerned on syntax, collocation of ideophones with the auxiliary verbs is not a sufficient condition to determine the grammatical status of ideophones. To me, this is a faulty generalization. Ideophones in combination with the auxiliary verbs constitute compound verb in the language. Result or agent nouns can be derived from sound symbolic ideophones by attaching the suffix *-t* to the ideophones. Semantically, ideophones can be used to express emotion or feeling, action, manner of motion, state of being, perception, etc. As far as morphology is concerned, total reduplication demonstrates intensity of action or characteristic feature; reduplicated ideophones change their meaning when they get reduplicated. However, partial reduplication contains the repetition of nucleus and coda. Moreover a large number of ideophones in Inor are derived from onomatopoeic words which are named by imitating the sound or noise produced by particular events.

To conclude this, some of the languages have phonology that fit into the phonology of the language, but ideophones in Saaho have exceptional phonological characteristics. Ideophones in many of the Ethiopian languages adhere to the syntactic pattern of the language, but ideophones in Hoozo do not entirely fit into the normal syntactic patterns of the language. Ideophones in Gawwada behave like nouns; they may be focalized just as nouns and noun phrases. This is a very striking feature, but ideophones in some of Ethiopian languages do not exhibit such syntactic characteristics. In addition, ideophones do not inflect for tense-aspect-mood, person, and negation in all of Ethiopian languages, but the auxiliary verb carries all the grammatical functions.

### 1.10.2. Studies on ideophones in some languages outside Ethiopia

There are many linguistic researches on ideophones in other languages (or outside Ethiopian linguistic area). It is unmanageable to review all of the works on ideophones because of the restriction of time and space, so I focus only on some studies on ideophones in African languages, Australian languages, Austronesian languages, Mayan languages and son on.

Dhoorre and Tosco (1998) study Somali ideophones. They state that most Somali ideophones have the phonological shape of CV(V)C. Copmlete and patrial reduplications are common; complete reduplication is used to show repetition or intensity of the action. Morphosyntactically, Somali ideophones are nominals; however, they are semantically, verb-like in expressing actions and change of states, rather than situations. Regarding collocational restrictions, ideophones in transitive sentence collocate with the verb *sii* ‘to give’, but in intransitive sentence they co-occur with the verb *yiri* ‘to say’. Ideophones occur in a positive declarative sentence with the presence of a nominal focus marker (*baa/ayaa*). They appear in negative sentence, question and imperative as well as in subordinate caluse. As far as semantics is concerned, ideophones cover a narrow range of meanings.

The syntactic and semantic properties of ideophones in the Australian languages Yir-Yoront, Yirk-Mel, and the Wik-languages are compared by (Alpher 2001). Ideophones are “a matter of presentation of new information” in these languages, i.e. ideophones have the function of foregrounding the verb which is the carrier of new information or focus. In contrast, ideophones in many African languages serve the function of foregrounding or they are not used to demonstrate focus or new information. Moreover, ideophones are consistently absent when the verb does not fulfill this function (foregrounding).

Even though ideophones in Ewe (Niger-Congo) may deviate from the canonical phonological and morphological and morpho-syntactic properties of a language, they are part and parcel of the language (Ameka 2001). Ideophones are an integral part of the languages in which they occur. Additionally, he recommends that linguists and linguistic anthropologists not only describe them as a curiosity of these languages but go further and include them in the data they consider in making typological generalizations about specific parts of the languages or of the languages as a whole.

The term *symbolism* can be associated with sound in at least two ways in Perce (American language) (Aoki 1994). One is as in imitative sound symbolism, and the other is augmentative—diminutive sound symbolism, a type of synesthetic sound symbolism marking the size of an object or the status, sex, age, or other characteristics of the speaker, addressee, or referent. Imitative phonosymbolism is reported in a wide range of languages, and is probably universal; the symbolic augmentative-diminutive alternation of sounds is reported in many languages of the Americas.

In Didinga (eastern Sudanic), ideophones have the same phoneme inventory as other words (de Jong 2001). In contrast, Kisi ideophones have distinct and separate phonology (Chlids 1988). Kisi ideophones employ a different inventory of segments; some segments are only found in ideophones, while others occur in the rest of the language. In Didinga monosyllabic words with a short vowel and a fortis consonant onset are rare among non-adverb words in the language. Reduplication in ideophones may have the same function as in verbs, which is repeated action or duration. There are two optional adverbial phrase slots, one before and one after the nucleus; ideophones always occur in the post-nuclear slot. Moreover, other adverbs may enter into the same constructions as ideophones and can have the same shape further hardens the inclusion of ideophones in the adverb word class as a subclass in Didinga. Similarly, Azeb (2001) and Ameka (2001) report that ideophones in Wolaitta and in Ewe are treated as subclass or part of the basic regular lexicon. However, ideophones in Sotho seem to be “aloof” from the grammatical system Kunene (1978).

Ideophonic words in Mundang (Niger-Congo) can be found in all lexical word classes (Elders 2001). Most of them are adverbs. Ideophonic adverbs as a group show certain non-canonical phonological characteristics. In contrast, ideophones in Ewe have canonical phonological properties (Ameka 2001). Words with a comparable structure are found among verbs, nouns, adjectives and numerals. Deverbal adverbs form another instance of the boundary between ideophonic and non-ideophonic words: deverbal adverbs have the same grammatical behavior as ideophonic adverbs, but only parts of the deverbal adverbs have an outspoken ideophonic character. Similarly, De Jong (2001) concludes that ideophones in Didinga function as adverb.

The definition of the Cilubà (Bantu) ideophones is based on the form, content and syntax (Kabuta 2001). Phonologically, an ideophone accumulates rare distinctive traits with a strong

tendency for repetition of syllables and tone patterns. Morphologically, it is prefixless and often derivative. Semantically, it is highly expressive. Furthermore, syntactically, ideophone generally follows a VP, like an adverb and it can also determine a noun when included inside a connective construction.

Using the example of Kxoe (Khoisan) and Baka (Ubangi), several formal universal as well as language specific properties of ideophones are described by (Kilian-Hatz 2001). The formal differences of ideophones in different languages can be explained if we assume that they reflect different stages of a common historical development. Moreover, we can classify the ideophones in Kxoe, for example, according to their semantics as ‘onomatopoeic type’ whereas the Baka ideophones comprises all possible semantic concepts—polysemic ideophones included—so that Baka ideophones belong more to the ‘free type’. It is logical that the semantic of Baka ideophones is certainly more developed and more comprehensive on our scale than the ideophones in Kxoe.

The ideophones of Sotho (Bantu) as “linguistic rebels” because they are as opposed to other word classes “the closest substitute for a non-verbal physical act” (Kunene 1978). The unique dramaturgic function ideophones display makes them “aloof” from the grammatical system, while at the same time fulfilling special communicative, i.e. performative, function in oral discourse. However, in many of African linguistic areas ideophones are integrated into the system of the language. For instance, Samarin (1965) points out that ideophones in African languages constitute a major part of the total lexicon next to nouns and verbs.

Ideophones in Nembe (Benue-Congo, Nigeria) are composed of three different kinds of phonosemantic units that are combined following specific two-dimensional hierarchies (Maduka 1988). Associated to these hierarchies are sets of rules which allow the assignment of semantic values such as “roundness”, “largeness”, “straightness”, for ideophones of Nembe, Hausa, Igbo and others.

The lexicon of Kambera, Balinese, and West Tarangan are divided into core vocabulary and the peripheral using three criteria, form markedness, meaning markedness and function markedness (Marian Klamer 2001). She argues convincingly that onomatopoeias and ideophones in three different languages, Kambera, Balinese, and West Tarangan, belong to the peripheral part of the

lexicon. In contrast, Samarin (1965) surveys that ideophones in African languages constitute a major part of the total lexicon next to nouns and verbs. Notice: the aforementioned three languages are Malayo-Polynesian languages.

The relevance of a word class of ideophones for the verbal system in the Northern Australian languages is studied by (McGregor 2001). These languages use compound verb constructions consisting of an uninflected particle and an inflected verb. Ideophones are the “major historical source for these uninflected parts in northern Australian languages” and this process by regarding it as an instance of a wider cycle of grammatical change.

Ideophone in Zulu (Bantu) is represented by its own core of lexical items and it is not derived from any other word categories (Msimang and Polous 2001). However, the ideophone appears to take certain inflections which make it more grammatical in a sense and in such cases it may be said that it is involved in a type of category switching. In contrast, this is not the case in many of the ideophonic languages in the world since ideophones do not inflect for anything universally. The two main categories already identified as source items/concepts, namely the noun and verb, are classic examples of categories which can be used in category switching. Category switching to be part of the initial stages of grammaticalization, and taking the above examples into consideration, and then they believe they need to identify the ideophone together with the noun and the verb as the three main word categories in these languages. Their representation in terms of the process of grammaticalization would be as follows: the noun, representing source items, the verb, representing source concepts and the ideophone, representing source attributes.

Ideophones in Gbaya (Ubangian) are used in folktales, poetry, and poems (Noss 1975). His main concern is to show how creatively ideophones are employed. Stylistically relevant ideophones are for oral discourse. Not only do they have an important social, i.e., communicative impact, but they also add an important aesthetic note to structure of a text. Similarly, Kunene (1978) reported that ideophones in Sotho (Bantu) have oral discourse function with regard to pragmatics.

The uses of voice frequency code in speech where the sound-meaning correlation shows cross-linguistic consistency, e.g. in intonation, the communication of "affect," and in sound-symbolic vocabulary, can be explained by reference to the factors which have influenced the shape of the acoustic component of agonistic displays in virtually all vocalizing species (Ohala 1994). The

sound-meaning correlations found in these cases adhere to the "frequency code," which also governs the vocalizations of other species, namely, where high Frequency code signifies smallness, nonthreatening attitude, desire for the goodwill of the receiver, etc., and low frequency code conveys largeness, threat, self-confidence and self-sufficiency. He reviews data from other domains which can also be explained by the frequency code: (a) the shape of certain facial expressions involving specific mouth shapes, e.g. the smile, (b) the cross-linguistic similarities in choice of consonants and vowels in sound symbolism, and (c) the existence of sexual dimorphism in the vocal anatomy of humans and other species. In addition, he does not mean to imply that acoustic frequency is the only phonetic feature that can figure in imparting inherent meaning or function to vocal sounds. Other features are also plausible candidates for this, including repetition (reduplication) and such "amplitude envelope" features such as continuancy and rate of onset or decay of sound. He recommends that these deserve further research as they operate both in human speech and in other species' vocalizations.

Priestly (1994) studies levels of analysis of sound symbolism in poetry, with an application to Russian (Indo-European/Balto-Slavic) poetry. The synesthetic associations will differ in at least one important way from conventional ones in Russian poetry: namely they will be fewer. An immediate, "emotive" association between formant height and a generalized concept such as the "gravity-sadness" one is surely something that is more typically "universal" than "local." A simple two-way distinction between the levels of application of synesthetic and conventional sound symbolism, and based an approach to the analysis of sound patterns in poetry on a logical extension to that assumption.

Iconicity plays an important role in the Ilocano (Northern Philippine language) lexicon and morphology (Rubino 2001). Many patterns outlined herein attest to the fact that certain actions in Ilocano are represented in the lexicon by recurrent patterns of onomatopoeic sequences mimicking the sounds they produce. The meaningful sound correspondences described are conventionalized by Ilocano speakers to represent particular realities of the environment, and are in no way universal in their form or function. It has also been shown that in Ilocano, words with an onomatopoeic origin may freely participate in the morphological processes available to non-onomatopoeic words and in fact may have even more morphological categories available to them, as iconic patterns of word formation have made their way into the morphology.

According to Samarin (1965), ideophones in African languages constitute a major part of the total lexicon next to nouns and verbs. Ideophones for several reasons provide the linguist, psychologist and ethnologist with data for the study of interesting and important matters.

To summarize, ideophones share some common features with each other. For instance, ideophones are part of other lexicon in Ewe (Ameka 2001); ideophones are a major part of the total lexicon next to nouns and verbs in African languages (Samarin 1965) ;however, ideophones in Mundang (Niger-Congo) can be found in all lexical word classes (Elders 2001). In addition, ideophones in Wolaitta and in Ewe are treated as subclass or part of the basic regular lexicon (Azeb 2001 and Ameka 2001). Furthermore, ideophones in Zulu form their own core lexical items (Msimang and Polous 2001). However, ideophones in Sotho happen to be “aloof” from the grammatical system of the language (Kunene 1978). In Didinga (eastern Sudanic), ideophones have the same phoneme inventory as other words (de Jong 2001). In contrast, Kisi ideophones have distinct and separate phonology (Childs 1988). He states that Kisi ideophones employ a different inventory of segments; some segments are only found in ideophones, while others occur in the rest of the language. Ideophones in Somali and Gawwada are used as nouns and can be focalized (Dhoore and Tosco 1998 and Tosco 2006). Similarly, ideophones in Australian languages Yir-Yoront, Yirk-Mel, and the Wik-languages have the function of foregrounding the verb which is the carrier of new information or focus. One of the universal features ideophones is that ideophones do not take inflectional morphemes, but ideophones in Zulu (Bantu) are not derived from any other word categories, but they appear to take certain inflection (Msimang and Polous 2001).

## CHAPTER 2: GRAMMATICAL PRELIMINARIES

A sketch of the phonology and grammatical structures (or word class) of Kambaata are the focus of this chapter. The goal of the chapter is to provide the reader with sufficient context to understand the grammatical build-up of examples given in the following chapters and to sketch the linguistic ecology in which the ideophones of Kambaata take their place. The first part of the chapter presents an overview of phonology and the second part deals with the grammatical structure.

### 2.1. Phonology

#### 2.1.1. Consonant inventory

The consonant phonemes identified by Sim (1985) are twenty three: 5 labials /*p'*, *b*, *m*, *f*, *w*/, 8 alveolars /*t*, *t'*, *d*, *s*, *z*, *l*, *n*, *r*/, 5 (alveo) palatals /*c*, *c'*, *j*, *š*, *y*/, 3 velars /*k*, *k'*, *g*/ and 2 glottals /*h*, *ʔ*/. However, Treis (2008) identified twenty-seven consonants; she identified additional four phoneme: /*l'*, *r'*, *ž*, *ň*/.

Treis (2008: 23) identified voiced, voiceless and glottalic (ejective) stops. She elaborates that their places of articulation is: labial, alveolar, palato- alveolar, velar, and glottal. She remarks extended closure is the general characteristic feature of geminate stops. All the consonants except the glottals /*ʔ*/ and /*h*/ can be geminated. The consonants like /*p'*, *w*, *k*, *c*, *y*/ are always geminated in word-medial position (Sim 1985).

Treis (2008: 27) states there are voiced and voiceless fricatives in Kambaata. She asserts that the voiceless fricatives are phonemic and they have four places of articulation: labial, alveolar, palato-alveolar and glottal.

Treis (2008: 33) confirms the phonemic nasals /*m*/ and /*n*/ are safely established phonemes in Kambaata. She stresses that the phonemic status of the palato-alveolar /*ň*/ is not clear and geminate nasals simply have a longer oral closure.

Hall (2000: 34) cited in Treis (2008:34) shows that the word “liquid” belong to the class of laterals (“l-sounds”) and vibrants / taps (“r sounds”). Treis distinguishes plain and glottalized

liquids in Kambaata. She emphasizes that the phonemic difference has avoided the attention of linguists who have studied Kambaata before.

**Table 1: Kambaata Consonant chart**

P.A →	Labial	Alveolar	Palato- alveolar	Velar	Glottal
M.A ↓					
Stops	Voiceless	t	tʃ	k	ʔ
	Voiced	b	d	dʒ	g
	Glottalic	pʼ	tʼ	cʼ	kʼ
Fricative	Voiceless	f	s	ʃ	h
	Voiced		z	(ʒ)	
Nasal	m	n	(ɲ)		
Liquids	Trill		r		
	Lateral		l		
Glide	w		y		

**Adapted from Treis (2008: 22)**

Five short vowels /i, e, a, u, o/ and five long vowels /ii, ee, aa, uu, oo/ are identified by Treis (2008: 18). Treis stresses that vowel quantity is contrastive. She points out that long vowel is bi-phonemic since it contains two short vowels. She further explains that the language has one low

vowel /a/ and two equally positioned high vowels /ɪ/ and /u/. The two back vowels /u/ and /o/ are rounded, whereas the two front vowels /i/, /e/ and the low vowel /a/ are unrounded.<sup>1</sup>

### 2.1.2. Vowel inventory

**Table 2: Vowel chart**

	Front	Central	Back		Front	Central	Back
High	i		u		ii		uu
Mid	e		o		ee		oo
Low		a				aa	

**Adopted from Treis (2008: 18)**

### 2.1.3. Phonotactics: syllable-based constraints

Syllable is the domain of various phonotactic constraints and the onset of a syllable is always occupied by a consonant, but no onset is empty, nor does it contain consonant cluster in Kambaata (Treis 2008: 41). She further states that Kambaata does not allow few phonemes word-initially: /p'/ and /r/ only occur word-medially and word-finally.

Kambaata has two types of consonant clusters: (i) identical consonants (C<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>) and (ii) different consonants (C<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>) (Treis 2008: 41). Sequences of two identical consonants are called “geminate”. Geminate in Kambaata can firstly be lexically determined as in *oob.bá* ‘palm of hand, sole of foot’. Treis asserts that secondly, geminate can be created by two abutting consonants at morpheme boundaries; for example, /*haat + teew*/ → /*háat.teew*/ ‘she roasted’. She concludes that geminate can be purely morphologically determined and serve as a sign of plurative marking; for example, *dʒaa.láta* ‘friend’ is third person feminine singular, whereas *dʒaal.láta* ‘friends’ is plural.

<sup>1</sup> Note that glottalized l' and r' do not exist in Kambaata that is why they are not included in the consonant chart. P.A stands for place of articulation but M.A stands for manner of articulation.

When the causative morphemes {s} and {siis} are added to verbal stems, many speakers allow cluster of the causative-initial /s/ with any preceding simplex consonant; for example, the consonant cluster in /ʔaf-/ ‘take, seize’ /ʔaf.siis-/ ‘cause to take, seize; ‘light fire’ /f.s/ and /b.s/ and in /k’o.rab-/ ‘look after, wait’ /k’o.rab.siis-/ ‘cause to look after, cause to wait’ are sequences of different consonant cluster. In addition, Treis shows the cluster constraints are violated in reduplicated ideophones in /táf-táf, ʔaʔú/ ‘to grope one’s way’ (Treis 2008: 45). It is probably more appropriate to consider each part of the fully reduplicated ideophones as a phonologically independent word.

#### **2.1.4. Suprasegmental**

##### **2.1.4.1. Accent**

Treis (2008: 52) points out that every Kambaata word contains one accented syllable. She states that the accented syllable is more noticeable than the neighbouring one as a result of its increased pitch and loudness. Accent in Kambaata has grammatical function, but its lexical importance is less. She demonstrates that in the case of ideophones the accent can be found on any syllable; for example, ideophones *tarká yi* ‘run, flee out of something.’, *hammá yi* ‘bite one’s lip’ and *bart’á yi* ‘lie on the stomach’.

#### **2.2. Word Classes**

This section discusses word classes in Kambaata. Regarding parts of speech, there are four sets with open membership (verbs, nouns, adjectives and ideophones) and several closed sets (numerals, quantifiers, demonstratives, pronouns, adverbs, conjunctions and interjections) are used in Kambaata.

##### **2.2.1. Open word classes**

Verbs, nouns and adjectives are open word classes. Although ideophones, which are the main focus of this study, are one of the major open word classes, I don’t discuss them in this section.

### 2.2.1.1. Verbs

Treis (2008: 82) states that verb inflects for aspect, especially (perfective vs. imperfective) paradigm. She elaborates that it encodes for subordination: main vs. subordinate verb as well as person, gender, number, and social status of the subject (honorfic). The basic difference of verb forms is between perfective and imperfective paradigms. Furthermore, she notes Kambaata has several main and subordinate verb paradigms based on perfective and imperfective verb stems.

In (1) e-perfective (PRV) verb paradigm is given for the first, second and third person singular and plural as well as honorfic; its base form *éeb* ‘to bring’ is used in imperative form to illustrate this situation. Note that second person masculine and feminine singular has the same form *eebbéent* ‘you brought’. Similarly, third person masculine and feminine singular has similar form *eebbée* ‘he/she brought’. However, o-perfective verb paradigm is presented in (2) which is used to indicate all the above function (the first, second and third person singular and plural as well as honorfic). The o-perfective verb paradigm is illustrated by the base form *már* ‘go’. In addition, the imperfective (IPV) verb paradigm is given in (3) and its base form is *áss* ‘do’. The imperfective is used to demonstrate first, second, third person, and plural together with the honorfic.

(1) Person	e-perfective verb paradigm	Gloss
1SG	<i>eebbéem</i>	I brought
1PL	<i>eebbéemm</i>	We brought
2F.SG	<i>eebbéent</i>	You brought
2M.SG	<i>eebbéent</i>	You brought
2PL	<i>eebbéenta</i>	You brought
2HON	<i>eebbéenta</i>	You brought
3F.SG	<i>eebbée</i>	She brought
3M.SG	<i>eebbée</i>	He brought
3PL	<i>eebbée</i>	They brought
3HON	<i>eebbéemma</i>	Old man/woman brought

<b>(2) Pwerson</b>	<b>o-perfective verb paradigm</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
1SG	<i>marróomm</i>	I went
1PL	<i>mannóomm</i>	We went
2F.SG	<i>martéent</i>	You went
2M.SG	<i>martéent</i>	You went
2PL	<i>martéenta</i>	You went
2HON	<i>martéenta</i>	You went
3F.SG	<i>martóoʔu</i>	She went
3M.SG	<i>marró</i>	He went
3PL	<i>martóoʔu</i>	They went
3HON	<i>maréemma</i>	Old man/woman went

<b>(3) Person</b>	<b>Imperfective verb paradigm</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
1SG	<i>assáamm</i>	I will do
1PL	<i>assináamm</i>	We will do
2F.SG	<i>assittáant</i>	Yoy will do
2M.SG	<i>assittáant</i>	Yoy will do
2PL	<i>assitéenata</i>	Yoy will do
2HON	<i>assitéenanta</i>	Yoy will do
3F.SG	<i>assitáaʔa</i>	She will do
3M.SG	<i>assáno</i>	He will do
3PL	<i>assitáaʔa</i>	They will do
3HON	<i>asséenno</i>	Old man/woman will do

The perfective converb (PCO) is given below in (4). Note that the stem *biit*- ‘break’ is employed. In contrast, imperfective converb (ICO) is presented in (5). To illustrate this situation the stem *wáal* ‘come!’ is used.

<b>(4) Person</b>	<b>Perfective converb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
1SG	<i>biic’c’</i>	Having broken ... I
1PL	<i>biint’</i>	Having broken ... we

2F.SG	<i>biit't'</i>	Having broken ... you
2M.SG	<i>biit't'</i>	Having broken ... you
2PL	<i>biit't'éen</i>	Having broken ... you
2HON	<i>biit't'éen</i>	Having broken ... you
3F.SG	<i>biit't'</i>	Having broken ... she
3M.SG	<i>biic'c'</i>	Having broken ... he
3PL	<i>biit't</i>	Having broke... they
3HON	<i>biit'téen</i>	Having broken... old man/woman

(5) Person	Imperfective converb	Gloss
1SG	<i>wáalaniyan</i>	While I am coming ...
1PL	<i>wáannaniyan</i>	While we are coming ...
2F.SG	<i>wáaltaniyan</i>	While you are coming ...
2M.SG	<i>wáaltaniyan</i>	While you are coming ...
2PL	<i>wáalteenaniyan</i>	While you are coming ...
2HON	<i>wáalteenaniyan</i>	While you are coming ...
3F.SG	<i>wáaltaniyan</i>	While she is coming ...
3M.SG	<i>wáalaniyan</i>	While he is coming ...
3PL	<i>wáaltaniyan</i>	While they are coming...
3HON	<i>waaléeniyan</i>	While old man/woman is coming ...

### 2.2.1.2 Nouns

Treis (2008: 84) shows that nouns inflect for case and gender. She states that the final vowel of accusative case form of nouns is used to indicate characteristics of declensions. She reports that there are eight cases and two genders (masculine and feminine). According to her investigation, number marking has a derivational characteristics. All the eight cases are presented in (6). To illustrate this condition, the citation form *gat'-á* 'room or salon' is used.

#### (6) Eight case forms

ACC	<i>gat'-á</i>	salon
NOM	<i>gát'-u</i>	salon

GEN	<i>gat'-í</i>	of the salon
DAT	<i>gat'-íi</i>	for the salon
ABL	<i>gat'-íiff'</i>	from the back room
ICP	<i>gat'-iin</i>	through the salon
LOC	<i>gat'-áan</i>	in the salon
OBL	<i>gát'-a</i>	in the salo

Treis (2008: 84) points out that there are two genders: masculine and feminine on the basis of semantic ground. The nouns *wofiffú-ú* (M) ‘dog’ and *wofiffú-t á* (F) ‘bitch’ are masculine and feminine respectively. Nouns which demonstrate masculine form are presented in (7), whereas nouns that indicate feminine form are given in (8) below. Here M stands for masculine gender, but F stands for feminine gender.

(7) Masculine: *buul-á* ‘male horse’, *godab-á* ‘stomach’, *wozan-á* ‘heart’, *genan-ú* ‘shoulder,

*bagaz-ú* ‘spear’, *hambul-á* ‘male sheep or goat’, *dum-á* ‘back room’

(8) Feminine: *feelleeffut-á* ‘female goat’, *hooliffut-á* ‘ewe’, *angat-á* ‘hand’, *lokkat-á* ‘leg’,

*illit-á* ‘eye’, *hilleet-á* ‘intestine’, *maniffu-tá* ‘woman’

2

### 2.2.1.3. Adjectives

Adjective is one of open word classes. Treis (2008: 89) shows both adjective and nouns take the same position in the since they have similar functions. She states that adjectives do not have

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<sup>2</sup> Interlinear glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules.

Transcriptions consist of three lines:

**1<sup>st</sup> line** *Phonological transcription is in IPA* and vowel length is indicated by double vowel.

\*Data cited from other languages are in their original transcription

Hyphen ‘-’ links glossing of roots and suffixation

**2<sup>nd</sup> line** interlinear gloss

Dot ‘.’ links meaning components of the same morpheme

Hyphen ‘-’ links glossing of roots and suffixation

**3<sup>rd</sup> line** ‘Free translation’

natural gender: masculine and feminine, but they indicate obligatory gender-agreement with the subject of the copula clause and are similar in this respect to a subclass of nouns. For instance, the bi-gender nouns, *c'iil-á* 'baby' (M) / *c'iil-tá* 'baby' (F) demonstrate masculine and feminine gender respectively. The adjective in Kambaata has exactly the same inflectional possibilities as a noun. In (9) the adjective *fayy-á* 'healthy' co-occurs with the noun that indicates masculine gender *c'iil-á*, but in example (10) the adjective *fayya-ta* 'healthy' collocates with the noun which shows feminine gender. Note that both the adjective *fayya* 'healthy' and the noun *c'iila-á* 'baby' take the gender marker suffix *-tá*. The suffix *-tá* is used to indicate agreement (feminine gender) since it is a gender marker.

(9) *fayy-á*                      *c'iila-á*  
       Healthy-M.ACC    baby-M.ACC  
       'healthy baby'

(10) *fayya-tá*                *ciil-ta*  
       healthy-F.ACC    baby-F.ACC  
       'healthy baby'

#### 2.2.1.4. Ideophones

Ideophones are the focus of the study. So there would be a detailed and comprehensive discussion on ideophones of Kambaata in the next chapters.

