

**IDEOPHONES IN SIDAAMA**  
**DOCUMENTATION AND DESCRIPTION**

**BY**

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## Abstract

This study deals with ideophones in Sidaama. The Sidaama ideophones are unique from the other word categories in the language. They are expressive of sound symbolism in that they manifest systematic relations with meanings. They exhibit features that are less common in the other word classes of the language. Some ideophones display nasalization expressed via nasalized vowels. Ideophones in Sidaama are expressed in limited morphophonemic patterns. They have their own rules such as vowel harmony and sound alteration. They are commonly disyllabic and exhibit extra-long syllables. Furthermore, total reduplication is highly productive in ideophones.

Unlike the other open class words in Sidaama, ideophones take little inflectional affixes. However, other open-class words can be derived from them by means of affixation, compounding and reduplication. Ideophones are syntactically associated with the auxiliary verbs /ʔass-/ 'do' and /j-/ 'say' and occur in a focused position in a sentence which is preverbal. Sidaama ideophones have specific, expressive and emphatic meanings. Given aforesaid unique characteristics, Sidaama ideophones seem to constitute their own independent open word class.

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## Abbreviations and Symbols

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ACC	Accusative
ADJ	Adjective
ADJVL	Adjectivalizing suffix
ADPRN	Adnominal pronoun
ADV	Adverb
C	Consonant
cf.	Cross reference
CMPL	Complementizer
CNJ	Conjunction
CNV	Converb
DADV	Demonstrative adverb
DPRN	Demonstrative pronoun
EMPH	Emphatic
EP	Epenthesis
EXCL	Exclamation
F	Feminine
ft	Free translation

ge	Gloss English
GEN	Genitive
GNDR	Gender
HNR	Honorific
IDEO	Ideophone
IMP	Imperative
IMPF	Imperfective
INF	Infinitive
INTJ	Interjection
IWRD	Interrogative word
lit.	Literary translation
LOC	Locative
M	Masculine
mb	Morpheme break
MID	Middle voice
MNR	Manner
N	Noun
NEG	Negative
NMBR	Number
NMNL	Nominalizing suffix
NOM	Nominative
NPC	Noun phrase clitic

NUM	Numeral
OPT	Optative
orth	Orthographic transcription
P.PRF	Present perfective
PASS	Passive voice
phonem	Phonemic transcription
PL	Plural
ps	Parts of speech
POSS	Possessive
PP	Postposition
PPRN	personal pronoun
PRED	Predicate
PRF	Perfective
RCPRN	Reciprocal pronoun
ref	Reference
RFPRN	Reflexive pronoun
S.PRF	Simple perfective
sb.	Somebody
SG	Singular
SLDDP	Sidaama language documentation and description processed item
sth.	Something
V	Verb

v	Vowel
wb	Word break
ˈ	High pitch
-	Morpheme boundary
~	Vowel nasalization
()	Optional/Alternative
*	Incorrect/Ill-formed
.	Syllable boundary/Portmanteau morpheme
//	Phonemic transcription/Final boundary intonation
;	Non final boundary intonation
[ ]	Phonetic transcription
::	Extra vowel length
< >	Orthographic transcription
=	Clitic boundary
...	Continuity
→	Become
∅	Zero morpheme

# Chapter One

## Introduction

The goal of this study is to make a linguistic documentation and description of ideophones in Sidaama, a Highland East Cushitic language of Ethiopia (see the family tree on page 3). An ideophone is a word that vividly represents an idea in sound. Due to the fact that many grammatical descriptions, including the grammars of Sidaama, treat ideophones as peripheral elements of languages, they are usually understudied group of words. Nevertheless, in Sidaama (perhaps in other Cushitic languages too) ideophones might be equally important as the other open class words. Hence, a comprehensive description of Sidaama ideophones is the concern of this study.

### 1.1 The Language

The people call the language *Sidaamu afoo* or *Sidaamu qaale* which literary means ‘the mouth of Sidaama’ and ‘the word of Sidaama’, respectively. In Amharic, it is called *Sidamijyna*.

According to Fleming and Bender (1969: 3), Cerulli’s old term “Sidama” refers to the Omotic language group. This is a misnomer since the Sidamo language is not Omotic. In Oromo, “Sidama” means ‘stranger, foreigner, or non-Oromo’. It is applied to Amhara and other northerners. Although the language and the people have different designations, for this study the term *Sidaama* is used to refer both to the people and the language.

Fleming (1976: 34) points out that the languages spoken in Ethiopia, the majority fall under the Afro-Asiatic Superfamily; and of which most belong to the Cushitic and Omotic families as well as to Semitic (though small in number). As shown in the East Cushitic family tree (page 3), the Sidaama language belongs to Highland East Cushitic (Tosco 2000: 89). Sidaama is spoken in the southern part of Ethiopia in the Sidaama zone, which is located in northeast of Lake Abaya and southeast of Lake Hawassa.

According to the 2007 population and housing census of Ethiopia, the Sidaama language is spoken by 2,981,471 mother tongue speakers. According to the online *Ethnologue*, the language shares lexical similarities with other Highland East Cushitic languages: 64% with Alaaba and Kabeena, 62% with Kambaata, 53% with Hadiyya. According to Bender (1976), Sidaama is the widely spread language of the Highland East Cushitic cluster. Sidaama is little differentiated into dialects. Although the Sidaama clans are identifiable by their speech, the difference is minimal.

In the mid 1970's, the Geez-based Ethiopic writing system was introduced to Sidaama and to many other Ethiopian languages. When the current government came to power in 1991, its policy permitted the non-Semitic speakers to develop their own writing systems. Hence, the Sidaama people preferred to use the Latin alphabet system.

Since 1992, Sidaama has become a medium of instruction, administration, publication and judicial matters in the Sidaama zone. At primary school level from grade 1 to 4 the medium of instruction is Sidaama. It is also taught as a subject from grade 5 to 8 and at the secondary level from grade 9 to 10. Since 2012, the language is being offered as a subject to preparatory students (grade 11 to 12). There is a Sidaama language department at Hawaasa College of Teacher Education which offers a diploma program in the Sidaama language. In 2012, Hawaasa University launched a B.A. degree program in Sidaama.



## 1.2 The People

The Sidaama Ethnic Group (*Sidaamu sircho*) is one of the over 80 ethnic groups in Ethiopia. As it is shown in the map on page 6, the Sidaama people live in the south-central part of Ethiopia in the Sidaama zone of Southern Nation Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State. The zone is one of the 13 zones in the region. It is located in the North Eastern part of the region. The Sidaama people are neighbors with speakers of different languages: in the North, East, South East and South West with Oromo (Cushitic), in the South with Gedeo (Cushitic) and in the West with Wolayitta (Omotic). Its geographical location lies between 6° and 7° N and 38° and 39° E. The Sidaama zone is subdivided into 19 districts (*woredas*): *Hawaasa Zurya, Malga, Wondo-Genet, Gorche, Wonsho, Cuukko, Lokka-Abbaayya, Bursa, Boona-Zurya, Cirre, Shabbadiino, Daalle, Alatta-Wondo, Daara, Hula, Harooreessa, Bansa, Harbegoona, and Borricha*. The Sidaama zone also has two administrative towns: *Alata Wondo* and *Yirgalem*. The Sidaama people number 2,966,377, that is, 4 % of the Ethiopian population and 20 % of the population of the region. Of the Sidaama people, 149,480 are urban dwellers, and the rest, 2,816,994, are rural population. Sidaama is the fifth populous nation in Ethiopia. For the year 2010/11, the Sidaama population was estimated to be about 3,216,671 (Central Statistics Agency, 2008).

The people call themselves *Sidaamu manna* which literary means 'the Sidaama people'. According to Anbessa (2000:12), the Sidaama people find it inappropriate to use the term "Sidamo" to refer to themselves and their language, though they are presumably better known under this name.

According to the physical and socio-economic profile (2010/11) of the Sidaama zone, the Sidaama economy is based primarily on subsistent agriculture. Farmers in the zone mainly produce *enset* (false banana) and coffee for consumption as well as for commercial purposes. Other major crops produced in Sidaama include maize, *teff*, barley, haricot bean, wheat, sorghum and other cereal crops and vegetables. *Enset* is the main staple food in Sidaama. Apart from serving as a main source of food for the people and the cattle, parts of the *enset* plant can be used as inputs for construction of houses, production of containers such as sacks, and for handling food items during and

after preparation. According to Kumo (2009), formerly the role of livestock was highly significant in medieval and early 20th century. However, recently the size of livestock and the yield obtained have been deteriorating due to rapid increase in human population which creates shortage of grazing land; and due to poor veterinary service.

According to Kambata (2007), the Sidaama identity, collective or individual, manifests itself in a number of ways. Some of them are celebrations of *Fichee* (New Year festival), *Goshatto* (wedding), *Barcima* (male circumcision) conforming to the ethos of social institutions such as *Seera* (traditional laws) and *Jirte* (traditional norms). The Sidaama identity is also expressed by such practices as *Maganunna Annuwate Ayyaanna Kakkalo* 'sacrifices made to ancestral spirits and God'; *Xorsha (t'orfa)* 'slaughtering bulls or rams and spilling blood directly over a dead fathers' grave' and sprinkling blood as purification from sins and evil. These practices are performed by male elders.

Prior to the 1960s, the Sidaama people believed in *Kalaqaa Kaaliiqa* which means 'God the creator or Almighty'. As a part of their belief, they perform sacrifices (*Kakkalo*) to their ancestors' spirits. They also strongly believe that their ancestors' spirits have the power of mediating between them and God.



### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

Many linguistic studies indicate that a number of Ethiopian languages are not well studied and documented. Particularly, in the latter case, due to the infant stage of the discipline (Language Documentation), little has been done so far. Regarding the Sidaama language, quite a number of descriptive works, grammars, dictionaries and pedagogical materials have been produced. But there is no work of documentation on the language in systematic multimodal<sup>2</sup> ways.

Among the neglected parts of language description in relation to Cushitic are ideophones. For example, Dhoorre and Tosco (1998), state that the existence of ideophones in Cushitic languages was hardly noticed by researchers of African languages.

The ground for this study is the absence of documentation done on Sidaama and especially on ideophones in the language. Therefore, this research is an attempt to document and describe ideophones in Sidaama in the context of natural linguistic interactions.

### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

#### **1.4.1 General Objectives**

The general aim of this study is a multimodal documentation and description of ideophones in Sidaama.

#### **1.4.2 Specific Objectives**

- a. To describe the phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics of ideophones in Sidaama.
- b. To avail both digital and analogue data for archives.

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<sup>2</sup> Multimodal refers to the modes of recording primary data: audio, video, photo, and writing.

## 1.5 Significance of the Study

The study can contribute to the understanding of the linguistic nature of ideophones in Cushitic languages. The corpus of the data might be helpful for further research on the language and culture of the Sidaama people.

## 1.6 Scope of the Study

The study is limited to documenting and describing the phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics of ideophones in Sidaama. The site of the study is delimited to *Malga*<sup>3</sup> *woreda* (district) in *Maa'nicho*, *Wotara* and *Qocho kebele* (neighbourhood) where the 'representative' variety (with less contact) of Sidaama is claimed to be spoken. Also some narratives are collected from a consultant in *Sooyyaama kebele* of the *Daalle*<sup>4</sup> *woreda*.

## 1.7 Methodology

Data are collected through digital recording, elicitation, and discourse observation. Recording is capturing raw data which involves audio and video recording, as well as still photography and note taking. The selected items of the texts such as stories, myths, legends, poetry, riddles, and descriptions are audio-video recorded. Another method implemented is elicitation. Elicitation is asking consultants intelligible questions about the language under investigation. Elicitation techniques are used to collect the definitions of ideophones in Sidaama, and ethnographic information especially about their context of use. Observation method is also used. That is the researcher actively and passively involved in some discursive interactions. Introspection is also used. In this regard, being the native speaker of Sidaama, the researcher himself is a source of some data. Furthermore, introspection into the meaning and linguistic structure of ideophones is made. Secondary sources are also used. Books, dictionaries and magazines are used to help prepare the list of ideophones and some example sentences.

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<sup>3</sup> Malga district is located in the north western edge of the Sidaama zone. It consists of 25 *kebeles* with one administrative town, *Wojigira*. The total population of the district, in 2005, is 132,809.

<sup>4</sup> Daalle district is located in north central part of the Sidaama zone. The district constitutes 36 *kebeles* with one administrative town, *Yirgaalem*. In 2002, the population of the district numbered 33, 066.

Computational methods (implementation of software) are applied for data processing: transcription, and annotation.

An attempt is made to collect the data in natural settings. The data collection setting ranges from a two party communication to broader participatory activities. The length of interaction varies in time depending on the type and the objectives of the communicative events. The number of participants ranges from two to five or more. They vary in age, social status, and sex.

With regard to the contents of documentation, the study comprises of the corpus of annotated primary data, metadata, and the description of ideophones. It is presented in the table below.

Primary data	Apparatus <sup>5</sup>	
1. Audio-video recordings narratives and explanations. 2. Audio-video recordings of folk definitions of ideophones 3. Notes (e.g. elicitation, metalinguistic knowledge <sup>6</sup> , ethnographic information <sup>7</sup> )	Per session	For documentation as a whole
	1. Metadata 2. Annotations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• transcription</li> <li>• translation</li> <li>• linguistic glossing</li> </ul>	1. Metadata 2. General access resources <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• introduction</li> <li>• orthographical conventions</li> <li>• glossing conventions</li> <li>• links to other resources</li> </ul> 3. Description <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Description of ideophones</li> </ul>

### Format for language documentation (adapted from Himmelmann 2006:21)

<sup>5</sup> Apparatus is a term which means “information about the document and/or help in understanding the primary data”. This would include such things as metadata (time, place, and conditions of recording, equipment used, format of the recording, participants etc.), annotations (transcriptions, translations, word for word or morpheme by morpheme glosses, explanatory notes), and general resources (background information about the project (introduction), grammar, etc.). Himmelmann (2006:11).

<sup>6</sup> Metalinguistic knowledge is the native speakers’ ability to provide interpretations for linguistic units and events.

<sup>7</sup> Ethnographic information or commentary is the information about cultural norms and practices of the speech community that form the background of a given communicative event.

The workflow plan in Bown (2008:48) has been utilized. Each session (contact with consultants) in the fieldwork has at least three components. Each session was planned in advance (prepare to-do list, check equipment, etc.). The actual fieldwork activities were done with consultants. Then materials collected from the fieldwork activities were backed up, labeled, provided with metadata and the issues that need to be raised at the next sessions were noted. As the data gathering phase ended, the data were processed and rechecked, and finally ideophones were described.

## **1.8 Equipment and Software**

1. **Sinarline A7 note book and Lexi 5 pen:-** used for taking notes during elicitation and observation.
2. **Digital audio recorder (SONY IC RECORDER1.0.1:** records in MP3 format, High Quality, 44.1 KHz, 16 bit):- used to record audio materials.
3. **Sony Digital Voice Editor, Ver.3.3:-** used to copy the audio recordings from the recorder to the computer. It is also used to convert the default MP3 format of the recordings to WAV format.
4. **Over-ear sealed model microphone:-** used to control the quality and fidelity of sound production.
5. **USB cables:-** used to connect equipment.
6. **Digital video recorder (SONY DCR-SR47E Digital Video Camera Recorder, 60xOptical Zoom):-** used for recording video materials.
7. **Audacity 1.3 Beta (Unicode):-** used to edit audio files.
8. **FreeKey SIL IPA keyboard:-** used for transcription.
9. **ELAN 4.4.0:-** used for time aligned transcription, and annotation of audio files.
10. **PRAAT:-** used for pitch analysis.
11. **Microsoft Office 2010:-** used to create metadata and database of ideophones. It is also used to write the description of ideophones.
12. **HP mini laptop:-** used for processing and storing data.

## 1.9 Conventions and Data Links

### 1. Transcription

The transcription in this study is phonemic. Where a need for phonetic transcription arises, it is provided in square bracket [ ]. The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) is used for the transcription. To make the corpus useful for the speech community (Sidaama), the Sidaama Orthography is also employed (available in the attached CD). Some orthographical conventions with their IPA equivalents are presented as follows.

Orthography	IPA
<ph> voiceless bilabial stop ejective	/pʰ/
<x> voiceless alveolar stop ejective	/tʰ/
<dh> voiced alveolar stop implosive	/d/
<q> voiceless velar stop ejective	/kʰ/
<'> glottal stop	/ʔ/
<ch> voiceless alveo-palatal affricate	/tʃ/
<j> voiced alveo-palatal affricate	/dʒ/
<c> voiceless alveo-palatal ejective	/tʃʰ/
<sh> voiceless alveo-palatal fricative	/ʃ/
<ny> alveo-palatal nasal	/ɲ/
<y> alveo-palatal approximant	/j/

To represent vowel length and consonant gemination, segments are doubled. However, geminate ejectives and affricates are represented as follows.