### 2.2.2. Closed word classes

#### 2.2.2.1. Numerals

According to Treis (2008: 93), the semantic domain of numerals forms a different group from a morphosyntactic perspective. She states that the semantic domain of numeral is not corresponding with the morphosyntactic word class numeral. The lower cardinal numbers from 1 up to 99 mark gender and case agreement; they share important characteristics with adjectives. High cardinal numbers *t'ibb-í-ta* 'hundred', *kum-í-ta* 'thousand' and *miloon-á* 'one million', are obviously nouns because as modifiers they are unvaryingly marked genitive case. Ordinal numbers

are unchanging modifiers and not sensitive to gender and case of the head noun. They can only be employed as head of noun phrase; for example *lank-í mesel-ée-ta* ‘the second girl’, *lankí-bíi-ta* ‘the second one’. In example (11), the cardinal number *fool-ú* ‘four’ is used to show masculine gender that is why it takes the noun *mann-ú* ‘men’ that is masculine gender, too. However, in (12) the cardinal number *fool-itá* ‘four’ is employed to indicate feminine gender and it collocates with the noun *meselee-tá* ‘girl’ which demonstrates feminine gender, too.

(11) *fool-ú*            *mann-ú*  
 four-M.ACC    man.PL-M.NOM  
 ‘Four men’

(12) *fool-itá*        *meselee-tá*  
 four-F.ACC    girl.PL-F.ACC  
 ‘Four girls’

#### 2.2.2.2. Quantifiers

Treis (2008: 93) points out that the semantic domain of quantifiers cannot be morphosyntactically represented. She states that quantifiers exist in between adjective and numeral. For instance, the interrogative quantifiers *me’-ú* / *me’-í-ta* ‘how much? How many?’ exist in the numeral sub-class. Quantifiers differ from canonical adjectives, but share more or fewer features with numerals in Kambaata. The quantifiers *hoolama-ú* ‘many/numerous’, *k’ahú(-ta)* ‘little/few’ and *abb-á(-ta)* ‘big/much’ in (13-15) are used as adjectives. However, the universal quantifiers *horank-á* ‘all’ and *gu?mmank-á* ‘all’ in examples (16) and (17) are not canonical adjectives and used to express masculine gender; however, the universal quantifiers *horant-á* ‘all’ and *gu?mmant-á* ‘all’ in (18) and (19) are employed to demonstrate feminine gender.

(13) *hoolama- ú*        *mann-ú*            *wok’k’-áan*    *yáar-yyoo?u.*  
 plenty-M.NOM    man.PL-M.NOM    road-LOC    scream-3PL.PROG  
 ‘Many people are screaming on the road.’

(14) *k'áhu*                    *t'awáak'k'!*

few                            talk.IMP

‘Don’t speak too much’ (or lit. speak a few word!’

(15) *abb-á dagudd-óot!*

much    run.2SG-NEG.IMP

‘Don’t run at great speed!’

(16) *horank-á    mann-á                    t'á?mm!*

all-M.ACC    man.PL-M.ACC    ask.2SG.IMP

‘Ask all the men!’

(17) *gu?mmank-á    mann-á                    t'úmmis!*

all-M.ACC    man.PL-M.ACC    greet.2SG.IMP

‘Greet all the men!’

(18) *horant-á    am-aakk-á-tá                    t'úud!*

all-M.ACC    mother-PL2-F.ACC    look.2SG.IMP

‘Look all the mothers!’

(19) *gu?mmant-á    am-aakk-a-tá                    t'úud!*

all-F.ACC                    mother-PL2-F.ACC    look.2SG.IMP

‘Look all the mothers!’

### 2.2.2.3. Demonstratives

Treis (2008: 95) notes that in addition to demonstrative pronouns, Kambaata has attributive demonstratives that show gender and case agreement with the head noun. She states that demonstrative is a sub-class of the word class attributes and contains demonstratives type I and

II. She affirms type I demonstrative cannot be used as head of the noun phrase without further change; however, demonstrative pronouns can be used as head of the noun phrase. Furthermore, she confirms the proximal demonstratives *ka/ta* ‘this’) and medial demonstratives *híkka/hítta* ‘that’ as well as the interrogative demonstratives *hákka/hátta* ‘which?’ belong to type 1. In contrast, type 2 contrastive demonstratives demonstratives: *káap’/táap* ‘that’ and distal demonstratives: *hikkáap’/hittáap* ‘that over there’) can be used as head of the noun phrase without any morphological change or modification.

Treis (2008: 366) shows that when proximal demonstrative is used exophorically, it refers to a referent which is located relatively near to the speaker. Example (20) contains an attributive demonstrative, while example (21) has a demonstrative pronoun. In both examples, attributive demonstrative and demonstrative pronoun has deictic function, especially pointing or showing.

(20) *kú*                      *c’aamm-ú*              *íi-haa.*

DEM1.M.NOM    shoe-M.NOM    1SG.GEN-M.COP2

‘This shoe is mine. [Speaker points at a book on the table in front of him / her.]

(21) *koot-á*              *kanni*                      *al-éen*                      *afíúuff?*

coat-M.ACC    DEM1.M.GEN    top-M.LOC    put.2SG.IMP

‘Put the coat on this.’

Treis (2008: 367) states the medial demonstrative refers to an entity located some distance away from the speaker. The entity referred to can either be near to the addressee or far from both speaker and hearer. This can best be illustrated as:

(22) *hikkáan*                      *k’órab!*

DEM2.M.ACC    keep.2SG.IMP

‘Keep that one! [Speaker show at an item localized at some distance away from speaker and hearer.]’

(23) *hikkáan dum-á tórr!*

DEM2.M.OBL back.room-M.LOC throw.2SG.IMP

‘Throw this to the back room! [Speaker points at an item located at some distance away from speaker and hearer.]’

Treis (2008: 368) points out the contrastive demonstrative *káap’/táap* ‘that’ is used in opposition to the proximal demonstrative *kánn/tann* ‘this’. The contrastive demonstrative *káap’/táap* refers to an entity that is located on the opposite side/direction of an entity. The proximal demonstrative *kánne* ‘here’ precedes the contrastive demonstrative *káʔe* ‘there’ in example (24). However, the contrastive demonstrative *kaʔiiníi* ‘there’ precedes the proximal demonstrative *kanniiní* ‘here’ in (25).

(24) *át kánne k’órab án káʔe eger-áam.*

2SG.NOM DEM1.M.OBL wait.IMP 1SG.NOM DEM3.M.OBL stay-1SG.PROG

‘Wait for me here, but I stay there/other place!’

(25) *boor-á kaʔiiníi kanniiníi k’oráb!*

ox-M.NO DEM3.M.ICP.CRD1 DEM1.M.ICP.CRD1 wait.IMP keep.2SG.IMP

‘Keep the ox there along and here along!’

Treis (2008: 369) shows the distal demonstrative has exclusive exophoric function. It is often followed by a pointing gesture and refers to an entity or location which is very far away from speaker and addressee in examples (26) and (27). This is one of the deictic gestural usages of the distal demonstrative.

(26) *tánn surr-aak-á-na hittáap’iri*

DEM1.F.OBL trousers-PL2-F.GEN-CRD2 DEM4.F.PL.GEN

*annannóom-at m-á-haa-n?*

difference-F.NOM what-M.PRED-M.COP2-Q

‘What is the difference between these trousers and those over there?’

(27) <i>kánn</i>	<i>lal-í-na</i>	<i>hikkáap’irí</i>
DEM1.F.OBL	cattle-M.GEN-CRD2	DEM4.M.PL.GEN
<i>annannóom-at</i>	<i>m-á-haa-n?</i>	
difference-F.NOM	what-M.PRED-M.COP2-Q	

‘What is the difference between these cattle and these over there?’

#### 2.2.2.4. Pronoun

The word class pronoun is a closed word class with three sub-types: personal pronouns (simple and reduplicated pronouns), interrogative pronouns, and demonstrative pronouns (Treis 2008: 85). Personal pronouns refer to a (predominately [+ human]) noun and stand in its place. And also she notes that interrogative and demonstrative pronouns can either refer to human or non-human referents, states of affairs, propositions, and speech acts. Pronouns are marked for case, gender, and number.

Independent personal pronouns have the highest number of person and number distinctions, namely nine forms (three persons, two numbers, and honorific vs. non-honorific) in all cases. The peculiar feature of demonstrative pronouns is the distinction of feminine vs. masculine plural forms and common vs. directional accusative case forms.

Treis states that independent personal pronouns have the highest number of person and number distinctions, namely nine forms (three persons, two numbers, and honorific vs. non-honorific) in all cases. The following table deals with independent personal pronouns, especially pronouns which are employed as subject and object slot. Note that I put the personal pronouns that are used for different cases separately, but Treis put all of them in one table. My intention here is to avoid confusion.

**Table 3: Independent subject and object pronouns**

Person	Subject	Object
1SG	<i>án</i>	<i>ées</i>
2SG	<i>át</i>	<i>kées</i>
2HON	<i>áznnu</i>	<i>kiznéta</i>
3M	<i>ís</i>	<i>isó</i>
3F	<i>íse</i>	<i>íséta</i>
3HON	<i>íssa</i>	<i>íssáta</i>
1PL	<i>naʔoot</i>	<i>ées</i>
2PL	<i>annoʔóot</i>	<i>kizneʔéet</i>
3PL	<i>issoʔóot</i>	<i>issoʔóota</i>

In the following table, I presented the independent personal pronouns to demonstrate five different cases: genitive, dative, instrumental-comitative-perlative, locative and ablative.

**Table 4: Independent personal pronouns that show different cases**

Person	GEN	DAT	ICP	LOC	ABL
1SG	<i>íi</i>	<i>esáa</i>	<i>esáan</i>	<i>esáan</i>	<i>esáatʃʃ</i>
2SG	<i>kíi</i>	<i>kesáan</i>	<i>kesáan</i>	<i>kesáan</i>	<i>kesáatʃʃ</i>
2HON	<i>kinée</i>	<i>kiznée</i>	<i>kiznéen</i>	<i>kiznéen</i>	<i>kiznéetʃʃ</i>
3M.SG	<i>ísí</i>	<i>isií</i>	<i>isiin</i>	<i>isóon</i>	<i>isítʃʃ</i>
3F.SG	<i>íse</i>	<i>isée</i>	<i>iséen</i>	<i>iséen</i>	<i>iséetʃʃ</i>
3HON	<i>issá</i>	<i>issáa</i>	<i>issáan</i>	<i>issaan</i>	<i>issáatʃʃ</i>
1PL	<i>níi</i>	<i>nesáa/ nizíi</i>	<i>nesáan</i>	<i>nesáan</i>	<i>nesáatʃʃ</i>
2PL	<i>kiznée</i>	<i>kiznée</i>	<i>kizneʔée</i>	<i>kizneʔée</i>	<i>kizneʔéetʃʃ</i>
3PL	<i>ssozóo</i>	<i>issoʔóo</i>	<i>issoʔóon</i>	<i>issoʔóon</i>	<i>issoʔóotʃʃ</i>

Adopted from Treis (2008: 330)

### 2.2.2.5. Adverbs

Kambaata has few underived adverbs to express adverbial relations (Treis 2008: 86). Adverbs only *léelan* ‘carefully, slowly’, *dángo* ‘suddenly, unexpectedly’, *biinin* ‘separately, aside’, *taabba’idda* ‘otherwise’, *ammóo* ‘however’, *t’a’itá t’a’itá* ‘now and then’, *táda* ‘by now, by this time’, and *téma* ‘just now, in a moment’ can (so far) neither be considered as members of the major word classes (verb, noun, attribute) nor as being derived from them.

(28) *amáad-u*            *duuraam-éeff*    *dángo*        *fank’ell-óo*.

amaado-M.NOM    duuraam-ABL    suddenly    return-M.SG.PRV

‘Amaado returned from Duuraamee suddenly/unexpectedly.’

(29) *c’iil-atá*    *biinin*        *már-ántun*    *ass!*

child-PL    separately    walk-3PL.JUS    do-2SG.IMP

‘Let the children walk separately.’

(30) *tá*                    *siinit-á*        *t’arap’p’éez-i*    *al-éen*        *léelan*        *affuuff!*

DEM1.F.ACC    cup-F.ACC    table-GEN    top-M.LOC    carefully    put-2SG.IMP

‘Put this cup on the table carefully!’

Treis demonstrates that rather than making use of adverbs, Kambaata has many alternative ways to express adverbial relations. In fact, members of any of the major word classes can be used in adverbial function: temporal adverbials such as *tees-u* (n.) ‘now’ and *gaʔáa-ta* (n.) ‘tomorrow’, spatial adverbials such as *kánne* (dem.) ‘here’, modal adverbials such as *dá’ll yi* (v.) ‘do fast’, and degree adverbials such as *abbis-* (v.) (< ‘exceed’) and *higis-á* (adj.) ‘very’ are subordinate verb forms (v.), case-marked nouns (n.), adjectives (adj.) or demonstratives (dem.).

### 2.2.2.6. Conjunction

The term conjunction is understood in the traditional sense as referring to a free standing, morphologically invariant connector of words, phrases, and sentences (Treis 2008: 85). There is no conjunction ‘and’ instead, phrasal heads are marked as coordinate through accentual change and final vowel lengthening; see, for instance, *ʔam-atáa beet-utáa* ‘mother and daughter’. Modifiers of various types are conjoined with *-na*; for instance, *alas-í-na gardaam-í daabb-úta*

‘wheat and oat bread’ [lit. “bread of wheat and of oat”]. The conjunctions in examples (31) and (32) are real conjunctions, namely the disjunctive word, phrase, and sentence conjunction *té* ‘or’ and the adversative sentence conjunction *bagáan* ‘but’.

(31) *án mágan-u amaʔnn-áam bagáan hak’k’-áan sagad-áam-baʔa*

1SG God-M.ACC believe-1SG.IPV but tree-M.LOC worship-IPV-NEG

‘I believe in God, but I don’t worship tree.’

(32) *garit-á-a té k’op’p’an-á-a yi-téen*

true-F.ACC-PRED-M.COP2 or false-M.ACC-PRED-M.COP2 say-2PL.PCO

*fank’áff-iyye*

answer-2PL.IMP

‘Say true or false! (or lit. Answer by saying true or false!)’

### 2.2.2.7. Interjections

Interjections are a class of words which can stand on their own as utterances and which refer to mental acts (Ameka 1992: 110). Interjections are one of the various closed classes from the domain of word class in Kambaata. Treis (2088: 87) states that interjection and ideophones are similar in many respects and there is no clear demarcation between the two word classes. However, there are some basic differences between them. The key difference between interjection and ideophones is that ideophones are not immediate responses to events; they are depictions of events (Dingemanse 2011: 155). Ameka (1992: 112-13) notes that interjections do not enter into construction with other elements (they are not very well integrated into the clause grammars of languages). Ideophones do not be able to stand on their own as utterances without being elliptical. This indicates that interjections are syntactically independent and not embedded, whereas ideophones are syntactically embedded. (See chapter five: syntax of ideophones).

Some of the illustrative examples of interjections in Kambaata are presented below.

(33) *haffú éman bádʒigg!*

INTJ INTJ happy

‘Congratulation!’

(34) *háí ká kóot-a áass-eeʔe?*

INTJ DEM1.M.ACC coat-M.ACC give-1SG.POSS

‘Please give me this coat.’

(35) *attóofralla kul-tóot-ʔe*

INTJ tell-NEG-1SG.POSS

‘Awful! Don’t tell me this!’

## CHAPTER 3: THE PHONOLOGY OF IDEOPHONES

This chapter presents the occurrence of consonant and vowels in word-initial, medial and final positions, types of syllable, suprasegmental features (gemination, vowel length and accent) in Kambaata. In this chapter I don't want to discuss both consonant and vowel sounds since I have presented consonant and vowel inventory in chapter two. Note that ideophones do not employ different or odd phonemes which are not found in the language.

### 3.1. The occurrence of consonants

Overwhelming number of consonant phonemes is attested in word-initial, medial and final position in ideophones in Kambaata. So the following section focuses on this issue in the language.

#### 3.1.1. The occurrence of word-initial consonants in ideophones

**Table 5: Word-initial consonants**

(36) Phoneme	Ideophone	Gloss
<b>Stops</b>		
/t/	<i>táf</i>	be restless
/tʃ/	<i>ʃílk</i>	to jingle
/k/	<i>kámf</i>	of a dog to bite
/ʔ/	<i>ʔúhu</i>	a sigh of relief
/b/	<i>bágg</i>	to ignite or set fire
/d/	<i>dákk</i>	to hide
/dʒ/	<i>dʒáll</i>	to loiter/hang around
/g/	<i>git'ít'</i>	arrange or put in order
/pʰ/	<i>p'íip'p</i>	sound made by car horn
/tʰ/	<i>t'úut't'</i>	farting
/cʰ/	<i>c'óp'p'</i>	of a liquid to exudiate or ooze
/kʰ/	<i>k'íʔmm</i>	wink
<b>Fricatives</b>		
/f/	<i>fitíkk</i>	to unravel a knot

/s/	<i>sill</i>	to kill sb. accidentally
/f/	<i>fukúk</i>	to move slowly
/h/	<i>hinc'</i>	to approach
<b>Voiced</b>		
/z/	<i>zúu</i>	wander/move aimlessly
/ʒ/	<b>Not attested</b>	
<b>Nasals</b>		
/m/	<i>mufúk'</i>	to smile/grin
/n/	<i>nizz</i>	to be disappointed
/ɲ/	<i>ɲáw</i>	of the cat to meow
<b>Liquids</b>		
/l/	<i>libb</i>	to remember
/r/	<i>redʒé</i>	to get mollified
<b>Glides</b>		
/w/	<i>wíik'k'</i>	to crunch/scrunch
/y/	<i>yák</i>	to go ahead

Most of the ideophones employ the same phonemes found in the language. As can be observed from the table above, ideophones begin with all of the native consonant phonemes. Ideophones do not use the loan phonemes /ʒ/ and /p/. The occurrence of the glottalic /p'/ is attested in the word-initial position in ideophone *p'úipp'* 'a sound made by a car horn'.

### 3.1.2. The occurrence of word-medial consonants

**Table 6: Word-medial consonants**

This section deals with the occurrence of word-medial consonants

(37) Phoneme	Ideophones	Gloss
<b>Stops</b>		
/t/	<i>batát</i>	to be clumsy
/f/	<i>fukúk</i>	to move slowly
/tʃ/	<i>batʃfáʔnn</i>	carrying a load
/ʔ/	<i>k'úʔmm</i>	to collect/gather

### Voiced

/b/	<i>ʃíbíbb</i>	to walk in a proud manner
/d/	<i>hiddíb</i>	to pull out sth. randomly
/dʒ/	<i>baɖʒáɖʒaʔ</i>	make part of the body lose sense
/g/	<i>gagárda</i>	of equine to move fast

### Glottalic

/pʔ/	<i>tʔápʔpʔáʔ</i>	to collect
/tʔ/	<i>mentʔélekʔkʔ</i>	to open door/window wide
/cʔ/	<i>mícʔrikʔkʔ</i>	squeeze or compress with violence
/kʔ/	<i>tʔukʔúrumm</i>	to immerse into water

### Fricatives

/s/	<i>susúkʔ</i>	to push sb/sth.
/ʃ/	<i>mufúlukʔkʔ</i>	to excoriate
/h/	<b>Not attested</b>	
/z/	<i>fiziz</i>	to lack strength/vigour

### /ʒ/ **Not attested**

### Nasals

/m/	<i>límbicʔ</i>	to bend
/n/	<i>muntʔúlukʔkʔ</i>	to do sth. completely
/ɲ/	<i>happáʔ</i>	of a dog to bite or of a person to eat hungrily

### Liquids

/l/	<i>meléʔll</i>	convalesce or to regain
/r/	<i>giríbb</i>	of a door closed slightly

### Glides

/w/	<i>huwa-huwa</i>	sound made by an eagle
/y/	<i>aayyéé</i>	to burst out into tears

Twenty one consonant phonemes have been attested in word-medial position in ideophones. The native phoneme glottal stop /h/ is not attested in word-medial position. In addition, the loan phoneme /ʒ/ is not employed in the word-medial position; however, one of the loan phonemes /ɲ/

is used in word-medial position in ideophone *háŋŋaʔ* ‘of a dog bite or of a person to eat hungrily’, but this phoneme is not used in non-ideophones in the language.

### 3.1.3. Occurrence of word-final consonants in ideophones

**Table 7: Word-final consonants**

(38) Phoneme	Ideophones	Gloss
<b>Stops</b>		
/t/	<i>batát</i>	to be sluggish
/k/	<i>tʃák</i>	to sweat/perspire
/tʃ/	<i>kátʃtʃ</i>	to be strong
/ʔ/	<i>bunnáʔ</i>	to break/smash
/p/	<i>húpp</i>	to be sullen
/ʃ/	<i>ʃibibb</i>	to sawager
/d/	<i>k’afá-búdd</i>	to be angry without good reason
/dʒ/	<i>badʒádʒdʒ</i>	of the part of the body lose sense
/g/	<i>fógg</i>	to bow
<b>Glottalic</b>		
/pʔ/	<i>húup’p’</i>	to drink a thick liquid
/tʔ/	<i>t’út’t’</i>	to gaze at sb/sth.
/cʔ/	<i>hínc’</i>	to draw near
/kʔ/	<i>fic’c’</i>	to stare at sb/sth.
<b>Fricatives</b>		
/s/	<i>súff</i>	to be smooth/spongy
/tʔ/	<i>’úss</i>	to be dry
/ʃ/	<i>díff</i>	feel sick
/h/	<b>Not attested</b>	
/z/	<i>tózz</i>	to loiter/hang around
/ʒ/	<b>Not attested</b>	
<b>Nasals</b>		
/m/	<i>hellúmm</i>	to put out the tongue

/n/	<i>túnn</i>	to roam/move aimlessly
/ɲ/	<i>hɲɲ</i>	of a dog to bite or of a person to eat hungrily

### Liquids

/l/	<i>t'úll</i>	to fall down
/r/	<i>tírr</i>	to pulsate

### Glides

/w/	<i>dzáww</i>	to be confused
/y/	<b>Not attested</b>	

As can be noticed from the above table, twenty three consonants are attested in word-final position. However, the voiceless fricative /h/ and the glide /y/ do not occur in word-final position. The loan phoneme /p/ is employed in ideophones in word-final position in the word *hupp* ‘become sullen’, but this phoneme is not used in non-ideophones in the language. However, it is employed in loan words: *pasta* ‘spaghetti’ and *posta* ‘post’. To sum up, there are twenty two consonant phonemes in word-final position.

## 3.2. Vowels

**Table 8: The occurrence of vowels in word-initial position**

Vowels	Ideophones	Gloss
/i/	<i>ilíl</i>	ululate
/e/	<i>ekkú</i>	okay
/o/	<i>óorin-óorin</i>	stimulate a child who drinks koso
/u/	<i>ukúk</i>	give extra care for sb/sth.
/a/	<i>áakk</i>	sound made by spitting a chest cold

**Table 9: The occurrence of vowels in word-medial position**

Vowels	Ideophone	Gloss
/i/	<i>líbb</i>	think, remember or recollect
/e/	<i>c'éek'k'</i>	glint or momentary light
/o/	<i>fóott</i>	lift sth quickly
/u/	<i>k'uc'úc'</i>	scrunch or crash a bone
/a/	<i>bátt</i>	be confused

**Table 10: The occurrence of vowels in word-final position**

Vowels	Ideophone	Gloss
/i/	<i>c'ii</i>	sound made by birds
/e/	<i>k'émbé</i>	of a young girl grow well
/u/	<i>murt'ú</i>	of fruits to be overripe
/o/	<i>dordzó</i>	wobble or move side ways
/a/	<i>fandá</i>	become fat

All the five vowels appear in ideophones in word-initial, medial and final positions. Long vowels: front vowels /e/ and /a/ as well as back vowels /u/ & /o/ are employed in medial position in ideophones such as *c'éek'k'* ‘glint or momentary light’, *fáak'k'* ‘sweep roughly’, *húup'p'* ‘to drink a thick liquid’ and *fóott* ‘lift something quickly’ respectively.

### 3.3. Syllable structure and phonotactics

A syllable always begins with a consonant or a vowel, and may end either with a short or a long vowel or a single consonant (or geminated consonant). The nucleus of the syllable contains either short vowel or long vowel. A syllable can be closed or open.

### 3.3.1. Syllable-based constraints

A syllable is a phonological unit which consists of one or more sounds. It is typically made up of a nucleus (most often vowel) with optional initial and final consonants. It is often considered the phonological “building block” of words. A syllable is one of the phonotactic constraints. The onset of every Kambaata syllable is occupied by a consonant. The syllable onset should not be empty, but the coda can be empty or be filled by a single consonant.

#### 3.3.1.1. Consonant cluster

An onset cannot be occupied by a sequence of consonants (or consonant clusters) in Kambaata. This is the case for both ideophones and non-ideophonic words in the language. However, consonant cluster is permitted in word-medial and final position in ideophones. In example (39) sonorant-obstruent clusters have been presented to illustrate syllable-based constraint in the language.

(39) /m.b/ *dumbúll* ‘get debilitated’

/m.f/ *kámf* ‘of a dog to bite’

/n.k/ *tonkóll* ‘to drink sth. quickly and completely’

/n.d/ *mendéll* ‘open the door wide’

/n.g/ *mungúdd* ‘exterminate or wipe out’

/n.tʼ/ *mentʼlékʼk* ‘to open the door wide’

/n.cʼ/ *hínc* ‘approach or come closer to sb.’

/n.kʼ/ *cʼunkʼúll* ‘to drink sth. completely’

/n.f/ *cʼénf* ‘to pierce th. slightly with a spear’

Obstruents like /t/, /tʃ/, /k/, /d/, /dʒ/, /g/, /pʼ/, /tʼ/, /cʼ/, /kʼ/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/ do not form consonant clusters with the nasal /m/ in ideophones. The two obstruents which can combine with the nasal /m/ are: /b/ and /f/. The combination of obstruents /b/ and /f/ with the sonorant /m/ may be due to labial feature. However, Treis (2008: 42) identified three obstruents /b/, /pʼ/ and /f/ that combine

with the nasal /m/ in the non-ideophonic words: *gambállá* ‘black’, *šemp’éep’p’u* ‘to stretch to reach’, and *džimfú* ‘to beat somebody or something heavily’ respectively. The obstruents that can form cluster with the nasal /n/ are: /k/, /d/, /g/, /t’/, /c’/, /k’/ and /f/. The combination of obstruents with the nasal /n/ is less restricted than /m/. In contrast, Treis attested obstruents /t/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /dʒ/, c’/ and /f/ that combine with the nasal /n/ in non-ideophones: *ʔintú* ‘to start weaving, to start thatching’, *tunsú* ‘to be dark’, *manzúta* ‘type of spice’, *boonfú* ‘to respect someone very much’, *finc’ú* ‘to scatter and *ganfú* ‘common cold’ respectively. These obstruents do not combine with the nasal /n/ in ideophones.

The possible combinations of obstruents with the liquid /l/ are attested in: /ʃ/, /k/, /b/, /p’/, /c’/, /k’/, and /f/. In contrast, Treis (2008: 43) attested obstruents /g/, /dʒ/, /s/, and /t’/ that combine with the liquid /l/ in non-ideophonic words *ʔalgoda* ‘plant’, *goldzá* ‘type of mammal’, *ʔilisúsu* ‘to help somebody in giving birth’, *boltú* ‘pride’ and *baaltúta* ‘type of blanket’ respectively. Obstruents that can combine with the liquid /r/ are: /t/, /ʃ/, /k/, /b/, /dʒ/, /s/, /p’/, /t’/, /c’/, /k’/, /g/, /f/ and /f/. Obstruents /p’/, /d/, /ʃ/ and /z/ do not combine with the liquid /l/ in non-ideophones. In addition the obstruent /h/ does not combine with all sonorants: /m/, /n/, /l/ and /r/ in both ideophones and non-ideophones or regular words. However, Treis (2008: 42) attested obstruents /t/, /d/, /z/ and /ʃ/ that combine with the liquid /r/ in regular words *ʔaartúta* ‘hot spring’, *gurdinúta* ‘knot’, *burzáta* ‘bleary eyes’ and *bartfítá* ‘big problem’ respectively. In addition, the obstruent /h/ does not combine with the liquid /r/.

(40) /l.ʃ/ *kílʃ* ‘of the coins to jingle’

/l.k/ *ʃílk* ‘of the coins to jingle’

/l.b/ *c’albá* ‘get hung’

/l.p’/ *hélp* ‘pierce with spear’

/l.c’/ *k’ílč* ‘to churn the milk’

/l.k’/ *c’alk’á* ‘to tilt or incline’

/l.f/ *c’alfá* ‘a sucking sound in muddy area’

/r.t/ *kurtú* ‘meat that can be chewed easily’

- /r.tʃ/** *karfá* ‘argue over sth.’
- /r.k/** *tirkímm* ‘snooze or sleep lightly for a short time’
- /r.b/** *karbá* ‘flap wings’
- /r.dʒ/** *dordʒó* ‘wobble or totter’
- /r.g/** *gurgú* ‘scuffle or fight slightly’
- /r.pʔ/** *sírʔ* ‘keep quiet’
- /r.tʰ/** *bartʰá* ‘lie on the stomach’
- /r.cʰ/** *barcʰákʰ* ‘make sth. flat’
- /r.kʰ/** *kírʰkʰ* ‘to challenge somebody or something.’
- /r.f/** *turfú* ‘to prick soft things easily’
- /r.s/** *fursú* ‘of rope to get detach easily’
- /r.j/** *turfú* ‘of things that can be broken easily’

When the glottal stop /ʔ/ combines with the sonorants: /m/, /n/ and /l/, the language allows three consonants (CC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>) only in this context by violating the phonotactic constraints. However, Treis (2008: 42) notes that sequences of three consonants are prohibited in Kambaata. Similarly, non-ideophones violate such constraints in the language; for example, *afóoʔnne* ‘your language or your mother tongue’, but Treis didn’t give close attention to this in her study. Hence, she made an erroneous generalization concerning this issue (sequence of three consonants). Note that the liquid /r/ does not combine with the glottal stop /ʔ/ in ideophones as a result of phonotactic constraint. The obstruents are used to demonstrate gemination in ideophonic words in example (41) below.

(41) *dʒóʔnn* ‘of a person to be graceless or of an animal to have conception’

*fiʔnn* ‘become sullen’

*sáʔmm* ‘keep quiet’

*c'oʔmmórr* 'add or augment'

*géʔll* 'to stagger due to lack of strength'

*bóʔll* 'germinate quickly'

In (42) the nasals /m, n/ and the liquids /l, r/ after the glottal stop /ʔ/ in the following **non-ideophonic words** are geminated.

(42) *guʔmmá* 'all of the people or things'

*gáʔmmu* 'to bite sb/sth. using teeth'

*baʔllá* 'large piece of wood'

*faʔllá* 'dung'

*búʔrru* 'to use ointment on the body'

*k'eeʔrrimata* 'remoteness'

The liquids /l/ and /r/ after the glottal stop /ʔ/ in the context of the following **non-ideophonic words** in (43) are not geminated as a result of phonotactic constraint.

(43) *míiʔru* 'to mistreat one of the members of the family'

*húʔra* 'protruding part of the navel'

*zìiʔra* 'slug or disease that affect onset'

*gaʔlá* 'shard'

### 3.3.1.2. Other phonotactic constraints

The glide /w/, the fricatives /s/ and /z/ are geminated only in the word-final position in the following ideophones in (44). To make it clear, the above three phonemes (/w/, /s/, and /z/) do not geminate in word-medial position.

(44) *sáww* 'think'

*káww* ‘become dry’

*nízz* ‘get disappointed’

*fízz* ‘trickle’

*t’úss* ‘of cloth to be drained or dry’

*múss* ‘feel shy or ashamed’

### 3.3.1.3. Types of syllable

With regard to types of syllable in non-ideophonic words, *ám* ‘come’, *manf-ú* ‘man’, *kambáata* ‘Kambaata people’ and *wengereellitiff-ú* ‘fox’ are monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and multisyllabic words respectively. Treis (2008: 41) identified four types of syllable structures in regular/non-ideophonic words: CV, CVV, CVC, and CVVC. For instance, the monosyllabic non-ideophones such as *kú* ‘this’, *mii* ‘why’, *már* ‘go’ and *múud* ‘to remove the layer of a covering’ exhibit CV, CVV, CVC and CVVC syllable structure respectively. Ideophones have four types of syllable: monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and multisyllabic ideophones, but they have five types of syllable structure:

1. CV: *gú* ‘a word used in dealing with sth. taboo’, *tú* ‘to spit saliva’
2. CVV: *fáa* ‘sound made by light rain’, *búu* ‘sound made by house fly’
3. CVC: *táf*, ‘to be restless’, *kús* ‘to walk gracelessly’
4. CVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>: *bátt* ‘be confused’, *fínn* ‘to laugh derisively’
5. CVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>: *ménk* ‘to be talkative’, *sirp* ‘become silent/quiet’

#### 3.3.1.3.1. Monosyllabic ideophones

The overwhelming majority of monosyllabic ideophones are sound-symbolic; they imitate the natural sound. The monosyllabic ideophones with long vowel demonstrate iconic lengthening. The monosyllabic ideophones best illustrate imitative sound symbolism. However, the monosyllabic ideophones such as *djúu* ‘become confused’ and *dúu* ‘become bewildered’ are not sound symbolic in origin. In addition, the ideophone *gú* ‘a word used when talking about something regarded as taboo’ is not onomatopoeic. In contrast, ideophone *tú* ‘to spit saliva’ is sound symbolic. Furthermore, non-ideophonic monosyllabic words are scanty in the language.

For example, *mée* ‘give me this!’ *ʔáa* ‘mum’, demonstratives: *ká* ‘this’, ‘and *tá* ‘this’ as well as the possessive adjectives: *íi* ‘my’, *kíi* ‘your’ and *níi* ‘our’ are non-ideophonic monosyllabic words. In general, the monosyllabic ideophones constitute the syllable structures such as CV, CVV, CVC, CVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>, CVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup> and CVVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>. For example, the monosyllabic ideophones in (45) fall into the syllable structure of CV or CVV. Similarly, ideophones in Somali and Gawwada are monosyllabic (Dhoorre and Tosco 1998: 127 and Tosco 2006: 888).

(45) *wúu* ‘sound made by heavy rain’

*híi* ‘mourn or burst out’

*fúu* ‘sound made by urine’

*t’íi* ‘sound made by mosquito’

*búu* ‘of a bee to buzz’

*c’íi* ‘of a small child to cry for a long time’

*gúu* ‘sound made by wind’

*fúu* ‘sound made by ox’

*díi* ‘sound heard when a big tree falls on the ground’

*fáa* ‘sound made by heavy rain’

*fáa* ‘a gush or a sudden flow of water’

The following monosyllabic ideophones in (46) have CVC, CVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup> or CVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup> phonological template. Note that all of these types of ideophones have closed syllable.

(46) *táf* ‘to be here and there’

*kát* ‘tremble or shake with cold’

*tózz* ‘loiter or hang around’

*méll* ‘be talkative’

*sírp* ‘be quiet’

*gánc* ‘become testy or bad-tempered’

The monosyllabic ideophones in (47) have the syllable structure of CVVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>, CVCC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup> and CVVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>. Note that the ideophone *saʔmm* ‘be silent’ contains cluster of three consonants. Hence, it violates the phonotactic constraints of the language. Similarly, non-ideophonic words in the language violate phonotactic constraints. For instance, the non-ideophone *feʔnná* ‘grasshopper’ contains cluster of three consonants. However, Treis (2008: 64) confirms that cluster of three consonant is unauthorized.

(47) *fáat’t* ‘draw out sword from its sheath’

*wáak’k* ‘to sharpenmetallic object’

*wíik’k* ‘to sharpen metallic object’

*saʔmm* ‘be silent’

*cóonc* ‘to have a strong desire for something’

### 3.3.1.3.2. Disyllabic ideophones

Disyllabic ideophones have the syllable structure of: CVCV, CVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>VC, CVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>V, CVCVC, CVCVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup> and CVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>VC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>. The following sections deal with the phonological properties of this aspect. For instance, in (48) some disyllabic ideophones have closed syllable, whereas others have open syllable. Note that all of the ideophones below have the syllable structure of CVCV or CVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>VC.

(48) *hebó* become crazy

*redžé* ‘get mollified’

*kařá* ‘argue over sth.’

*faggáʔ* ‘wash or clean completely’

*burráʔ* ‘make porridge’

The following dysyllabic ideophones in (49) have CVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>V or CVCVC phonological template and some of the ideophones have open syllable; however, for instance, the ideophone *figig* ‘to have a strong dislike’ have closed syllable.

(49) *bart’á* ‘to lie on the chest’

*burkú* ‘go into intense passion’

*farfá* ‘to split or divide into half’

*mufúk* ‘smile or become cheerful’

*luk’úc* ‘feel tired or enervate’

*guc’úc* ‘of a sick person to shrink’

Disyllabic ideophones in (50) have CVCVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup> phonological template with geminated consonants.

(50) *fitikk* ‘to untie, ravel something out’

*gabúll* ‘shuffle or mix on the griddle’

The following dysyllabic ideophones in (51) have CVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>VC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup> syllable structure with geminated consonants on the last or penultimate syllable.

(51) *sulgúc’c* ‘become weak’

*fin’ill* ‘kick the bucket, or pass away’

*gumbúrr* ‘to incline or tilde’

*t’ambák’k* ‘stick or become fixed’

### 3.3.1.3.3. Trisyllabic ideophones

Trisyllabic ideophones contain the syllable structure of: CVCVCVC, CVCVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>V, CVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>VC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>VC and CVCVCVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>. Trisyllabic ideophones in (52) have the syllable structure of CVCVCVC or CVCVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>V; however, trisyllabic ideophones such as *hambúk’k’a?* ‘to drink

large amount of something hurriedly’ and *tonkólla?* ‘gulp down or drink something in large amount hurriedly and completely’ have the syllable structure of CVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>VC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>VC.

(52) *kiríra?* ‘to rotate’

*gagárda* ‘of equines move fast’

*susúk’a?* ‘to push someone or something’

*muk’úk’a?* ‘to open something by twisting rotating’

*kulúla?* ‘make sb. feel giddy or dizzy’

The following trisyllabic ideophones in (53) have CVCVCVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup> template with gemination in the last syllable. Ideophones of this type are statistically not abundant in the language.

(53) *hamáragg* ‘of a fruit start to ripen’

*sukúrutt* ‘become languished or weaker’

*c’ak’álabb* ‘to nauseate’

*fabárarr* ‘boast or brag’

#### 3.3.1.3.4. Multisyllabic ideophones

Multisyllabic ideophones are ideophones that their syllable structure constitute four and above four syllable. The prefix ‘multi’ means ‘many or several’. Some scholars use the term quadrisyllabic for ideophones with four syllables; however, others use the term polysyllabic instead of multisyllabic and quadrisyllabic. Ideophones with syllable structure more than four are not attested in the language. The multisyllabic ideophone *kuukkúlukuu* ‘roaster’s crow’ is sound symbolic, especially onomatopoeic and it contains long vowel which is used to show iconic meaning. Note that all of the multisyllabic ideophones in (54) have CVCVCVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>VC or CVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>VCVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>VC phonological template.

(54) *fabálakka?* ‘to hedge or avoid giving direct reply’

*t’uk’úrumma?* ‘to immerse into water’

*munt'úluk'k'aʔ* 'to do sth. completely'

### 3.4. Suprasegmental features

This section is concerned with suprasegmental features such as consonant gemination, vowel length and accent which are relevant to ideophones in Kambaata, so due attention will be given to all these features in the language.

#### 3.4.1. Gemination

With respect to non-ideophones, gemination affects all stem-final consonants, especially *o*-perfective and *e*-perfective main verbs of the third person masculine. For instance, in the change from *már* 'go' to *marr-ó* 'he went' the word-final gemination is triggered by suffixing the vowel /*o*/ concerning *o*-perfective main verb, but the change from *már* 'go' to *marr-ée* 'he has gone' the word-final gemination is motivated by affixing/attaching the vowel /*e*/ in the case of *e*-perfective main verb. However, *o*-perfective main verb for the third person masculine is not employed in the context of ideophones. To put another way, only the *e*-perfective main verb is used for third person masculine with regard to ideophones. For example, *binn* 'scatter', *láww* 'seize' → *binnaʔ-ée* 'he has scattered', *láwwaʔ-ée* 'he has seized' respectively. Childs (1988: 170) states that Kisi ideophones have geminate consonants in a few morphological environments, namely // and *tt*. Tosco (2006: 887) states that the final consonant of an ideophone may be geminated in Gawwada. In addition, he points out that final gemination occurs with the fricative /*s*/, the stop /*b*/, the liquid /*l*/ and the rhotic /*r*/, but also with the nasal stop /*m*/ and the oral stop /*p*/. However, ideophones in Kambaata involve many geminate consonants in word-medial and final positions. Gemination is one of the most salient features of ideophones in Lamang (Chadic), Temne, Setswana and Tamazight (Bartens 2000: 18).

As can be seen from the table, the native phonemes /*ʔ*/ and /*h*/ do not contain geminate consonant in word-medial position in ideophones. Treis (2008) points out that all the consonants except the glottals /*ʔ*/ and /*h*/ can be geminated in the case of non-ideophonic words. Sim (1985) states that /*p*' , *w*, *k*, *c*, *y*/ are always geminated in word-medial position in non-ideophonic words. This is true for ideophones in the language.

### 3.4.1.1. Geminate consonants in word-medial position

Phonemes	Ideophone	Gloss
/t/	<i>koróttá?</i>	to hide sth.
/tʃ/	<i>baʃʃánn</i>	carrying heavily
/k/	<i>wikkikk</i>	to be rigid
/ʔ/	<b>Not attested</b>	
/b/	<i>c'ak'álabba?</i>	to nauseate
/d/	<i>Gaddább</i>	to jump and assault
/dʒ/	<i>adʒádʒa?</i>	to be numb
/g/	<i>Toggógg</i>	to loiter/hang around
/pʔ/	<i>t'ip'p'á?</i>	to get satiated/speare
/tʔ/	<i>fut't'úmm</i>	to fall down
/cʔ/	<i>gic'ic'c'a?</i>	to arrange things in order
/kʔ/	<i>bak'k'á?</i>	to wake up sb. from sleep
/f/	<i>difʃá?</i>	to hit sb. hard
/s/	<i>fossá?</i>	to carry cloth at armpit
/ʃ/	<i>koffá?</i>	to drink sth. at once
/h/	<b>Not attested</b>	
/z/	<i>tozzá?</i>	make sb. loiter
/m/	<i>t'immimm</i>	adhere to sb/sth.
/n/	<i>hinná?</i>	to open door/window wide
/ɲ/	<i>hanná?</i>	to bite/cut sth. by teeth

/l/	<i>fink'illa?</i>	to kill sb/sth. accidentally
/r/	<i>gubúrra?</i>	to bend/twist sth. into curve
/y/	<i>áayye</i>	to burst out into tears
/w/	<i>odʒdʒá?</i>	to make sth. white

The consonant phonemes /ʔ/ and /y/ are not attested in word-final position in ideophones.

### 3.4.1.2. Geminate consonants in word-final position

Phonemes	Ideophone	Gloss
/t/	<i>c'ótt</i>	to lose dignity
/tʃ/	<i>káʃʃ</i>	to strong/healthy
/k/	<i>wikkikk</i>	to be stubborn
/ʔ/	<b>Not attested</b>	
/b/	<i>hiddibb</i>	to pull sth. randomly and quickly
/d/	<i>lódd</i>	to slow down
/dʒ/	<i>gandʒádʒdʒ</i>	to grapple
/g/	<i>c'agágg</i>	to experience feeling of illness
/pʔ/	<i>gip'p'</i>	to stop temporarily
/tʰ/	<i>bét't'</i>	to emerge/appear
/cʔ/	<i>ʃic'c'</i>	to gaze at sb/sth.
/kʔ/	<i>biddik'k'</i>	to make sth. flat
/f/	<i>búff</i>	to swell/puff out
/s/	<i>fóss</i>	to walk proudly
/ʃ/	<i>ink'iff</i>	to be shy
/h/	<i>hebbó</i>	to coronate or invest sb. with legal power
/z/	<i>bizz</i>	to go up ward position
/m/	<i>budúllumm</i>	to engage in a labor or heavy work
/n/	<i>bottóʔnn</i>	to play silly buggers or speak foolishly
/ɲ/	<i>háɲɲ</i>	to bite or cut sth. by teeth
/l/	<i>k'ill</i>	to sleep deeply
/r/	<i>búrr</i>	to fly

/w/	<i>Law</i>	to catch/seize sb/sth.suddenly
/y/	<b>Not attested</b>	

### 3.4.2. Vowel length

Vowel lengthening demonstrates high speed or intensity of an action. For instance, the ideophone *ʃaak'káʔ* ‘to sweep the floor roughly and quickly’ denotes high speed involved in the action. Vowel length in non-ideophonic words do not have such function in Kambaata. However, vowel length in non-ideophones is used to be contrastive since it has lexical function. For instance, *máaru* ‘to forgive’ vs. *máru* ‘to go’, *áag* ‘to enter’ vs. *ág* ‘to drink’ and *káadu* ‘to deny’ vs. *kádu* ‘plow/plough’ are non-ideophonic words that exhibit meaning difference due to vowel length. In contrast, vowel length in ideophones does not demonstrate such meaning differences. Similarly, Dingemanse (2011: 137) notes that vowel length in Siwu ideophones is not contrastive. However, Mphande and Rice (1989) note that vowel length in ChiTumbuka (Bantu) is uniquely contrastive in ideophones.

With regard to vowel length in monosyllabic ideophones, some ideophones contain long vowel; however, a small number of monosyllabic ideophones for instance, *tú* ‘spit saliva’ and *gú* ‘a word used when talking about something regarded as taboo’ consist of short vowel. The vast majority of monosyllabic ideophones are sound symbolic. For instance, the sound symbolic ideophones such as *ʃii* ‘of a sound made by urine’ and *búu* ‘buzz or the sound made by house fly’ are typical examples that truly reflect sound-meaning correlation in the language. Note that all of the monosyllabic ideophones given in (55) are sound symbolic.

(55) *wúu* ‘sound made by heavy rain’

*húu* ‘mourn or burst out’

*ʃúu* ‘sound made by urine’

*ʃáa* ‘sound made by a light rain’

*t’ii* ‘sound made by mosquito’

*zúu* ‘to walk aimlessly’

*zîi* ‘of a bee to buzz’

*wîi* ‘of a small child to cry’

*hûu* ‘sound made by house fly’

*gûu* ‘sound made by wind’

*fûu* ‘sound made by ox’

Disyllabic ideophones are presented in (56), and they have a clear manifestation of iconic relationship. For instance, *búutt’a?* ‘to fart’ and *wíikk’a?* ‘sound made by a door when opening and closing’ are sound symbolic. However, disyllabic ideophone *bóoc’a?* ‘to give a hint’ and *faak’k’a?* ‘to sweep floor quickly and roughly’ do not convey the semantic notion of iconic relationship. There is no attested trisyllabic ideophones with long vowels in Kambaata.

(56) *k’úuk’k’a?* ‘farting’

*láatt’a?* ‘whipping’

*húup’p’a?* ‘drinking a liquid which thick’

*fáat’t’a?* ‘pulling out sth. quickly’

*kúuffa?* ‘milking a cow’

*wáak’k’a?* ‘sharpening metallic object’

Trisyllabic and multisyllabic ideophones with long vowel are rare in Kambaata, but I could find ideophones *kuukkúlu* and the sound symbolic word *kuukúluukuu* ‘rooster’s crow’ respectively. These two ideophones are typical examples of trisyllabic and multisyllabic words with long vowel. The vast majority of ideophone with long vowels are mono-syllabic and disyllabic ideophones in the language.

### 3.4.3. Accent

Treis (2008: 52) states that every Kambaata word contains one accented syllable. She points out that the accented syllable is more prominent than the neighboring ones due to its increased pitch

and loudness. Further she concludes that the most important feature that defines ideophones in Kambaata is the unpredictable position of the accent. For instance, she illustrated how the position of accent is not predictable using examples such as *komfóʔll yi* ‘be (come) dented’ and *kácha yi* ‘argue’, which are both disyllabic but accented on different syllables. As far as my knowledge is concerned, the ideophone *kácha* does not have accent on the first syllable, but it contains accent on the second syllable. So this word should be written as *kachá*. Scrutinizing this situation carefully, disyllabic, trisyllabic and multisyllabic ideophones have accent on the second syllable. Tosco (2000: 111) supposes that the HEC languages are stress accent languages whereas the LEC languages are tonal accent languages. However, Kambaata is pitch-accent language, in which an accented syllable or mora is realised with higher or prominent pitch (Appleyard 2012: 202).

### 3.5. Summary

The phonology of ideophones is akin to the phonology of the “regular” words in the language. Twenty four consonants appear in word-initial position; twenty one consonants appear in word-medial position, but twenty three consonants occur in word-final position. Most of the consonants occur in all word positions. All the five vowels appear in word-initial, medial and final positions. Ideophones such as *c'éek'k' yi* ‘glint or momentary light’, *faak'k'áʔ* ‘sweep roughly’, *húup'p'áʔ* ‘to drink a thick liquid’ and *fóottáʔ* ‘lift something quickly’ respectively contain long vowels in word-medial position. Phonologically, there are four types of syllables: monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and multisyllabic ideophones. Gemination, vowel length and accent are attested as the most prominent features of ideophones. The two labials phonemes /b/ and /f/ combine with the nasal /m/, but the remaining obstruents do not form consonant cluster with it. This may be due to labial feature. Obstruents /t/, /tʃ/, /b/, /dʒ/, /p/, /s/, /ʃ/, /h/, /z/ and /ʒ/ cannot form cluster with the nasal /n/. The liquid /l/ cannot combine with the obstruents /t/, /ʔ/, /d/, /dʒ/, /g/, /tʃ/, /s/, /ʃ/, /h/, /z/ and /ʒ/. In addition, the liquid /r/ cannot form cluster with the obstruents /ʔ/, /d/, /g/, /ʃ/, /h/, /z/ and /ʒ/. The glottal stop /ʔ/ combines with the sonorants /m/, /n/ and /l/. The glottal stop /ʔ/ does not combine with the liquid /r/ due to phonotactic restriction. The three phonemes /h/, /ʔ/ /y/ and /ʒ/.do not geminate in word-medial and final positions. The glide /w/, the fricatives /s/ and /z/ get geminated only in the word-final position. When sonorants combine with the glottalic stop /ʔ/, the sonorants are geminated thereby creating three consonant

clusters (CC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>), and this violates the phonotactic constraints in the language. In general ideophones do not utilize odd phonemes in the language.

## CHAPTER 4: THE MORPHOLOGY OF IDEOPHONES

This chapter discusses productive morphological operations: derivation, Reduplication (partial and full reduplication), triplication and compounding.

### 4.1. Derivation

Derivation is a morphological process that results in the formation of new words or lexemes where one word category is derived from another one (Lyons 1968: 522). In Kambaata non-ideophonic words can be derived from ideophones, but ideophones cannot be derived from any other word categories. Similarly, Awoyale (1981: 146) claims that derivation takes place in only one direction, from ideophones to another word category in Yoruba. This indicates that derivational process in both Kambaata and Yoruba is unidirectional. However, in some languages derivational relation between ideophones is bidirectional. For instance, Doke sees the derivational relation between ideophones as bidirectional in Shona (Doke 1931: 224). This means ideophones can be derived from other word classes and other words can be derived from ideophones. There are some languages that do not allow the derivation to or from ideophones; for instance, Upper Necaxa Totonac and Yi-Yoront do not allow derivation to or from ideophones (Beck 2008 and Alpher 2001).

#### 4.1.1. Nouns derivation

Although *aburichchu* ‘rooster’ and *handarichchuta* ‘dove’ have their own names, children most of the time prefer to use ideophonic words like *kúukkulu* ‘rooster’ and *kuukkú* ‘dove’. Onomatopoeic ideophones are used as the source for the formation of nouns in some languages. Names of animals and machines often reflect an onomatopoeic origin; for example, in Kisi *nyaayo* ‘cat’ is nominally derived from onomatopoeic ideophone (Childs 1994: 189). Zelealem (2011: 33) notes that one of the areas in which onomatopoeia has been heavily applied by human beings is in zoological nomenclatures. For example, in Kambaata *kuukkú* ‘dove’, *kuukkúlu* ‘rooster’ and *k’ok’k’ófaadiffu* ‘wood pecker’ have names associated with onomatopoeic origin. Similarly, the onomatopoeic word *k’ok’k’ófaadiffu* ‘wood pecker’ is named by the sound it produces while pecking the wood, i.e. *k’okk’óf* ‘peck the wood’. Hence, such action is the cause for the formation of the onomatopoeic word *k’ok’k’ófaadiffu* ‘wood pecker’. In addition, nouns

with onomatopoeic origin demonstrate the correlation between sound and meaning. This clearly manifests how onomatopoeia plays a role in the formation of lexical items. In (57) nouns derived from onomatopoeic ideophones are presented. The suffix *-itta*, in all of the deriving nouns /t/ is geminated except in the noun *ililitá* ‘ululation’. Note that non-deophonic nouns are formed by the use of some of the category changing derivational suffixes: *-imata*, *-itta* and *-éenna*.

**Table 11: Non-ideophonic nouns**

(57) Base	Gloss	Derived noun	Gloss
<i>gambáll</i>	become black	<i>gamballimatá</i>	blackness
<i>búiff</i>	become red	<i>búiffimatá</i>	redness
<i>wódzǎǎ</i>	become white	<i>wódzǎǎimatá</i>	whiteness
<i>bull</i>	become pale	<i>bullaalimatá</i>	quality of being pale
<i>saww</i>	think	<i>sawwittá</i>	thought
<i>c’iʔmm</i>	blink	<i>c’iʔmmittá</i>	fraction of seconds
<i>ilíll</i>	ululate	<i>ililitá</i>	ululation
<i>sáʔmm</i>	become silent	<i>saʔmmittá</i>	silence
<i>hoʔá</i>	vomit	<i>hoʔá</i>	vomiting
<i>k’úʔmm</i>	to be in a mass	<i>k’uʔmmittá</i>	meeting
<i>múgg</i>	to be in a low position	<i>muggittá</i>	dycentry
<i>c’erér</i>	drop	<i>c’ererréenna</i>	droplte
<i>hinc’</i>	become intimate	<i>hinc’eenna</i>	intimacy

#### 4.1.2. Adjectives derivation

All of the following non-ideophonic adjectives are lexicalized from the ideophonic bases by the help of category changing derivational suffix *-eema*.

**Table 12: Non-ideophonic adjectives**

(58) Base	Gloss	Derived adjective	Gloss
<i>t'ók'k'</i>	become upright	<i>t'ok'k'éema (ta)</i>	higher
<i>bát-bátt</i>	become restless	<i>bat-battéema (ta)</i>	restless
<i>biddik'k'</i>	become flat	<i>biddik'k'éema (ta)</i>	flat
<i>hirikk</i>	bow down	<i>hirikkéema (ta)</i>	lower
<i>gább</i>	become medium	<i>gabbéema (ta)</i>	medium
<i>táf-táf</i>	become restless	<i>taf-taféema (ta)</i>	restless
<i>k'usús</i>	be sad	<i>k'ususéema (ta)</i>	unhappy person

#### 4.2. Reduplication

In Kambaata there are ideophones which do not undergo reduplication; for instance, the base forms such as *láp'* 'lie in a bed', *kafá* 'to argue over something', *bart'á* 'to be in a flat position' and *lác'c'* 'to be slow' cannot be reduplicated. Reduplication is used to convey the semantic notion of repetition. In many languages, reduplication is commonly associated with iconic readings, such as plurality, distribution, iteration, intensification and continuation (Moravcsik 1978; Kiyomi 1993; Regier 1998 and Fischer 2011). European languages in general utilize reduplication less than the rest of the world (Hinton, Nichols and Ohala 1994: 7). According to Tosco (2006: 888), reduplication is an obligatory feature of many ideophones in Gawwada. In many languages, reduplication can be associated with quite a wide range of derivational and inflectional meanings (Lynch & Ross 2002 and Lincoln 1976). There is a small set of cases of reduplicated ideophones with corresponding unreduplicated words in Siwu and Chichewa (Dingemanse 2015 and Kulemeka 1994).