<ph>	→	/ppʰ/
<xx>	→	/ttʰ/
<qq>	→	/kkʰ/
<ch>	→	/tʃtʃ/
<cc>	→	/tʃtʃʰ/
<jj>	→	/dʒdʒ/

In orthography, punctuation marks such as full stop (at the end of a sentence), coma (sentence internal pause), question and exclamation marks are used. In the phonemic transcription, the prosodic information is represented using different symbols (see the abbreviations and symbols list on page vi).

## **2. Glossing**

Morpheme by morpheme glossing is given in the phonemic transcription. Lexical information is provided in lower case and the grammatical information is in upper case. Word boundary is indicated by space. Morpheme and clitic breaks are indicated by a hyphen and the sign of equals (=), respectively. Dots are used to separate the grammatical components of portmanteau morphemes.

## **3. Cross-reference**

In this study, cross reference is a link between the descriptions in chapter three and the corpus of annotated data provided in the appendix. Items in the appendix that supplement the descriptions are cross referenced. To do so, each utterance (a clause or a sentence) in the annotated texts (see appendix) is given a reference (identification) number in ascending order. In the descriptions, the reference numbers are provided alongside the illustrations. The reference number is made up of: a) the identification number of the annotated recording in the metadata, b) the utterance number in the annotation, and c) the label of the speaker (in text 1). For instance, in a reference number SLDDP\_002\_001\_SP1 of text 1, SLDDP\_002 identifies the riddle, 001 identifies a question-answer set, and SP1 denotes speaker one. Similarly, in text two, for instance, SLDDP-004 identifies the story and 001 indicates utterance.

### **1.10 Theoretical Framework**

The descriptive approach is employed for studying ideophones in Sidaama. Especially, the framework developed by Childs (1994:178-204) is used to examine and define the place of ideophones in the grammar of Sidaama. Ideophones may be generally defined as words representing ideas vividly in sound. Childs (1994) suggests that they can be observed from the following perspectives.

- a. Phonological peculiarity or oddness;
- b. Very little morphology since they are not declinable and bear no affixes; the only productive process is reduplication<sup>8</sup>;
- c. Highly language-specific syntactic aspects;
- d. Difficult to specify meanings precisely, however ideophones usually evoke concrete imagery based on non-arbitrary relations between sound and meaning.

To determine synesthetic pairing of sound with meaning, Ohala's 'frequency code' is implemented (1994: 335). 'Frequency code' is the association between high acoustic frequency phonemes (sound with energy at higher frequencies) with notions related to smallness; and low acoustic frequency phonemes (sounds with energy at lower frequencies) with meanings related to largeness.

For data collection and presentation, principles of documentary linguistics will be used. The approach is data driven which mainly focuses on primary data to make them available for wider use. Spontaneity (naturalness), modality (available in different modes), variety (as varied genres as possible), and quantity (as many as possible) of the data are the primary concern of the documentation project. While doing so, the active involvement of speech community is essential.

### 1.11 Review of Related Literature

On the Sidaama language, there are descriptive works including senior essays, M.A theses and Ph.D dissertations as well as works by some missionaries. As far as I know, there is no language documentation project that had been undertaken in this language. The descriptive studies which deal with the morphophonology of the language include: Wedekind 1980; Abebe 1985; Yri 1990, 2004, 2006, 2007; Anbessa 2002a, 2002b, 2007. Such studies as Anbessa 1987, Aynalem 2008, Kawachi 2010 and 2011 are concerned with morphosyntax. It seems that Semantic descriptions are rare and I came across only Kawachi, 2009. There are few dictionaries: Gasparini (1983) Sidaama-

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<sup>8</sup>As shall be seen in chapter three, Sidaama ideophones are morphologically productive. Specially, they are highly productive in derivational morphology and reduplication.

English dictionary, and Desalegn, Indrias, Sileshi and Yohannis (2007) Sidaama-Amharic-English dictionary.

There are two grammars of the Sidaama language written for Ph.D. dissertations: Anbessa (2000) and Kawachi (2007). In Anbessa (2000), few ideophones are treated as parts of compound verbs in combination with the auxiliary verbs *j-* 'say' and *?ass-* 'make'. They are further labeled as words which do not belong to any lexical category. The author also indicates that these words do not take any affixes. However, the grammar offers very little about their phonology, morphosyntactic properties and semantics.

Kawachi (2007) is another grammar of the Sidaama language. What is special about this grammar is that it deals with almost all linguistic levels of the language starting from phonology up to semantics; and it also provides sufficient examples for each of the descriptive analysis. However, there are transcription errors and few glossing inconsistencies. For instance, the word *baabba* is glossed as 'honorific title (M)', and *kala* as 'honorific title (F)' (Kawachi 2007:3). But *baabba* should have been glossed as 'honorific title for feminine' and *kalaa* as 'honorific title for masculine'. There are also other errors of this kind which, though not major, could result in some misinterpretations.

In Kawachi (2007), ideophones are treated under the label 'other open-class forms' as a part which can form "idiomatic compounds" in conjunction with the verbs *j-* 'to say' and *?ass-* 'to do' where the verbs do not convey their literal meanings. These "idiomatic expressions" are said to convey a wide range of meanings: posture change, self-contained motion, emotions, etc., though such meanings can also be conveyed by other parts of speech. They 'always' occur before the verbs *j-* 'to say' and *?ass-* 'to do', as in *fikki j-* 'to approach' and *fikki ?ass-* 'to move sth. closer', to make "idiomatic compounds" where these verbs do not express their literal meanings. It is also indicated that the verbs *j-/?ass-* and the forms (which the author does not label 'ideophones') preceding them are separate words for other words or phrases can intervene between them. Some "idiomatic expressions" undergo reduplication and some are onomatopoeic.

The section which is dedicated to “other open class-forms” invites questions. The term “idiomatic expressions” is used by the author to designate the semantics of the verbal elements *j-* and *?ass-* in “idiomatic compounds” for the author explicitly states that the verbs do not express their literal meanings. This implies only the semantics of the non-literal use of the verbs. Nothing is implied about the semantic nature of the ideophonic parts in the compounds. So, what are the meanings of ideophonic elements? Another possible question is that if ideophones are categorized as “other open-class forms”, what are the grounds to categorize them as open classes? Or what distinguishes them from the rest of open-class words?

In addition to Sidaama, I have surveyed works concerned with ideophones of four Ethiopian languages. Azeb Amha (2001a), in her grammar of the Maale<sup>9</sup> language dedicates the last chapter to description of ideophones and interjections. Moreover, Azeb (2001b) discusses the structure of ideophones in Wolayitta<sup>10</sup> with emphasis given to similarities and differences between ideophones and other lexical items. A systematic account of a substantial number of Somali<sup>11</sup> ideophones is given by Dhoorre and Tosco (1998). Lydall (2000) explores the nature and the use of ideophones in Hamar<sup>12</sup>.

### 1.12 The Present Study

There are no corpuses of primary data in a multimodal fashion and a comprehensive study on the ideophones of Sidaama. The present study, therefore, focuses on the multimedia<sup>13</sup> documentation and description of ideophones in Sidaama. The phonological, morphosyntactic, and semantic aspects of ideophones in Sidaama are described.

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<sup>9</sup> Maale is a North Omotic language of the Afro-Asiatic phylum spoken in Southern Ethiopia.

<sup>10</sup> Wolayitta belongs to an Omoto cluster of the Omotic family under Afro-Asiatic phylum and it is spoken in South Western part of Ethiopia.

<sup>11</sup> Somali is a Lowland East Cushitic language of Afro-Asiatic phylum. It is mainly spoken in Somalia, Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya.

<sup>12</sup> Hamar belongs to the Aroid group of South Omotic family under Afro-Asiatic phylum. It is spoken in South Omo between the Omo and Woito rift valleys in southern part of Ethiopia by the Hamar, Banna and Karo people.

<sup>13</sup> Multimedia refers to the variety of equipment used to record the data such as video and audio recorders and so forth.

## Chapter Two

### Ideophones

In linguistics, ideophones have not been given due attention for long or they have been treated as mysterious words (Voeltz and Kilian-Hatz, 2001:2). Childs (2001: 64) states that “ideophones are often disdained, given superficial treatment, or ignored”. It is further noted that ideophones are usually not incorporated into the dictionary and the grammatical descriptions though they are many in languages. For instance, in a trilingual Sidaama-Amharic-English dictionary only nine ideophones are incorporated into the entries which begin with ‘b’. However, 35 ideophones are collected beginning with the same sound. However, nowadays increasing interest in “sound symbolism” and “iconicity” has drawn attention towards ideophones.

Before 1930s, ideophones have been discussed under different names by different investigators (Dingemanse 2011a: 21; Doke 1935: 119). For instance, Dingemanse (2011a: 57) indicates that Panini’s earliest work on ideophones dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC discusses ideophones under the category “imitative words”. In fact, in Dingemanse (2011a: 57- 74), there are plenty of instances with regard to the categories under which ideophones have been treated.

Some of the categories are familiar (e.g. adverb, onomatopoeia, and interjection). Others signify the semantic functions of ideophones (e.g. expressive, descriptive, intensifier). Yet others are based on the morphosyntactic characteristics of ideophones (e.g. indeclinable, radical). There are also categories which hint at the mode of signification or the way the meanings are represented (e.g. echoism, image, mimic). Although these categorizations are confusing to some extent, they contribute to the general understanding of ideophones.

## 2.1 Definition of Ideophones

Regarding, the origin of the term 'ideophone' and its definition, many scholars assume that Clement Martyn Doke is the first who coined and defined the term "ideophone". However, according to Dingemanse, Doke is not the one who coined the term "ideophone", and also he is not the first person who made an attempt to define ideophones (2011a: 22).

Dingemanse suggests that many scholars attempted to define the category before Doke though under different labels (ibid, 57-74). Dingemanse argues that the Doke's important contribution is towards introducing the category "ideophones" and providing the following definition (1935:118):

A vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, color, sound, smell, action, state or intensity.

This often cited definition sets the base for researches on ideophones stating that they are a particular grammatical category of words different from other word categories and to be recognized at the same level with other 'traditional' parts of speech such as nouns and verbs (Dingemanse, 2011a:25). Nevertheless, it has to be noted that this may not be applicable to all languages for ideophones may or may not be a distinct lexical category in some languages. Besides, the definition is based on the semantic characterization of ideophones; yet other linguistic characteristics are also useful to identify the status of ideophones across languages.

Dingemanse provides the following alternative definition which is intended to be broad enough to be applicable across languages:

"Ideophones are *marked words* that *depict sensory imagery* (Dingemanse, ibid)." (emphasis mine)

Ideophones are *marked* in the sense that they are different from other word categories such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc. They have peculiar phonology or phonotactic constitution, special word forms, expressive morphology (e.g. repetition in ideophones represents extension in time and space), relative syntactic independence (e.g. in Maale, ideophones differ from adjectives being syntactically dependent on other adjectives) and foregrounded prosody (e.g. the use of extra-long syllables with a higher pitch). The way structural markedness works may vary across languages.

Ideophones are *words* because they are “conventionalized minimal free forms with specifiable meaning” (ibid: 26). Ideophones are “not free expressive noises” (e.g. involuntary cry); rather, they are sounds whose meanings are, to some extent, conventions of a speech community (ibid: 27, 29). However, usually ideophones are not like ordinary words to which meanings are readily (arbitrarily) assigned but they utilize sound symbolism to express aspects of events that can be perceived through senses. The relationship between forms and meanings of this group of words can be explained to some extent. That is, meanings are represented in forms. Ideophones exploit the non-arbitrary aspects of language more extensively and directly (Childs, 1994:180). (Further discussion on sound symbolism is presented in section 2.5).

The way ideophones represent their referents or embody meaning is different from the way other word classes represent their referents. They represent their referents through *depiction*. Depiction enables audience to experience them as ‘performances’ and which offers them their ‘imagistic semantics’ (enables as if the event is actually being experienced in real time). Dingemanse (2011b: 79) points out that ideophones “draw us into the scene and invoke images of ‘being there’” and that they are the “most graphic” or “colouring words” in a language. Nuckolls (2012: 1) calls this mode of signification “performative simulations”. What is meant by “performative simulations” is that the experiences or events represented by ideophones are re-created via intonation, multiple repetition, anomalous stress pattern and phonotactics, expressive sound-symbolic lengthening and aspiration. The *depictive* or *performative simulation*

mode of signification is different from *description* which consists of arbitrary signs, interpreted according to a conventional symbol system.

Ideophones depict *sensory imagery*. According to Dingemanse (ibid), *sensory imagery* refers to the knowledge that emanates from the perception of the environment through senses and bodily experience. Ideophones recreate the perception of an event (perceptual knowledge) as much as possible as they were originally perceived in a real context. It is an attempt by the speaker to help the audience experience more or less the same original perception of an event using ideophones. Dingemanse (ibid), briefly discusses the semantic (perceptual knowledge/sensory imagery) domains covered by ideophones dividing into two categories. One is 'extero-receptors' which includes the perception of the external world such as vision (e.g. color, posture), hearing (sound), touch (texture), taste and smell). The other is 'intero-receptors' which consists of kinaesthetic sensations (e.g. motion and balance), interoceptive experience (e.g. emotion).

Childs' (1994:196) cross-linguistic characterization of ideophones shows their semi-universal nature. Ideophones have some common characteristics cross-linguistically (usually phonosemantic) but at the same time having different characteristics (syntactic).

Based on the above definitional background, the phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic aspects of ideophones are discussed supplemented by illustrations primarily from studies on four Ethiopian languages: Somali, Wolayitta, Maale and Hamar (for review, see section 1.10).

## 2.2 Phonology

Many scholars claim that ideophones are usually unique in their phonology compared to the other word classes of a particular language. For instance, Bodomo (2006: 204) states that ideophones are said to form a phonologically distinct group from other words in languages. Though they employ the same sounds as other words, they have distinct phonological properties. Childs (1994:181) states that: "All investigators note the peculiar phonology ideophones feature, yet few claim that phonological features

uniquely and exclusively define the class.” However, uniqueness in phonology may be observed. Below are phonological features Childs realized in Kisi<sup>14</sup>.

- a. Raised or lowered register
- b. Rapid modulation or exaggerated range of register
- c. Phonation: breathy voice, creaky voice, voicelessness and whisper
- d. Duration: overly short or long
- e. Rate: faster or slower than normal
- f. Set off from the rest of the sentence by a pause
- g. Using phones not belonging to regular phonemic inventory, lacking regular phonemic oppositions
- h. Violating phonotactic constraints

Alpher (1994:162) points out that the sound system of ideophones is based on the phonemic inventory found in ordinary words *plus and minus a few sounds*, and with expanded phonotactic possibilities. Ideophones exhibit sound and syllable types not found in ordinary words. For instance, vowelless syllables occur in ideophones, while they are absent in the basic lexicon (e.g. trrrt, ffff, pppp, pbbbp).

In Somali, there is an exception to the usual phonotactic constraints that /m/ is admitted word-finally and does not undergo change into /n/ as it is in other words (Dhoorre and Tosco, 1998). They also pointed out that Somali ideophones cluster around certain consonants.

Azeb (2001a: 251) indicates that, in Maale ideophones are characterized by phonological restrictions which do not affect other word classes. For example, non-ideophonic words always end in vowels whereas ideophones end possibly in single or geminated consonants.

Dingemans (2011a:134) states that ideophones are ‘conspicuous’ words in Siwu<sup>15</sup> that they are unique in their word length. They are longer than verbs and nouns that the

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<sup>14</sup> Kisi is an Atlantic language of Guinea and Sierra Leone.

<sup>15</sup> Siwu is one of Ghana-Togo Mountain (GMT) languages of the Kwa branch of Niger-Congo phylum spoken in Eastern Ghana.

majority of ideophones are three or four syllables long as opposed to nouns which are usually disyllabic or tri-syllabic and verb roots which are usually monosyllabic.

### **2.3 Morphology**

Ideophones often do not take affixes and thus Childs (1994: 185) generalizes that “Ideophones display very little morphology.” In Hamar, ideophones do not take derivational or inflectional suffixes, and are never qualified by adjectives or adverbs (Lydall, 2000: 2). Thus, Hamar ideophones are roots which do not exhibit stem variation. Bodomo further strengthens this observation stating that a salient feature that distinguishes ideophones from many other words is that there is hardly any affixation in the morphology of this group of words (2006: 204).

On the contrary, in some languages ideophones take affixes. In Maale, ideophones can take different forms of suffix in order to derive a transitive ideophonic verb (Azeb, 2001a: 256). Somali ideophones, which are nouns, may have a definite or anaphoric determiner suffixed to them and they are the basis of a derivational morphology (Dhoorre and Tosco, 1998:129). Furthermore, in Wolayitta, ideophones take inflections that can be suffixed to adjectives (Azeb 2001b: 57).

As indicated earlier, reduplication is productive processes in ideophones (Childs, 1994: 185). This sound symbolic form is iconic representation of an event. That is it expresses extension (in time or place) and intensity of an event.