### 4.2.1. Partial reduplication

Partial reduplication in Kambaata involves the repetition of a syllable from left to right; for example, the base form *t'ombó* 'to come out as a rash on the part of the body' can be partially reduplicated as *t'o-t'ombó* 'to come out as a rash repeatedly on the part of the body'. In this case, partial reduplication *t'o-t'ombó* reduplicates or copies the initial CV. However, Azeb (2001: 51) point out that partial reduplication in Wolitta involves reduplication of final VC or of the initial CV of the base form. Hinton, Nickols and Ohala (1994: 7) note that the English style of reduplication is often called —partial reduplication" since it involves vowel alternation: *ding-dong, see-saw, teeter-totter, flim-flam, adilly-dally, wishywashy*, and etc. I couldn't find additional and the best candidate of partial reduplication in Kambaata. Moreover, partial reduplication is used to demonstrate extreme degree of intensity or repetition of action.

### 4.2.2. Full reduplication

Full reduplication involves reduplication of the entire word/base in Kambaata. Many of the monosyllabic ideophones can be fully reduplicated in the language. Fully reduplicated monosyllabic ideophones are listed below in (59). Note that the vast majority of fully reduplicated ideophones are monosyllabic. (see appendix 2).

**Table 13: Fully reduplicated monosyllabic ideophones**

(59) Base	Gloss	Reduplicated form	Gloss
<i>kát</i>	shiver with cold	<i>kát-kát</i>	shiver with cold repeatedly
<i>múk</i>	to be shy	<i>múk-múk</i>	to be shy
<i>mús</i>	to be ashamed	<i>mús-mús</i>	to be ashamed
<i>wíl</i>	to relax/walk	<i>wíl-wíl</i>	to take a short walk
<i>bírt'</i>	to writhe	<i>bírt'-bírt'</i>	to writhe
<i>bár</i>	to be greedy	<i>bár-bárr</i>	to be greedy
<i>bát</i>	to wander	<i>bát-bát</i>	to wander now and then

Fully reduplicated disyllabic ideophones with open syllable are presented in example (60). In short, they are numerically small when compared to fully reduplicated monosyllabic ideophones

with closed syllable. Note that all of the reduplicated ideophones in the following example are with open syllable. They have CVCV and CVC<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>V syllable structure.

**Table 14: Fully reduplicated disyllabic ideophones**

(60) Base	Gloss	Reduplicated form	Gloss
<i>bedé</i>	to writhe	<i>bedé-bedé</i>	to writhe repeatedly
<i>farsá</i>	to get detached	<i>farsá-farsá</i>	to get detached repeatedly
<i>cabá</i>	to wash	<i>cabá-cabá</i>	to wash repeatedly
<i>taf</i>	to be restless	<i>taf- taf</i>	to be restless repeatedly
<i>forgó</i>	to put aside	<i>forgó-forgó</i>	to put sb/sth aside repeatedly
<i>kafá</i>	to rustle	<i>kafá-kafá</i>	to rustle repeatedly

#### 4.2.2. Triplication

Triplication can be formed by repeating the base three times in Kambaata. The base can be a verbal root with lexical meaning. Illustrative example of triplication without gemination in the last element is presented in example (61). Monosyllabic ideophones in Kambaata are triplicated for intensity, especially used for “doing something exhaustively or thoroughly for a long time”. To conclude, the base form can be triplicated more than three times according to the context for iconic meaning.

**Table 15: Triplication without germination**

(61) Base	Gloss	Triplicated form	Gloss
<i>fók'</i>	to gig out sth.	<i>fók'-fók'-fók'</i>	to dig out potato, carrot, etc. quickly
<i>táf</i>	to be restless	<i>táf-táf-táf</i>	of a person to be restless now and then
<i>súk</i>	to walk slowly	<i>súk-súk-súk</i>	to walk slowly for a long time

**Table 16: Triplication with gemination in the last base**

(62) Base	Gloss	Triplicated form	Gloss
<i>bát</i>	to wander	<i>bát-bát-bátt</i>	to wander now and then
<i>ǰín</i>	to laugh	<i>ǰín-ǰín-ǰínn</i>	to laugh derisively for a long time
<i>fúm</i>	to smash	<i>fúm-fúm-fúmm</i>	to to smash sth. repeatedly and quickly
<i>ták</i>	to drop	<i>ák-ták-tákk</i>	to drop repeatedly
<i>dǰáw</i>	to mistreat	<i>dǰáw-dǰáw-dǰáww</i>	to mistreat repeatedly

Ideophones in the following table have germination in their last base. Triplicated ideophones are used to show *intensity* of an action and they have for expressive function in the language.

#### 4.2.3. Compounding

Compound ideophones are characterized by semantically diverse features in Kambaata. For instance, the compound ideophones *t'út't'-ǰíc'c'* 'to look at sb/sh for a long time', *bínn-ǰíff* 'to scatter something' and *kímbíll-bíc'rikk'* 'to return' are formed from the bases which have the same meaning. However, the compound forms *bízz-múgg* 'to go higher position vs. lower position', *fógg-t'ók'k'* 'to bow down vs. to stand up', *ǰóott-gáff* 'to lift up vs. to land' and *k'úmuc'-bíddik'k'* 'to shrink vs. to expand' are formed from bases which have opposite meaning. Another compound ideophone *k'afá-búdd* 'to be angry' entails bases that are neither synonymous nor antonymous in meaning. The base form *k'afá* has meaning in isolation. In contrast, *búdd* cannot be used in isolation. It is meaningless unless it is used in combination with the word *k'afá*. Similarly, the base form *k'afá* can be used with another meaningless word *k'ombó*. The compound ideophone *k'afá-k'ombó* conveys the semantic notion of 'to be angry'. This signifies the word *k'afá* is the semantic head of the compound in both cases.

<sup>3</sup> Many scholars use terms like total, complete and full in their study which deal with reduplication, but I prefer to use the adjective full in dealing with complete or total reduplication throughout my study.

### **4.3. Summary**

Ideophones are morphologically impoverished in many languages, but in Kambaata they are morphologically rich. Derivation, partial and full reduplication, triplication and compounding are the most prominent morphological characteristics that are attested in the language. Overwhelming number of monosyllabic ideophones can be fully reduplicated. Full reduplication is used to show the notion of repetition. Most of monosyllabic ideophones can be triplicated. Semantically, triplication conveys the notion of doing something exhaustively or completely. Some monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophones can be used to form compounding. Derivation is another morphological process which is used for the creation of new words, particularly non-ideophonic nouns and adjective. Moreover, there are some invariant ideophones that do not undergo morphological operation. To sum up, ideophones exhibit different morphological features in the language.

## CHAPTER 5: THE SYNTAX OF IDEOPHONES

This chapter presents the most important syntactic characteristics of ideophones in Kambaata. It deals with different ideophonic constructions: phrase structure and clause structure, voice, and ideophones in different types of sentences, and grammatical status and syntactic function of ideophones.

### 5.1. Ideophonic constructions

This section aims at investigating different ideophonic constructions at phrasal and clausal level with the help of different auxiliary verbs. It also deals with how the auxiliary verbs: *yi* 'say, *ass* 'do/make' and *aʔ* 'do/make' collocate with the ideophones. It focuses on the syntactic feature of complex predicate and voices (active and passive) in ideophonic construction. In addition, it attaches great emphasis to converb and quotative construction. Moreover, it gives close attention to the occurrence of ideophones in different types of sentences: declarative sentence, negative sentence, imperative sentence, negative imperative sentence and interrogative sentences/question.

#### 5.1.1. Phrase structure

A phrase is a syntactic unit headed by a lexical category such as noun, adjective, adverb, verb or preposition (Yule 1985: 106). He points out that the lexical categories are head of the phrase. For instance, in verb phrase the head is the verb. The same is true for other lexical categories. With respect to phrase structure, primary attention was given to verb phrase. In examples (63a-c) ideophones and auxiliary verbs are used to form verb phrase. Often there is a close syntagmatic relation between the ideophone and the auxiliary verb that collocates with the ideophone. Note that the ideophones inevitably or obligatorily co-occur with auxiliary verbs. Concerning the syntactic properties, ideophonic constructions in example (63a) is intransitive, whereas, in (63b) and (63c) are transitive or causative. In (64a) the three ideophones of color adjective collocates with auxiliary verb *yi* 'say' to express intransitive usage, while in (64b) they co-occur with the auxiliary verb *aʔ* to demonstrate transitive function of the phrasal verb. The semantic content of the construction or the core meaning is mainly conveyed by the lexical base (ideophone) whereas the grammatical functions are carried by the auxiliary verbs.

<b>Base/simple form</b>	<b>Verb phrase</b>
(63a) <i>t'ók'k'</i>	<i>t'ók'k' yí</i> 'stand up'
<i>Hind</i>	<i>hínd yí</i> 'remember'
<i>forgó</i>	<i>forgó yí</i> 'move aside'
(63b) <i>k'afá</i>	<i>k'afá áss</i> 'break a dry wood quickly'
<i>zúu</i>	<i>zúu áss</i> 'make someone feel dizzy'
<i>ferk'é</i>	<i>ferk'é áss</i> 'to indulge a child'
(63c) <i>hínc'</i>	<i>hínc' á?</i> 'make him/her approach'
<i>t'éll</i>	<i>t'éll á?</i> 'to annoy somebody'
<i>sá?mm</i>	<i>sa?mm á?</i> 'make him/her silent'
(64a) <i>gambáll</i>	<i>gambáll yí</i> 'become black'
<i>wódzǵ</i>	<i>wódzǵ yí</i> 'become white'
<i>búǵǵ</i>	<i>búǵǵ yí</i> 'become red'
(64b) <i>gambáll</i>	<i>gambáll á?</i> 'make sth. black'
<i>wódzǵ</i>	<i>wódzǵ á?</i> 'make sth. white'
<i>búǵǵ</i>	<i>búǵǵ á?</i> 'make sth. red'

### 5.1.2. Clause structure

A clause is a group of words that has both a subject and a predicate. There are two major types of clauses: independent/main clause and dependent/subordinate clause. Ideophones are integrated into the clause by means of different operations. Alpher (1994: 169) notes that ideophones in Yir-Yoront (Paman) cannot occur in subordinate clauses, or with negatives or imperatives. Svantesson (1983: 79) states that in Mon-Khmer (Austroasiatic language) ideophones generally function as independent clauses "uttered in isolation". The following main clause contains subordinate clause which is embedded within the main clause. *Amaad-ú dúun-iichch furr yí dirr* 'Having glided from the mountain...' is the converb which consists of the ideophone *fúrr* 'glide', the auxiliary verb *yí* 'say' and the main or lexical verb *dirr* 'descend'. In this case, the converb is constructed from the ideophone *fúrr* together with the auxiliary verb *yí* and the main verb. This clearly demonstrates that dependent clause is the syntactic home of the ideophones and converbs. Similarly, Dhoore and Tosco (1998: 129) state that Somali ideophones may occur in subordinate clauses. Childs (1988: 169) states that ideophones typically occur clause or sentence finally in

Kisi. Note that the word order of Kambaata is SOV in which ideophones come after the object; they follow the syntactic patterns of the class of words to which they belong, especially they adhere to the syntactic behavior of other words. In general, this type of main clause has a complex predicate such as one ideophonic phrasal verb *fúrr yí*, main verb *dirr* and another main verb *oróo 'k'k'-ee*. (see section 5.2.4).

(65) *amáad-ú*                      *dúun-iichch*                      *fúrr*                      *yí*    *dirr*  
amáado-M.NOM    mountain-M.ABL    IDPH.be.slow.PCO    say    descen-M.SG.PCO  
*mini*                      *oróo 'k'k'-ee*.  
home-M.ACC    go-M.SG.PRV

‘Having glided from the mountain, Amaado went to the home.’

## 5.2. Voice

Voice is the form of the verb which tells us whether the subject does something or has something done to it. In the following examples (66a) and (66b) the form of the verb is active since these two sentences are constructed by the auxiliary verbs such as *áʔ* ‘do/make’ and *áss* ‘do/make’, but in the last two examples (67a) and (67b) the sentences contain passive form of the verb and it entails auxiliary very *yí* ‘say’. As I mentioned early, auxiliary verbs like *áʔ* ‘do/make’ and *áss* are used in transitive sentence, whereas the auxiliary verb verb *yi* ‘say’ is used in intransitive construction. In the first two sentences we are interested in the doer of the action, i.e. *c'iil-u* ‘child’ and *mánf-u* ‘man’, however; in the last two sentences we are interested in things affected by the action, i.e. *burcúk'u* ‘glass’ and *hak'k'-á* ‘wood’. In contrast, Setswana ideophones are entirely devoid of voice-marking, but many ideophones can occur both in intransitive constructions in which the subject refers to an entity undergoing some process (Creissels 20001: 85).

(66a) *ciil-u*                      *burc'úk'-u*                      *fúmm*                      *áʔ-ee*.  
child-M.NOM    glass-M.ACC    IDPH.break    do-M.SG.PRV

‘The child broke the glass.’

(66b) *mántf-u*      *hak'k-á*      *fáas-iin*      ***talká***      *áss-ee.*

man-M.NOM    wood-M.ACC    ax-INST    IDPH.divide    do-M.SG.PRV

‘The man split the wood with an ax.’

(67a) *burc'úk'-u*      ***fímm***      *y-ée.*

glass-M.ACC    IDPH.break    say-M.SG.PRV

‘The glass was broken.’

(67b) *hak'k-ú*      ***talká***      *y-ée.*

wood-M.NOM    IDPH.divide    say-M.SG.PRV

‘The wood was split.’

### 5.3. Ideophones in different types of sentences

This section is concerned with the different types of sentences in which ideophones appear in Kambaata. In some languages ideophones occur in all types of sentences; for instance, ideophones in Ewe can occur in affirmative, negative, interrogative and imperative utterances (Ameka 2001: 26-27). However, Kisi ideophones are generally not found in questions and negative sentences Childs (1988: 168). He states that ideophones are found primarily in declarative sentence. Newman (1968: 116) suggests that the restriction is probably a common syntactic feature of ideophones in all African languages.

#### 5.3.1. Declarative sentence

In many languages ideophones appear in declarative sentences; for example (Bartens 2000; Kilian-Hatz 2001; Tosco 1998; Childs 1988; Ameka 2001 and de Jong 2001). Similarly, ideophones in Kambaata tend to occur in sentences in declarative sentence.

(68a) *lunch-M.ACC*      *ítfj*      ***k'úkk***      *y-éemm.*

lunch-M.ACC    eat.1SG.PCO    IDPH.be.strong    say-1SG.PRV

‘After having eaten lunch, I felt strong.’

(68b) *heeráam baarzáaf-iffu fut't'úmm aʔ-ée.*  
 heeraamo eucalyptus.tree-M.SG.ACC IDPH.cut.down do-M.3SG.PRV  
 ‘Heeraamo cut down eucalyptus tree at once.’

(68c) *óosu-t orc'-áan fúrr yi-ta-yóoʔu.*  
 children-F.NOM mud-M.LOC IDPH.glide say-3PL-PROG  
 ‘The children were skiing on the mud.’

### 5.3.2. Negative sentence

This section presents the occurrence of ideophones in negative sentence. Ideophones do not occur in negative sentence in some languages such as in baka and Kisi (Kilian-Hatz 2001 and Childs 1988). In contrast, ideophones in Kambaata appear in negative sentence and can be expressed by the negative marker *baʔa* ‘do not/does not’, whereas the negative imperative sentence is expressed by the negative marker morpheme *-tóot* ‘don’t’ (see 5.3.4.).

(69a) *sáʔmm yi-áam-baʔa.*  
 IDPH.be.silent say-1SG.IPV-NEG  
 ‘I don’t remain silent.’

(69b) *ise ménk' yi-táa-baʔa.*  
 she IDPH.speak.much say-F.SG.IPV-NEG  
 ‘She doesn’t speak much.’

### 5.3.3. Imperative sentence

This deals with the occurrence of ideophones in imperative sentence. For instance, ideophones in Yir-Yoront (Paman) are found in imperative sentence Alpher (2001: 11). Similarly, de Jong (2001: 121) emphasizes that the occurrence of ideophones is limited in Didinga (eastern Sudanic), to imperative sentences. In (70a-c) the ideophones such as *hínc'* and *sirp*, *tákk* and *fáak'k'* together with the auxiliary verbs *yi* and *áʔ* are used to express imperative sentence.

(70a) *kabá hínc'*                    *yí-yye!*  
here IDPH.draw.near say-2PL.IMP  
'Draw near to me or approach me!'

(70b) *sírp'*                    *yí!*  
IDPH.keep.quiet say.2SG.IMP  
'Keep quiet!'

(70c) *gát'-a*                    *fáak'k'*                    *á?!*  
floor-M.ACC IDPH.sweep do.2SG.IMP  
'Sweep the floor!'

#### 5.3.4. Negative imperative sentence

Concerning ideophones in negative imperative sentence, the negative marker *-tóot* is attached to the auxiliary verb. This clearly indicates that the auxiliary verb carries the grammatical functions like negation, tense-aspect-mood and person. It seems that the occurrence of ideophones in negative sentence is not universal; for example, Childs (1994: 188) states that ideophones are generally not found in negative sentences. Similarly, Kilian-Hatz (2001: 158) puts that ideophones in Baka in general are never negated and are rarely found in negated sentences. Note that the affix that is used as negative marker *-tóot* can be roughly glossed as 'don't'.

(71a) *táf-táf*                    *yi-tóot!*  
RED.be.restless say-2SG.NEG.IMP  
'Don't be restless!'

(71c) *kánne*                    *tózz*                    *yi-tóot!*  
DEM1.M.OBL IDPH.loiter say-2SG.IMP.NEG  
'Don't loiter here!'

### 5.3.4. Question

The occurrence of ideophones in questions is not the universal feature; for instance; Childs (1994: 188) notes that Kisi ideophones are generally not found in questions. In contrast, Ameka (2001: 26-27) asserts that ideophones in Ewe can occur in affirmative, negative, interrogative and imperative utterances. With regard to ideophones in question, the question word *-ndo* 'shall/will...?' is used to form question in Kambaata. This question word *-ndo* is attached to the auxiliary verb. It is a bound morpheme which cannot stand in isolation, so it is attached to the free morpheme.

(72a) *góoc'-a      fok'ók'      atta-ndo?*

door-M.ACC IDPH.open.slightly do.2SG-Q

'Will you open the door slightly?'

(72b) *ká      hák'k'-a      k'afá      attá-ndo?*

DEMI.M.ACC tree-M.ACC IDPH.rustle do.2SG-Q

'Will you break this wood?'

### 5.4. Grammatical status and syntactic functions of ideophones

This section is devoted to grammatical status and syntactic function of ideophones in some African languages. Hence, a brief cross-linguistic observation is made on these languages. Ideophones constitute an open and productive word class in many languages; for example, Yoruba Awoyale (1988), Igbo Maduka (1983-1984), Nembe Maduka (1981), and Yag Dii Bohnhoff (1982). Similarly, Newman (1968: 116) states that in Hausa (Chadic language) there is no separate class of ideophones, but rather the language has ideophonic nouns, verbs, adverbs, etc. In contrast, Kunene (1965) states the "syntactic aloofness" of the ideophones in Southern Sotho (Bantoid). In like manner, Kulemeka (1993: 193) concludes that ideophones constitute a separate grammatical category in Chichewa (Bantu language). He confirms that ideophones are not nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, but they occur in unique syntactic environments, for example, as a complement of the copular *ti* 'do or say'. Fortune (1962: 4) states that ideophones in Shona are used as verbs. Samarin (1965: 118) puts that ideophones in Gbaya (Ubangian) are

used as adverbs. Noss (1975: 142) reports the confusing and conflicting literature on Zande ideophones; they are sometimes classified as adjectives, other times as adverbs. In contrast, Tosco (2006: 887) states that in Cushitic languages ideophones are nominal in character. He notes that Somali ideophones are nominals. However, ideophones in Kambaata do not constitute a separate category, but they are subclass of verbs and syntactically function as verbs.

### **5.5. Summary**

Ideophones are integrated into the syntax by different mechanisms. Collocation of ideophones with auxiliary verb is one of the mechanisms that enable them to be integrated into the syntax of the language (or ideophones are syntactically embedded). Different ideophonic constructions are attested in phrasal level, clausal level, voice and different types of sentences. Ideophones carry the semantic content of the construction or lexical meaning, but auxiliary verb carries the grammatical function, especially tense-aspect-mood and negation. Ideophones can be used in all types of sentences: declarative sentence, negative sentence, imperative sentence, negative imperative sentence and interrogative sentence. In general, ideophones obligatorily co-occur with auxiliary verbs.

## CHAPTER 6: THE SEMANTICS OF IDEOPHONES

This chapter investigates the semantics of ideophones in Kambaata. The semantics of ideophones entails sense relations like synonymy, antonymy, homonymy and polysemy, semantic fields, perceptual domains (ideophones of sight, touch, taste and hearing) and sound symbolism (onomatopoeia, synesthesia and conventional sound symbolism).

### 6.1. Sense relations

Ideophones in Kambaata are abundantly rich with regard to the use of sense relations: antonymy, synonymy, homonymy and polysemy. Samarin (2001: 330) states that some ideophones are specific enough in meaning that it is possible to find for them synonymy and antonymy. He explains that in his field work, the concept of ‘same’ and ‘opposite’ was explained without difficulty. Since the function of the ideophone is to vivify actions or states, it is to be expected that ideophones will feature in all semantic fields and relations such as antonymy, synonymy, and homonymy (Msimang and Polous 2001: 246). For instance, they illustrate sense relations as: *qwa* ‘of whiteness’ is the antonymy of *bhuqe* ‘of blackness’, *vo* ‘of being alone’ is the homonymy of ‘of soaking wet’, but *klubhu* ‘of redness’ is the synonymy of *tebhu* ‘of redness’.

#### 6.1.1. Synonymy

When questions of sameness of meaning arise for unsophisticated speakers, no appeal is made to an abstract entity of ‘meaning’: a given word or phrase is accepted as having the same meaning as another word or phrase if its substitution for the other in the given context yields an utterance which they will accept as having the same meaning as the first utterance (Lyons 1968: 75). Saeed (2009: 65) states that synonyms are different phonological words which have the same or very similar meanings. The linguistic data given in (73) truly reflects typical example of synonymous ideophones.

- (73) *baŋfǎʔnn áʔ* ‘to tote or laden’                      *hicc’icc’ áʔ* ‘to tote or laden’  
      *bác’ áʔ* ‘underestimate sth.’                              *búf áʔ* ‘to underestimate sth.’  
      *búnn áʔ* ‘smash or break sth.’                            *fúmm áʔ* ‘smash or break sth.’  
      *bic’rik’k’ áʔ* ‘reject or repudiate’                      *genn áʔ* ‘reject or repudiate’  
      *fíik’k’ áʔ* ‘tear or render sth.’                            *táak’k’ áʔ* ‘tear or render sth.’

<i>korót't á?</i> ‘hide or misplace sth.’	<i>will á?</i> ‘hide or misplace sth.’
<i>wít't' yí</i> ‘be fast’	<i>harát't' yí</i> ‘be fast’
<i>t'oróp'p' yí</i> ‘to get aloof’	<i>forót't' yí</i> ‘to get aloof’
<i>báff yí</i> ‘to fall down’	<i>t'úll yí</i> ‘to fall down’
<i>c'é?nn yí</i> ‘lose one’s dignity’	<i>ffé yí</i> ‘lose one’s dignity’
<i>ríb yí</i> ‘shiver with cold’	<i>kát yí</i> ‘shiver with cold’

### 6.1.2. Antonymy

In traditional terminology, antonymy is words which is opposite in meaning (Saeed 2009: 66). However, this definition given by Saeed does not deal with the meaning of ideophones. I believe that this serves to high light the definition of antonymy from the domain of sense relation. Here I want to focus on the semantics of ideophones, but not the general semantics. Ideophones presented in (74) below are used to convey the semantic notion of antonymy.

(74) <i>múgg á?</i> ‘make sth. lower’	<i>bízz á?</i> ‘make sth. higher’
<i>t'ap'p' á?</i> ‘collect sth.’	<i>bínn á?</i> ‘scatter or disperse sth.’
<i>fóott á?</i> ‘raise or lift sth.’	<i>gáff á?</i> ‘put down something’
<i>gámball á?</i> ‘make sb. or sth. Black’	<i>wóǎǎ á?</i> ‘make sb. or sth. white’
<i>sírp' á?</i> ‘be quiet’	<i>ménk' á?</i> ‘be talkative’
<i>gánk' á?</i> ‘tie sth. tight’	<i>fóbb á?</i> ‘tie sth. loosely’
<i>biddík'k' yí</i> ‘become stretched out’	<i>k'umúc'c' yí</i> ‘become shrunked’
<i>harát't' yí</i> ‘be fast’	<i>lác'c' yí</i> ‘be slow’
<i>káff yí</i> ‘become strong’	<i>lúnk'uff yí</i> ‘become weak’

### 6.1.3. Homonymy

The term homonymy is used when one form (written and spoken) has two or more unrelated meanings; for instance, the word bank has two different meanings: 1. financial institution and 2. edge/side of the river (Yule 1985). Concerning the homonymous ideophones, there is no cross-linguistic feature of such ideophones in many of the world languages. However, Von Staden (1977) states that semantically, ideophones have a binary function; ideophones differentiate more precisely with a specific semantic field. He adds that many ideophones have a great

number of semantic variant, whilst quite a number of synonyms and homonymys are also found in Zulu. Ideophones in Kambaata are rich enough to convey the semantic characterization with regard to homonyms. The data in (75) illustrates ideophones that are used as homonymous ideophones in the language.

(75) *harfák'k' á?* 1. 'of the heavy rain to pour down' 2. 'whip'

*kálc' yí* 1. 'short light metallic sound' 2. 'become irritated'

*kirk' á?* 1. 'challenge someone' 2. 'stuff or fill a space'

*lúmm á?* 1. 'engulf or surround' 2. 'eat sth. quickly'

*kartfá yí* 1. 'close firmly' 2. 'to argue'

*fúkk á?* 1. 'slaughter goat or sheep for food' 2. 'mince sth. bit by bit'

#### 6.1.4. Polysemy

Yule (1985) states that polysemy can be defined as one form (written or spoken) having multiple meanings which are all related by extension. As explained by Crossley, Salsburry and Namara (2010) polysemymous words have more than one related senses, for example, the word "class" has six related senses or possibly more including: socio-economic class, a body of students, a course of study, a collection of things with similar qualities, sport league ranked by quality, and elegance in dress or behavior. Context plays a key role in identifying the particular meaning of polysemous ideophones. According to Mihás (2012: 323), "multiple senses of the same ideophone can be explained by the diachronic development of metaphoric extensions from its basic sense". Baka ideophones comprise all possible semantic concepts (polysemic ideophones) Kilian-Hatz (2001: 161).

Polysemymous ideophones in Kambaata are presented in (76) below.

(76) *t'úss yi* 1. 'of clothes become dry' 2. 'of wound to start healing' 3. 'flower

of maize to get dry'

*ǵóbb á?* 1. to halt sth. 2. to delay sth. 3. to pause sth. for the time being 4. to leave

or set aside sth. 5. to make sb/sth. slow

In (77a-c) the polysemous ideophone *t'úss yi* entails different, but closely related meanings.

(77a) *bok'k'ol-ú*      *k'aanc'-á*      *t'úss*      *aʔ-yóo.*

maize-M..NOM    flower.of.maize-M.ACC    IDPH.become.dry    do-M.SG.PROG

‘The maize is getting ripe’ or lit. The flower of the maize becomes dry.’