### **2.4 Syntax**

Many studies on ideophones are concerned with word class category assignment. Azeb (2001b:55) says, “The question whether ideophones are a sub-category within one of the major lexical categories such as nouns and verbs or form their own independent word class has been a major subject of discussion in (African) linguistics.” This problem of the categorical status assignment arises because of the different syntactic functions of ideophones across languages. In some languages, ideophones are restricted to certain

grammatical classes whereas in others they pervade many different word classes and syntactic constructions. Yet in others they form their own independent category.

Since there is a wide structural variability among languages, the only remedy for categorical assignment problem of ideophones is approaching them in a language-specific basis (Childs 1994:187). As indicated above, in some languages ideophones constitute a separate word class while in others they constitute subclass(es) of major category(ies). For instance, Awoyale (1989:15) treats ideophones in Yoruba as a separate class. Conversely, Azeb (2001b: 56, 59) treats ideophones in Wolayitta as a part of the basic lexicon. According to her analysis, “Group I” ideophones share syntactic and semantic properties of descriptive or qualificative adjectives whereas “Group II” ideophones behave syntactically and semantically in the same manner as converbs. Moreover, in Somali, ideophones are nouns (Dhoorre and Tosco, 1998: 129).

Another syntactic feature of ideophones is that they are often introduced by a “dummy verb” or “introductory verb” with meanings such as “do, say, give, quote or think”; such collocational restrictions characterize ideophones (Childs, 1994:185). In Wolayitta, “Group II” ideophones obligatorily occur with the verb *g-* ‘say’ when they are intransitive and with *?oott-* ‘do’ when they are transitive (Azeb 2001b: 53). In Maale, ‘predicative ideophones’ occur with the verb *ge?*- ‘say’ (Azeb 2001a: 252). In Somali, ideophones are limited to use with the verb *jiri* ‘to say’ when intransitive and the verb *sii* ‘to give’ when transitive (Dhoorre and Tosco, 1998: 129).

## 2.5 Semantics

The meanings of ideophones do not seem to be easily specifiable. Consultants usually consider ideophones as elements emphasizing the meanings of verbs. Nevertheless, Childs indicates that ideophones evoke concrete meaning or image about the referents enabling the audience to perceive through senses (1994: 188).

Ideophones are usually considered ‘onomatopoeic’ words that vividly represent ideas in sound (Doke1935: 118). However, Dingemanse (2011a: 33) argues that ideophones also express action, motion, color, odor, texture, manner, intensity and emotion. For instance, according to Azeb (2001: 252), in Maale, there are two types of ideophones:

intensifying ideophones and predicative ideophones. Intensifying ideophones express the intensity of color, size, shape, etc. On the other hand, predicative ideophones denote eventative and stative situations. They include expressing attributive and qualificative properties as well as adverbial meanings.

Semantically, the non-arbitrary relationship between sound and meaning with most of ideophones is what makes them special in languages. Ideophones often display iconicity and sound-symbolism than other words in languages (Bodomo 2006: 204).

In sound symbolic forms there is a direct linkage between sound and meaning (Hinton, Nichols and Ohala, 1994: 1). According to the authors, sound symbolism is classified into four different types according to 'the degree of direct linkage between sound and meaning': Corporeal, Imitative, Synesthetic, and Conventional.

Corporeal sound symbolism refers to the forms (sounds) that express internal and physical state such as hiccup, sneezing, cough including interjections. Imitative sound symbolism refers to words that imitate environmental sounds. They are onomatopoeic words. Onomatopoeia is a word form which imitates a natural sound. This means that the meaning of an onomatopoeic word is obtained from the sound of the environment or the sound of an action. Although onomatopoeia plays an important role in the composition of ideophones, not all ideophones are onomatopoeic (ibid: 2).

Synesthesia is pairing of sound with the meaning of non-auditory sensations such as sight, touch and taste. For example, the sense 'bright' is conveyed by front vowels while 'dark' by back vowels. In Maale, ideophones with high vowels (*i* and *u*) are often associated with lightness, smallness, or fast speed whereas those with non-high vowels (*e* and *o*) are associated with heaviness, bigness, or slowness (Azeb 2001:255). Similarly, high tone symbolizes small things and low tone large things. Ohala termed this phenomenon 'frequency code' (1994: 335). According to the author, 'Frequency code' is a cross correlation between high acoustic frequency phonemes with meanings related to smallness (light, sharpness, little, narrow); and low acoustic frequency phonemes with meanings related to largeness (heavy, darkness, dullness, large, wide). Phonemes with high acoustic frequency include voiceless obstruents, ejectives, dental, alveolar, palatal, front velars and front vowels. On the other hand, lower acoustic

frequency phonemes contain voiced obstruents, plain (non-ejective) stops, labials, back velars and back vowels.

Conventional sound symbolism is the association of phonemes and phoneme clusters of certain types with meanings. For example, in English, *gl* in *glitter*, *glisten*, *glow*, and *glimmer* is associated in some ways with 'light' (Hinton, Nichols and Ohala 1994:5). Conventional sound symbolism is language specific that is, for instance the preceding segmental cluster of *gl* with the sense given occurs in English and may not operate in the same sense in any other language. Such a correspondence sound and meaning is social convention in that it is recognizable only by a speech community.

Generally, corporeal and imitative sound symbolic forms show direct relationship between forms and meanings. On the other hand, Synesthetic and Conventional Sound Symbolism are more indirect in terms of transparency of relationship between forms and meanings.

## Chapter Three

### Ideophones in Sidaama

#### 3.1 Phonology

As we shall see in the sections below, ideophones in Sidaama exhibit peculiar phonology. They display a phonemic feature that is not common in the other word classes. This feature is nasalization which is expressed via nasalized vowels. Underlyingly, ideophones end in the terminal vowel /i/ which is less common in the other words. They also lack such cluster sequences as glottal stop-sonorant (/ʔn/, /ʔl/), and sonorant-sonorant (/lm/, /rm/) which are present in other word categories. Moreover, ideophones with a sonorant-obstruent cluster are also not so productive. Ideophones are characterized by extra-long syllables which do not occur in the other words. The Sidaama ideophones also undergo few morphophonemic processes. They employ their own processes such as vowel harmony and sound alterations which are not common in the other categories.

##### 3.1.1 Phonemes in Ideophones

The terminal vowel /i/ in ideophones is one of the phonologically characterizing features of ideophones including the unique phonemic feature which are less common in the other word categories. The possibilities of consonant cluster with limited kinds of consonants can also be considered as a characterizing feature of ideophones.

##### 3.1.1.1 Terminal Vowels

Unlike the other words in the language, a large number of ideophones end with the high front vowel /i/ on the surface<sup>16</sup>. Only a small number of ideophones end in /a/, /e/, /u/ and /o/. In ideophones, terminal vowels are phonologically conditioned. The

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<sup>16</sup> In Sidaama, open-class words end in /e/, /a/, or /o/ in their citation form, can end in /u/ or /i/ only when followed by a suffix that ends in one of these vowels (Kawachi 2007: 31).

terminal vowel /i/ occurs in ideophones which have root-final consonant gemination and a cluster of a glottal stop and bilabial nasal /ʔm/. Of the geminates, the glottals /ʔʔ/, /hh/, and the glide /ww/ do not allow the terminal /i/ as in (1a). When the ideophone root-final consonant is non-geminate or a cluster of sonorant-obstruent, the terminal vowels are /e/, /a/, /o/, and /u/, as in (1b). Furthermore, monosyllabic ideophones do not end in /i/ (1c).

(1) a)	<i>barr-i</i>	‘shiver, scared’	<i>maʔʔ-a</i>	‘leave wide open’
	<i>ʃagagg-i</i>	‘dreadful feeling over body’	<i>feʔʔ-e</i>	‘flat, short and fat’
	<i>tʃʉkkʹ-i</i>	‘say nothing’	<i>hãhh-ã</i>	‘open mouth’(cf. SLDDP_004_043)
	<i>kiriʔm-i</i>	‘be precise’	<i>haww-u</i>	‘feel dizzy’
b)	<i>balk-a</i>	‘split into large pieces’	<i>lok-o</i>	‘loosely fit (of shoes)’
	<i>gerb-e</i>	‘be full (of stomach)’		
c)	<i>tu</i>	‘spit’	<i>haa</i>	‘flow in large amount’
	<i>wu</i>	‘bark of dog’	<i>ʃoo</i>	‘sound of rain’

Apart from /i/, the other terminal vowels are the result of morphophonemic process called vowel harmony. That is what is observed in (1a, b).

### 3.1.1.2 Nasalization

The Sidaama ideophones, as indicated above, manifest a phonemic feature that is not common in the other word classes. This is nasalization which is expressed through nasalized vowels. Nasalized vowels occur in onomatopoeic ideophones and in few others as in (2)<sup>17</sup>.

(2)	<i>bõõʔʔõ</i>	‘loud empty or useless talk’
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<sup>17</sup> I attempted to figure out how vowels in ideophones happen to occur with a nasalized feature. Nonetheless, I could not identify the motivation.

<i>ʔõõʔʔõ</i>	‘scream of bulls’
<i>hãhhã</i>	‘open mouth’ (cf. SLDDP_004_043)
<i>hĩʔʔĩ</i>	‘uttered when emitting excretion’
<i>ʔããʔʔã</i>	‘sound produced by the bird with a large beak’

Nasal vowels are also observed in interjections as in (3).

(3) <i>ʔãʔʔã</i>	‘exclamation of pain’ (cf. SLDDP_004_58)
<i>hĩʔʔĩ</i>	‘exclamation of gratification’ (cf. SLDDP_004_030)

It is also observed for example, in the name of a bird which is ideophonic *ʔããʔʔã* ‘sound produced by the bird’ as it appears in (4).

(4) <i>ʔããʔʔãsa</i>	‘bird with a big beak which produces the sound <i>ʔããʔʔã</i> ’
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### 3.1.1.3 Consonant Clusters

The great majority of consonant cluster<sup>18</sup> (across syllables) in ideophones are of sonorant-obstruent pattern. Ideophones consisting of glottal stop-sonorant cluster are limited and, in fact, it is only /ʔm/ that is prevalent. The cluster type sonorant-sonorant is absent in ideophones whereas it is observed in other word categories. Below are examples of the most common cluster type, sonorant-obstruent.

#### (5) a) /l/-obstruent

<i>/ltʃ/</i>	<i>baltʃa</i>	‘breaking into two parts’
<i>/ldʒ/</i>	<i>baldʒa</i>	‘watery, tasteless’
<i>/lk/</i>	<i>balka</i>	‘split into large pieces’

<sup>18</sup> Anbessa indicates that Sidaama has consonant clusters such as sonorant-obstruent, glottal stop-sonorant and sonorant-sonorant (2000:15).

/lf/ tʃalfa 'sound from walking on a water'

/ltʃ/ maltʃa 'squash'

**b) /r/-obstruent**

/rtʃ/ bartʃa 'lie down with front part of the body'

/rf/ farfa 'disperse'

/rd/ furduggi 'emerge suddenly'

/rf/ garfa 'eat unselectively'

/rb/ jurbu 'hang down as long straight hair'

/rtʃʃ/ gurtʃʃu 'sound as in drinking water'

/rk/ gurku 'slight collision'

**c) /n/-obstruent**

/nkʃ/ lenkʃe 'state of being supple'

/ntʃʃ/ tuntʃʃu 'meet unexpectedly'

/ng/ wanga 'spread out'

**d) /m/-obstruent**

/mb/ jembe 'hanging down of heavy things, suspend'

**e) /ʔ/-sonorant**

/ʔm/ tʃaʔmi 'sound of chewing food'

However, a large number of consonant clusters are lacking otherwise possible in the other word categories.

### 3.1.1.4 Frequency of Occurrence of Consonant

In Sidaama ideophones, some consonants are preferred over others.<sup>19</sup> Consonants with higher frequency of occurrence at initial position include labials /b, f, w, m/, coronals /l, t, tʰ, ʃ, tʃ/, velars /k, k, g/, glottal /h/. In the root final position, consonants with higher frequency of occurrence include labials /m, b, f/, coronals /l, t, tʰ, ʃ/, velars /k, k/ and glottal stop /ʔ/.

On the other hand, consonants with lower frequency at initial position encompass coronals such as /s, r, d, d, n, dʒ, ɲ, j, tʃ/. Likely, consonants with lower count of occurrence in the final position are labial /w/, coronals /s, r, d, d, n, tʃ, dʒ, ɲ/, velar /g/, glottal fricative /h/.

In the word initial position, ejective labial stop /pʰ/ does not occur; and the alveo-palatal glide /j/ does not occur in the root final position.

Generally, concerning the labials and velars, no clear cut preference is observed in both initial and final position except a glide /w/ having low count of occurrence in the stem final position. With regard to glottals, there is a clear cut preference among /h/ and /ʔ/, the former has the second highest count in the word initial position and the latter has the third highest count in the final position and they have the lower frequency of occurrence in the opposite position. Most importantly ideophones prefer few coronals and reject many of them.

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<sup>19</sup> To determine the occurrence rate of consonants in ideophones, a list consisting of roughly three hundred fifty ideophones is used. The occurrences of each consonant at word initial and word final position were counted, compared and interpreted.

### 3.1.2 Syllable Type and Ideophone Structure

The most basic ideophones (without taking reduplicated forms into consideration) are disyllabic. Here are examples:

(6) <i>ba.ta</i>	Cv.Cv	'tremble'
<i>maar.ri</i>	CvvC.Cv	'passionate look'
<i>mi.li</i>	CvC.Cv	'move'
<i>bar.ta</i>	CvC.Cv	'lie down with front part of the body'

There are also numerous tri-syllabic ideophones as in (7a). However, mono-syllabic and quadri-syllabic ideophones, as in (7b) and (7c), respectively are small in number.

(7) a) <i>ʔa.lee.ko</i>	Cv.Cvv.Cv	'(birds) chirp' (cf.SLDDP_002_009_SP2)
<i>dir.gim.mi</i>	Cv(C).CvC.Cv	'intensely, completely'
b) <i>tu</i>	Cv	'sound of spit'
<i>faa</i>	Cvv	'pour in large amount'
c) <i>ha.wu.luk.ki</i>	Cv.Cv.CvC.Cv	'snatch'

Ideophones in Sidaama have both open and closed syllable structure<sup>20</sup>. Closed syllables occur word initially or in the penultimate position, never word finally. The open ones occur in every position. Monosyllabics are always open and the majority of them have a long vowel (8a). In disyllabic and tri-syllabic ideophones, an open syllable occurs in

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<sup>20</sup>In Sidaama open syllables are many in number than closed syllables since inflected words end in a vowel (Anbessa 2000:15). However, this argument may not be equally applicable to ideophones for they have little inflectional morphology. Therefore, closed syllables may equally be observed in ideophones.

initial and final position (8b). In ideophones of three and four syllables, the penultimate syllable is usually closed, (8c, d).

- |        |                       |   |
|--------|-----------------------|---|
| (8) a) | <i>tu</i>             | ‘sound of spit’                           |
|        | <i>faa</i>            | ‘pour in large amount’                    |
|        | <i>saa</i>            | ‘sound of rain’                           |
| b)     | <i>hos.si</i>         | ‘straight’                                |
|        | <i>bul.tfʻu</i>       | ‘fat’                                     |
|        | <i>wala</i>           | ‘flame up’                                |
| c)     | <i>ha.wat.tfʻi</i>    | ‘let up (e.g. of rain)’                   |
|        | <i>dir.gim.mi</i>     | ‘do/make intensely’                       |
|        | <i>ka.lal.li</i>      | ‘roll down, run away’ (cf. SLDDP_004_068) |
| d)     | <i>tin.ki.liʻfi</i>   | ‘limp, hobble’                            |
|        | <i>ha.wu.luk.ki</i>   | ‘snatch’                                  |
|        | <i>tʻaʻ?la.mad.di</i> | ‘state of being calm’                     |

Most importantly, extra-long syllables are allowed in Sidaama ideophones. This is motivated by extra vowel length.

- |        |                |  |
|--------|----------------|--|
| (9) a) | <i>maaffi</i>  | ‘sparkle or glitter’                       |
|        | <i>faa</i>     | ‘flow in large amount’                     |
| b)     | <i>maa:ffi</i> | ‘prolonged or brighter sparkle or glitter’ |
|        | <i>faa:</i>    | ‘flow continuously in large amount’        |

As can be seen above, the nucleus of the initial syllable in (9a) is extra lengthened as in (9b).