(77b) *óddiffa-t*      *arr-iiiffóon*      *t'úss*      *yi-téi.*

cloth-F.PL.NOM    sun-M.ICP    IDPH.be.dry    say-F.PL.PRV

‘Clothes became dry in the sun.’

(77c) *angá-ʔ e*      *máza-t*      *t'úss*      *yi-tayyóou.*

hand-F.DAT    wound-F.NOM    IDPH.get.scabed    say-F.PROG

‘The wound on my hand is getting scabbed/healed.’

## 6.2. Semantic domains

In Kambaata twenty three semantic fields have been attested. For instance, Kilian-Hatz (1997) cited in Bartens (2000: 27) lists 22 semantic fields in Baka ideophones. The commonest semantic fields covered by the Gawwada ideophones are sounds, actions, and movements (Tosco 2006: 890).

### 6.2.1. Walking

Ideophones of walking are capable of expressing various types of semantic domains in Kambaata. Hence, ideophones of walking subsums: walking fast, walking unsteadily, walking slowly, walking fast, walking proudly, walking aimlessly and walking awkwardly. Some African languages are said to have 20, 30 or even 40 different ideophones to describe different kinds of "walking" (Samarin 1965: 118). In Kambaata there are twenty three ideophones of walking with different semantic categories identified; one of the semantic categories is the speed involved in the motion. Apart from the speed of movement, due consideration is given to manner of the

movement and purpose of the movement in each category of ideophones of walking in the language. The linguistic data given below is used to illustrate this situation.

#### **6.2.1.1. Walking unsteadily**

The ideophone of walking unsteadily *géʔll yi* ‘to walk unsteadily’ demonstrates a kind of walking or movement with lack of balance as a result of old age or sickness for a long time, but the ideophone *tárr yi* ‘stagger’ indicates a type of movement, especially lose of balance due to being stumbled by obstacle or being intoxicated by alcoholic drink. The ideophone *fenkéʔll yi* ‘to wobble’ shows a kind of walking with difficulty rising the legs slowly due to bad or injured legs, whereas, the ideophones *fekéf yi* and *fetéreff yi* ‘to hobble’ clearly demonstrate a type of walk or movement as a result of club-foot, a foot that is badly shaped from birth or it indicates the person’s way of walking sideways. Summing up, the linguistic data presented here on ideophones of walking unsteadily exhibit a type of movement, especially walking without balance.

#### **6.2.1.2. Walking slowly**

The ideophone of walking slowly *forkó yi* ‘to move slowly’ indicates a slow movement of a person, especially old people use such ideophone in order to show the remoteness of the journey before they start their journey and their walking style used in the journey, but the ideophone *fukúk yi* ‘to walk slowly’ denotes a kind of very slow movement or walking. The ideophone *fulúll yi* ‘to prowl or move slowly’ shows the act of prowling or walking in a stealthy manner, especially walking as if in a predatory manner; however, the ideophone *fakák yi* ‘walk slowly’ designates a slow movement of a person or animal with a noticeable sound. The ideophone *will yi* ‘move slowly’ exhibits a slow movement or walk, especially for relaxation or recreation, but the ideophone *táatt yi* ‘toddle’ shows the slow movement of the toddlers or fat person or animal with lose of balance. In brief, ideophones of walking slowly are numerically large when compared to ideophones of walking unsteadily. In addition, the ideophone *súrr yí* ‘slither’ demonstrates how a person or animal moves or walks through a dense forest or grass intelligently, while the ideophone *kús yí* ‘walk slowly’ shows how a person walks gracelessly. Moreover, the ideophone *lác ‘c’ yí* ‘be slow’ denotes the semantic notion of low speed, especially

this ideophone is employed to give command to somebody take care or to be cautious while walking or moving.

#### **6.2.1.3. Walking fast**

Ideophones of walking fast *wít't' yí* and *harát't' yí* 'to walk fast' are used to give order to someone who lugs behind while walking with somebody who walks fast. The one who walks fast encourages the one who lugs behind to walk fast using these ideophones; however, the ideophone *gúu yí* 'go/walk fast' is used to give a command to a little child to go somewhere walking fast. This ideophone is often used to show a sound made by a strong wind, so that is why it is associated with the high speed. Moreover, *t'ek'énn yí* is another ideophone of walking fast used as a command given to a little child to go somewhere walking fast'.

#### **6.2.1.4. Walking proudly**

The ideophone *fáss yí* 'to swagger' indicates a kind of lofty movement or walking which is used to show how a person walks, whereas the ideophone *muk'úk' yí* 'to walk slowly in a proud manner' shows how a person walks slowly and proudly to impress others. The ideophone *fíbib yí* 'to walk in a manner of swaggering' indicates a type of slow movement or walking, but it is used by a person to attract the attention of others. Moreover, the ideophone *k'íbib yí* 'to swagger' exhibits how a person walks in proud manner to impress others wearing attractive cloth. In general, all the ideophones used in this context demonstrate how a person walks proudly to attract the attention of other people.

#### **6.2.1.5. Walking awkwardly**

Ideophone of walking *bakák yí* 'to walk clumsily' indicates a kind of sluggish movement or walk as a result of carrying something heavy or wearing a very thick cloth, but the ideophones *habább yí* and *hotótt yí* 'to walk awkwardly' indicate how a person walks in a clumsy manner due to illness or disease. The ideophone *hagág yí* demonstrates sluggish or clumsy movement of a person or animal. In addition, ideophone of walking awkwardly *gabáb yí* 'to walk clumsily' conveys the notion of walking awkwardly due illness or old age or lack of energy. All of the ideophones of motion in this section have unfavourable or negative connotation since they are used to insult the person who walks in such clumsy manner. Given this, for example, if a person

who is walking with others is incapable of walking fast, others say *hagág yitóot* ‘don’t be sluggish’.

#### **6.2.1.6. Walking aimlessly**

The ideophone *túnn yi* ‘to move aimlessly’ shows how a person walks aimlessly from house to house with out clear purpose, but the ideophone *zulúl yi* ‘to wander’ indicates the person’s aimless movement from place to place without clear aim. However, the ideophone *kulúl yi* ‘to roam’ denotes how a person wanders or roams for a long time without definite objective. Briefly, all of the ideophones of walking in this case are used to exhibit a type of aimless movement or walking.

#### **6.2.2. Talking**

Three ideophones of talking have been attested in Kambaata which are used to show the manner of talking. For instance, the ideophone *k’á?mm yi*, *ménk’ yi* and *méll yi* ‘to talk much’ show someone who enjoys talking for a long time, but the ideophone *c’ac’á yi* ‘to talk loudly’ indicates talking without turn with audible noise, especially in a confused and disorganized way. The non-ideophonic words such as *hasáaww* and *t’awáak’k* are roughly synonymous in meaning demonstrate a controlled and organized talk, whereas the aforementioned ideophones do not convey such kind of meaning. The above ideophones stand out from the non-ideophonic or regular words since they are vivid enough to express negative connotation or meaning.

#### **6.2.3. Breaking**

Ideophones of breaking designate the notion of breaking something into smaller pieces by pressing, pounding or grinding. The ideophone *fúmm á?* ‘get to something broken’ shows breaking something into small pieces exhaustively. This term can be employed to show the situation when something very fragile; for instance, a glass or an egg is broken completely into pieces. The ideophone *búnn á?* ‘make something break into pieces’ indicates crushing something completely. Most of the time this word is used for breaking, smashing or grinding hard substances like stone, dry lump of soil, etc into very small pieces. The ideophone *bútt á?* ‘break something into pieces’ denotes breaking something dry like stick, twig, stem of corn and so on into pieces; however, the ideophone *fimm á?* ‘to crush something’ indicates grinding something

into fine particles just like flour, but the ideophone *hufurúmm áʔ* demonstrates a complete destruction of something fragile.

#### 6.2.4. Hitting

The data given below in example (78) on ideophones of hitting are sound symbolic since they demonstrate iconic relationship between sound and meaning. These are sound symbolic words that demonstrate not only hitting something but also pounding something in the mortar. In the same vein, the word *dubb* indicates both the action of hitting and pounding something. The following ideophones in (78) are used to illustrate the semantic notion of hitting.

(78) *k'óff áʔ* 'to hit something'

*dúbb áʔ* 'to hit or pound something'

*gáww áʔ* 'bang a door or something'

#### 6.2.5. Light

With regard to ideophones of light, there is a rich body of linguistic data in Kambaata. The ideophone *balál yi* 'to give out light' indicates having abundant light or illumination with causative meaning. The ideophone *c'il yi* demonstrates a kind of light that sparkles, glitters or glows. The ideophone *belléc'c' yi* displays a type of momentary light or flash of light, but ideophone of light *c'éek'k' áʔ* exhibits lighting that glimmers or glints momentarily. The ideophone *c'éek'k' áʔ* shows glimmer or glint; however, the ideophones *c'ilimm yi* and *t'ifill yi* indicate a very weak light i.e. twilight.

#### 6.2.6. Rain

This section focuses on ideophones of rain. Interestingly, ideophones of rain are refreshingly different types; for instance, the ideophone *tákk áʔ* shows a single rain drop, whereas its fully reduplicated form *tákk-tákk aʔ* indicates repeated rain drops in a short while, and used to indicate iconic meaning, especially repetition of the action. Ideophones *barifákk' áʔ* and *harfák'k' áʔ* show a kind of heavy rain which lasts for a short time; however, ideophones *fáa yi* demonstrates a light rain that lasts only for a short time. In contrast, the ideophone *wúu yí* indicates a heavy

rain that keeps raining for a long time, but the ideophone *zii yi* shows a light rain which lasts for, infact, a very long time even a day or the whole day.

### 6.2.7. Color

This section is devoted to ideophones of color. There is no word for ‘colour’ in Siwu, nor in one of the surrounding languages, although it is marginally possible (for younger speakers at least) to use the word *kalà* from Ghanain English (Dingemanse 2011: 197). Kabuta (2001: 148) states that ‘red’, ‘white’ and ‘black’ are the only colors that have ideophones, as is the case in many languages of the world. Ameka (2000: 44) point out that in Ewe there are three color verbs which correspond to a three basic color system namely, *fu* ‘become macro white’, *(n)yc* ‘become macro black’ and *biã* ‘become macro red’. In Kambaata, ideophones of color are *biiff á?* ‘to make somebody or something red’, *gambáll á?* ‘blacken sth.’ and *wódzdz á?* ‘make sb/sth. white’, and *búll á?* ‘make somebody or something pale’ are causative verbs since such verbs take two arguments (causer and causee). However *gambáll yi* ‘become black’, *biiff yí* ‘become red’ and *wódzdz yí* ‘become white’, *bull yi* ‘become pale’ and *hamáragg yi* ‘become ripe’ are inchoative verbs because they denote the beginning of change of state rather than action.

### 6.2.8. Ingestion

This this section is devoted to ideophones of ingestion which subsumes two kinds of ideophones. These are: ideophnoes of eating and drinking. Hence, the following two sections deal with these types of ideophones in Kambaata.

#### 6.2.8.1. Eating

With respect to ideophones of eating, there is a rich body of data about such ideophones in Kambaata. The ideophone *lak’úc’ á?* is used to show the manner of eating food, especially eating without chewing or masticating; the ideophone *lá?mm á?* indicates eating something voraciously without being satiated quickly. The ideophones *k’á?mm á?* shows an action of devouring or eating small amount of food very quickly. The ideophone *k’úrc’ á?* is most of the time used to show eating, especially to gulp or swallow food or medicine hurriedly or greedily in one draught, but the ideophone *hamfúc’ á?* indicates of the person to take mouthful of something hungrily and of the cattle to graze the grass greedily. The ideophone *lí?mm á?* shows

the way of eating food, especially swallowing food without chewing, whereas the ideophone *kamf áʔ* ‘to eat/devour something greedily’; however, the ideophone *háʔʔ áʔ* demonstrates to of a person eating food hungrily and of the dog bites somebody or something. Moreover, the sound symbolic ideophone *c’áʔmm áʔ* denotes the semantic notion of eating something with audible noise and this ideophone is virtually different from the aforementioned ideophones since it is sound symbolic in nature. Note that the ideophone *k’ánc’ áʔ* ‘of the cattle to eat or graze the grass or something in small bit’ is ideophone of ingestion is used only for domestic animals, but not for humans; however the ideophone *k’ánt’ áʔ* ‘to nibble or to eat in small bits’ is used to show the manner of eating for both humans and animals in the language.

### 6.3.8.2. Drinking

Concerning ideophones of drinking, the ideophone *gumúc’ áʔ* indicates drinking a little amount of water or liquid at a low speed, whereas the ideophones *húup’p’ áʔ* and *háap’p’ áʔ* ‘to drink thick liquid’ these two ideophones are used to show drinking a large amount of a thick liquid for a long time at high speed with perceptible/audible sound since they are sound symbolic in nature. The ideophones *c’unk’úl áʔ* and the *tonkóll áʔ* exhibit drinking something quickly and completely at once; however, the ideophone *kóʔʔ áʔ* indicates drinking something quickly in order to quench or satisfy the thirst. The ideophone *hambúk’k’ áʔ* designates drinking a large amount of something/liquid, while the ideophone *gumúc’ áʔ* demonstrates to drink liquid slightly or to take a sip (taking small amount). Furthermore, the ideophone *fit’t’ áʔ* is used to convey the idea of drinking water or other liquid with audible sound because it is sound symbolic in origin.

### 6.2.9. Silence

Interestingly enough, ideophones for silence (or absence of noise) are handful. All of the ideophones in (79) indicate absence of noise or they demonstrate silence. The ideophones *síkritt yi* and *sítitt yi* are totally different from the first three ideophones in exhibiting silence because in this context silence is due to internal factor that may be due to sickness or lack of energy or lack of interest to engage in talking.

(79) *sírʔ’ yí* ‘be quiet’

*c’iic’c’ yí* ‘be quiet’

*dírgimm yí* ‘be quiet’

*síkrítt yí* ‘become calm’

*sítítt yí* ‘become calm or quiet due lack of ease’

### **6.2.10. Laughing**

In Kambaata, there are four ideophones of laughing; the ideophone *ǰínn yí* ‘to chuckle or laugh quietly’ but the ideophone *hinny yí* ‘to laugh for no good reason’ shows a type of restraint laugh due to cheerfulness. The first two ideophones *hinny yí* and *ǰínn yí* can be reduplicated to intensify the action, especially they indicate the duration of the action (prolonged action). The ideophones *míǰík’ yí* ‘become cheerful and laugh’ and *mufúk’ yí* ‘to smile and laugh’ both designate a soft partly suppressed laugh and they cannot be reduplicated.

### **6.2.11. Falling**

Ideophones of falling *zútt yí* ‘of a person or heavy object falls on the ground’ designates the notion of falling, especially falling of heavy objects like a bundle of wood or grass on the ground suddenly, but the ideophone *t’úll yí* ‘of a person falls on the ground’ indicates falling of a person on the ground after being stumbled. The ideophone *záǰǰ yí* ‘of a heavy person falls on the ground’ demonstrates falling gently on the ground or in a bed, whereas *tákk yí* ‘of something light falls on the ground’ denotes the concept of falling, especially a light object on the ground, on the table or in bed and etc. The ideophone *báǰǰ’ yí* ‘of a heavy object fall on ground’ conveys the notion of falling, particularly a person or something falls heavily on the ground. Moreover, the ideophone of falling *t’ulbú yí* ‘to fall down heavily in the water’ and *t’órph yí* ‘to fall down heavily’ are sound symbolic ideophones, so they convey the semantic notion of sound-meaning association or correspondence in the language.

### **6.2.12. Position**

Ideophones of position such as *k’óss yí*, *k’ótt yí* and *ǰekétt yí* are used to demonstrate a person or an animal to be in a horizontal position, but the ideophone *ǰekétt yí* is used to indicate lying on a horizontal position as a result of lack of energy. However, the ideophones *hongórr yí*, *wóbb yí*, *hóbb yí* and *héef yí* designate the inclination of a person, an animal or a thing from the vertical

position to horizontal position. Ideophones *hiríkk yi k'úbb yi* and *fógg yi* are used to denote a person or an animal to be in lower position.

### 6.2.13. Arrangement

Ideophones of arrangement are associated with the glottalic consonant phonemes such as /t'/ and /k'/. The ideophones in (80) are used to illustrate this in Kambaata. The following five ideophones are used to denote the notion of arrangement in the language.

(80) *zík' á?* 'to arrange things orderly'

*k'út't' á?* 'to arrange things equally'

*k'umbút't' á?* 'to organize nicely'

*t'eré á?* 'to put clothes in neat way'

*zíkí'k' á?* 'to put in attractive way'

*t'ább á?* 'to adjust something'

### 6.2.14. Appearance

The linguistic data presented in (81) demonstrate the ideophones of appearance. As it can be noticed from the data, the glottalic stops //t'/ and /'k'/ are employed in ideophones of arrangement.

(81) *bét't' yí* 'to emerge'

*bullúk'k' yí* 'to appear suddenly'

*but'úruk'k' yí* 'to pop or protrude'

*mút't' yí* 'spring out'

### 6.2.15. Swelling

Ideophones of swelling *k'úʔll yi* 'become protruberant', '*búff yí* 'become bulged', *gúʔll yí* 'to swell' and *gúp'p' yí* 'to swell' are used to convey the notion of swelling. One of the striking

features of these ideophones is that they are phonologically marked since all of them contain the back vowel /u/. To make it clear, the existence of the back vowel indicates the phonological markedness in this context.

#### **6.2.16. Anger**

Ideophonic meanings do not only cover the five traditional perceptual modalities of vision, hearing, touch, smell and taste, but also include interoceptive feeling or stimuli. This includes how speakers perceive and talk about their emotion, especially states of mind. The ideophones of anger *féc' yí* indicates the condition in which somebody becomes very angry like water boiling in the oven or a strong agitation, but its fully reduplicated form *féc-féc yí* shows extreme anger, especially getting angry for no good reason. In addition, the ideophone *féc' yí* is used to illustrate “anger is a hot fluid in the container”. Similarly, the ideophones *fikk yí*, *t'èll yí* and *fúrr yí* exhibit extreme anger, particularly going to the roof and the person who is in a state of such anger has a good reason for being angry. No ordinary word can express such internal being or emotional state of the person expressively in the language except ideophones.

#### **6.2.17. Thinking or cognition**

Ideophones of thinking *hind yí* ‘to recognize or remember’, *sáww yí* ‘to think’, *libb yí* ‘to remember or remind’ and *k'alább yí* ‘to remember’ are semantically rich enough to express clear or deep perception in Kambaata when compared to ordinary or regular words; for example, the non-ideophonic word *záhic'c'* ‘to think about’ is incapable of designating such feeling in the language. Ideophones of thinking have roughly the same meaning, so we can use them interchangeably or synonymously.

#### **6.2.18. State of the body**

This section is devoted to ideophones of state of the body. Ideophonic meanings do not only entail the five perceptual domains of vision, hearing, touch, smell and taste, but also embody interoceptive feeling or stimuli. This includes how speakers perceive and talk about the state of the body. With regard to ideophones of state of body, there are two categories: ideophones that express lack of energy or weakness and ideophones that express strength/vigour of the body or. Ideophones like *lunk'úff* ‘enervate, feel tired or lack of energy’, *sulgú'c' yí* ‘become weak’,

*luk'úc* 'become weak' and *t'ifill yi* 'feel tired' designate lack of energy or weakness due to illness or hunger, and etc. Even one of the disease *luk'úc'o* 'a disease which results in debility or being weak in health' is derived from the ideophone *luk'úc'*. This indicates that there is a semantic link/relation between the ideophone *luk'úc'* and the disease *luk'úc'o* since both are used to designate lack of energy or physical weakness. However, ideophones such as *meléʔll yi* 'regain or recover from illnesses' and *k'egéll yí* 'to recuperate from illness' indicate recovery or regain of health from long time illness. However, the last two ideophones *k'ákk yi* and *káʔʔf yi* are used to show someone is very strong or energetic after having/eating meal. Hence, their meaning is totally different or opposite from the previous one.

#### **6.2.19. Rash on skin**

Ideophones of rash *t'afá yi*, *t'ombó yi* and *fáa yi* 'to experience physical discomfort' are used to demonstrate a kind of sudden irritation or itching sensation on human body, especially on the skin. The first two ideophones *t'afá yi* and *t'ombó* can be reduplicated as *t'afá-t'afá yí* and *t'ombó-t'ombó yi* to indicate repetition of such itching sensation on the body for a long time, and they convey iconic meaning in Kambaata.

#### **6.2.20. Standing**

Ideophones of standing *hózz yi*, *tózz yi*, *togóg yi*, *sótt yi* and *dʒáll yí* 'to stand' designate the idea of standing in a certain place without good reason, particularly hanging around wantonly. They are used to express condition or being rather than action or doing. The last ideophone *dʒáll yí* is used to demonstrate standing somewhere for a long time due to astonishment or watching somebody or something without clear purpose.

#### **6.2.21. Hiding**

Ideophones of hiding constitute five ideophones which are *will áʔ*, *dákk áʔ*, *dubúll áʔ*, *dabáll áʔ* and *dáp'p' áʔ*. Such ideophones convey the idea which is logically connected with concealing or misplacing somebody/something deliberately with intention to put the person or the thing out of the sight of others. (They demonstrate action or doing rather than state (or condition)).

### 6.2.22. Falling into a light sleep

Ideophones that are categorized under the semantic domain of falling into light sleep are: *silimm áʔ*, *hazámm áʔ*, *zamámm áʔ* ‘to doze’. These kind of ideophones are employed to convey the semantic notion of dozing or taking a nap or a very short and light sleep. The first two ideophones *silimm* and *hazámm áʔ* denote to take a nap doze with the volition of the person, while the ideophone *zamámm áʔ* connote the idea of falling into a light sleep without the volition of the person due the physical condition, especially tiredness or fatigue that makes the person drowsy.

### 6.2.23. Sestlessness

Ideophones of restlessness subsume ideophones *bárr yi*, *bátt yi*, *táf yi*, *kaláf yi*, *siph yi* and *k’ós yi* ‘to be restless’. This group of ideophones designates the semantic notion of moving from place to place without good reason. For instance, the first four ideophones *bárr yi*, *bátt yi*, *táf yi* and *kaláf yi* are used to indicate an instance of being restless due to lack of comfort, whereas the last two ideophones *siph yi* and *k’os yi* demonstrate the condition in which a person engage in a state of motion as a result of lack of composure of the mind.

## 6.3. Ideophones of perception

Ideophones from perceptual domain includes ideophones of sight, touch, taste and hearing. Logically, ideophones of perception denote events that can be experienced sensorially, i.e. they denote a special aspect of event that can be experienced by the senses: They denote the manner how an event is heard, seen, touched, smelled and felt psychologically. That is why ideophones denote so many different concepts as, for example, sound imitations (onomatopoeia), very often also special kinds of movements Kilian-Hatz (2001: 157). The perceptual domain constitutes sight, touch, taste, smell and hearing in Kambaata. Hence, in the following sections I give due attention to all of these domains in the language.

### 6.3.1. Sight

Ideophones of sight or vision are not large in number. The ideophone *wilʔmm áʔ* ‘to have a glimpse or a quick look at somebody or something’ indicates a very short and quick look at

somebody or something, whereas the ideophone *fic'c' yi* 'to stare or gaze at something' shows looking or staring at somebody or something with wide open and fixed eyes for a long time deliberately. However, the ideophone *c'óonc'yi* 'to look at somebody or something with a strong desire' demonstrates looking at sb/sth for a very long time with the intention to possess it. The ideophones *fic'c' yi* and *c'óonc'yi* convey the semantic notion of staring or gazing at somebody or something intentionally for a long time, while the ideophone *wil?mm á?* denotes the semantic import of looking at somebody or something haphazardly/accidentally for a very short time without the volition of the person. Furthermore, the ideophone *c'i?mm á?* 'to briefly shut the eye' indicates closing the eyes momentarily and it used to show a reflex or unconscious action.

### 6.3.2. Touch

Ideophones of touch are used in two different ways to indicate the smoothness and dryness of food and objects. For instance, the ideophone *lúp' yi* and *húlp'p' yi* 'of a fruit completely to be ripe' are used most of the time to demonstrate fruits such as banana, mango, avocado, etc. are very ripe and ready to be eaten; however, the ideophones *kusús yi* and *hakák yi* 'feel rough and dry' designate the dryness of green leafy plants due to the exposure to the sun for a long time. The ideophone *súff yi* and *lúf yi* 'become soft or plump' display the smooth and soft nature of bread, injera, and thick woolen clothes.

### 6.3.3. Taste

Ideophones of taste are statistically small. The ideophone *má?ll yi* is used for the food that is very sweet and delicious, but its reduplicated form *má?ll-má?ll* indicates that the food is very delicious or sugary since such reduplicated forms most of the time intensify the action. Ideophone *c'á?mm* has virtually opposite meaning and it is often used negatively; for instance, *c'á?mm yumbú* 'something tasteless or food that is not delicious/sweet. The ideophone *c'á?mm* is always accompanied by the negative morpheme *yumbú* 'something not...'

### 6.3.4. Smell

From perceptual domain, ideophones do not exist in Kambaata. This indicates that there is a semantic gap with regard to perceptual domain, particularly smell (or olfactory connected with the sense of smell). However, in some languages ideophones are connected with gesture (or

ideophones and gesture are used at the same time). For example, Childs (1988: 169) states that in Kisi the ideophone *fifi* 'stinky' is used when something gives off an offensive odor. He notes that invariably its production is accompanied by a crinkling of the nose in a concomitant indication of displeasure.

### **6.3.5. Hearing**

Ideophones of hearing are not large in number. There is one ideophone which can best express hearing. Ideophone of hearing *habbúl á?* 'to hear or perceive a sound accidentally' denotes the notion of hearing a certain sound extemporaneously for a very short time, so it is virtually difficult to remember what the person heard in such instance.

## **6.4. Sound symbolism**

The study of linguistic sign is one of the foundational principles in the study of language since Saussure (1916). He proposes that there is no relationship between the word forms (phonetic or graphematic) and their meanings. In general, he emphasizes the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign (there is no form-meaning relationship). As far as my reading is concerned, onomatopoeic forms stand out from such assumption that is why many scholars disagree with Saussure's foundational principles. Speech sounds have the potential to suggest meanings; they have, not because they are speech, but because they are sounds Lawrence Marks (1978) cited in (Dingemanse 2011: 164). Maduka (2001: 193) also states that the semantic interpretation of ideophones depends on their sounds and patterns, and on a formal sound-symbolic system of linkages. In the next sections, sound symbolic ideophones: onomatopoeia, synesthesia and conventional symbolism are presented.

### **6.4.1. Onomatopoeia**

As Nordberg (1986) points out onomatopoeia in a restricted sense refers to imitation of natural sounds of animals. However, onomatopoeia is used in a broader sense, and includes more than animals sound in many languages. For instance, Kilian-Hatz (2001: 157) states onomatopoeic ideophones are imitations of sounds, where the noises of the world are echoed by the speaker. She explains that these imitations are a reflection of the reality colored by the phonology, phonotactics and perception of a given language. She remarks that beside such audible sensations

other kinds of sensations are expressed by ideophones following the same patterns of imitation. Onomatopoeia is perhaps the most universally noted sound-symbolic quality of ideophones, and in most languages being in some way imitative of a sound that is part of their meaning (Doke 1935 and Childs 1994). Similarly, onomatopoeic forms directly imitate sounds in nature (Childs 1994: 189). Although languages constrain possible onomatopoeic forms, this form of expressive language has shared forms cross-linguistically, i.e. there are universals of onomatopoeia, as can be seen in words for a rooster's crow (English *cock-a-doodle-doo*, Japanese *kokokoko*, Hebrew *kukuriku*, and Kisi *kukuluukuu*). As Klamer (2001: 170) notes, animal names very often reflect audible or visible characteristics of the animal itself, as in the English *cuckoo*, whose name imitates the sound of its call.