The syllable structure of ideophones is summarized in the tables below.<sup>21</sup>

**a) Mono-syllabic**

Mono-syllabic	Ideophone
1V(V)	<i>tu</i> 'sound of spit'
	<i>faa</i> 'pour in large amount'

**b) Di-syllabic**

Di-syllabic	Ideophone
1V(V)2.2V	<i>mi.li</i> 'move'
	<i>ma.ar.ri</i> 'passionate look'
1V.2V	<i>ba.ta</i> 'tremble'
1V2.3V	<i>ba.r.ta</i> 'lie down with front part of the body'

**c) Tri-syllabic**

Tri-syllabic	Ideophone
1V.2VV.3V	<i>?a.lee.ko</i> '(birds) chirp' (cf. SLDDP_002_009_SP2)
1V(2).2V3.3V	<i>ha.wat.tʃi</i> 'let up (e.g. of rain)'
	<i>tʃul.luk'k'i</i> 'staring with wide open eye'
1V2.3V4.4V	<i>dir.gim.mi</i> 'intensely, completely'

**d) Quadri-syllabic**

Quadri-syllabic	Ideophone
1V.2V.3V4.4V	<i>ha.wu.luk.ki</i> 'snatch'
1V2.3V.4V5.5V	<i>tin.ki.lif.fi</i> 'limp, hobble'

<sup>21</sup> The numbers represent consonants. Doubling the number indicates gemination while two different numbers adjacent represent cluster.

### 3.1.3 Prosody

As in the other word categories in Sidaama (Kawachi 2007: 63), in ideophones, pitch operates in the same manner as it does in the other words. In the basic ideophone form, high pitch falls on the penultimate mora of ideophones as in (10).<sup>22</sup>

(10) <i>fáa</i>	‘the sound of rain’
<i>báta</i>	‘tremble, fickle of’
<i>bárrí</i>	‘shocked, wake up scared’
<i>bōó??ō</i>	‘loud empty or useless talk’
<i>báldza</i>	‘tasteless, watery’
<i>but’urúkk’i</i>	‘break out, open wide (of eyes)’
<i>tʃ’ullúkk’i</i>	‘watch with one’s eye half open’
<i>dirgím̄mi</i>	‘intensely, completely’

In reduplicated forms, pitch marking is identical to the base form (high pitch on a penultimate mora), as in *k’últʃ’u-k’últʃ’u* ‘sound from shaking bottled liquid’, *bút’u-bút’u* ‘sound as in pouring yogurt’, *tʃ’adkk’i-tʃ’adkk’i* ‘looking back again and again’. The same is true for ideophones that are affected by partial reduplication. High pitch is marked on the penultimate mora as in *k’ak’á??a* ‘snap twice’, *hatʃ’atʃ’áttʃ’i* ‘sound as in animal grazing’.

In speech, ideophones may have extra high pitch as in (11a). They are also marked with extra vowel length usually accompanied by continuously rising pitch as in (11b). Only ideophones with long vowels can undergo an extra vowel length.

(11) a) <i>búkki</i>	‘uproot, standing up swift’
<i>foótti</i>	‘rise up abruptly’

<sup>22</sup> Basically, the analysis of pitch is based on my own intuition as a native speaker of the language. Furthermore, it is supplemented by phonetic analysis software, PRAAT.

<i>bilítʃi</i>	‘flash, glint’
b) <i>máá:ʃfi</i>	‘prolonged or brighter sparkle, glitter’
<i>háá:</i>	‘continuous flow of sth. in large amount’

As can be seen, continuously rising pitch is shown by putting high pitch mark on the subsequent vowels as in (11b).

### 3.1.4 Sound Alteration

In some Sidaama ideophones, sounds (usually one of the consonants or the vowel set) may be altered without changing the meaning. When vowels are alternated, the whole set throughout the stem should be identical in order to satisfy the vowel harmony principle. It should be noted that the altered sound is in free variation with the previous one in that they do not affect the meaning of the ideophone.

(12) <i>tussi/fussi</i>	‘giving out a hissing sound (of fart)’
<i>dúkk’i/t’ukk’i</i>	‘keep an eye wide open’
<i>k’ililli/k’itʃ’illi</i>	‘a ring of metal objects’
<i>tenkè/tankà</i>	‘shout loud, scream’
<i>ʃarba/ʃurbu</i>	‘hang down as long straight hair’
<i>batà/but’u</i>	‘sound as in pouring yogurt’
<i>haʔatt’i/haraddi/hadaddi</i>	‘noise as in crack of wood ceiling’
<i>hawulukki/hawalakki/hawarakki</i>	‘snatch’
<i>kululli/kalalli</i>	‘roll down, run away’(cf. SLDDP_004_068)
<i>lukki/lummi</i>	‘enter suddenly’

### 3.1.5 Vowel Harmony and Assimilation

Vowel harmony in this study refers to the occurrence of identical vowels across the syllables of an ideophone. It is one of the several peculiar features apparent in Sidaama ideophones. In ideophones, there are two types of vowel harmony: a) vowel harmony within the root regardless of terminal vowel, b) the terminal vowel harmonizes with the vowels in the root (progressive assimilation). There is also the terminal vowel assimilation with the immediate vowel in the suffix (regressive or anticipatory assimilation).

The vowel harmony within the root is observed in ideophones with more than two syllables. Let us look at (13).

(13)	<i>tʃaʔlamadd-i</i>	‘state of being calm’
	<i>tʃullukkʔi</i>	‘staring with eyes wide open’
	<i>lukʔuʔm-i</i>	‘gulp’
	<i>hawalakk-i</i>	‘snatch’
	<i>butʔurukkʔi</i>	‘come out suddenly, open wide (of eyes)’

As can be seen, in all the above, the terminal vowel /i/ does not go with the vowel in the root, which ends in consonant gemination and glottal-nasal cluster /ʔm/, is not a favorable environment for the terminal vowel harmony.

The progressive terminal vowel harmonization is phonologically conditioned. It takes place when the ideophone root-final consonants are either sonorant-obstruent cluster or non-geminate. The root final geminated glottal stops are also a favorable condition for vowel harmony.

(14)	<b>Underlying</b>		<b>Surface</b>	
	/baldʒ-i/	→	[baldʒ-a]	‘watery, tasteless’
	/kɛlpʔ-i/	→	[kɛlpʔ-e]	‘overweight’
	/ʃurb-i/	→	[ʃurb-u]	‘hang down as long straight hair’

/fat-i/	→	[fat-a]	‘break intensely’
/lok-i/	→	[lok-o]	‘fit loosely’
/kətʃ-i/	→	[kətʃ-e]	‘shiver, chatter’
/maʔʔ-i/	→	[maʔʔ-a]	‘wide open, talking violently’
/hāhh-i/	→	[hāhh-ā]	‘open mouth’ (cf. SLDDP_004_043)

As ideophones in Sidaama end in vowel /i/, even those with other terminal vowels on the surface are underlyingly /i/ as shown in the underlying column of (14). It is only due to the nature of root final consonant cluster that they become identical with the vowel in the root.

Progressive terminal vowel harmony also takes place in deriving ideophonic words. When ideophones are derived from other ideophones<sup>23</sup>, the terminal vowel gets harmonized with the vowel in the root as in (15).

(15) Base ideophone		Derived ideophone	
<i>tunn-i</i>	‘evaporate’	<i>tunn-u-kk’i</i>	‘evaporate with higher pressure’
<i>muttʃ-i</i>	‘clear’	<i>muttʃ-u-kk’i</i>	‘make empty, finish’
<i>gurtʃ-u</i>	‘sound in drinking’	<i>gurtʃ-u-mmi</i>	‘drink making <i>gurtʃ-u</i> sound’
<i>kaf-a</i>	‘crush’	<i>kaf-a-mmi</i>	‘crushing intensely’

As might be expected, vowel harmony is also apparent in reduplicated ideophones. Both partially and fully reduplicated forms involve vowel harmony.

(16) Ideophone Reduplication

<i>bata</i>	<i>bata bata</i>	‘tremble with higher intensity’
<i>balka</i>	<i>balka balka</i>	‘split into large pieces repeatedly’

<sup>23</sup> Ideophones derived from other ideophones express higher intensity or completeness of the event than their base forms.

<i>k'illi</i>	<i>k'i-li-lli</i>	'clink more than once'
<i>t'araddi</i>	<i>t'a-ra-raddi</i>	'noise of lightening'

The regressive terminal vowel assimilation takes place in deriving the other category words from ideophones. When other words are derived from ideophones by attaching the suffix that begins with a vowel, the terminal vowel gets assimilated with the suffix initial vowel as in the surface column of (17).

(17) Ideophone		Underlying		Surface	
<i>lipp'i</i>	'wink'	<i>/lipp'i-essa/</i>	→	<i>[lipp'e-essa]</i>	'blinking (N)'
<i>k'ililli</i>	'clink'	<i>/k'ililli-ette/</i>	→	<i>[k'ilille-ette]</i>	'sound of bell (N)'
<i>dzalli</i>	'dull'	<i>/dzalli-ange/</i>	→	<i>[dzalla-ange]</i>	'dullness (N)'
<i>baldza</i>	'watery'	<i>/baldzi-uk'a/</i>	→	<i>[baldzu-uk'a]</i>	'watery (ADJ)'
<i>malt'a</i>	'squash'	<i>/malt'i-ak'a/</i>	→	<i>[malt'a-ak'a]</i>	'to squash (V)'

Other morphophonemic processes are also observed in deriving verbs from ideophones. When a verbalizing suffix is attached to ideophones, the root-final geminate consonants of the ideophones become non-geminated in the derived verb stems. Furthermore, the terminal vowel of the base ideophones in derived ideophones in (18a) gets lengthened in the derived verbs.

(18) Derived ideophone		Derived verb	
a) <i>tunn-u-kk'i</i>	'evaporate with high pressure'	<i>tunn-uu-k'a</i>	'evaporate'
<i>tinn-i-kk'i</i>	'gush with high pressure'	<i>tinn-ii-k'a</i>	'to gush'
<b>Simple ideophone</b>		<b>Derived verb</b>	
b) <i>fikk'i</i>	'get closer'	<i>fik'a</i>	'to approach'
<i>faaff-i</i>	'disclose'	<i>faaf-a</i>	'to disclose'

This process seems to be motivated by sound symbolism. The ideophone *tunn-u-kk'i* expresses the fact that evaporation is coming out with higher pressure and with interrupted flow while *tunn-uu-k'a* expresses that evaporation is coming out with normal pressure and without interruption. Consequently, specific or more emphatic meaning is expressed by geminating the stem final consonants in ideophones while unexaggerated meaning is indicated by the non-geminated counterparts in verbs. The same is true with the lengthened vowels in that they express prolongation of an event. For instance, the short vowel in *tinn-i-kk'i* is of the sense blood gushes at once whereas the long vowel in *tinn-ii-kk'a* expresses the gush of blood continuously.

## 3.2 Morphology

As it can be attested in the following sections, the morphology of ideophones shows many unique features from the other word categories. For instance, reduplication is said to be not productive in Sidaama, especially in verbs. However, in ideophones, reduplication is productive since a large number of ideophones can undergo reduplication.

Many scholars argue that ideophones have little morphology (Childs 1994: 185; Lydall 2000: 2, Bodomo 2006: 204). That is, they do not take derivational and inflectional affixes. However, counter to this argument, ideophones in Sidaama can take derivational suffixes in order to derive the other open class words, although they have little inflectional morphology. Furthermore, ideophones host clitics.

### 3.2.1 Reduplication

Kawachi (2007: 311) claims that reduplication in Sidaama is not productive<sup>24</sup>. Nevertheless, ideophones use a lot of reduplication. In Sidaama, ideophones employ the two major types of reduplication: total (lexical) and partial (syllabic). A large number

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<sup>24</sup>Reduplication in Sidaama verbs is limited to monosyllabic verb roots most commonly to the roots of 1V(V)2 and less commonly to 1V(V)22. When reduplicated, 1V(V)2 becomes 1V(V)11V(V)2 and sometimes 1V(V)22 becomes 1V(V)11V(V)22. Verbs with lexical reduplication (the whole root repetition) are less common where 1V2 becomes 1V21V2. Kawachi (2007: 311)

of ideophones undergo total reduplication while a small number of ideophones undergo both total and partial reduplication.

### 3.2.1.1 Total Reduplication

This type of reduplication is sometimes called full reduplication where the whole ideophone stem is repeated. Unlike verbs where part of the stem serves as a unit of reduplication (Kawachi 2007:12), ideophones in Sidaama usually involve the whole stem reduplication.

- (19) (cf. SLDDP\_002\_009\_SP2; SLDDP\_002\_022\_SP2)
- |                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| <i>tu tu</i>             | ‘repeated sound of spiting’                           |
| <i>bata bata</i>         | ‘tremble with high intensity’                         |
| <i>balka balka</i>       | ‘split into large pieces repeatedly’                  |
| <i>barri barri</i>       | ‘shocked or scared repeatedly’                        |
| <i>tʃaakkʻi tʃaakkʻi</i> | ‘looking back again and again’ (cf.SLDDP_002_022-SP2) |

In so doing, there is no limit on how many times the ideophone can exhibit total reduplication. The example below illustrates this.

- (20) *butu butu butu ...* ‘intensely broken into several pieces’
- ga ga ga ...* ‘repeated knock of the door’
- lukʻuʔmi lukʻuʔmi lukʻuʔmi ...* ‘gulp repeatedly’
- kafa kafa kafa ...* ‘crush intensely’

### 3.2.1.2 Partial Reduplication

In addition to the reduplication of the whole base, a small number of ideophones undergo partial reduplication where the unit of reduplication is a syllable or some segments of it. This type of reduplication affects disyllabic and tri-syllabic ideophones as in (21).

(21)

- a) *tʃʊrri* ‘flow of liquid with thin stream’ → *tʃʊ-ru-rrri* ‘continuous flow of liquid in *tʃʊrri* manner’  
 b) *baattʃi* ‘tear with a ripping noise’ → *ba-tʃaa-tʃi* ‘tear intensely with a ripping noise’  
 c) *da??a* ‘popping sound’ → *da-da-??a* ‘repeated popping sound’

In (21a, b), the nucleus and coda of the first syllable (V(V)2 of 1V(V)2) is reduplicated reversing their order, 2V(V) order in reduplicated form. In (21c), the onset and nucleus of the first syllable (1V of 1V22V) are reduplicated. In each case, keeping the same pattern, reduplication can continue up to the intended level of prolongation. Let us look at example (22).

- |      |                    |                             |   |
|------|--------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| (22) | <i>tʃʊ-ru-rrri</i> | <i>tʃʊ-ru-ru-rrri ...</i>   | ‘continuous flow of liquid in small amount’     |
|      | <i>ba-tʃaa-tʃi</i> | <i>ba-tʃa- tʃaa-tʃi ...</i> | ‘tear with a ripping noise’                     |
|      | <i>da-da-??a</i>   | <i>da-da-da-??a ...</i>     | ‘continuous popping sound’                      |
|      | <i>gi-gi-ggi</i>   | <i>gi-gi- gi-ggi ...</i>    | ‘noise as in a big stone rolling down the hill’ |

The reduplication patterns we have seen so far have the iconic components that they evoke repetition, extension in time (or speed) and intensity of an event expressed.

### 3.2.2 Derivation of Ideophones

Counter to the claim that ideophones do not take any affixes (Childs 1994: 1994), Sidaama ideophones take derivational suffixes. Nouns, adjectives, verbs, compound ideophones and compound verbal ideophones can be derived from base ideophones.

The three derivational tools are suffixation, compounding and reduplication. Nevertheless, ideophones in Sidaama seem to be taking little inflectional suffixes.

### 3.2.2.1 Suffixation

There are four types of suffixes that can derive words of the other parts of speech including derived ideophones. These are nominalizing, adjectivalizing, verbalizing, and ideophone deriving suffixes.

#### i) Nominalizing Suffixes

Nominalizing suffixes are suffixed to the ideophone stem usually after the terminal vowels. The most productive one is /-o/ which supersedes the terminal vowels<sup>25</sup>. Below are examples of nominalization by suffixing.

(23)

Ideophone		Suffix	Noun	
<i>lepp<sup>2</sup>i</i>	'springy'	/-o/	<i>lepp<sup>2</sup>o</i>	'swampy ground'
<i>ɲerr-i</i>	'nag'	/-o/	<i>ɲerr-o</i>	'nag'
<i>siikk-i</i>	'take short sleep'	/-o/	<i>siikk-o</i>	'nap'
<i>hawwu</i>	'feel dizzy'	-naate	<i>hawwu-naate</i>	'dizziness'
<i>bididi</i>	'organize; adjust'	-ff-a	<i>bididi-ff-a</i>	'organization-M.SG'
<i>bukki</i>	'flames blazing up'	-ttf-a	<i>bukki-ttf-a</i>	'afro hair-M.SG'
<i>funk'ulli</i>	'turn upside down'	-ttfo	<i>funk'ulli-ttfo</i>	'standing with head'
<i>lipp'i</i>	'blink'	-essa	<i>lipp'i-essa</i>	'blinking'

<sup>25</sup> The nominalizing suffix /-o/ is not limited to deriving nouns from ideophones but it is also productive in deriving nouns from verbs.

(1) /-o/	<i>ʔegenn-</i>	'to know'	<i>ʔegenn-o</i>	'knowledge'
	<i>hank<sup>2</sup></i>	'to get angry'	<i>hank<sup>2</sup>o</i>	'anger'

<i>k'ipp'i</i>	'talk/call with sign'	<i>-essa</i>	<i>k'ipp'i-essa</i>	'sign'
<i>k'ililli</i>	'clink'	<i>-ette</i>	<i>k'ililli-ette</i>	'name of clink sound'
<i>dzalli</i>	'be dull'	<i>-ange</i>	<i>dzalli-ange</i>	'dullness'

In the nouns derived by suffixes beginning with vowels, the terminal vowels of the ideophones get harmonized to the vowels in the suffix. Hence, the derived nouns in their phonetic form are [*lippɛessa*], [*k'ippɛessa*], [*k'ililleette*], and [*dzallaange*].

## ii) Adjectivalizing Suffixes

In adjectivalization, the most productive suffixes are: *-ttf* and *-tt* which are always accompanied by gender and number suffixes such as */-a/* 'SG.M', */-e/* 'SG.F' and */o-a/* 'PL'.<sup>26</sup> There are also other suffixes that derive adjectives from ideophones such as: *-f*, *-uk'*, *-s*, *-im*, *-ag*. As in the case of deriving nouns in (23), when adjectives are derived from ideophones by suffixing morphemes beginning with vowels, the terminal vowels in the ideophones become identical to the suffix initial vowel as in (24).

(24)

Ideophone		ADJVL-GNDR.NMBR.	Adjective	
<i>batti</i>	'be unstable'	<i>-ttf-a</i>	<i>batti-ttf-a</i>	'unstable.M.SG'
<i>hossi</i>	'be strait'	<i>-ttf-a</i>	<i>hossi-ttf-a</i>	'straight.M.SG'
<i>batti</i>	'be unstable'	<i>-tt-e</i>	<i>batti-tt-e</i>	'unstable.F.SG'
<i>hossi</i>	'be strait'	<i>-tt-e</i>	<i>hossi-tt-e</i>	'straight.F.SG'
<i>baaddzi</i>	'wander'	<i>-f-a</i>	<i>baaddzi-f-a</i>	'wandering person.M.SG'
<i>baldza</i>	'watery'	<i>-uk'a</i>	<i>baldzu-uk'a</i>	'watery.M.SG'

<sup>26</sup> Underlyingly, the adjectivalizing suffix is */-tt/*. However, when it is followed by the masculine singular suffix */-a/*, it becomes [*-ttf*]. Furthermore, when the ideophone stem final consonant is affricate, it is realized as [*-f*]. The suffix */-tt/* derives nouns from ideophones as in example (23).

<i>bulku</i>	'own powdery texture'	<i>-s-a</i>	<i>bulki-s-a</i> <sup>27</sup>	'powdery texture.M.SG'
<i>gaffi</i>	'sit'	<i>-im-a</i>	<i>gaffi-im-a</i>	'dwarf.M.SG'
<i>dzalli</i>	'dullness'	<i>-ag-a</i>	<i>dzalla-ag-a</i> <sup>28</sup>	'dull.M/F.SG'

### iii) Verbalizing Suffixes

Suffixes that derive verbs from ideophones include: *-fata*, *-sa*, *-ak'a*, *-ffa*, *-a*, and *-na*. Examples are provided in (25).

(25)

Ideophone		Suffix	Verb	
<i>fitti</i>	'shiver in feet'	<i>-fata</i>	<i>fitti-fata</i>	'to shiver in feet'
<i>hekk'i</i>	'hiccup'	<i>-fata</i>	<i>hekk'i-fata</i>	'hiccup'
<i>kookki</i>	'sound of cock'	<i>-sa</i>	<i>kookki-sa</i>	'to boast'
<i>kaakki</i>	'sound of quack'	<i>-sa</i>	<i>kaakki-sa</i>	'to quack (of hen)'
<i>milli</i>	'move'	<i>-sa</i>	<i>milli-sa</i>	'to move'
<i>malta</i>	'squash'	<i>-ak'a</i>	<i>malta-ak'a</i>	'to squash'
<i>foo</i>	'sound of rain'	<i>-ffa</i>	<i>foo-ffa</i>	'produce sound of rain'
<i>t'inn-i-kk'i</i>	'gush with high pressure'	<i>-a</i>	<i>t'inn-ii-k'a</i>	'to gush liquid or blood'
<i>hawulukki</i>	'snatch'	<i>-a</i>	<i>hawuluk-a</i>	'to snatch'
<i>wattfi</i>	'boil and bubble'	<i>-a</i>	<i>wattf-a</i>	'boil in bubbling manner'
<i>faaffi</i>	'disclose'	<i>-a</i>	<i>faaf-a</i>	'to clear'
<i>k'upp'i</i>	'crouch'	<i>-na</i>	<i>k'upp'i-na</i> [ <i>k'upp'ana</i> ]	'crouching'

<sup>27</sup> In some derived adjectives, the underlying form of the terminal vowel /i/ is retained.

<sup>28</sup> In some cases, masculine marker /-a/ is used for both masculine and feminine gender.

#### iv) Ideophone Deriving Suffixes

Ideophones can be derived from ideophones by suffixing /-kk'i/ and /-mmi/.

(26)

Base ideophone		Suffix	Derived ideophone
a) <i>tunni</i>	'evaporate via small hall'	-kk'i	<i>tunnu-kk'i</i> 'evaporate highly'
<i>muttf'i</i>	'clear'	-kk'i	<i>muttf'u-kk'i</i> 'clear, make empty'
<i>t'inni</i>	'gush'	-kk'i	<i>t'inni-kk'i</i> 'gush highly'
b) <i>gurtf'u</i>	'sound of drinking'	-mmi	<i>gurtf'u-mmi</i> 'drink making <i>gurtf'u</i> '
<i>kafa</i>	'crush'	-mmi	<i>kafa-mmi</i> 'crushing intensely'

When a deriving suffix is attached, the terminal vowel /i/ in derived ideophones is assimilated to the vowel in the stem, as it appears in (26a). Ideophones derived from ideophones express higher degree of intensity or completeness of the event compared to the meaning of the base.

#### 3.2.2.2 Compounding

Compounding seems to be the most productive derivational process in deriving compound verbal ideophones. Ideophones can be compounded with either *j-* 'say' or *?ass-* 'do' verbs. Compound verbal ideophones derived with *j-* are intransitive and the compounds derived with *?ass-* are transitive. Observe the following example.

(27) Intransitive		Transitive	
<i>gotti</i>	<i>j-</i>	<i>gotti</i>	<i>?ass-</i>
stand.up	say-	stand.up	do-
'to stand up'		'to raise sth. up'	
<i>milli</i>	<i>j-</i>	<i>milli</i>	<i>?ass-</i>
move	say-	move	do-
'to move'		'to move sth.'	

<i>koffi</i>	<i>j-</i>	<i>koffi</i>	<i>?ass-</i>
angry	say-	angry	do-
'be angry'		'to make angry'	

In this context, the verb serves as auxiliary lacking its lexical meaning. The lexical meaning of the compound does not include the meaning expressed by the auxiliary verb. The compounds with *j-* 'say' do not imply speaking. Hence, the lexical meaning of the compound relies on the ideophone.

Notice also that unlike verbs where transitive versus intransitive verbs are derived by suffixation, ideophones use compounding to derive compound verbal ideophones that contrast in transitivity.

With respect to ideophones with *j-* and *?ass-*, usually the *j-* verb can have the *?ass-* counterpart and vice versa. Nonetheless, there are cases where verbs with *j-* do not have the transitive *?ass-* counterparts or the reverse. Below are examples. The forms with asterisked are ill-formed and show the absence of the counterpart.

(28)	<b>Intransitive</b>		<b>Transitive</b>
	<i>tʃʉkk'i</i>	<i>j-</i>	<i>*tʃʉkk'i</i>
	quiet	say-	quiet
	'be quite'		'cause to be quite'
	<i>*kʉpp'i</i>	<i>j-</i>	<i>kʉpp'i</i>
	grab.hold	say-	grab.hold
	'caught in grabbing manner'		'to catch sth. in grabbing manner'
	<i>*fattʃi</i>	<i>j-</i>	<i>fattʃi</i>
	unhold.suddenly	say	unhold.suddenly
	'released suddenly'		'to release sth. suddenly'

There are ideophones derived by compounding two different ideophones which semantically contrast with each other.

- (29) a) *heeffi-gotti*  
bow-rise.up  
'bow and rise again'
- b) *gaakki-furduggi*  
rush.in-rush.out  
'enter and come out abruptly'
- c) *bukki-dirgimmi*  
blaze.up-complete.loss  
'flicker'
- d) *kabbi-fattfi*  
hold-unhold  
'temporary engagement'(in Amharic ታዘ-ለቀቅ)

As can be seen above, an ideophone in each pair is opposed to its counterpart in meaning. They express two opposing events happening at a time. The compounds are appositional where the meanings of the compounds are equally contributed by the meanings of the input ideophones.

There are few nouns that can be derived by compounding ideophones with nouns. The order of occurrence in the compound is ideophone + noun.

- (30) a) *bukki-bulaaso*  
blaze.up-mold  
'mushroom (inedible)'
- b) *lekki<sup>28</sup>-lekkittfo*  
feet-leg  
'hop (game)'

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<sup>28</sup> An ideophonic form *lekki* does not have lexical meaning in contemporary Sidaama. However, one can speculate that a noun *lekka* 'leg' is derived from this ideophonic form. The meaning of the ideophonic form might be related to the act of 'jumping' since ideophones also express verbal meanings.

- c) *kàtà-kà??eessa*  
 sound.steps.on.dry.leaves-snap  
 ‘time of sorrow when no one is around’

These compounds can be considered as exocentric since the meaning of the compounds differs from the meanings of the input constituents.

### 3.2.2.3 Reduplication in Derivation

In addition to its expressive function as presented in section 3.1.6, reduplication also serves as a word formation tool. There are ideophones which can be derived through reduplication. In (31) the base forms (asterisked) do not have any lexical meaning.

- (31) \**k’uffi* → *k’uffi* ‘physical dwindling’  
 \**faggi* → *faggi* ‘repulsive feeling over one’s body’  
 \**joggi* → *joggi* ‘slow walk in awkward manner’  
*kulli* → *kulli* ‘roll down, run away’ (SLDDP\_004\_068)  
 \**hakk’i* → *hakk’i* ‘grinding noise’  
 \**hattf’i* → *hattf’i* ‘noise (e.g. of animal grazing)’

There are also few verbs which are derived by reduplicating the ideophone root plus suffixing the verbalizing suffix /-a/.

- (32) *watà* ‘drop’                      *watà-at’a*                      ‘fall in mass and scattered’  
*dzarri* ‘lacking calmness’ *dzar-dzar-a* [dzaddzara] ‘be instable (e.g. person)’

As can be observed in the derivational morphology so far, the directionality of derivational process is clear that nouns, adjectives, and verbs are derived from ideophones, and not the other way round. Therefore, ideophones seem to be sources of derivation for many other open class words in the language.

### 3.2.3 Inflection of Ideophones

In Sidaama ideophones, inflection seems to be not so productive. They take inflectional suffixes of number and gender. These are: *-a* (M.SG), *-e* (F.SG), *-o-a* (PL)<sup>30</sup>. They are suffixed to an ideophone stem followed by adjectivalizing or nominalizing suffixes as in (33a, b).

(33)

a)	Suffix	Ideophone-ADJVL-Gender.Number (in this order)
	<i>-a</i> (M.SG)	<i>batti-ttf-a</i> 'unstable.M.SG'
	<i>-e</i> (F.SG)	<i>batti-tt-e</i> 'unstable.F.SG'
	<i>-o-a</i> (PL)	<i>batti-o-t-a</i> 'unstable.PL'
	<i>-a</i> (M.SG)	<i>gaffi-ttf-a</i> 'dwarf.M.SG'
	<i>-e</i> (F.SG)	<i>gaffi-tt-e</i> 'dwarf.F.SG'
	<i>-o-a</i> (PL)	<i>gaffi-o-t-a</i> 'dwarf.PL'
b)	Suffix	Ideophone-NMNL-Gender.Number
	<i>-a</i> (M.SG)	<i>bukki-ttf-a</i> 'afro hair.M.SG'
	<i>-e</i> (F.SG)	<i>kililli-ett-e</i> 'name of clink sound.F.SG'

### 3.2.4 Cliticization

Ideophones take clitics which can roughly be classified into three categories based on their functions: a) negative proclitic, *di* = 'not', b) conjunctive enclitics such as =*nna* 'and', =*nso* 'or', =*no* 'also', c) emphatic enclitic, =*lla* 'only'.

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<sup>30</sup> Plural marker */-o-a/* is discontinuous morpheme interrupted by adjectivalizing suffix */-t/* as can be seen in example (33).

i) Negative Proclitic (*di* = 'not')

Although it is claimed that the negative proclitic cannot be attached to ideophones (Kawachi, 2007: 175), the examples provided below prove this wrong. The negative proclitic *di*= is attached to the beginning of the ideophone stem. However, there is some pragmatic constraint. That is, it can only be bound to the ideophone in a statement of strong command and in stating an event in exaggerated manner. These kinds of statements are used when somebody fails to fulfill the command. The function of the proclitic is to give emphasis to the meaning of an ideophone.

(34) *di=fikk'i*                      *j-a-tt-o* [*jaatto*]  
 NEG = come.closer    say-IMPf-2.SG-M

'Don't you move a bit! (Warning)'

*di=liffi*                      *?ass-t-e* [*?assite*]                      *k'awaad-a-tt-o*  
 NEG = tightly                      do-2.SG-CNV                      slap-IMPf-2.SG-M

'Don't you slap him intensely! (Warning)'

*kameel-u*                      *buko*                      *di=banni*                      *?ass-a-nni*                      *sa?-ø-i*  
 car-NOM                      dust                      NEG = blow                      do-INF-MNR                      pass-3.SG.M-S.PRF

'The car went blowing out dust!'

Although it is possible to attach negative proclitic to ideophones as in (34), it is usually attached to the co-occurring auxiliary verbs, *j*- 'say' and *?ass*- 'do'. Illustrations are provided in (35).

(35) *rekëttf'i*                      *di=?ass-n-anni* [*dassinanni*]  
 disclose                      NEG = do-2PL-IMPf

'It must not be public.'

<i>tʃoʔʔo</i>	<i>j-ø-e</i>	<i>di = hur-ø-ino-ʔe</i>
oughtright	say-3SG.M-CNV	NEG = cure-3.SG.M-P.PRF-1SG

‘I do not recover fully.’

## ii) Conjunctive Enclitics (= *нна* ‘and’, = *нso* ‘or’, = *no* ‘also’)

Conjunctive enclitics are bound to the final position of the ideophone. Conjunctive enclitic, = *нна* ‘and’ is used to connect two ideophones. It is attached to the preceding ideophone as in (36).

(36)	<i>milli = нна</i>	<i>milikk’i</i>	<i>j-tooti [jitooti]</i>
	move = and	dislocate	say-2.SG.NEG.IMP

‘Do not move as well as do not lose your balance.’

Likewise, the enclitic = *нso* ‘or’ is also bound to the same position. It can only occur in alternative questions as in (37).

(37)	(cf. SLDDP_004_067, SLDDP_004_074,075)			
	<i>ganba = нso</i>	<i>farfa</i>	<i>ʔass-n-e [ʔassine]</i>	<i>wint’o</i>
	gather = or	disperse	do-1.PL-CNV	seed.1.PL-OPT

‘Shall we seed in closer distance or in gaped way?’

The enclitic = *no* is also used to connect ideophones with ideophones. It is attached to the final position of each conjoined ideophones. In this kind of construction as in (38), = *no* has the meanings more or less equivalent with ‘as well as, also, too’. It is usually used in giving cautions as can be seen below.

(38)	(cf. SLDDP_004_076)			
	<i>milli = no</i>	<i>milikk’i = no</i>	<i>j-tooti [jitooti]</i>	
	move = also	dislocate = also	say-2.SG.NEG.IMP	

‘Do not move and do not move aside too.’

*tʃʉkkʻi = no*      *tʃʉrukkʻi = no*      *j-tooti [jitooti]*  
 quiet = also      say.nothing = also      say-2.SG.NEG.IMP  
 ‘Keep quiet as well as do not say anything.’

**iii) Emphatic Enclitic (= *lla* ‘only’)**

Emphatic enclitic is attached to the final position of ideophones. It gives an emphasis for the meaning of ideophone to which it is attached, as illustrated in (39a, b). When two ideophones follow one another, the connective enclitic = *nna* is attached to the first ideophone and the emphatic enclitic = *lla* is attached to the second one, as shown in (39c).