#### **6.4.1.1. Ideophones imitating sounds made by living creatures**

##### **6.4.1.1.1. Sounds made by humans**

Overwhelming number of onomatopoeic ideophones in (82) include sounds made by humans. Such ideophones in Kambaata depict sounds made by the human vocal apparatus. They are typically used to designate the sound-meaning correspondence. To make it clear, the data given below shows sound symbolic ideophones, especially onomatopoeic ideophones made by human vocal apparatus. These types of ideophones are statistically large.

(82) *kárr yi* ‘of a person to snore’

*háa yi* ‘a command used to open the mouth’

*haʔá yi* ‘to despise or to look down on with disdain’

*hóo yi* ‘shout’

*wóo yi* ‘shout’

*kaká yi* ‘laugh or giggle’

*hat`iffó yi* ‘sneeze’

*kúff yi* ‘allow saliva come out’

*hík'k' yi* 'of humans to hiccup'

*uhú yi* 'sigh due to tiredness'

*hoʔá yi* 'to vomit'

*c'ú yi* 'of a small child to cry'

*wú yi* 'of a small child to cry'

#### **6.4.1.1.2. Sounds made by animals**

Hinton, Nichols and Ohala (1994: 2) put that onomatopoeic words and phrases representing environmental sounds (e.g., *bang*, *bow-wow*, *swish*, *knock*, and *rap*). They explain that imitatives or onomatopoeia include many utterances that utilize sound patterns outside of conventional speech and are difficult to portray in writing, such as representations of bird and animal sounds, children's imitations of sirens, etc. Rubino (2001: 305-6) states the sounds of animals are often lexicalized in Ilocano (Northern Philippine language) by a process of language specific onomatopoeia. Like all roots in the Ilocano language, these sounds may also be verbalized with the appropriate morphology to encode the action most associated with the animal as it produces the sound. He illustrates that chicken sounds include (notice predominance of the voiceless velar /k/: *arakiak* 'sound of many hens', *kakak* 'cry of a hen', *kekkek* 'cry of a hen (when calling her chicks)', *kiak* 'shrill cry of a caught hen', *kokkok* 'clucking sound of chickens', *kotak* 'cackling sound', *taraok* 'crowing sound of the rooster', *tarektek* 'cry of the rooster calling hens'. Similarly, in Kambaata the voiceless velar /k/ is associated with the sound made by rooster and hen, for instance, *kuukkúluukuu* demonstrates the sound made by the rooster, but *káakk* indicates the sound made by the hen. In addition, the onomatopoeic ideophone *kutáakk* denotes the sound made by many hens when they are aware of danger (when they saw an enemy around them); however, the word *k'uk'ú* is the sound made by the rooster to attract the hens when the rooster is in need of mating. Moreover, the word *k'úʔm* is used to display the sound made by the hen to call the chickens to draw near to her, while the ideophone *kaakkáakk* 'sound made by egg-laying hen'. Onomatopoeic ideophones which in (83) are used to demonstrate animals sound are overwhelmingly large in number. The following onomatopoeic ideophones are used to show sounds made by different animals.

**Table 17: Animal sounds**

(83) Abnimal	Sound	Gloss
sheep	<i>báaʔa</i>	bleat
chicken	<i>c'áʔw</i>	sound made by chicken
goat	<i>méeʔa</i>	bleat
frog	<i>k'áak'</i>	sound made by frog
monkey	<i>bukúmm</i>	sound made by monkey/chatter
hyena	<i>muuhu</i>	sound made by hyena/roar
rat	<i>s'íw</i>	sound made by rat

#### **6.4.1.2. Ideophones imitating sounds made by non- living things**

##### **6.4.1.2.1. Sounds made by objects**

The elaboration of different aerophones – especially flutes, but also trumpets and clarinets by indigenous peoples of Lowland South America is related to the great diversity of animal species and to which the instruments sounds and meanings are verbally connected (Hill and Chaumeil 2011). Similarly, in Kambaata the onomatopoeic ideophone *búut't' áʔ* or *t'úut't' áʔ* designate ‘sound by traditional musical instrument’ In addition, *k'umbú yi* is the sound made by the traditional musical instrument, especially by **drum**, but its reduplicated form *k'umbú-k'umbú yi* is used to demonstrate iconic meaning, particularly repetition. In (84) ideophones are used to imitate sounds made by inanimate or lifeless objects in the language and such ideophones are numerically large. Note that the last two ideophones: *kilʔ* and *ʃilk* ‘sound made by a coin’ are used to show metathesis.

(84) *gáww yi* ‘of a door to bang’

*wíik'k' yi* ‘crunch or scrunch’

*ʃúuk'k' yi* ‘sound made by grinding grains on milstone’

*ʃílk yi* ‘of small bell or coin to jingle’

*k'áʔá yi* ‘sound made by a dry wood when it gets broken’

*t'áʔá yi* 'sound made by a burning wood on the fire'

*tilill yi* 'sound made by the phone'

*karká* 'sound made by small objects'

*k'ark'á yi* 'sound made by dry skin'

*kilʃ/ʃilk* 'sound made by coin'

*karfá yi* 'sound made by solid dry objects'

#### **6.4.1.2.2. Sounds made by liquid**

There are many ideophones that are used to demonstrate sounds made by the liquid and other types of water-based events, including different objects coming into contact with water. Sounds made by liquid are presented in (85).

(85) *balc'ák'k' yi* 'sound made by water'

*falc'ák'k' yi* 'sound made by a wet mud'

*c'alfá yi* 'squelch or wet sucking sound'

*k'ilc' yi* 'sound made by churning milk'

*c'óp' yi* 'drop of water when it leaks'

*c'urúrr yi* 'of water to flow slowly'

#### **6.4.2. Synesthesia**

Synesthesia is a type of ideophone which is used to represent "visual, tactile, proprioceptive properties of objects such as size or shape" (Hinton et al. 1994: 4). Childs (1994: 192) states that synesthesia is metaphorical extensions of onomatopoeia to sight, touch, and taste. Ultan (1978) found that in almost 90% of the languages he sampled had diminutive marking; the diminutive was symbolized by high front vowels. In this section synaesthesia includes ideophones that show size: (smallness and largeness of something), ideophones of shape, touch and sight.

### 6.4.2.1. Size ideophones

#### 6.4.2.1.1. Ideophones of largeness

With respect to ideophones of size, here comes cross-linguistically a cursory observation on such ideophones. For instance, Sapir (1929) shows the connection between high front vowel (*i*) and smallness for English as opposed to the high back vowel (*u*) for largeness. Awoyale (1983) observes a correlation between high tone and smallness on the one hand and low tone and largeness on the other in Yoruba. Maduka (1988: 94) notes that for size, medial alveolars as well as vowels in the narrow set are used for smallness, while medial velars and vowels in the wide set are used for largeness. In (86) the low front vowel /a/ and the mid back vowels /o/ demonstrate the ‘largeness’ in Kambaata.

(86) *hamfúc’c’ á?* ‘bite sth. eatable in large amount’

*hambúk’k’ á?* ‘take a drink in large amount’

*fáa yi* ‘of a liquid to flow in large amount’

*kumbúll á?* ‘to pour a large amount of liquid from one container into another’

*tonkóll á?* ‘drink a large amount of sth. quickly at once’

#### 6.4.2.1.2. Ideophones of smallness

The high front vowel /i/ and the mid front vowel /e/ demonstrate ‘smallness’ in Kambaata. For instance, ideophones *c’erér yi* ‘of a liquid to flow in small amount’, *c’ii yi* ‘of a small to cry with inaudible sound’, *wii yi* ‘a kind of light rain’, *fii yi* ‘a low-pitched sound made when something boils in the ovan’ and *zii yi* ‘a kind of light rain’ are used to denote smallness or diminutive size. Similarly, Zelealem (2011: 6) states that the front vowel /i/ indicates smallness (diminution), whereas the non-front vowels (central and back vowels) are indicators of bigness (augmentation) in many Ethiopian languages. In the same vein, Ohala (1994) shows that there is a cross-linguistic tendency for open vowels such as /a/ to be associated with large size and force, while /i/ tends to be associated with smallness and diminutives. In addition, Childs (1994: 191) states that the high front vowels /i/ and /e/ are associated with small things, while the back vowel /o/ suggests something large. In contrast, Diffloth (1994) provides a counter example from

Vietnamese word class in which ‘high’ vowels in point of articulation denote ‘bigness’ and ‘low’ vowels ‘smallness’.

Diakonoff (1988) cited in Zelealem (2011) has specifically identified the widespread female-association in several Afro-Asiatic languages. Gender in most Ethiopian languages is not only grammatically marked but also semantically motivated. He states that the front vowels, especially /i/ is associated with the feminine gender; the non-front (back vowels) is associated with the masculine gender. In Kambaata, front vowel /e/ is associated with feminine gender, whereas non-front (back vowel) /o/ is indicator of masculine gender. The front vowel /e/ in (87) indicates feminine gender, whereas the back vowel in (88) demonstrates masculine gender.

(87) *ac’áame* ‘woman’s name which indicates prosperity’

*c’afáame* ‘woman’s name related to affluence, especially rainy season’

*diláame* ‘woman’s name associated with victory’

*danáame* ‘woman who is beautiful’

The front vowel /e/ not only indicates feminine gender in family names, but also in address terms like *ayyíffe* ‘mother’ and *baadzáame* ‘lass or a young girl who is not married’. The surname or family name *kakkitte* ‘little boy’ which is most of the time used to show endearment or affection contains the front vowel /e/ which has semantic connotation of smallness (diminutive). Generally, /e/ indicates smallness of something mentioned and femaleness of the person.

(88) *ac’áamo* ‘man’s name which indicates prosperity’

*c’afeebo* ‘man’s that manifests wealth/affluence’

*diláamo* ‘man’s name associated with victory’

*ayyáano* ‘man’s name associates with good fortune’

The back vowel /o/ in the above family names clearly illustrates masculine gender. In addition, address terms such as *abbaayyo* ‘father’ and *wodallíffo* ‘term of address to a boy’ entail at the same time the back vowel which is akin to maleness. In brief, /o/ is a good indicator of largeness of something mentioned and maleness of the person.

#### 6.4.2.2. Shape

Shape consonant and vowel melodies are used rather than single phonic units (Maduka(1988: 94). Dingemanse (2011: 200) states that the shapes include a star, cone, cube, ellipse, triangle, square, sphere, circle, flower and rectangle. As far as ideophones of shape is concerned, ideophones such as *hongórr yi hóbb yi* and *wóbb yi* ‘be slanting’ are used to show something not straight, but slanting. The ideophone *biddik’k’ yi* ‘become flat’ designates the flat shape, whereas *barc’ák’k’ yi* ‘become shapeless’ indicates something is flat but shapeless or deformed. The first three ideophones *hongórr yi hóbb yi* and *wóbb yi* are roughly synonymous in meaning. Ideophones *k’urúrr yi*, *kérr yi* and *k’ubúbb yi* ‘become a circle’ designate something that is a circle or has a rounded shape, but ideophones such as *libíc’ yi* and *limbíc’ yi* ‘become malleable or flexible’ denote the malleability or flexibility of something, so it can be changed or shaped without being broken. In addition, the ideophones *k’úbb yi* and *hongór yi* ‘become twisted’ indicate crooked and twisted nature of things. The ideophone *k’úbb yi* is used to show how a person bow down part of his body, but the ideophone *hongór yi* most of the time demonstrates how a tree is laden (a tree with great quantity of fruits) come down to the ground because of the fruits. Moreover, the ideophone *taggágg yi* ‘become straight’ is employed to indicate how something is completely straight or upright in position.

#### 6.4.3. Conventional sound symbolism

According to Childs (1994: 194) conventional sound symbolism represents the most common type of association between sound and meaning in languages with a large inventory of ideophones. In the case of conventional sound symbolism, the degree of non-arbitrariness is less when compared to onomatopoeia and synesthesia since conventional sound symbolic ideophones do not exhibit the correspondence between sound and meaning. In (89) words that begin with the glottalic consonant phoneme /c’/ manifests conventional sound symbolism. All of these words which begin with /c’/ are associated with “light”. However, the last three words that begin and end with the fricative /s/ are closely related to a slow movement in Kambaata.

(89) *c’íl yi* ‘sparkle, glitter or glow’

*c’éek’k’ yi* ‘glimmer or glint’

*c'ílimm yi* 'go off a light'

*súk yi* 'constant walk'

*súrr yi* 'slither'

*kús yi* 'walk gracelessly'

## 6.5. Summary

As semantics regards, ideophones are capable enough to demonstrate different sense relations like antonymys, synonymys, homonymys and polysemy. Ideophones in Kambaata cover a broad range of semantic domains, and they are semantically rich enough to depict 23 semantic fields in the language: (1) walking, (2) talking, (3) breaking, (4) hitting, (5) light, (6) ideophones of rain (7) color, (8) ingestion, (9) silence, (10) laughing, (11) falling, (12) position, (13) arrangement, (14) appearance, (15) swelling, (16) anger, (17) thinking, (18) state of body, (19) rash on skin, (20) standing, (21) hiding, (22) falling into a light sleep and (23) restlessness. This clearly indicates that ideophones are rich enough to demonstrate complex structure of semantic characterizations. Specifically, ideophone of walking entails six different categories of semantic features: (1) walking unsteadily, (2) walking slowly, (3) walking proudly, (4) walking awkwardly and (5) walking aimlessly and (6) walking fast. Ideophones from the perceptual domain include: ideophones of sight, touch, taste and hearing; ideophones of smell do not exist. Another area of semantics is sound symbolism which constitutes as onomatopoeia, synesthesia and conventional sound symbolism. Onomatopoeic ideophones are used to designate sounds made by living and non-living things, whereas synesthesia is employed to show size, shape, touch and sight. In addition, the low front vowel /a/ and the mid back vowels /o/ indicate the 'largeness', while the high front vowel /i/ and the mid front vowel /e/ are used to demonstrate 'smallness'. Moreover, conventional sound symbolism indicates less degree of non-arbitrary relation between sound and meaning. To summarize, ideophones have diverse and complex semantic characterizations and they are used to evoke a vivid description of the scene and mental picture.

## CHAPTER 7: THE PRAGMATICS OF IDEOPHONES

Semantics is the study of the relationships between linguistic forms and entities in the world (that is, how words literally connect to things), but pragmatics is the study of the relationships between the linguistic forms and the users of those forms (Yule 1996: 4).

### 7.1. The use of ideophones in different genres

Having discussed the phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics of ideophones, there remain a few brief points to be made about their use and the types of pragmatic and discourse functions ideophones have in Kambaata. Hence, this chapter is concerned itself with the use of ideophones in various genres: proverbs, storytelling, riddles, traditional games, traditional songs and poetry.

#### 7.1.1. Ideophones in proverbs

Akporobaro (2004) defines proverb as a graphic statement that expresses the reality of experience. Here the word graphic is used to demonstrate vividly realistic description and nature of proverb. Its beauty and sources of delight is that, what it says is readily perceived and accepted as truth. The origin of proverbs cannot be traced to any known author. For instance, proverbial usage in Kambaata is always attributed to ‘our forefathers’ to show that it is ancient in origin with no known specific author.

Proverbs in Kambaata are one of the sub categorization of folklore which is used in the social context, especially in meeting and during indigeneous conflict resolution. Apart from this, proverbs in Kambaata are used among three or four people when they engage in private conversation; they use proverbs in the middle of their conversation to make their speech vivid and interesting. One of the ultimate goals of using proverbs is to raise the awareness of the interlocuters about what is happening and it lends to the artistic taste of the speech in which they are engaged in. Hence, whenever and wherever the people of Kambaata begin to talk, they inevitably use proverbs in their conversation instead of using a lot of words and expressions; they frequently use proverbs to illustrate, especially to recapitulate their speech. As far as the importance of proverbs is concerned, there is a well-known maxim or saying in Kambaata which is used to illustrate the paramount significance of proverbs. For instance, *sarbamaanfu*

*maaɔunna t'awaak'k'ano* ‘a hasty man talks without using proverb’. This indicates that proverb is one of the integral parts of conversation since it serves as flavor which is used to make the speech lively, engaging and illuminative.

Proverbs are often presented in poetic forms, which make them stand out from ordinary sentences. The composition of some proverbs is made up of sound symbolic ideophones. For instance, in Kambaata the proverb ‘*fagáara k'aseemma wóshichchu wójj dandánobaʔa*’ ‘the dog that has been speared its buttock cannot bark’. This proverb is used to illustrate a person who is not fair in giving judgement because he is bribed. The ideophone here taps meaning. The usage is quite symbolic and communicates the intensity of the effects of corruption, which is the cause for the distortion of truth in social and cultural settings.

(90a) *hínc'-hínc'*      *y-énumbodda*      *óosu-t*      *il-antáa-baʔa.*'

RED.be.intimate    say-3HON.NEG    children-F.NOM    give.birth-IPV-NEG

‘Unless there is close relation between people, children can’t be born.’

(90b) *kéo*      *líucc'-itoo*      *gúumm-iffut*      *kús-kús*

wake:up    miss-F.SG    antelop-F.SG.NOM    RED.walk.gracelessly

*yít*      *baʔ-áai.*

say-F.SG.PCO    lose-F.SG.IPV

‘The antelop which rises wrongly in the morning will be confused.’

(90c) *kotíma*    *áf-u*      *kóf-kóf*      *ass-áno.*

lack    catch-INF    RED.lose.dignity    do-M.SG.IPV

‘Lack of possession makes a person lose dignity.’

(90d) *níg-a*      *mur-éemmada*    *k'ég-u*      *t'inn*      *y-áano*

muscle-M.ACC    cut-3HON      blood-M.NOM    IDPH.flow    say-M.SG.IPV

*máal-a*      *mur-eemmada*    *máal-u*      *hinn*      *y-áano.*

flesh-M.ACC cut-3HON flesh-M.NOM IDPH.be.noticed say-M.SG.IPV

‘When the blood vessel has been cut, blood bleeds; when flesh has been cut the flesh can be seen.’

In (90a), the reduplicated ideophone *hinc'-hinc'* is used to demonstrate the intimate relation between opposite sexes (male and female) in forming a family. Unless the opposite sexes (male and female) have relation, they cannot give birth to children or cannot form a family. Most importantly, the ideophone in this context is to show the continuity of such relation which is instrumental in enabling the couples to be engaged in marriage; but deduplicated form or ideophone *kús-kús* in (90b) indicates a kind of continuous graceless walk. Another fully reduplicated ideophone in (90c) *kóf-kóf* is used to illustrate how the person acts as a result of lack of material possession at his/her home, especially losing his/her dignity. In the last example (90d) there are two ideophones; the first ideophone *t'inn* is used to show the rapid flow of blood, especially the manner of flowing. That means the blood never oozes, but it flows out quickly in large amount; however, the second ideophone *hinn* demonstrates the conspicuousness of the part of the flesh that has been cut, so it is noticeable to the eye of the viewer (the ideophone creates a mental picture in the person who sees the part of the flesh that has been cut). (see appendix 3).

In conclusion, ideophones in proverbs is a model for socio-cultural communication, daily interactions and experience defined by the choice of words in speech. To capture and appreciate the use of ideophones in proverbs, one must be highly familiar with the levels of social interaction at which individuals and group identities are being constructed. A proverb is said to be of greatest or paramount significance at levels of communication; both formal and informal settings including legal cases, political transactions, petitions, stories, religious practices, songs or the art of rhetorical conversion. With the use of ideophonic expression in proverbs, speakers of Kambaata have rhetorical and emphatic tools for effectiveness in communication. The use of proverb as a tool for cultural communication and transmission of the people's culture should be emphasized.

### **7.1.2. Ideophones in storytelling**

In this section, I provide transcribed and glossed text which is about “Sabiro”. I use a three-line transliteration: in the first line I present Kambaata data in phonological transcription (IPA), in the second line interlinear gloss (glossing of grammatical morphemes) and in the third line free translation of the whole sentence. All the ideophones in text are written in bold face.

Storytellers in all cultures have a vested interest in creating memorable and aesthetically pleasing performances. Klassen (1998: 29) notes that ideophones are an integral aspect of storytelling in many African societies. She reports that Shona speakers believe that folktales train children’s imagination, moral sense, emotional development, and command of the language. Teaching folktales and the art of storytelling also helps children develop a keener sense of memory.

In distinguishing ideophones from adverbs, Kunene (1978) proposes two distinct types of predicatives associated with ideophones, narrative and dramatic. When an ideophone is used in narrative discourse, the speaker is not only narrating the event but is also taking the role of an actor who re-creates or dramatizes for his audience by means of an ideophone (the linguistic feature) that may be accompanied by a simultaneous imitation, in the form of a gesture (the extralinguistic feature). The use of such nonlinguistic features enables the listener to relive a past experience or to live future events. This idea of dramatization as a function of ideophones is also emphasized by Awoyale based on observations from (Yoruba 1981). In addition, he associates ideophones with "echo sounds," which he considers to represent an object in motion or the manner in which an action was performed. Fortune (1962) also notes that, functionally, the use of ideophones enables the speaker to re-create "a vivid representation" of an event by using specific sounds. Mphande (1992: 118) notes that traditionally, the function of ideophones as literary or stylistic devices used for dramatic enhancement in narrative texts, generally storytelling or poetry. They also often occur in lullabies and traditional songs.

In Kambaata the use of ideophones in storytelling is exceedingly abundant compared to the use of ideophones in other genres. Ideophones are totally different or quite unlike from other ordinary or regular words in all the languages of the world for a number of reasons: 1) they set apart from the surrounding linguistic material, 2) they draw us into the scene and invoke images of “being there.” In fact, ideophones depict a wide range of sensory imagery across all sensory

modalities, from sight, touch, hearing, taste, and smell to kinesthesia, interoception and cognitive states. In addition, the scenes evoked by ideophones tend to be rich and imagistic. Moreover, they are saturated with meaning; in handling them, one feels they are like evocative one.

In (91a) the ideophone *ʃír* is used to indicate relaxing which is a customary action done on regular basis by Sabiro, whereas in (91b) the reduplicated ideophone *bát-bátt* is employed to show iconic length, especially the action of being confused repeatedly (to be in a confusing situation for a long time). In (91c) there are three ideophones; the first ideophone *gaff* is used to designate sitting somewhere for a short time and the manner of sitting, i.e. sitting quickly for a temporary purpose, but the second fully reduplicated ideophone *bárk-bárk* sound symbolic and demonstrates the iconic meaning of the bird's action, especially flapping the wings repeatedly now and then the sound accompanied by that action; the third ideophone *múgg* conveys the notion of falling on the ground or landing, especially action done by the young dove. In (91d) the ideophone *bátt* designates the young dove is in confusing and risky situation. However, the last ideophone *burr* in (91e) is used to show the bird's action of flying, particularly its capacity to do so.

(91a) *sabír-u*            *r óʃʃ-a*            *min-úʃʃ*            *fank'áll-ogan*            *irr-í*

abiro-M.NOM    learning-F.GEN    house-M.ABL    return-M.3SG.PCO    field-M.GEN

*aaz-éen*            *ʃír*            *y-ú*            *abbiʃʃ-éet*

interior.M.LOC    IDPH.relax    say-INF    exceed.M.3SG.PCO

itt-anóo

like-M.3SG.-M.IPV.REL.VV.M.NOM

‘Sabiro enjoys strolling around the field after school.’

(91b) *handár-iffo*    *béetu-t*                      *amáa-ŋfi-se*                      *báan-ant*                      *met't'-ín*

dove-F.GEN    young.dove-F.NOM    mother-ABL-POSS.3F    separate-F.PCO    alone-ICP

*ka=b-áa*                                      *kaitáa*                                      *bát-bátt*                      .

DEM1.M.ACC=PLACE-M.ACC.CRD1    DEM3.F.ACC.CRD1    RED.be.confused

*yi-tayóou.*

say-F.SG.PROG

‘A dove child had been separated from his mother and fluttered alone to and fro.’

(91c) *mát-o*                      *hak'k'-áan*    *gáff*                      *yí-t*                      *hikkanb-íŋffii*    *bárk-bárk*

one-M.OBL    tree-M.LOC    IDPH.sit    say-F.PCO    DEM2-M.ABL    IDPHRED.flap

*yí-tan*                      *múgg*                      *yí-t*                      *úull-a*                      *al-éen*                      *ubb-ayóou.*

say-F.ICO    IDPH.be.lower    say-F.PCO    land-F.GEN    top-M.LOC    fall.down-F.PROG

‘Having sat on the branch of a tree and moved her wings, she fell down on the ground.’

(91d) *amáa-ŋfi-se*                      *baan-antóo*                                      *handar-íŋffíŋffú-t*

mother-F.ABL-POSS    separate-3F.IPV.REL.VV.M.NOM    dove-F.DIM-F.NOM

*tees-úu*                      *bátt*                                      *yi-tayóou.*

now-M.OBL    IDPH.be.confused    say-F.PROG

‘The dove, which is isolated from her mother, was moving continuously here and there for she was confused.’

(91e) *handár-iffu-t*      *badzig-óon*      *búrr*      *yí-tan*      *wáal-it*  
dove-F.SG-NOM    happy-F.ICP    IDPH.fly    say-F.ICO    come-F.PCO

*k'akkátfu-ta*    *handar-iffiffi*    *fiiin-áan*      *afuu?ll-itóou*.  
tiny-F.ACC    dove-F.DIM      near-M.LOC    sit-F.PRIV

‘The dove came happily and perched near the small dove.’

### 7.1.3. Ideophones in riddles

Riddle is one of the traditional plays from the domain of folklore and it is used by the people of Kambaata, especially youngsters for entertainment with their neighbours during the night. It is played by a group of boys or girls turn by turn. The one who starts the riddle says *T'inko T'inko* or *Riddle! Riddle!* This is the opening formula for a riddling session, but the rest say *T'inkiribb* or *goc'aan bic'irikk'* ‘turn over’. This is the way they play the riddle. If one of the group members is able to answer or solve the riddle, he/she begins the game. The one who fails to answer the riddle keeps answering the riddle. This means others can take turn to ask the riddle if he/she is the winner. Anyone who fails to answer or solve the riddle gives land or country to the other person who asks the puzzle. The boy or girl who receives the land or country says, *ira irantai bargam* ‘Land, be added to my land!’ This is the closing formula for a riddling session.

In the riddle in (92a) the ideophone *búrr* is used to indicate the physical ability of the bee, especially their capacity to fly in the sky. In (92b) the monosyllabic ideophone *fii* is used to demonstrate completely or sheer dryness of the winter, so the noun phrase *fii yée hagúu* means ‘in dry winter’. In (92c) the ideophone *k'óp'p'* is used to show sitting on something cautiously for a long time safely, but the ideophone (92d) *t'óp'* indicates jumping. In (92e) the ideophone *figíg* designates strong dislike or abhorrence of somebody or something but the ideophone in (92f) the ideophone *hinc'* shows approaching or coming close to somebody or something. However, in (92g) the sound symbolic ideophone *dubb* indicates the sound made when the waste matter comes out of the anus and falls on the toilet hole, whereas the ideophone *wik'k'* in the same riddle indicates closing the anus after defecation. These two sound symbolic ideophones convey the semantic notion of the relationship between sound and meaning in the language. In the last riddle (92h) there are two ideophones; the first monosyllabic ideophone *hóo* is sound symbolic in

origin and denotes the sound made by the house fly, while the second ideophone *húʔmm* is used to show staying somewhere calmly or without moving. In general, ideophones abound in riddles in Kambaata (large number of ideophones are attested in riddles). In Mari (Finno-Ugric) there are riddles made up entirely of ideophones (and others composed solely from gestures and mimicry) Saarinen (1991) cited in Bartens (2000: 171-172). In contrast, this is not the case in Kambaata. Note that in this case I don't want to give the answer for each riddle since this falls beyond my concern or focus.

(92a) *al- ún búrr yi-táaru horúngu k'ass-áahaarra?*

top-M.LOC IDPH.fly say-3PL all sting-3PL.COP2

'All those fly in the sky sting.'