- (39) a) *tʃʉkkʻi = lla*                      *j-tooti [jitooti]*                      *ʔikk-ø-anno-ta*  
 quiet = emphasis                      say-2.SG.NEG.IMP                      be-3.SG.M-IMP-IMP-IMP-IMP  
  
*laʔ-neemmo-na*  
 see-1.PL-IMP-IMP-IMP-IMP  
 ‘Keep quiet; we will see how he will be/ behave.’
- b) *sammi = lla*                      *j-u-mm-o-na [juummona]*                      *ʔaana-ho haʔr-a-tt-o-ʔe*  
 be.silent = emphasis                      say-S.PRF-1.SG-M-IMP-IMP-IMP-IMP                      top-on walk-IMP-IMP-IMP-IMP-IMP-IMP-IMP  
 ‘Is that because of my silence you are being on top of me (disrespecting me)?’
- c) *milli = nna*                      *milikkʻi = lla*                      *j-tooti [jitooti]*  
 move = and                      dislocate = emphasis                      say-2.SG.NEG.IMP  
 ‘Do not make any movement.’

### 3.3 Syntax

Sidaama ideophones exhibit syntactic collocational restrictions. They obligatorily occur with the verb *j-* ‘say’ when they are intransitive and with *ʔass-* ‘do’ when they are transitive. In such constructions, the verbs are ‘dummy’, they have no lexical meaning. They serve as bearers of derivational and inflectional information such as transitivity and aspect which ideophones characteristically cannot carry (Childs, 1994:187).

As mentioned above, the ‘dummy’ verbs serve as verbalizing elements to which verbal inflections are attached. It is so because the Sidaama ideophones cannot take any inflectional affixes. The verbal inflections such as person, number, gender, and aspect are attached to the ‘dummy’ verbs as the examples in (40) demonstrate.

(40)

- a) *tenne janna kʰakkʰ-uull-i ʔaje=no baffi di=ʔass-t-anno* [dassitanno]  
this.F time child-PL-NOM who-also feel.little.fear NEG=do-3.PL.IMPF

‘Children of these days do not fear anyone.’

- b) *kʰakkʰ-u kuni beʔʔe nafa di=j-θ-ino*  
child-NOM this.M throb.of.heart even NEG=say-3.SG.M-P.PRF

‘This child did not feel any fear.’

As an exception for the collocational restriction, ideophones occur without the ‘dummy’ verbs. This might be pragmatically motivated since it is observed only in riddles (41a, b).

(41) (cf. SLDDP\_002\_002\_SP1, 031\_SP2, 045\_SP2)

a) Challenger: *hibbo*

‘Riddle!’

Challengee: *hibibbi*

‘Go ahead!’

Challenger: *kuttfe*      *kubb-ø-e*      *ʔanna*      *t'illi*  
son      jump-3.SG.M-CNV      father      hit.intensely

'The boy jumps and hits his father seriously.'

Challengee: *ʔuduluma = ho*

pestle = NPC.M.PRED

'It is pestle'

Challenger: *ʔaf-i-tt-o*

know-S.PRF-2.SG-M

'You got it'

b) Challenger: *hibbo*

'Riddle!'

Challengee: *hibbi*

'Go ahead!'

Challenger: *kawa*      *kamballi*      *kambaata*      *walli*

toward.here    turn.to.one's.side    name.of.place    wave.back.and.forth

'A thing that bends toward one's position and waves'

Challengee: *ʔomoltfo = ho*

flat.bread = NPC.M.PRED

'It is *ʔomoltfo*<sup>30</sup>.'

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<sup>30</sup> *ʔomoltfo* is flat bread prepared from *waasa* false banana flour.

Challenger: *ʔaf-i-tt-o*

know-S.PRF-2.SG-M

‘You got it’

Syntactically, Sidaama ideophones resemble converbs. Both ideophones and converbs are syntactically dependent since they need supporting verbs. Ideophones depend on ‘dummy’ verbs and converbs depend on main verbs which carry the aspect inflections. This syntactic resemblance is motivated by morphological parallelism between ideophones and converbs. They both lack the aspect markings. Comparative illustrations are provided in (42) below.

(42) (cf. SLDDP\_004\_028, 029, 043, 046)

a) *bas-u jemakko kapp'i ʔass-t-u* [*ʔassitu*]

cat-NOM cat.ACC grab.hold do-3.SG.F-S.PRF

‘The cat grabbed the rat’

b) *beett-u min-i-ra kubb-ø-e ʔe-ø-i*

boy-NOM house-GEN-to jump-3.SG.M-CNV enter-3.SG.M-S.PRF

‘The boy jumping entered to house.’

Ideophones and converbs cannot be fully equated since they are different regarding the degree of semantic contribution they make to the predicate. In ideophone plus ‘dummy’ verb construction, the basic meaning relies on the ideophone and not on the ‘dummy’ verb. On the other hand, in converb plus main verb construction, the basic meaning of the predicate depends on the main verb and the converb is a modifying element.

Ideophones together with ‘dummy’ verb constitute a predicate of a sentence. Since ‘dummy’ verbs contribute functional information only, they do not qualify as a separate predicate but rather each time they form the predicate with ideophones. In this way, they form compound verbal ideophones which are roughly equivalent to verbs in that they serve as finite verbs being the head of the whole clause structure. A comparative

illustration is presented in (43). The verbal ideophones in (43a) and the verbs in (43b) are in bold face.

(43) (cf. SLDDP\_004\_43, 44)

a) *daraaro tarappèessu ?aana **dolli** j-t-u [jitu]*  
 D.NOM bench-ACC on lie.down.with.one's.side say-3.SG.F-S.PRF  
 'Daraaro lied on her side on the bench.'

b) *daraaro t'arappèessu ?aana **got't'u***  
 D.NOM bench-ACC on sleep-3.SG.F-S.PRF  
 'Daraaro slept on the bench.'

a) *konne tfoje wole-ho **t'ukk'i** j-tooti [jitooti]*  
 this news other-to quiet say-2.SG.NEG.IMP  
 'Do not tell this secret to anyone!'

b) *konne tfoje wole-ho **kul-tooti***  
 this news other-to tell-2.SG.NEG.IMP  
 'Do not tell this secret to another person.'

Compound verbal ideophones in converbial constructions function as manner adverbials modifying the main verb. In (44a, b), the verbal ideophone functions as manner adverbial.

(44) a) *bas-u jemakko **klapp'i** ?ass-t-e [?assite] ?amad-d-u*  
 cat-NOM rat.ACC grab.hold do-3.SG.F-CNV catch-3.SG.F-S.PRF  
 'The cat grabbed the rat.'

b) *beett-u*            *waasa takki*            *?ass-ø-e*            *?it-ø-i*  
 boy-NOM            *waasa* completely do-3.SG.M-CNV            eat-3.SG.M-S.PRF

‘The boy ate *waasa* remaining nothing.’

In Sidaama, a constituent in pre-verb position is emphasized or ‘in focus’ (Kawachi 2007: 524). Given this, the position of ideophones is in focus since exchanging the place of ideophones with another constituent changes the ‘focus’ of the constituent. Example (45) demonstrates this phenomenon.

(45)

a) *mantf-u*            *daguntfo*            *mattf’a*            ***kəpp’i***            *?ass-ø-ino*  
 man-NOM            tiger.ACC            ear            grab.hold            do-3.SG.M-P.PRF

‘The man grabbed the tiger’s ear.’

b) *mantf-u*            *daguntfo*            *kəpp’i*            ***mattf’a***            *?ass-ø-ino*  
 man-NOM            tiger.ACC            grab.hold            ear            do-3.SG.M-P.PRF

‘The man grabbed the tiger on the ear.’

In (45a), the manner in which the tiger is caught is in focus whereas in (45b), the part of the body of the tiger (i.e. ear) caught is in focus.

### **3.4 Semantics**

Semantically, ideophones in Sidaama are characterized by specific, emphasized and expressive meanings. Most importantly, they encompass non-arbitrary sound-meaning correlation which is maintained by means of onomatopoeia, and synesthesia (frequency code, expressive prosody and expressive reduplication).

Ideophones in Sidaama (of course, in other languages too) can be categorized into two broad semantic fields: perceptual and verbal ideophones. Perceptual ideophones express various perceptual meanings. The two major classes of perceptual ideophones are aural (related to hearing) and sight ideophones. The aural ideophones are onomatopoeic representation of natural sounds. The ideophones of sight express different behaviors related to light and appearance of things. In the class of sight ideophones, there is no ideophone expressing color. There are also two categories of ideophones which appeal to the sense of touch (tactile) and emotion. Ideophones of taste and odor tend to be scanty in number. The verbal ideophones concurrently express verbal meanings as well as manner, direction, and intensity of the event expressed. However, it is difficult, in some cases, to put clear cut demarcations across semantic fields.

#### **3.4.1 Perceptual Ideophones**

This semantic field includes ideophones appealing to the sense of hearing, sight, touch (tactile), emotion, taste, and odor.

##### **3.4.1.1 Aural Ideophones**

In Sidaama, aural ideophones are onomatopoeic in nature. They represent sounds produced by humans, animals, birds, insects, objects, natural environments, and sounds in actions such as in falling things, breaking things, exploding things, hitting, etc. Most of the onomatopoeic ideophones express sounds of actions.

### a) Humans

(46)

<i>ʔaakki</i>	‘preparing saliva to spit’	<i>tʃʰaʔmi</i>	‘chewing food’
<i>fussi</i>	‘give out a hissing fart’	<i>hekkʰi</i>	‘hiccup’
<i>tu</i>	‘spit’	<i>ʔuhhu</i>	‘cough’

### b) Animals

(47)

<i>ʔõõʔʔõ</i>	‘the scream of bulls’
<i>wu</i>	‘the bark of a dog’
<i>fuu</i>	‘breathing in difficulty (animals)’

### c) Birds and insects

(48) (cf. SLDD\_002\_009\_SP2)

<i>ʔaleeko</i>	‘chirp (of birds)’	<i>furru</i>	‘sound of birds flight’
<i>kaakki</i>	‘quack (of hen)’	<i>hoo</i>	‘sound of bees flocking’
<i>tʰiittʰi</i>	‘sound of mosquito’		

### d) Objects

(49)

<i>bummi</i>	‘boom (of gun)’
<i>kʰilli</i>	‘the ring of a metal object (e.g. bell)’

**e) Natural environment**

(50)

<i>t̥araddi</i>	‘the sound of thunder’
<i>ʃoo</i>	‘sound as in rain or boiling water’
<i>foo</i>	‘sound of water fall’

**f) Actions**

(51)

<i>gurtʃu</i>	‘drinking water making sound <i>gurtʃu</i> ’
<i>tʃʊrri</i>	‘flow of liquid in small amount’
<i>baattʃi</i>	‘tear with a ripping noise’
<i>faa</i>	‘flow in large amount (of water or grain)’
<i>gahha</i>	‘sound of slam’
<i>k̥aʔʔa</i>	‘short sharp noise as a stick breaks’
<i>daʔʔa</i>	‘popping sound of popcorn’
<i>doʔʔo</i>	‘imploding hollow sound’
<i>kʰorri</i>	‘sound as in knock or light hit’

### 3.4.1.2 Sight Ideophones

Sight ideophones are composed of words that express different behaviors of 'light' and appearance of things.

#### a) Light

(52)

<i>bankā</i>	'shine'	<i>bilittʼi</i>	'twinkle, dazzle, flash'
<i>billi</i>	'flash'	<i>bukki</i>	'flames blazing up'
<i>maaffi</i>	'sparkle, glitter'	<i>dimmi</i>	'sudden loss of light'

#### b) Appearance

(53)

<i>bettʼi</i>	'nasty in appearance'	<i>fe??e</i>	'flat (e.g. of nose)'
<i>hossi</i>	'straight'	<i>tɛnkɛ</i>	'bend slightly backward'
<i>fembe</i>	'suspend'	<i>furbu</i>	'hang down as straight hair'
<i>lembe</i>	'droop'	<i>wanga</i>	'spread out (of ear)'
<i>lettʼi</i>	'droop'	<i>kuruʼmi</i>	'precise'
<i>ma??a</i>	'wide open'	<i>kolossi</i>	'physical expression of discontent'
<i>kʼutʼuʼmi</i>	'being concise'	<i>kʼufuffi</i>	'dwindle in size'
<i>ʃibbi</i>	'wince'	<i>futti</i>	'wide opened eye'
<i>hāhhā</i>	'open mouth'	<i>muttʼi</i>	'having sharp edge'
<i>luppʼi</i>	'heave'	<i>tʼippʼi</i>	'wrinkling one's face'

### 3.4.1.3 Ideophones of Touch (tactile)

Ideophones of touch express perceptual meanings that we feel through the sense of touch. It refers to the texture of things and the feeling from touching something.

- (54) *labbi* 'lukewarm'  
*luupp'i* 'pliable, spongy'  
*lepp'i* 'springy'  
*k'urruttfi* 'disgusting feeling on teeth with grinding noise'

### 3.4.1.4 Ideophones of Emotion

The ideophones of emotion expresses internal feelings such as fear, pleasure, desire, discontent, etc.

- (55)
- |                 |                         |               |                         |
|-----------------|-------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| <i>be??e</i>    | 'sudden worry'          | <i>koffi</i>  | 'state of discontent'   |
| <i>k'ulli</i>   | 'recall, miss'          | <i>kalli</i>  | 'miss'                  |
| <i>kassi</i>    | 'complete satisfaction' | <i>taffi</i>  | 'feel gratification'    |
| <i>garaddzi</i> | 'sense of boredom'      | <i>woddzi</i> | 'high degree of desire' |

### 3.4.1.5 Taste and Odor Ideophones

In Sidaama, ideophones of taste and odor are rare. Only three taste ideophones, as in (56a) and one odor ideophone, as in (56b) are recorded. Such meanings are also conveyed by a related but different part of speech, interjection as in (56c).

- (56) a) Taste
- |               |                     |
|---------------|---------------------|
| <i>baldza</i> | 'tasteless, watery' |
| <i>kuffi</i>  | 'highly delicious'  |
| <i>nammi</i>  | 'taste'             |

## b) Smell

*gawwu* 'rush of air with smell'

## c) Interjection

*su* 'uttered when bad smell comes'

### 3.4.2 Verbal Ideophones

This class of ideophones is named 'verbal' since ideophones are semantically related to verbs. They express meanings that can be expressed by verbs. However, their meanings are not as simpler as verbs; rather they convey specific meanings. For instance, they represent the motion as well as direction and manner of an event.

#### 3.4.2.1 Motion of Direction and Manner

(57) (SLDDP\_002\_007\_SP1/SP2, 022\_SP2)

<i>gotti</i>	'rise up'	<i>heeffi</i>	'bend down'
<i>tfaakk'i</i>	'look back'	<i>falakk'i</i>	'turn to one's side'
<i>dolli</i>	'lie down with one's side'	<i>fitti</i>	'shiver in foot'
<i>farfa</i>	'disperse to periphery'	<i>milli</i>	'move, shake'
<i>lukki</i>	'enter quickly'	<i>hawulukki</i>	'snatch'
<i>fa??a</i>	'split into big pieces at once'	<i>lekè</i>	'movement (of teeth)'
<i>kamballi</i>	'turn back unexpectedly'	<i>k'ipp'i</i>	'call or tell with sign'
<i>feferekki</i>	'sit with limbs wide apart'		
<i>farri</i>	'stretch up (e.g. looking at the sky)'		
<i>funk'ulli</i>	'turn upside down with one's head'		

<i>hunk'uffi</i>	'bend down with ones neck in pity way'
<i>gamba</i>	'collect, come together, approach'
<i>tʃeʔe</i>	'sit on the ground in falling manner'
<i>jogoggi</i>	'slow walk in awkward manner'
<i>loko</i>	'swinging inside sth. (e.g. of foot inside shoes)'

### 3.4.2.2 Intensity of Action

(58)

<i>banni</i>	'strike'	<i>buddi</i>	'break completely'
<i>butu</i>	'break intensely'	<i>tʃoʔo</i>	'oughtright'
<i>dirgimmi</i>	'intense hit'	<i>fata</i>	'break intensely'
<i>fatt'i</i>	'complete cut off'	<i>kafa</i>	'smash'
<i>kimmi</i>	'tight kiss'	<i>fuukk'i</i>	'fall in deep sleep'
<i>kuffi</i>	'highly delicious'	<i>kittʃi</i>	'become full'
<i>wikk'i</i>	'tighten'	<i>liffi</i>	'tighten, make firm'
<i>t'illi</i>	'bash'	<i>litt'i</i>	'burst into, plunge into'
<i>t'ilikki</i>	'complete loss'		

As indicated above, the majority of verbal ideophones express narrow, intensive, and exaggerated meanings. Examples in (59a, b) imply this.

(59)	Verb	Ideophone	
a)	ʔe-	'enter'	
		<i>lukki</i>	'enter suddenly'
		<i>lummi</i>	'rush in'
		<i>litt'i</i>	'burst into, plunge into'
		<i>lut'utt'i</i>	'slip into'
b)	gan-	'hit'	
		<i>banni</i>	'strike'
		<i>kibibbi</i>	'hit one another'
		<i>k'orri</i>	'slight hit'
		<i>fatt'i</i>	'light whipping'
		<i>t'illi</i>	'bash'
		<i>tahha</i>	'slap intensely'

### 3.4.3 Sound Symbolism in Sidaama

As in many other African languages, ideophones in Sidaama maintain non-arbitrary association between sounds and meanings. Sound symbolism forms implemented in Sidaama include onomatopoeia and synesthesia.