(92b) *fiiláamo y-énno adabóo fũ y-ée hagúu felléʔu zéo?*

fiilaamo say-3HON boy IDPH.dry say-M.PRIV winter goat keep.PRIV

'A boy named Fiilaamo looks after the goats in the winter'

(92c) *fugúdzɔdzi fot'oor-óon k'óp'p' y-éeʔi?*

fugúdzɔdzi rope-LOC IDPH.sit say-M.SG.PRIV

'Fugudɔdzi sits on the rope.'

(92d) *iitt-énumbu balí-ta illí-ta t'imp'ípp'-een t'óp' y-énno?*

eat-3HON.NEG cliff-F.ACC eye-F.ACC close-3HON IDPH.jump say-3HON

'Someone jumps adreadful cliff closing the eyes'

(92e) *oddák'-anoda figíg ass-anóo?*

wear-M.ICO IDPH.detest make-M.IPV

'It is loathesome while clothing/wearing.'

(92f) *fóol-it hiz-áakkat hínc' yi-tányan lamú-s rét lamú-s*  
 four-F.PL brother-PL2 IDPH.draw.near say-PL.ICO two-DEF die.PCO two-DEF  
*fank'al-tóoi?*  
 return-PL.PRV

‘While four brothers are approaching, the two died and the two returned.’

(92g) *c'úp'-a dúbb c'án-a wík'k'?*  
 pestle-M.ACC IDPH.pound balloon.MACC IDPH.tie

‘A pestle drops, but a balloon closes’

(92h) *hóo yí wáall-o hamaamóot-aa hú?mm yí-t*  
 IDPH.buzz say come-M.PRV attendants-CONJ IDPH.be.calm say-F.SG  
*afu?ll-tóo izéeffut-aa?*  
 sit-F.SG.PRV bride.F.SG-CONJ

‘Bride who sit calmly and all the attendants approached shouting.’

#### 7.1.4. Ideophones in traditional games

As far as traditional game is concerned, Kambaata play a considerable number of traditional games. There are different types of games played by adults. Traditional game *Abam Abamo* is one of the traditional games played by adults. There are many types of traditional games played by adults, but I don't want to include all of them in this section. In the following game, there are three ideophones. The first ideophone *fáww* denotes concealing, camouflaging or disguising oneself in a certain place. The second ideophone *gáww* shows staying somewhere for a long time without being noticed; however, the reduplicated ideophone *bát-bátt* designates an instance of being here and there in confusion. This reduplicated ideophone expresses iconic lengthening, especially continuous and repeated action in this context. Note that the traditional game is

written in Kambaata orthography and accompanied by free translation. Note that the poem is juxtaposed with its free translation.

<b>(93) Ideophones in traditional game</b>	<b>English translation</b>
Abbamo Abbamoo ...yoobee...	Abbam Abbamo... present ...
Koo gardaami c‘uphiin; hee!	You! oat with pestle; yes
Galititabe simaan; hee!	Living with young enset plant; yes
Shanko aazeen; hee!	In side the shanko ‘grass‘; yes
<b>Shaww yi</b> fajjiyan; hee!	Having hidden...; yes
Hassan hossantibee; hee!	You will spend the day searching me; yes
Bale gaangaanibee; hee!	On the edge of the cliff; yes
<b>Gaww yi</b> fajjiyanibee; hee!	Having hidden my self; yes
<b>Bat-batt</b> yitaanti Leegichcho; hee!	You will search me here and there; yes.

#### **7.1.5. Ideophones in a traditional song**

This is one of the traditional chants/songs performed during the time of circumcision by youngsters (boys & girls) and adults (men and women). This is a very interesting traditional song or chant performed by two girls or women and boys or men; they are paired and play face to face insulting each other turn by turn. Drum is one of the traditional musical instruments used on this occasion, which makes the chant lively and colorful. Due to the pervasion and dominance of the Ethiopian Protestant and Evangelical churches and their belief in the entire areas of the zone, this type of traditional song or chant is on the verge of vanishing. The song consists of two fully reduplicated sound symbolic ideophones. The first fully reduplicated sound symbolic ideophone *dúbb-dúbb* indicates sound made by pounding something quickly in the mortar, but the second fully reduplicated sound symbolic ideophone *k’óff-k’óff* is used to display chopping something roughly and quickly. Here the two onomatopoeic ideophones demonstrate sound-meaning correspondance or association. Mphande (1992: 118) states that ideophones often occur in lullabies and traditional songs in ChiTumbuka. However, I couldn’t find ideophones in luulabies in Kambaata.

(94) **Ideophones in traditional song**

*Fesso fesso minano*

*Fserekka maxano*

*Fassimunkus hawwaanchu*

*Gallo timii yaaraanchu*

*Tee badame*

*Gooba loolloose badam*

*Kinxax qiriixex badame*

*Dubb-dubbat duma laqqoobe*

*Qoff-qoffat qooxa laqqoobe*

**English translation**

You build useless hut. (Girls say this).

You collect feserekka \_a kind of cabbage‘.

You are miserable.

You cry for leftover.

You are cruel. (Boys say this).

You talkative.

You gluttonous.

Pounding roughly she takes it to back room.

Chopping roughly she puts it on the high place.

**7.1.6. Ideophones in poetry**

In Kambaata ideophones are found written in the poem, but many of the language experts are not fully cognizant of the discourse function of ideophones in the language. Noss (2001: 269) states that the meaning of the Gbaya ideophone is found in the network of ideas and sounds from which the artist draws; the meaning is in the aesthetic tradition and its interpretation before the audience. He emphasizes that it is in the artist’s selection and placement of the ideophones in their poetic context; it is in the social and cultural setting that is the past and present world of the Gbaya. In addition, the meaning is in the vital and dynamic nature of the ideophones themselves. Similarly, Kulemeka (1994: 167) clearly states that it is striking that, in general, the successful Chichewa writers are those who effectively incorporate ideophones in their work. He stresses that in Chichewa, the rendering of certain situations simply require the use of ideophones. Additionally, he puts that the good writer has developed awareness for when to use and when not to use an ideophone. Moreover, he emphasizes that conversely the less successful writer either does not use ideophones at all or uses them carelessly. Ideophones have been said to fulfill two

main functions: a dramaturgic or expressive function and a stylistic function (Noss 2001; Nuckolls 2006; Webster 2009 and Dingemanse 2011a).

There are four ideophones in the following poem written on “enset or false banana”. The first ideophone *hálp’á?* indicates how an ox eats the corm of the enset, especially biting a large amount of the corm hungrily, but the second ideophone *fumá?an* is used to symbolize how the liquid from kocho comes out like urine, but the third ideophone *fut’t’úm* indicates an instance of falling down, especially how kocho falls down on the ground automatically at once. The last ideophone *hínc’* designates the way of approaching or coming near to somebody. Note that the poem is written in Kambaata orthography and given free translation. So I hope my readers can easily understand it by reading the translated version of the poem which is juxtaposed with its free translation.

(95) **Ideophones in poem *weeshshu***

*Ham?chchuu halphai hangag booru,*  
*hawwaranqaxeechch hoogu?nnaan hoga?anoohu,*  
*daakkuteen weeseeneet qaarri hujatanoohu.*  
*Qallo sau bargan xuuramanoo,*  
*Weichchu xaligg le?anoo,*  
*manchi beetu azuta agan buuru itanoo,*  
*meusira kuleenno weeshshiineet bolxanoo.*  
*Iltoo meentihaa burritus Zabbua.*  
*Iltoo meentihaa burritus Zabbua.*  
*Utubu uurriseenno barihaa bu?lus sholamanua.*  
*Waasus woyyaa xorofiichch.*  
*Mereerus abbaa udurgafoochch.*  
*Bu?lus badzigisaua indgeeriichch*  
*Muc’uuc’c’us baasata daabboochch.*  
*Duubi doolla borooreenaniyan,*  
*buxima doolla abbiseensniyan,*  
*oqees langeen harruuchchoon hogobeean,*  
*injijjita zaassan daariichch daara aagan,*  
*koo?rrayoo kaameelaan.*  
*Addis ababiga yoo abbata katammaan,*  
*kaameeliichch iyyeen dirriiseen,*

**English Translation**

An ox having eaten the corm or root of the *enset*,  
It stays in the field the whole day without feeling tired.  
It is nice of enset which makes an ox strong.  
The cow, which gave birth, gives milk abundantly,  
The newly born calf, grows-well eating corm.  
The man drinks milk and eat butter.  
*Enset* is the pride of the nation.  
The porridge from *kocho* is medicine for mothers.  
The porridge from *kocho* is medicine for mothers.  
Its *bu’lla* is prepared as a food when making a house.  
*Kocho* made from enset is better than *kita*, local food.  
Its *mereero*, ‘soft koc’o’ is better than *udurgafo*.  
Its *bu’lla*, is far better than injera.  
Its *mucuucco*, local food is far better than bread.  
*Enset* was really ignored in the time of prosperity.  
It was given due attention in the time of poverty.  
*Kocho* having been loaded on the back of the donkey  
Shedding the fluid, it goes from place to place.  
It travels by car.  
Cities like Addis Ababa; *Kocho* has been ...  
Having been downloaded from car ...

*fooqaan fushsheenan,*  
*hashshoga bolxayooi manni gujjoon **shuma?an.***  
*katamiichch katama zahan hoshshoochch,*  
*fooqaan full **fuxxumm** yi galloochch,*  
*korronteen sholeenan wiliilit ultu?nna*  
*matus ikkee abbabbannuta uteelli ichchaachch.*  
*Sulsuta waasiin yeenan azzazzeennoda,*  
*abbishsh bjiggayyooi hada baadi kohaakkat.*  
*Waasu garroochch hooshsh gallee fi injeeranka.*  
*Bolxi **hinc'** yaayyooi aye biritaa.*  
*Amma?ninaamm бага bareen baara tolo*

Having been lifted up ....  
*Kocho* is happy proud of being carried ...  
 If *kocho* moves from town to town,  
 If it stays on tall buildings,  
 If it is prepeded on stove or electrical device,  
 It became one of the favorite foods in the hotel.  
 People order *sulso* ‘minced meat’ with *kocho*.  
 Foreigners are happy to eat *koch*.  
 It was long when people preferred *kocho* to injera.  
*Kocho* appears proudly to anyone.  
 It was long when people preferred *kocho* to injera.

**Adopted from “Collection of oral Literature” by Getahun Hellebo (2003)**

4

### 7.3. Summary

Pragmatically, the function of ideophones as literary or stylistic devices are used for dramatic enhancement in narrative texts generally in proverbs, storytelling, riddles, traditional games played by adults, traditional songs and poetry. These are some of the genres in which ideophones are used to vivify an action or state in the language. There are often a very large number of ideophones in oral language or communication. To sum up, ideophones in Kambaata are employed in various genres for dramatic effect, especially to attract the attention of people.

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<sup>4</sup> Note that the poem on onset is written in Kambaata orthography in font 10 and juxtaposed with its free translation.

## CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The concluding and substantive chapter deals with form, meaning and function of ideophones in Kambaata, HEC. The chapter aims at presenting conclusion and future directions or recommendation accordingly.

### 8.1. Conclusion

The phonology of ideophones is identical to the phonology of the “regular” words in the language. Ideophones do not utilize exotic phonemes. They employ the same segments found in the language. However, ideophones in many of African language possess special phonology (Voeltz and Kilian-Hatz 2001 and Childs 1994). Similarly, ideophones in Saaho have exceptional phonological characteristics, but this is not the case in many of Ethiopian languages. Phonologically, there are four types of syllable structures: monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and multisyllabic ideophones. Interestingly, disyllabic ideophones are statistically large when compared to trisyllabic and multisyllabic ideophones. The suprasegmental features like vowel length, consonant gemination and accent are one of the salient features of ideophones. Metathesis one of the morphophonological processes which is attested in two sound symbolic ideophones: *c'álfák'k' → falc'ák'k'* ‘wet sucking sound made in muddy area’ and *ʃílk → kílf* ‘sound made by coins to jingle’. As far as phonotactic constraints are concerned, both ideophones and regular words violate phonotactic constraints since sequence of three consonants is possible regarding the combination of the glottal stop /ʔ/ with sonorants. In addition, the liquid /r/ does not combine with the glottal stop /ʔ/ due to phonotactic restrictions. Another phonotactic constraint is that the obstruent /h/ does not combine with sonorants /m/, /n/, /l/ and /r/ in ideophonic and non-ideophonic words in the language. Moreover, ideophones adhere to the canonical syllable structure of the language.

As morphology regards, Childs (1994: 185) states that ideophones display very little morphology. However, this is not the case in Kambaata because ideophones in the language undergo many productive morphological operations namely reduplication, triplication, compounding and derivation. Reduplication consists of full and partial reduplication. Monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophones can be fully reduplicated. Semantically, full reduplication is used to demonstrate the semantic notion of repetition/repeated action, whereas

partial reduplication indicates intensity of an action, duration (or doing something quickly). However, triplicated ideophones are mainly monosyllabic and denote the idea of doing something completely or thoroughly and high speed or intensity involved in that action. Compounding is used to create compound verbs, but derivation is source for formation of non-ideophonic adjectives and nouns. Ideophones in Kambaata do not take inflection, but the auxiliary verb inflects for tense, aspect, mood, person and negation. This is the case in all of Ethiopian languages and languages outside Ethiopia (international languages). In contrast, ideophones in Zulu (Bantu) appear to take certain inflection (Msimang and Polous 2001). In general, morphological features are the most important aspects of ideophones.

As syntax regards, ideophones obligatorily co-occur with the auxiliary verbs: *yi* ‘say’, *á?* ‘do/make’ and *áss* ‘do/make’. In like manner, ideophones collocate with the auxiliary verb in some of the Ethiopian languages. Ideophones are part of open word class (or they are lexical categories) in Kambaata. They are syntactically used as verbs and follow the syntactic properties or pattern of verbs in the language. Similarly, ideophones in many of the Ethiopian languages adhere to the syntactic pattern of the language except ideophones in Hoozo. Ideophones form distinct word class in many African languages (Msimang and Polous 2001; Samarin 1971 and Kunene 1978). In contrast, ideophones form subclasses of other categories (Elders 2001; Newman 1968; Samarin 1965; Azeb 2001 and Ameka 2001).

Regarding semantics, ideophones convey wide range of semantic features: sense relations like antonymy, synonymy, homonymy and polysemy. Cross-linguistic observations indicate that ideophones are not good enough to denote such sense relations, but Samarin (2001: 330) states that some ideophones are specific enough in meaning that it is possible to find for them synonyms and antonyms. In addition, (Msimang and Polous 2001: 246) point out that since the function of the ideophones is to vivify actions or states, it is to be expected that ideophones will feature in all semantic fields and sense relations such as antonymy, synonymy and homonymy. For instance, they illustrate sense relations: *qwa* ‘of whiteness’ is the antonymy of *bhuqe* ‘of blackness’, *vo* ‘of being alone’ is the homonymy of ‘of soaking wet’, but *klubhu* ‘of redness’ is the synonymy of *tebhu* ‘of redness’. Here what I want to emphasize is the rarity of sense the relations with regard to ideophones in many of languages in the world. With respect to antonymy, the ideophone *múgg á?* ‘to make something or somebody lower position’ is the

opposite of the ideophone *bízz áʔ* ‘to make somebody or something higher position’, but the ideophone *t’oróp’p’ yi* ‘to get aloof’ is the synonym of the ideophone *forót’t’ yi* ‘to keep at distance’. As far as homonymy is concerned, ‘to close something firmly’ and ‘to argue over something’ are the homonymy of the ideophone *karfá yi*. In addition, the polysemymous ideophone *t’úss áʔ* contains three related senses or meanings: 1. ‘of clothes to drain or become dry’ 2. ‘of a wound become healed or form a scab’ and 3. ‘of the flower of the maize get dry’. As semantic domain regards, ideophones designate 23 different semantic fields in Kambaata. However, ideophones cover a narrow/limited range of semantic domains (Dhhoore and Tosco 1998; Childs 1994 and Tosco 2006).

The perceptual domains consist of ideophones of sight, touch, taste and hearing. For instance, ideophone of sight *wilʔmm áʔ* ‘to have a glimpse at somebody or something’ conveys the notion of looking at somebody or something very quickly for a short while, but the ideophone *fic’c’ yi* ‘to gaze at something or somebody’ demonstrates looking or staring at somebody or something intentionally with wide open and fixed eyes for a long time. Ideophones of touch are used in two distinct ways to denote the smoothness and dryness food and objects. To illustrate this, the ideophones *lúp’* and *húlp’p’ yi* ‘of a fruit completely to be ripe’ is used most of the time to show fruits such as banana, mango, avocado, etc. are very ripe and ready to be eaten; however, the ideophones *kusús* and *hakák* ‘feel rough and dry’ designate the dryness of green leafy plants due to the exposure to the sun for a long time. Ideophone of taste *máʔll* is used for the food that is very sweet and delicious, but ideophone of hearing *habbúl áʔ* ‘to hear or perceive a sound accidentally’ denotes the notion of hearing a certain sound unintentionally for a very short time, so it is virtually difficult to remember what the person heard in such instance. Ideophones of smell are not attested in Kambaata.

Another aspect of semantics is sound symbolism: the relation between sound and meaning. Sound symbolism constitutes onomatopoeia, synesthesia and conventional sound symbolism. Onomatopoeic forms directly imitate sounds in nature or show non-arbitrary relations. Onomatopoeic ideophones entail sounds made by both living and non-living things. The onomatopoeic ideophones like ‘*kárr’ yi* ‘of a person to snore’ and *hóo yi* ‘to shout’ demonstrate sounds made by humans, whereas the ideophones *k’úk’u* ‘sound used by a cock to call a hen’, *c’áʔw* sound made by chickens and *fúrr* ‘sound made by equines’. In addition, onomatopoeic

ideophones display sounds made by non-living things subsume two types: sounds made by objects and sound made by liquid. The sound symbolic ideophones that can best illustrate sounds made by objects are: *gáww yi* ‘of a door to bang’ and *fílk yi* ‘sound by a coin, but sound symbolic ideophones like *féc*’ ‘sound made when something boils in the ovan’, *c’urúrr yi* ‘of water to flow slowly and *kúuf yi* ‘sound made by milking the cow’ denote sound made by liquid or water.

Another area of sound symbolism is synesthesia, the metaphorical extensions of onomatopoeia to sight, touch, and taste (Childs 1994: 192). It is a type of ideophones which is used to represent "visual, tactile, proprioceptive properties of objects such as size or shape" (Hinton et al. 1994: 4). Synesthesia is used to demonstrate size, shape, touch and sight. For example, the synesthetic ideophone of size *báa áʔ* ‘pour a liquid in large amount’ and *hambúk’k’ áʔ* ‘take a drink in large amount’ convey the semantic notion of “largeness”, whereas ideophones *zii yi* ‘a kind of light rain’ and *c’erér yi* ‘of a liquid to flow in small amount’ denote “smallness”. From this we can infer that the low front vowel /a/ and the mid back vowels /o/ indicate ‘largeness’, while the high front vowel /i/ and the mid front vowel /e/ demonstrate ‘smallness’. Ideophones *barc’ák’k’ yi* ‘become shapeless’ and *biddik’k’ yi* ‘become flat’ are ideophones of shape which are used to indicate different types of shape, but ideophones such as *hakák yi* ‘feel rough’ and *lúf yi* ‘become smooth or spongy’ indicate sensation of touch. With regard to ideophones of sight, the ideophones *fic’c’ yi* ‘stare or look something for a long time’ and *wíliʔmm áʔ* ‘have a glimpse or a quick look at something’ denote two contrasting semantic notions of sight.

Another aspect of semantics is sound symbolism is conventional sound symbolism, which represents the most common type of association between sound and meaning in languages with a large inventory of ideophones (Childs 1994: 194). Ideophones such as *c’íl yi* ‘sparkle, glitter or glow’, *c’ílimm yi* ‘go off a light’ and *c’éek’k’ yi* ‘glimmer or glint’ are used to demonstrate conventional sound symbolism. All of the aforementioned ideophones which begin with the glottal stop /c’/ are associated with light; however, ideophones such as *súk* ‘constant walk’, *súrr yi* ‘slither and *kús yi* ‘walk gracelessly’ are additional sound symbolic ideophones and these ideophones which begin and end with the fricative /s/ are closely related to movement, especially a slow movement. In brief, ideophones are semantically evocative and descriptive; they are far

better in expressing sensory imagery than regular words because of their power of expressiveness and depictiveness.

Concerning the pragmatics of ideophones, there is often a large body of ideophones in oral communication. The use of ideophones in oral language is one of the reasons why they are ignored in the description and grammatical analysis in Kambaata and many languages in the world. In addition, the pragmatics of ideophones entails the use of ideophones in various discourse genres like proverbs, storytelling, riddles, traditional games, traditional songs and poetry. To conclude, pragmatically ideophones have expressive and stylistic functions in the language. As typological generalization regards, ideophones are employed in oral language or communication in many of the languages in the world ((Mphande 1992; Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz 2001; Mphande 1989 and Bartens 2000). However, in Tamil ideophones are frequently used both in spoken and written language (Asher 1982: 242).

## **8.2. Future directions/recommendations**

In order to set future directions or recommendations, I made some cross-linguistic observations on why linguists did not give due attention to ideophones. The literature on ideophones suggests that ideophones are the most neglected part of word class in many of the world languages. For instance, Voeltz and Kilian-Hatz (2001:2) point out that ideophones are very often only used in oral language, a fact which may well have led to them being ignored in the traditional descriptions of languages that have long been reduced to writing and where the grammatical traditions are based on the elaboration of observations based on written documents. They further explain that ideophones have remained a step-child of modern linguistic science (ideophones did not receive much attention from scholars). Similarly, Samarin (1965: 117) notes that ideophones are still very much ignored in grammatical descriptions and in general linguistic discussions. Blench (2010: 1) states that although ideophones are abundant in natural and heightened speech, notably in Africa, they are not adequately treated in typical grammar and dictionaries. The elusive nature of ideophones, in grammatical terms, has made them poor relations to other word classes and they have been little treated by the schools of grammar dominated by syntax. Klammer (2001) cited in Voeltz and Kilian-Hatz (2001: 5) argues convincingly that onomatopoeia and ideophones in three different languages, Kambera, Balinese, and West Tarangan, belong to the peripheral part of the lexicon. Dingemanse (2012) puts that ideophones have proven easy to

identify, but difficult to define. Furthermore, Childs (1994: 198) reports that because of their intractability to easy analysis, ideophones have been ignored in such in a rule-ordered treatment. Lexicographers do not give close attention to ideophones when they compile dictionary. For example, the Standard Swahili-English dictionary Johnson (1939) does not have a category for ideophones and only a few are listed in the dictionary itself (therein called adverbs). Having presented such a cursory survey on the reason why ideophones did not receive much attention from linguists, now time is ripe to give future directions:

- Linguists should integrate ideophones into the description and study of language.
- Researchers who conduct research on the grammar of any language must give due consideration to ideophones to make them the linguistic and cultural profile for the speakers of the language.
- Lexicographers ought to make every endeavor to include ideophones when they compile dictionary.
- In addition to this, language experts had better incorporate ideophones into the curriculum when they engage in syllabus design, especially on mother tongue education.
- Anyone who studies the language have to consider ideophones as the integral part of the language in describing the language and include them in the data in making typological generalizations about specific parts of the language or of the language as a whole.
- Furthermore, I want to reccomand other linguists and linguistic anthropologists to investigate the connection between ideophones and gesture in Kambaata since the connection between ideophones and gesture is out side the focus of this study. This study can be used as a stepping-stone or spring board for future researchers who need to conduct research which is related to ideophones in the language in this and other areas.

I myself can witness why and how ideophones are ignored in language study, particularly in preparing or making dictionary in Kambaata. Now let me narrate what happened to the compiler/lexicographer of the Kambaatissa-Amharic-English dictionary, Mr. Alemu Benta. He told me that he simply included ideophones in the dictionary he compiled, but the editors insisted him to remove words with ideophonic origin from the dictionary. He honestly informed me that he does not know what an ideophone is and which word class it belongs to, so do the editors. To make it clear, no one knows what an ideophone is. He warned the editors that if they are not willing to include ideophones in the dictionary he compiled, they

will no longer be the editors of the dictionary (the Kambaatissa-Amharic-English dictionary). So the acrimonious dispute between the lexicographer and the editors is due to lack of cognizance or knowledge about ideophones at large. Finally, as he informed me, Ato Alemu was able to convince the editors to incorporate ideophones into the dictionary that is why ideophones are dubiously written in asterisk in the dictionary.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: A list of ideophones and their translation

<b>Ideophone</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<i>badzádʒ</i>	to be numb
<i>bét't'</i>	emerge/appear
<i>bitkinn</i>	overcome/conquer
<i>búk'</i>	Feel anxiety
<i>búff</i>	to swell or puff out
<i>bullúk'k'</i>	emerge/appear
<i>c'abá</i>	to wash something quickly
<i>c'iʔmm</i>	to briefly shut the eye
<i>c'iic'c'</i>	to be quiet
<i>c'úlk'</i>	to rinse or wash out something
<i>ʃúrr</i>	to swing or cause something to move back and forth
<i>dudúk'k'</i>	get puzzled or confused
<i>ʃufúk'</i>	to spur
<i>gubúrr</i>	bend or twist something into curve
<i>gúmm</i>	to bunch together
<i>gurbú</i>	to churn milk
<i>habább</i>	to walk clumsily
<i>hosóss</i>	to fool or mess around
<i>húʔmm</i>	sit calmly
<i>hunk'úff</i>	to hundle something gently
<i>ʒúgg</i>	to slug or hit something or somebody
<i>kaláff</i>	become over excited
<i>kúuf</i>	to milk a cow
<i>kútt</i>	stick or do something regularly
<i>kumbúll</i>	to pour a liquid into another container
<i>lúk'k'</i>	enter into the middle of someone or something

<i>mank'á</i>	become large enough
<i>méll</i>	become clean
<i>meléʔll</i>	regain or recover from illnesses
<i>mikk</i>	feel apathetic
<i>kúuf</i>	o milk a cow
<i>kútt</i>	stick or do something regularly
<i>kumbúll</i>	to pour a liquid into another container
<i>lúk'k'</i>	enter into the middle of someone or something
<i>mank'á</i>	become large enough
<i>méll</i>	become clean
<i>meléʔll</i>	regain or recover from illnesses
<i>méll</i>	become clean
<i>millik'k'</i>	go out of balbace
<i>mókk</i>	develop or grow a kind of blessing
<i>muc'úk'</i>	exhaust, use all
<i>k'at'áraff</i>	speak quickly
<i>k'ebéll</i>	bend or twist something into curve
<i>k'egéll</i>	regain or recover from illness
<i>k'ok'ombo</i>	munch or chomp
<i>k'ubúb</i>	to go round or circle
<i>k'úl</i>	feel anxious
<i>k'úut'o</i>	deliberately, intended, or intentionally
<i>k'út't'</i>	guard against, be vigilant
<i>k'usús</i>	become sad
<i>atáatt</i>	to be straight
<i>telbé</i>	become languished
<i>túff</i>	burn with fire
<i>t'ifill</i>	become weak

Ideophones in this appendix are miscellaneous ideophone: they are collected from informants and taken from Kambaatissa-Amharic-English dictionary.