#### 3.4.3.1 Onomatopoeia

Aural (related to hearing) ideophones in Sidaama are onomatopoeia. They directly imitate sounds produced by humans, animals, birds, insects, objects, natural environments, and sounds in actions. That is there is a direct association between the word/form and the meaning/referent (i.e. non-arbitrary association).

(60)	<i>hekk'i</i>	'hiccup'
	<i>wu</i>	'the bark of dog'
	<i>hoo</i>	'sound of bees flocking'
	<i>k'illi</i>	'the ring of a metal object'
	<i>k'a??a</i>	'short sharp noise as a stick breaks'
	<i>gurtf'u</i>	'drinking water making sound <i>gurtf'u</i> '

### 3.4.3.2 Synesthesia

As we shall see in the sections below, in Sidaama ideophones, the association of sounds with non-auditory meanings (non-onomatopoeic meanings) is maintained by altering 'frequency code', expressive prosody, and expressive reduplication (Ohala, 1994: 335). Nevertheless, altering 'frequency code' also specifies the degree of loudness and sharpness of a sound.

#### 3.4.3.2.1 Frequency Code

In Sidaama, altering 'frequency code' results to the correlation between high acoustic frequency phonemes (sounds with energy at higher frequencies) and small; low acoustic frequency phonemes (sounds with energy at lower frequencies) and large. However, in Sidaama, the aforesaid frequency code operates in words which have vowels and consonants belonging to the same frequency code (either high frequency code or low frequency code), not mixed. Otherwise, altering frequency code between high and low expresses irregular notions which concurrently include meanings related to both large and small.

##### a. Front Vowels and Consonants of Higher Acoustic Frequency

In Sidaama, the front vowels are /i, e/ and consonants belonging to higher acoustic frequency include /p', t, t', k, k', tʃ, tʃ', f, s, ʃ, h, w, n, r, l/. In Sidaama ideophones, in agreement with the frequency code, front vowels and consonants with high acoustic frequency are associated with smallness, lightness, sharpness, high intensity, and fast speed. Below are some examples.

(61)

<i>kiffi</i>	'small rain'	<i>lett'i</i>	'hang loosely'
<i>lenkè</i>	'limp, lack strength'	<i>tʃ'ipp'i</i>	'drip (of urine)'
<i>lekè</i>	'slight move (of teeth)'	<i>tʃ'irrikk'i</i>	'spurt'
<i>helekk'i</i>	'slight shut (of door)'	<i>lipp'i</i>	'blink'
<i>leeʃfi</i>	'become dusk'	<i>k'illi</i>	'clink'
<i>kiriʔmi</i>	'precise, concise'	<i>t'ilikki</i>	'completely, intensely'
<i>kimmi</i>	'tight kiss'	<i>wikk'i</i>	'tightly, fasten'
<i>witti</i>	'be in hurry'		

#### b. Back Vowels and Consonants with Lower Acoustic Frequency

The two back vowels in Sidaama are (*u*, *o*). The low central vowel (*a*) is also categorized in this group. The consonants with low acoustic frequency include /*b*, *d*, *d*, *g*, *ʔ*, *dʒ*, *b*, *p*, *m*/. Onomatopoeic ideophones with the preceding sounds are correlated with non-sharp loud noises such as imploding, exploding, hollow, popping, and rumbling loud noise. In non-onomatopoeic ideophones, they are related to notions such as nasty, inactive, wide, and aimless. The examples in (62a) and in (62b) are onomatopoeic and non-onomatopoeic ideophones with low acoustic frequency respectively.

(62)

a) <i>dʊʔʔo</i>	'loud hollow noise'	<i>bōōʔʔō</i>	'useless talk (loud)'
<i>buʔʔu</i>	'sound from hitting sth.'	<i>ʔōōʔʔō</i>	'rumble of bulls'
<i>daʔʔa</i>	'popping sound'	<i>hadaddi</i>	'cracking sound'
<i>gaʔʔa</i>	'sound of slam'	<i>bummi</i>	'boom (of gun)'

b) <i>baldza</i>	'watery'	<i>garaddzi</i>	'sense of boredom'
<i>dzaammi</i>	'roam around'	<i>dzalli</i>	'lose sensation, dull'
<i>wanga</i>	'spread out (of ear)'	<i>woddzi</i>	'high desire (of food)'
<i>jogoggi</i>	'slow awkward walk'		

Unlike words with higher frequency code, words those with lower frequency code are small in number. The majority of phonemes with lower frequency code tend to occur with phonemes in higher frequency code which results the irregular frequency code in a word encompassing both notions related to small and large. However, their semantic iconicity (the notion of large, heavy, and dull) can still be explicitly observed.

In some cases, there are iconic correlations between meaning and the phonetic nature of phonemes. For instance, alveolar trill geminate /rr/ evokes reverberation (63a), the alveo-palatal fricative /ʃ/ crushing sound (63b), the alveo-palatal affricate /dʒ/ dull notions (63c), and the alveo-palatal nasal /ɲ/ oral activities (63d).

(63) a) *furru* 'fly flapping wings'

*gurru* 'flock in mass'

*barri* 'shiver'

*hurruggi* 'fasten rope (with vibrating sensation on hand)'

b) *kafa* 'smash'

*kaffi* 'walking on dry leaves'

*kooffi* 'milking into pot'

*kuffummi* 'crush'

c) *dzalli* 'dull'

*keleddzi* 'feel tired'

*garaddzi* 'boredom'

*baldza* 'watery'

<i>dzaammi</i>	‘wander around’
d) <i>hiŋni</i>	‘uncover teeth’
<i>nerri</i>	‘nag’
<i>ɲammi</i>	‘taste’

### 3.4.3.2.2 Expressive Prosody

In Sidaama ideophones, the length of vowels is highly sound-symbolic in that it evokes the prolongation and intensity of an event.

#### 3.4.3.2.2.1 Length of Vowels

In Sidaama, length of vowels in ideophones expresses the extension, duration and intensity of an event (64a, b). In ideophones expressing texture, the length of vowels evokes the spongy or springy texture (64c).

(64)

#### a) Aural ideophones

<i>bōō??ō</i>	‘long scream of cow’
<i>faa</i>	‘long sound when sth. flows in large amount’
<i>fuu</i>	‘a long sigh’
<i>haa</i>	‘sound from sth. flowing in large amount’
<i>?ōō??ō</i>	‘scream of bulls’
<i>k’uukk’i</i>	‘long sharp noise of fart’
<i>ʃoo</i>	‘sound of rain’
<i>t’eett’i</i>	‘long reverberating sound of fart’
<i>kooffi</i>	‘sound as in milking into pot’

## b) Ideophones expressing intensity and duration

<i>baattʃi</i>	‘tear in length with a ripping noise’
<i>baaddzi</i>	‘wander around (many places)’
<i>tʃaakkʻi</i>	‘look back (from distance)’
<i>fuukkʻi</i>	‘deep sleep’
<i>haaffi</i>	‘rise/lift up quickly’
<i>kʻuuttʻi</i>	‘accomplishing something using the last power or resource’
<i>ʃaattʻi</i>	‘slice with sharp knife’
<i>joobbi</i>	‘trickle saliva’ (SLDDP_004_029)

## c) Ideophones of texture

<i>leppʻi</i>	‘springy’
<i>ʃeppʻi</i>	‘move steadily up and down (repeatedly)’
<i>luuppʻi</i>	‘pliable, spongy (e.g. fruit)’

### 3.4.3.2.2 Extra Vowel Length and Continuously Rising Pitch

As we have seen in section 3.1.2, vowels in ideophones can be lengthened beyond the ordinary long vowels in the language. Extra-long vowels usually accompanied by continuously rising pitch express an extra extension of an event.

(65) <i>báá::ttʻi</i>	‘tear in very long length with long ripping noise’
<i>tʻúú::ttʻi</i>	‘sharp very long fart’
<i>bóó::??õ</i>	‘long scream of bull’
<i>fáá::</i>	‘flow of sth. for a long time’

*ʃáá:* 'prolonged sound of rain'

Notice that the prolongation degree expressed by long vowels and extra-long vowels differ in that the latter one expresses more prolonged event than the former one.

### 3.4.3.2.3 Expressive Reduplication

As we have seen in the previous sections, reduplication is highly productive in Sidaama ideophones. It is highly iconic representing repetition, and prolongation an event. There is correlation between the number of repetition of the stem or part of it and the degree of repetition and continuity of an event. When the number of reduplicated stem or part of stem increases, the number of repetition and continuity level also increases. Examples of expressive reduplication are provided as follows.

(66)

- |                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| a) <i>tʃ'opp'i tʃ'opp'i</i> | 'drip continuously'                            |
| <i>gurtʃ'u gurtʃ'u</i>      | 'repeated sound of drinking'                   |
| <i>bilittʃ'i bilittʃ'i</i>  | 'repeated flash of light'                      |
| <i>hossi hossi</i>          | 'several straight things'                      |
| <i>be??e be??e</i>          | 'continuous throbbing of heart'                |
| <i>farri farri</i>          | 'stretch up again and again'                   |
| <i>kafa kafa</i>            | 'smash repeatedly'                             |
| b) <i>da-da-da-??a</i>      | 'repeated popping sound'                       |
| <i>ha-tà-tà-tà-ttì</i>      | 'repeated sound produced when stretching rope' |
| <i>kà-kà-kà-??a</i>         | 'continuous snap'                              |

As can be seen, fully reduplicated ideophones in (66a) express repetition or continuity of events as well as attributes possessed by several things. Likely, partially reduplicated ideophones in (66b) represent repeated or continuous production of sounds.

Furthermore, the time gap between repeated events can be expressed by varying the rate of speech. When ideophones are reduplicated with faster rate in utterance, they expresses the event taking place quickly one after another while repeating them with slow rate represents the event happening slowly or relatively with wider time gap. For

instance, if an ideophone *tʃopp'i* 'drip' is uttered repeatedly with fast rate, it evokes the liquid dripping quickly but if uttered repeatedly with slow rate, it represents that the liquid is dripping with a relatively wider time gap.

### 3.4.4 Cross Linguistic Similarity of Ideophones

Across languages, similarity is widely observed in ideophones. Perhaps, the resemblance might be due to sound symbolic nature of ideophones and, in some cases, due to language contact and genetic commonality. Some Sidaama ideophones resemble ideophones in Oromo (Cushitic) and Amharic (Semitic) as in (67).

(67)	Sidaama	Oromo	Amharic	
	<i>k'ililli</i>	<i>k'il</i>	<i>k'itʃill</i> <sup>32</sup>	'clink'
	<i>kimbilli</i>	<i>kimbil</i>	<i>kimbill</i>	'flow turning the upside down'
	<i>tʃaʔlamaddi</i>	<i>tʃal</i>	_____	'state of being calm or dark'
	<i>kaffi</i>	<i>koff</i>	<i>koff</i>	'crushing sound'
	<i>hāhhā</i>	<i>haa</i>	<i>haa</i>	'opening mouth'
	<i>ʔaakki</i>	<i>ʔaakk</i>	<i>ʔakk</i>	'preparing saliva to spit'
	<i>tu</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>ʔintiff</i>	'spit'
	<i>hekk'i</i>	<i>hirk'</i>	<i>sikk'</i>	'hiccup'
	<i>kafa</i>	<i>kaff</i>	<i>kiskiss</i>	'smash'
	<i>billittʃi</i>	<i>bill</i>	<i>billittʃ</i>	'flash of light'

As can be seen above, most of the ideophones are onomatopoeic representing natural sounds.

<sup>32</sup> In Amharic data, /i/ represents the sixth order vowel.

Syntactic similarity of ideophones across languages is also observed. For instance, mostly ideophones in Sidaama (Cushitic), Amharic (Semitic) and Wolayitta (Omotic) obligatorily co-occur with the ‘dummy’ verbs as in (68a, b, c).

(68) a) Sidaama

Intransitive		Transitive	
<i>ʃootti</i>	<i>j-</i>	<i>ʃootti</i>	<i>ʔass-</i>
stand.up.ubruptly	say-	stand.up.ubruptly	do-
‘to stand up abruptly’		‘to lift sth./sb. quickly’	

b) Amharic

Intransitive		Transitive	
<i>bidigg</i>	<i>ʔal-</i>	<i>bidigg</i>	<i>ʔadərrəg-</i>
stand.up.ubruptly	say-	stand.up.ubruptly	do-
‘to stand up abruptly’		‘to lift sth./sb. quickly’	

c) Wolayitta (Azeb 2001b: 53)

Intransitive		Transitive	
<i>ʃóttu</i>	<i>g-</i>	<i>ʃóttu</i>	<i>ʔoott-</i>
stand.up.ubruptly	say-	stand.up.ubruptly	do-
‘to stand up abruptly’		‘to lift sth./sb. quickly’	

As can be seen above, ideophones in the three languages (perhaps in other Ethiopian languages too) have syntactic collocational restrictions. They occur with the ‘dummy’ verbs of ‘say’ (intransitive) and ‘do’ (transitive) senses.

## Chapter Four

### Conclusion

To set the framework for examining ideophones in Sidaama, the thesis starts with the theoretical review of ideophones. Definitions provided to ideophones by different scholars have been surveyed. Universal as well as language-specific phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic features have been reviewed.

Sidaama ideophones display peculiar phonology and morphology compared to the other open class words. They exhibit unique phonemic features that are less common in the other word categories. Mostly they terminate with the vowel /i/ which is less common in the other words. They lack some clusters that are present in the other words. Furthermore, extra-long syllables are observed in ideophones which is not common in the other word categories. Ideophones undergo very few morphophonemic processes identified in the language; however they have their own processes such as vowel harmony and sound alteration.

Morphologically, Sidaama ideophones take little inflectional affixes. However, they are productive in word formation. Nouns, verbs, adjectives, compound and verbal ideophones can be derived from ideophones via suffixation, compounding and reduplication. Reduplication is highly productive in ideophones playing both expressive and derivational roles.

Syntactically, ideophones are collocationally restricted; they must co-occur with 'dummy' verbs. The verbs, in ideophonic context, do not contribute to meaning. The meaning of the ideophone is borne by the ideophonic constituent and not by the 'dummy' (auxiliary) verb. The auxiliary verbs are limited to providing grammatical functions by undergoing inflection. It is attested that morphosyntactically ideophones resemble converbs in that they are dependent on the supporting verbs. Sidaama ideophones are focused (emphasized) in a sentence occurring in a preverbal position.

Sidaama ideophones feature specific, emphasized, and expressive semantics. From the way they display sound-meaning association, most Sidaama ideophones are synesthetic expressed through frequency code, expressive prosody, and expressive reduplication. There are, of course, onomatopoeic ideophones in the language.

Given morphophonemic, syntactic and semantic peculiarities exhibited by Sidaama ideophones, one can argue that they seem to constitute an independent open category by themselves.

Alongside examining ideophones in Sidaama, a fifteen minute annotation involving transcription, interlinearization, and translation have been produced and are available in CD accompanying this thesis. Of the annotation, two texts are appended to this thesis. The items of the texts are cross referenced with the descriptions in chapter three.

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## Appendix

### Text 1: Riddles (cf. SLDDP\_002)

N.B in the riddles below, ideophones are indicated by bold face.

SLDDP\_002\_001\_SP1

*hibbo*

riddle

“Riddle!”

SLDDP\_002\_001\_SP2

*hibbibi*

go.ahead

“Go ahead!”

SLDDP\_002\_002\_SP1

*kawa*

*kamballi*

*kambaata*

*walli*

toward.here

turn.to.one's.side

name.of.place

wave.back.and.forth

“A thing that turns toward one's position and waves.”

SLDDP\_002\_002\_SP2

*?omoltfo* = *ho*

flat.bread = NPC.M.PRED

“It is *?omoltfo*<sup>32</sup>”

SLDDP\_002\_003\_SP1

*?af-i-tt-o*

know-S.PRF-2.SG-M

“You got it!”

---

<sup>32</sup>*?omoltfo* is flat bread prepared from *waasa*, flour from false banana.

SLDDP\_002\_003\_SP2

*hibbo*

riddle

“Riddle!”

SLDDP\_002\_004\_SP1

*hibbibi*

go.ahead

“Go ahead!”

SLDDP\_002\_004\_SP2

*kaʔʔa          kafiltʃo    ʔofolla    dikillitʃo*

toward.there   ember   sit   coal

“A black thing that is red on its head.”

SLDDP\_002\_005\_SP1

*wollimma = te*

black.bird.red.on.its.head = NPC.F.PRED

“A black bird which is red on its head.”

SLDDP\_002\_005-SP2

*ʔaf-i-tt-o*

know-S.PRF-2.SG-M

“You got it!”

SLDDP\_002\_006\_SP1

*hibbo*

riddle

“Riddle!”

SLDDP\_002\_006-SP2

*hibbibi*

riddle

“Riddle!”