## Appendix 2: A list of fully reduplicated ideophones and their translation

Base	Reduplicated form	Gloss
<i>Bang</i>	<i>báng-báng</i>	to flinch eyes
<i>bá</i>	<i>bár-bárr</i>	to be greedy
<i>bottóʔll</i>	<i>bottóʔll-bottóʔll</i>	to play silly buggers or speak foolishly
<i>bottónn</i>	<i>bottónn-bottónn</i>	to play silly buggers or speak foolishly
<i>c'ál</i>	<i>c'ál-c'ál</i>	to hang or suspend something
<i>c'éʔnn</i>	<i>c'éʔnn-c'éʔnn</i>	to lose dignity
<i>c'im</i>	<i>c'im-c'imm</i>	to experience a kind discomfort
<i>c'úf</i>	<i>c'úf-c'úf</i>	to wash a cloth or something quickly
<i>ʔéf</i>	<i>ʔéf-ʔéf</i>	to lose dignity
<i>ʔibill</i>	<i>ʔibill-ʔibill</i>	to play silly buggers
<i>ʔir</i>	<i>ʔir-ʔir</i>	to relax or recreate
<i>ʔúbb</i>	<i>ʔúbb-ʔúbb</i>	to jump now and then
<i>fók'</i>	<i>fók'-fók'</i>	dig out something from the ground quickly
<i>fíʃʃ</i>	<i>fíʃ-fíʃʃ</i>	to scatter something repeatedly
<i>fóʔll</i>	<i>fóʔll-fóʔll</i>	cause to sag
<i>fúʔnn</i>	<i>fúʔnn-fúʔnn</i>	become sullen
<i>gir</i>	<i>gir-gir</i>	nauseate
<i>džúr</i>	<i>džúr-džúrr</i>	become confused
<i>džáw</i>	<i>džáw-džáww</i>	become confused
<i>džif</i>	<i>džif- džif</i>	become abashed or ashamed
<i>karbá</i>	<i>karbá-karbá</i>	of birds to flap wingswings
<i>karfá</i>	<i>karfá-karfá</i>	rustle repeatedly
<i>káw</i>	<i>káw-káww</i>	snap or speak impatiently
<i>kolfó</i>	<i>kolfó-kolfó</i>	get old or dilapidated, folded
<i>kumbúll</i>	<i>kumbúll-kumbúll</i>	trickle tears down
<i>kurtú</i>	<i>kurtú-kurtú</i>	of meat that can be chewed easily
<i>kús</i>	<i>kús-kús</i>	to walk gracelessly
<i>k'afá</i>	<i>k'afá-k'afá</i>	rustle

<i>k'ós</i>	<i>k'ós-k'ós</i>	be restless or naughty
<i>k'embé</i>	<i>k'embé-k'embé</i>	of lass dress nicely
<i>k'eré</i>	<i>k'eré-k'eré</i>	to look around
<i>k'és</i>	<i>k'és-k'és</i>	be graceless or lose dignity
<i>k'ól</i>	<i>k'ól-k'ól</i>	to meddle/nterfere
<i>k'úl</i>	<i>k'úl-k'úl</i>	yearn, or long for someone
<i>link'iff</i>	<i>link'iff-link'iff</i>	to be seemingly shy
<i>lót</i>	<i>lót-lót</i>	to follow just like a dog
<i>lúf</i>	<i>lúf-lúf</i>	to be smooth/soft
<i>miʔnn</i>	<i>miʔnn-miʔnn</i>	to lose dignity
<i>mús</i>	<i>mús-múss</i>	cringe/cower
<i>rib</i>	<i>rib-ribb</i>	be shiver or tremble with cold
<i>rúk'</i>	<i>rúk'-rúk'</i>	feel severe cold
<i>sip<sup>◌</sup></i>	<i>sip'-sip<sup>◌</sup></i>	feel violent or be restless
<i>súk</i>	<i>súk-súk</i>	walking slowly
<i>ʃip<sup>◌</sup></i>	<i>ʃip'-ʃip<sup>◌</sup></i>	push to balance the load
<i>táw</i>	<i>táw-táww</i>	to be here and there
<i>tím</i>	<i>tím-timm</i>	get confused
<i>túb</i>	<i>túb-túbb</i>	jump repeatedly
<i>tík'</i>	<i>tík'-tík'</i>	pulsate repeatedly
<i>t'eré</i>	<i>t'eré-t'eré</i>	to make sth. attractive
<i>t'erp'é</i>	<i>t'erp'é-t'erp'é</i>	of liquid of cow pat to splatter
<i>'ir</i>	<i>t'ir-t'ir</i>	to something attractively
<i>t'ombó</i>	<i>t'ombó -t'ombó</i>	to come out as a rash on the part of the body
<i>t'órp'</i>	<i>t'órp'-t'órp'</i>	slump or fall down heavily
<i>t'út't'</i>	<i>t'út't'-t'út't'</i>	embroil, be naughty
<i>zágg</i>	<i>zágg-zágg</i>	tremble or be very anxious or afraid
<i>zúm</i>	<i>zúm-zúm</i>	to feel shy

Ideophones in this appendix are miscellaneous ideophone: they are collected from informants and taken from Kambaatissa-Amharic-English dictionary.

### Appendix 3: Ideophones in proverbs

[a] *anna-sé*                      *gadd-óo*                      *maat'aana-t*                      *kóoro* *himimméessaai.*

owner-F.SG.POSS    dispise-DAT    mare-F.SG.NOM    ride    IDPH.bray

‘The mare that dispises its owner neighs while riding.’

[b] *ferdóollu*    *méeʔa*                      *yí*    *fellée-ʃʃfuta*                      *báatʃʃfo.*

ferdoollo    IDPH.bleat    say    goat-F.SG.ACC    pay.M.SG.IPV

‘Ferdolo said ‘meeʔa’ and paid or compensated for the goat.’

[c] *fógg*                                      *yí*    *ább-u*                                      *fagáar-a*                                      *lallíis-ano.*

IDPH.bow.down                      say    big-M. NOM    buttock-M.ACC    display-M.SG.IPV

‘Something which is completely upside down displays (its) buttocks.’

[d] *káalatu-se*                      *dag-umbu*                      *mánn-u*                                      *antabée-ʃʃfut*                                      *káakk*

use-F.SG.POSS    know-M.NEG    men-M.NOM    hen-F.SG.NOM    IDPH.cackle

*yi-tóoda*                      *káll-in*    *dagud-éenno*                                      *y-áano.*

say-F.SG.IPV    with:out:cloth-INST                      run-3HON.IPV    say-3PL.IPV

‘The men who do not know the use of hen wake up run with out wearing cloth.’

[e] *kotíma*    *áf-u*                                      *kóf-kóf*                                      *ass-áno.*

lack    catch-INF                      RED.lose.dignity                      do-M.SG.IPV

‘Lack of possession makes a person lose dignity.’

[f] *met't'-ín*                      *ifʃʃ-óohu*                      *t'ók'k'*                                      *yí*    *sok'k'-ámano.*

alone-                      eat-M.SG.                      IDPH.stand.up                      say    send-M.3SG.IPV

‘The one that eats alone is sent on errands (by anybody).’

[g] *níg-a*                    *mur- éemmada*    *k'ég-u*                    *t'ínn*                    *y-áano*  
 muscle-M.ACC    cut-3HON                    blood-M.NOM    IDPH.trickle                    say-M.SG.IPV

*máal-a*                    *mur-eemmada*    *máal-u*                    *hinn*                    *y-áano.*

flesh-M.ACC                    cut-3HON                    flesh-M.NOM                    IDPH.smirk                    say-M.SG.IPV

‘When the blood vessel has been cut, blood bleeds; when flesh has been cut the flesh can be seen.’

[h] *réf-u*                    *fóol-u*                    *full-aneen*                    *fit-fit*                    *y-áan*  
 carcass-M.NOM    soul-M.NOM    depart-M.IRV    RED.writhe                    say-M.PGOG

*okkóon-a*                    *zár-ano.*

blanket-M.ACC                    tear-M.IPV

‘While the soul starts to depart from the flesh, it writhes and tears the blanket.’

[i] *súffa?*                    *it-u*                    *suus-áamu*                    *ab-á-a.*  
 IDPH.be.silent    eat-INF                    old.cloth-M.ADJ    big-M.ACC-COP2

‘The poor eats tremendously.’

[j] *beelidzig-ii*    *birk'k'iik'-u*                    *labán-ii*                    *láp'*                    *y-éen*                    *ub-u.*  
 belijig-DAT    roll.down-INF    flame-DAT    IDPH.lie.down                    say-3HON    fall.down-INF

*zabbu-áa.*

medicine-M.COP2

‘For beelijig it is good/medicine to roll down, for flame it is good/medicine to bow down.’

[k] *t'áhi*            *fokk-á-a*                    *gabbantf-ó*            *óota*    *hulat-á-a*  
 discussion      bad- M.ACC.COP2      short-F.GEN      fence    opening-F.ACC-COP2

*hig-éennoohu*      *hiríkk*                            *y-eenéet.*  
 pass-3HON            IDPH.bow.down      say-3HON.VV.COP3

‘Dealing with a tough talk/discussion and a short fence, one can scape by bowing his  
 or her head down’

[m] *sáng-a*            *iffj-óohu*            *sáʔmm*                    *yí*    *t'úud-ano.*  
 ox-M.ACC      eat-M.SG      IDPH.be.silent      say    look-M.SG.PRV

‘The one that ate the ox looks simply’

[l] *dúm-a*                            *kót-u*            *amá-s*                    *bát-bátt*                    *aʔ-ano.*  
 back:room-M.ACC      lack-INF      mother-F.POSS      RED.be.confused      do-3SG.IPV

‘Lack of possession in the house makes the mother confused.’

#### Appendix 4: Ideophones in storytelling

[1] *sabír-u*            *r óff-a*            *min-úíff*            *fank'áll-ogan*            *irr-í*

abiro-M.NOM    learning-F.GEN    house-M.ABL    return-M.3SG.PCO    field-M.GEN

*aaz-éen*            *ffír.relax*            *y-ú*            *abbiff-éet*

interior.M.LOC    IDPH.relax            say-INF    exceed.M.3SG.PCO

*itt-anóo*

like-M.3SG.-M.IPV.REL.VV.M.NOM

‘Sabiro enjoys strolling around the field after school.’

[2] *kabar-ii*            *hittíg-unta*            *róff-a*            *min-úíff*            *wáall*

today -M.OBL    this.way-CRD1    learning-F.GEN    bed-M.ABL    come.back.M.PCO

*roff-a-sí*            *min-í*            *odáa-ta*            *k'akk-íffutan-s*    *má?nna*

learning-F.POSS    house-M.ACC    exercise.book-F-ACC    tiny-F.SG.POSS    bed

*al-í*            *tórri*            *ir-íssa*            *áaz-i*            *zah-ii*            *fulló.*

top-M.ACC    throw.SG.PCO    field-3PL.POSS    interior-M.LOC    move-PURP    go.out.PRV

‘As it is customary, today he put his school exercise books on his tiny bed and went out to move around the field.’

[3] *kabar-esí*            *fúl-u*            *edždž-é-g-a*            *badžig-óon*

today-M.3SG.POSS    go.out-INF    before-M.GEN-GA-M.OBL    happy-F.ICP

*ih-u?nnáan*            *alí-s*            *af-aniyáanis-eet*

become-3M.NREL    top-M.POSS            catch-3SG.ICO-COP3

‘However, he is depressed today when he left home to move around the onset field.’

[4] *sabír-u*            *dubb-í*                            *aaz-ín*            *híggi*            *án*    *ez-áamm*

sabiro-M.NOM    enset.seedling-M.GEN    interior-M.ICP    pass.M.PCO    1SG    win-SG.IPV

*án*    *ez-áamm*            *y-ak'k'-ántan*            *ezeecc'-anfíin-ii*            *tuuteecc'-anfíin-ii*

1SG    win-SG.IPV    say-MID.PAS-3F    race-3M.ICP-CRD1    compete-3M.ICP-CRD1

*leʔ-ayyóo*    *sím-a*                            *az-éen*            *k'ahúnka*    *ʔír*                            *y-eéíʔʔ*

grow-IPV    young.enset-F.GEN    interior-LOC    little            IDPH.relax    say-3M.PCO

*zakk-ín*    *k'ééʔʔ-rrit*    *k'ééʔʔ-rrit*    *dakáakk*    *uurr-itée*            *abb-áta*            *wéese*

after-ICP    far-F.3PL.    far-F.3PL    fatten.PCO    stand-F.GEN    big.FACC    enset

*az-éen*            *higg*            *weese-si*            *lokk-áan*            *yóo*            *annann-áa*

interior-M.LOC    pass.PCO    enset-F.POSS    foot-F.LOC    COP1.3    different-M. CRD2

*annann-áa*                            *kaaff-í*                            *aaz-í*                            *áaggo.*

different-M. CRD2    plant-M.GEN            interior-M.LOC    enter.3M.PRIV

‘Sabiro went through the young enset plants, “I will grow bigger; I will grow bigger”  
saying each the young enset plants in the atmosphere of competition.’

[5] *sabír-u*            *hóolama-ta*            *ɖʒáa-ta*            *bun-í*            *léinu*            *burtukaan-í*

sabiro-M.NOM    many-F.ACC    time-F.ACC    coffe.plant    growth    orange-M.GEN

*andžana-táa*            *wol-é-s*                            *kaaff-áakka*            *duuha-táa*            *záh-an*

fragrance-F.CRD1    other-F.DEF            plant-M.PL2            condition- CRD1            move-M.ICO

*t'uud-áneet*                            *badžíg-ano.*

look-M.ICO            happy-M.3SG.IPV

‘Sabiro enjoys most of the time moving and watching the growth of the coffee plant, the

odor of lemon and orange as well as the condition of other plants.’

- [6] *hittíg-unta ammóo wéese aaz-éen hagág y-áano*  
 this.way-CRD1 however enset interior-M.LOC IDPH.be.clumsy say-M.IPV  
*hagás-o kaaff-áakka al-éen búrr yí-tan annann-áta*  
 bird-M.ACC plant-PL2 top-M.LOC IDPH.fly say-M.PL.ICO different-F.ACC  
*laagaa-kkáan wodd-áa c’ii?a-táa*  
 word-PL.ICP chirp-3F.IPV.REL.VV.M.NOM one.M.OBL bird-CRD1  
*mat-o kaaff-i zaraar-óotfj wol-í-b-a búrr yí-tan*  
 one-F.OBL flower-M.GEN other-M.GEN-PLACE-M.ACC IDPH.fly say-F.ICO  
*k’an-táa maaletifj-áakka-taa záh-an*  
 suck-3F.IPV.REL.VV.M.NOM one.M.OBL butterfly-F.PL2-CRD1 move-M.ICO  
*t’úud-an abb-iff-éet badžígano.*  
 look-M.ICO exceed-M.PRIV-COP3 happy-M.3SG.IPV

‘In addition to this, he enjoys moving and watching hagaso, a big bird which walks awkwardly, in the enset and the different birds that chirp differently as well as the butterflies which suck the nector from one flower to the other flower.’

- [7] *hor-óoman k’óoc’c’-ato dán-a iitt-ína maalál-i áassanf-u*  
 all-M.ICP creature-F.GEN beauty-M.ACC like- CRD2 appreciate-GEN gift-M.NOM  
*ooso-mman-óon yóo-s.*  
 childhood-M.LOC COP1.3-M.3SG.POSS

‘Generally, Sabiro is endowed with the talent to appreciate the beauty of nature starting

from his childhood.’

- [8] *kabár-esi zah-óon kann-ííffí bíre gambá*  
today-M.SG.POSS move-ICP DEM1.M.ABL before IDPH.encounter  
*y-umbó-sira t’úudzǵo.*  
say-NREL.M.3SG look.M.SG.PRV

‘Today he realized or discovered something virtually different from what he observed previously.’

- [9] *handár-ífo béetu-t amáa-fî-se báan-ant met’t’-ín*  
dove-F.GEN young.dove-F.NOM mother-ABL-POSS.3F separate-F.PCO alone-ICP  
*ka=b-áa kaitáa bát-bátt .*  
DEM1.M.ACC=PLACE-M.ACC.CRD1 DEM3.F.ACC.CRD1 RED.be.confused  
*yi-tayóou.*  
say-F.SG.PROG

‘A dove child had been separated from his mother and fluttered alone to and fro.’

- [10] *wól-it hóolam-it handár-it heʔ-óo-da handáre aaz-éen*  
other-F.NOM many-F.NOM dove-F.NOM exist-F.COND dove interior-M.LOC  
*yoo-íi-ha agúd-imba-se.*  
exist-DAT.COP2 similar-NREL-F.3SG-POSS

‘Even though there were many doves around her, it seems that she is out of the dove community.’

[11] *mát-o*      *hak'k'-áan*   *gáff*      *yí-t*      *hikkanb-íjffíi*   *bárk-bárk*

one-M.OBL tree-M.LOC IDPH.sit say-F.PCO DEM2-M.ABL RED.flap

*yí-tan*      *múgg*      *yí-t*      *úull-a*      *al-éen*

say-F.ICO IDPH.bow.down say-F.PCO land-F.GEN top-M.LOC

*ubb-ayóou.*

fall.down-F.PROG

‘Having sat on the branch of a tree and moved her wings, she fell down on the ground.’

[12] *wol-í-s*      *handar-it-íi*      *íse*      *haww-á-haa*      *biibélu-haa*

other-F.DEF dove-F-CRD1 3SG.F trouble-M-CRD1 tribulation-CRD1

*dag-ú?nna*      *gag-íi-hansa*      *itt-áara*   *badʒig-óon*   *hac'c'-itayóou.*

recognize-NREL.M.3SG. self-M.DAT-3PL eat-3PL happy-ICP search-F.SG.PROG

‘Other doves, which were not fully cognizant of the problem of the small dove, they were searching food here and there happily.’

[13] *amáa-tfíi-se*      *baan-antóo*      *handar-íjffííffíú-t*

mother-F.ABL-POSS separate-3F.IPV.REL.VV.M.NOM dove-F.DIM-F.NOM

*tees-úu*      *bátt*      *yi-tayóou.*

now-M.OBL IDPH.be.confused say-F.PROG

‘The dove, which is isolated from her mother, was moving continuously here and there for she was confused.’

[14] *sabír-u*            *tánn*            *handar-iffííffífo*    *dúuhat-a*            *mát-e*            *gáan-ata*

Sabiro-M.NOM DEM1.FACC dove-DIM      condition-F.ACC one-F.OBL fat-F.ACC

*kóke hak'k'-í*      *ham-áan*      *füll*            *afíuu?ll*    *awwan-óon*    *áaggo.*

plant tree-M.GEN branch-M.LOC climb.M.PCO sit.PCO follow-M.ICP engage.M.PRIV

‘Sabiro started watching what is happening to this small dove sitting on the branch of a tree.’

[15] *tí*                    *láafa-t*                    *handar-iffííffífut*    *amáa-ffíi-se*

DEM1.FNOM      unfledged-F.NOM      dove-F.NOM      mother-ABL-F.3SG.POSS

*hatti-góon*      *baan-antóoi*      *yi-táa*                    *t'á?mm-ut*

how-F.ICP      separate.F.PRIV      say-3F.IPV.REL.VV.M.NOM      question-F.NOM

*bok'-ó-si*                    *aaz-éen*                    *fank'al-aantayóoi.*

mind-F.ACC-POSS      interior-M.LOC      return-F.3SG.PROG

‘Sabiro’s mind was really obsessed with how the small unfledged dove isolated from her mother.’

[16] *fank'affú-s*            *ikkodáa*            *lall-ít-imba-s.*

question-F.DEF      but            disclose-F.3SG-NREL-M.OBL

‘Isolation of the small dove from her mother remains mystery to Sabiro’.

[17] *handár-it*            *maaff-áakkat-a.*

dove-F.NOM      kind-PL2-F-COP1

‘Doves are kind and innocent.’

[18] *mánn-u*                    *min-is-í*                    *amá-ta*  
 people-M.NOM    house-M.POSS-GEN    mother-F.NOM  
*fárr-an*                                    *handar-it-íí*                    *farr-itáa-into*  
 divorce-M.3SG.IPV-GA.M.OBL    dove-F.CRD1    divorce-F.IPV-Q.OBL  
*y-áan*                    *gag-á-s*                    *t'aʔmm-oon-íí*                    *sáww*                    *y-oon-íí*  
 say-M.3SG.ICO    self-M.ACC.POSS    question-ICP-CRD1    IDPH.think    say-ICP-CRD1  
*áaggo.*  
*engage.M.PRIV.*

‘Was she really divorced like people/hushands divorce their wives?’ ‘He began to ask this question himself and became concentrated.’

[19] *gag-í-si*                                    *higg-óo*                    *héeffa-ta*                    *hitt-ánn*                    *handar-iffíífo*  
 self-M.GEN-SG.POSS    pass-M.PRIV    life-F.NOM    DEM2.F.ACC    dove-F.3SG  
*duuh-áan*                                    *ap'p'-an-sííffo.*  
 condition-F.LOC                    relate-M.SG-CAUS2.PRIV

‘After investigating everything, he related his life to the condition of the dove.’

[20] *sabír-o*                    *k'alánf-u*                    *Mifigid-á-a.*  
 sabiro-N.ACC    birth-M.NOM                    Mifigid-M.ACC-COP2.

‘Sabiro’s birth place is Mishigida.’

[21] *il-ámmo*                    *sákki*    *wogg-áan*                    *ann-ú-s*                                    *amáan-ta-s*  
 give.birth-M.3SG.    third    year-M.LOC    father-M.NOM-POSS    father-F.ACC-M.POSS  
*aagak'k'anff-áa*                    *iitat-áa*                    *hoggo-tannée*                    *fárrí*

understand-CRD1      love-CRD1      lose- NOMIN.F.DAT      divorce.M.PCO

*wol-íta      méent-iffu-ta      eebb-éeu.*

other-F.ACC      womwan-3SG-F.ACC      marry-M.3SG.PRV.

‘When Sabiro was three years old, his parents were divorced due to disagreement and lack of love between them.’

[22] *amá-s      ann-úffî-s      ful-toogan      wól-o      goon-áan*

mother-M.POSS      father-M.ABL-M,POSS      go.out-F.PCO      other-M.OBL      man-M.LOC

*sarar-á-a      gal-téeu.*

sarara-PRED-M.ACC      marry-F.3SG.PRV

‘After the divorce, his mother married another man who lives in Sarara.’

[23] *sabír-o      amá-s      yóo-b-a      sarár-a*

sabiro-M.ACC      mother-M.POSS      COP1.3-PLACE-M.ACC      Sarara-M.ACC

*márri      t’úud-osea      yoo-sí      k’últ’u      abb-íff      abb-á-a*

go.M.PCO      visit-M.PURP      CPO1.3-SG.POSS      wish      exceed.M.PCO      big-M.ACC

*ikkodáa      ann-u-s-ú      ann-i-sí      ar-it-íi*

but      father-M.NOM-POSS-CRD1      father-M.GEN.POSS      wife-F.NOM-CRD1

*mett’ú-bb-a      ful-umbó-gga      kánt      aff-ée-s.*

single-PLACE-M.ACC      go.out-NREL-M.OBL      prevent.F.PCO      hold-F.PRV-M.OBL

‘Although Sabiro had a keen interest to pay visit to his mother, he did not have opportunity to contact her because his father and step mother did not allow him to go anywhere.’

[24] *róff-a min-ííff wall-óoff hóolam-ata dzáa-ta*  
 learn-F.ACC house-M.ABL come-M.ABL.PCO many-F.ACC time-F.ACC  
*hudzát-ano.*  
 work-M.3SG.IPV

‘After school, he always engages in many activities.’

[25] *hegéeg-í oos-óon alap’p’-í džeéchchu-t yoo-sí-baʔa.*  
 vicinity-M.GEN children-F.ICP play-PURP time-F.NOM COP1.3-M.POSS-NEG  
 ‘He did not have time to play with children. Hence, he made visiting the field and  
 appreciatin the beauty of nature his leisure.’

[26] *hikkaní-tannee-nka hóolama-ta dzáa-ta ir-í*  
 DEM2.M-GEN-NOMIN.F.DAT-M.OBL many-F.ACC time.F.ACC field-M.GEN  
*aaz-éen fír y-áan k’óoc’c’at-o dán-a*  
 interior-M.LOC IDPH.relax say-M.ICO creature-F.GEN beauty-M.ACC  
*maalál-u al-ís ass-éei*  
 appreciate-INF top-M.3SG.POSS do-M.3SG.PRV.

‘He accustomed to appreciate beauty of the nature while he strolls around the field.’

[27] *mat-ííff mát-o bar-éen amáa-nta-s dak’k’ám-ano-ga*  
 one-M.ABL one-M.OBL day-M.LOC mother-M.3SG-POSS meet-M.IPV-GA.M.OBL  
*sáww y-ániyan hítt k’akkííff-ut handar-ííffut*  
 IDPH.think say-M.3SG.ICO DEM2.F.NOM tiny-F.NOM dove-F.NOM  
*bárk-bárk yí-tan al-ís lák’k’ waal-tóou.*

IDPH.flap.wings say-F.ICO top-M.POSS towards.PL PCO come-F.PRV.

‘One day when he started to think about meeting his mother, that small dove approached to him moving her wings up and down.’

- [28] *sabír-u handar-iffííffífu-s léelan áff an-íi kíi-gan*  
sabi-ro-M.NOM dove-F-DEF slow hold.M.PCO 1SG-CRD1 2SG.M.OBL  
*amáa-ffíi-?e baan-amméemiy-a y-áan kóke hak'k'-ííffí*  
mother-ABL-1SG.POSS separate-1SG.PRV-CPO2 say-M.ICO plant tree-M.ABL  
*lác'c' yí dírri ir-íssa lokk-áan yóo gabal-í*  
IDPH say.M.PCO climb.down.M.PCO field-PL3 foot-F.LOC COP1.3 border-M.GEN  
*Hak'k'-e al-éen yóo handar-éen t'aac'c'-ítunta gaffárrro.*  
tree-F.GEN top-M.LOC COP1.3 dove-F.ICP unite-F.PURP release.M.3SG.PRV.

‘Sabiro having caught the small dove gently, he said “I was isolated from my mother too”. Having climbed down from the tree, he let the tiny dove to get united with other doves sitting on the border trees.’

- [29] *hítta džáa-ta mát-o k'eráa?rru-a sutííffí-í al-éen*  
Dem2FACC time-F.ACC one-M.OBL tall-M.COP2 sutííffí.tree-M.GEN top-M.LOC  
*yóo íkke handár-iffífu-t badzig-óon búrr yí-tan wáal-it*  
COP1.3 INACT dove-F.SG-NOM happy-F.ICP IDPH.fly say-F.ICO come-F.PCO  
*k'akkáíffífu-ta handar-iffííffífo fiin-áan afuu?ll-itóou.*  
tiny-F.ACC dove-F.DIM side-M.LOC sit-F.PRV

‘The dove, which sat on a branch of big tree, came and perched near the small dove.’

[30] *amat-îi*                      *beetu-tîi*                      *t'aac'c'-itóou.*

mother.F-CRD1    daughter-F.CRD1    unite-F.3PL.PRV

‘Finally, the small dove met her mother.

**Source: slightly adapted from grade eight student text book**

## Appendix 5: Information about informants

No.	Name of Informant	Age	Sex	Address	First language
1	Addise Mugoro	45	M	Shinshichcho	Kambaata/Kambaatissa
2	Tigabe G/kiristos	43	F	Shinshichcho	Kambaata/Kambaatissa
3	Tadesse Bonte	42	M	Shinshichcho	Kambaata/Kambaatissa
4	Addisu Hadero	47	M	Shinshichcho	Kambaata/Kambaatissa
5	Tirunesh Haile	28	F	Shinshichcho	Kambaata/Kambaatissa
6	Wolate Handalo	35	F	Shinshichcho	Kambaata/Kambaatissa
7	Birtukan Tesfaye	29	F	Shinshichcho	Kambaata/Kambaatissa
8	Dawit Estifano	39	M	Shinshichcho	Kambaata/Kambaatissa
9	G/Mariam Nugemo	50	M	Shinshichcho	Kambaata/Kambaatissa
10	Misgana Tesfaye	33	M	Duuraamee	Kambaata/Kambaatissa
11	Tigistu Teketel	27	M	Duuraamee	Kambaata/Kambaatissa
12	Worke Alemayehu	39	F	Duuraamee	Kambaata/Kambaatissa
13	Yosef Terefe	36	M	Duuraamee	Kambaata/Kambaatissa
14	Almaz Arficho	36	F	Duuraamee	Kambaata/Kambaatissa
15	Feleke Defase	41	M	Duuraamee	Kambaata/Kambaatissa
16	Tringo Manebo	32	M	Duuraamee	Kambaata/Kambaatissa