SLDDP\_002\_007\_SP1

*waj haʔr-a-nna dartf-u milli j-ø-anno*  
water go-INF-while leaf-NOM move say-3.SG.M-IMPF  
“While the water is flowing, the leaf moves.”

SLDDP\_002\_007-SP2

*wod-duwa kʔnt-a-anna farr-u milli j-ø-anno*  
calf-PL suck-INF-while tail-NOM move say-3.SG.M-IMPF  
“While calves are feeding breast, their tail moves.”

SLDDP\_002\_008\_SP1

*ʔaf-i-tt-o*  
know-S.PRF-2.SG-M  
“You got it!”

SLDDP\_002\_008-SP2

*hibbo*  
riddle  
“Riddle!”

SLDDP\_002\_009\_SP1

*hibbibi*  
go.ahead  
“Go ahead!”

SLDDP\_002\_009\_SP2

*ʔaleeko ʔaleeko j-ø-anno tʃeʔittfi ʔale hige dod-ø-anno*  
chirp chirp say-3.SG.M-IMPF bird top toward run-3.SG.M-IMPF  
“A bird that chirps *ʔaleeko ʔaleeko* flies upward.”

SLDDP\_002\_010\_SP1

*mine = ho*  
house = NPC.M.PRED  
“It is house.”

SLDDP\_002\_010-SP2

*hi?noonti*

no

“No, it is not.”

SLDDP\_002\_011\_SP1

*waa = ho*

water = NPC.M.PRED

“It is water.”

SLDDP\_002\_011-SP2

*hi?noonti*

no

“No, it is not.”

SLDDP\_002\_012\_SP1

*tʃufana = ho*

door = NPC.M.PRED

“It is door.”

SLDDP\_002\_012-SP2

*?af-i-tt-o*

know-S.PRF-3.SG-M

“You got it”

SLDDP\_002\_013-SP2

*hibbo*

riddle

“Riddle!”

SLDDP\_002\_013\_SP1

*hibbi*

go.ahead

“Go ahead!”

SLDDP\_002\_014-SP2

*ku??u ha?-no j-ø-anno ku??u gal-lo j-ø-ano*  
that go-1.PL.IMP say-3.SG.M-IMPF that spend.night-IMP.1.PL say-3.SG.M-IMPF

“One says let us go, the other says let us spend the night here.”

SLDDP\_002\_014\_SP1

*manna=ho*  
people = NPC.M.PRED  
“It is people.”

SLDDP\_002\_015-SP2

*hi?noonti*  
no  
“No, it is not.”

SLDDP\_002\_015\_SP1

*makiina=ho*  
car = NPC.M.PRED  
“It is car.”

SLDDP\_002\_016-SP2

*hi?noonti*  
no  
“No, it is not.”

SLDDP\_002\_016\_SP1

*faafa=ho-nna waa=ho*  
sand = NPC.M.PRED-and water = NPC.M.PRED  
“It is sand and water.”

SLDDP\_002\_017-SP2

*?af-i-tt-o*  
know-S.PRF-3.SG-M  
“You got it.”

SLDDP\_002\_017\_SP1

*hibbo*

riddle

“Riddle!”

SLDDP\_002\_018-SP2

*hibbibi*

go.ahead

‘Go ahead!’

SLDDP\_002\_018\_SP1

*wa-j haʔr-a-nna dartf-u milli j-ø-anno*

water-NOM go-INF-while leaf-NOM move say-3.SG.M-IMP

“While the water is flowing, the leave moves.”

SLDDP\_002\_019-SP2

*wod-dā kʰan-t-a-nna farr-u milli j-ø-anno*

calf-PL suck-3.PL-INF-while tail-NOM move say-3.SG.M-IMP

“while the calfs are feeding breast, their tail moves.”

SLDDP\_002\_019\_SP1

*hiʔoonti*

no

“No, it is not.”

SLDDP\_002\_020\_SP2

*ʔag-i soʔittfo*

drink-IMP.2.SG anthelmintic.medicine

“Drink anthelmintic medicine.”

SLDDP\_002\_020\_SP1

*godowa-ʔja seekk-i-ʔr-e*

stomach-1.SG prepare-EP-1.SG.MID-CNV

“After I cured my stomach,”

SLDDP\_002\_021\_SP1

*woraam-u haʔr-a-nna hull-u milli j-ø-anno*  
bull-NOM go-INF-while hump-NOM move say-3.SG.M-IMPF  
“While the bull is walking, his hump moves.”

SLDDP\_002\_021\_SP2

*hibbo*  
riddle  
“Riddle!”

SLDDP\_002\_022\_SP1

*hibbibi*  
go.ahead  
“Go ahead!”

SLDDP\_002\_022\_SP2

*ʔati-nna ʔani haʔ-n-a-nna ʔate maj tʃaakki tʃaakki ʔass-ø-anno-he*  
you-and I go-1.PL-INF-while you what look.back look.back do-2.SG.M-IMPF-  
CMPL  
“While you and I are going, why do you look backward now and then?”

SLDDP\_002\_023\_SP1

*midaano = te*  
pot = NPC.F.PRED  
“It is pot.”

SLDDP\_002\_023\_SP2

*hiʔnoonti*  
no  
“No, it is not.”

SLDDP\_002\_024\_SP1

*waa = ho*  
water = NPC.M.PRED  
“It is water.”

SLDDP\_002\_024\_SP2

*hi?noonti*

no

“No, it is not.”

SLDDP\_002\_025\_SP1

*battʔe = ho*

broken.pieces.of.clay.object = NPC.M.PRED

“It is broken pieces of clay object.”

SLDDP\_002\_025\_SP2

*hi?noonti*

no

“No, it is not.”

SLDDP\_002\_026\_SP1

*klutuma = ho*

stirer = NPC.M.PRED

“It is a wooden stick used to stir.”

SLDDP\_002\_026\_SP2

*hi?noonti*

no

“No, it is not.”

SLDDP\_002\_027\_SP1

*?ag-i                    so?ittʔo*

drink-IMP.2.SG    anthelmintic.medicine

“Drink anthelmintic medicine.”

SLDDP\_002\_027\_SP2

*?ag-u-mm-o                    so?ittʔo*

drink-S.PRF-1.SG-M    anthelmintic.medicine

“I drunk the anthelmintic medicine.”

SLDDP\_002\_028\_SP2

*godowa-ʔja*

*seekk-i-ʔr-e*

stomach-1.SG.POSS prepare-EP-1.SG.MID-CNV

“I cured my stomach.”

SLDDP\_002\_028\_SP2

*mantf-u*

*haʔr-a-rna*

*hamattó milli*

*j-i-t-anno*

man-NOM go-INF-while spear move say-EP-3.SG.F-IMPF

“While the man is walking, the spear on his shoulder limber up and down.”

SLDDP\_002\_029\_SP1

*hū:*

EXCL

“Interjection of sadness!”

SLDDP\_002\_029\_SP2

*hibbo*

riddle

“Riddle!”

SLDDP\_002\_030\_SP1

*hibibbi*

go.ahead

“Go ahead!”

SLDDP\_002\_030\_SP2

*hibbo-te*

riddle-GEN.F

“In the riddle,”

SLDDP\_002\_031\_SP1

*hibbo-te*

riddle-GEN.F

'In the riddle,'

SLDDP\_002\_031\_SP2

*sure*                      *sul-t-e*                      *tinne*                      *sakki*  
sharp.instrument    pass.through-3.SG.F-CNV    teared.area    finish  
“A sharp instrument passed through something and finished it.”

SLDDP\_002\_032\_SP1

*?ihũ:*  
EXCL  
“Interjection of comprehension!”

SLDDP\_002\_032\_SP1

*marfittfo = te*  
needle = NPC.F.PRED  
“It is needle.”

SLDDP\_002\_033\_SP2

*?af-i-tt-o*  
know-S.PRF-2.SG-M  
“You got it.”

SLDDP\_002\_033\_SP1

*hibbo*  
riddle  
“Riddle!”

SLDDP\_002\_034\_SP2

*hibbibbi*  
go.ahead  
“Go ahead!”

SLDDP\_002\_034\_SP1

*harbee*              *faraff-i*              *haamba*              *karfa*              *?ass-ø-anno*  
name.of.place    horse-NOM    bubble(N)    bubble    do-3.SG.M -IMPF  
“The horse from *harbee* bubbles saliva.”

SLDDP\_002\_035-SP2

*daamma = ho*

grinder.stone = NPC.M.PRED

“A stone used to grind grain.”

SLDDP\_002\_035\_SP1

*?af-i-tt-o*

know-S.PRF-3.SG-M

“You got it!”

SLDDP\_002\_036-SP2

*hibbo*

riddle

“Riddle!”

SLDDP\_002\_036\_SP1

*hibibbi*

go.ahead

“Go ahead!”

SLDDP\_002\_037-SP2

*had-d-a-nni*

*had-d-a-nni*

*mar-t-e*

*?umo*

*darf-i*

go-2.SG-INF-while

go-1.SG-INF-while

go-2.SG-CNV

head

swell-2.SG.IMP

“After you travel a long journey, get your head swollen.”

SLDDP\_002\_037\_SP1

*?okkote*

EXCL

“Interjection of astonishment!”

SLDDP\_002\_038\_SP2

*kòl-i*

*woj*

*daga*

*?uj-i-?e*

turn-2.SG.IMP

or

nation

give-2.SG.IMP-1.SG

“Answer the riddle! Otherwise give me a nation.”

SLDDP\_002\_038\_SP1

*mannna = ho*

people = NPC.M.PRED

“It is people.”

SLDDP\_002\_039\_SP2

*hi?noonti*

no

“No, it is not.”

SLDDP\_002\_039\_SP1

*dzaddza = ho*

property = NPC.M.PRED

“It is property.”

SLDDP\_002\_040\_SP2

*hi?noonti*

no

“No, it is not.”

SLDDP\_002\_040\_SP1

*dzaddza = ho*

property = NPC.M.PRED

“It is property.”

SLDDP\_002\_041\_SP2

*dzaddz-u-nku*

property-NOM-EMP.NOM

“Specifically name the property.”

SLDDP\_002\_041\_SP1

*baakkula = ho*

pumpkin = NPC.M.PRED

“It is pumpkin.”

SLDDP\_002\_042\_SP2

*ʔaf-i-tt-o*

know-S.PRF-2.SG-M

“You got it!”

SLDDP\_002\_042\_SP2

*hibbo*

riddle

“Riddle!”

SLDDP\_002\_043\_SP1

*hibbibi*

go.ahead

“Go ahead!”

SLDDP\_002\_043\_SP2

*hibbo-te*

hibbo-GEN.F

“In the riddle,”

SLDDP\_002\_044\_SP1

*hibbo-te*

riddle-GEN.F

“In the riddle,”

SLDDP\_002\_044\_SP2

*hibbo-te*

riddle-GEN.F

“In the riddle,”

SLDDP\_002\_045\_SP2

*kuttʃe kubb-ø-e*                      *ʔanna tilli*

son    jump-3.SG.M-CNV    father    hit.intensely

“The son hit his father intensely.”

SLDDP\_002\_046\_SP1

*hakkana ?ane*

EXCL me

“Interjection!”

SLDDP\_002\_046\_SP1

*manna = ho*

people = NPC.M.PRED

“It is people.”

SLDDP\_002\_047\_SP2

*hi?noonti*

no

“No, it is not.”

SLDDP\_002\_047\_SP1

*saada = te*

cattle = NPC.M.PRED

“It is cattle.”

SLDDP\_002\_048\_SP2

*hi?noonti*

no

“No, it's not.”

SLDDP\_002\_048\_SP1

*waa = ho*

water = NPC.M.PRED

“It is water.”

SLDDP\_002\_049\_SP2

*hi?noonti*

no

“No, it is not.”

SLDDP\_002\_049\_SP1

*?udulumi-hakká = ti*

mortar- wood = NPC.M.PRED

“It is pestle.”

SLDDP\_002\_050\_SP2

*?af-i-tt-o*

know-S.PRF-2.SG-M

“You got it!”

SLDDP\_002\_050\_SP2

*?af-i-tt-o*

know-S.PRF-2.SG-M

“You got it!”

Text2: A story of *Kiniinaama*<sup>33</sup> (cf. SLDDP\_004)

SLDDP\_004\_001

*kiniine-ama = ti*

personal.name-mother = NPC.F.PRED

“There was a women called *Kiniinaama*.”

SLDDP\_004\_002

*kintf-u mine ?afid-d-ino*

stone-NOM house own-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“She own a stone hewn home.”

SLDDP\_004\_003

*kinine-ama j-ø-ino*

personal.name-mother say-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“*?aabbo* adressed her *Kiniinaama*.”

SLDDP\_004\_004

*jee j-i-t-ino*

yes say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“She replied ‘yes!’.”

SLDDP\_004\_005

*?ati mama hos-a-tt-a j-ø-ino*

you where spend.day.time-IMPF-2.SG-F say-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“He asked Where she spends the day time.”

SLDDP\_004\_006

*badala-te fiifi-ra j-i-t-ino*

corn-GEN.F yard-LOC say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“She replied ‘I spend in the corn yard’.”

---

<sup>33</sup> *Kiniinaama* is a feminine character of the story. It is a compound personal name made of *kiniine* ‘masculine personal name’ and *?ama* ‘mother’. Together they form the compound name *kiniine-?ama* ‘*kiniine*’s mother’.

SLDDP\_004\_007

*deeʔni-na kul-i-ʔe j-ø-ino*  
no-CMPL tell-2.SG.IMP-1.SG say-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“For it is not true, tell me a truth’ he said.”

SLDDP\_004\_008

*kʰamade-te fiʃfi-ra j-i-t-ino*  
wheat-GEN.F yard-GEN.M-LOC.M say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“I spend in the wheat yard’ she replied.”

SLDDP\_004\_009

*deeʔni-na kul-i-ʔe j-ø-ino*  
no-CMPL tell-2.SG.IMP-1.SG say-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“No, you are lying, tell me honestly’ he said.”

SLDDP\_004\_010

*hajtʰ-u fiʃfi-ra j-i-t-ino*  
barley-NOM yard-LOC.M say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“I spend in the barley yard’ she replied.”

SLDDP\_004\_011

*deeʔni-na kul-i-ʔe j-ø-ino*  
no-CMPL tell-2.SG.IMP-1.SG say-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“Still you are lying and tell me the truth’ he said.”

SLDDP\_004\_012

*gardaam-u fiʃfi-ra j-i-t-ino*  
oat-NOM yard-LOC.M say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“I spend in the oat yard’ she replied.”

SLDDP\_004\_013

*mar-ø-ino*  
go-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“He went.”

SLDDP\_004\_014

*?af-ø-ino*

know-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“He found her.”

SLDDP\_004\_015

*mar-ø-e*

*kinine-ama*

*j-ø-ino*

go-3.SG.M-CNV

personal.name-mother

say-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“He went and adressed her, *Kiniinaama*.”

SLDDP\_004\_016

*mini-kki*

*ma*

*j-i-n-ee-rna*

*fa?n-am-anno*

*j-ø-ino*

house-2.SG.POSS

what

say-EP-1.PL-CNV-and

open.MID-PASS-IMPF

say-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“‘What one must say to make your house door open?’ he asked.”

SLDDP\_004\_017

*kibboo*

*kibibbi*

*j-i-n-ee-rna*

*fa?n-am-anno*

*j-i-t-ino*

door

hit.together

say-EP-1.PL-CNV-and

open-PASS-IMPF

say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“‘One must say *kibboo kibibbi* ‘be closed’ (lit. door hit together)’ she replied.”

SLDDP\_004\_018

*dee?ni-na*

*kul-i-?e*

*j-ø-ino*

no-CMPL

tell-2.SG.IMP-1.SG

say-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“‘No, you are deceiving me, tell me a truth.’ he said.”

SLDDP\_004\_019

*t'a = no*

*kibboo*

*kibibbi*

*j-i-n-ee-rna*

now = also

door

hit.together

say-EP-1.PL-CNV-and

*fa?n-am-anno*

*j-i-t-ino*

open.MID-PASS-IMPF

say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“‘Again she replied ‘One must say *kibboo kibibbi* ‘door be closed’.”

SLDDP\_004\_020

*deeʔni-na kul-i-ʔe j-ø-ino*  
no-CMPL tel-2.SG.IMP-1.SG say-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“No, you are lying, and tell me.’ he said.”

SLDDP\_004\_021

*faggo fagaggi j-i-n-ee-nna faʔn-am-anno j-i-t-ino*  
door smile say-EP-1.PL-CNV-and open.MID-PASS-IMPF say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“One must utter *faggo fagaggi* ‘door be open’ she told him.”

SLDDP\_004\_022

*mar-ø-ino*  
go-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“He went to her home.”

SLDDP\_004\_023

*faggo fagaggi j-ø-ino*  
door smile say-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“He uttered *faggo fagaggi* ‘door be open’.”

SLDDP\_004\_024

*j-ee-nna faʔn-am-ino*  
say-CNV-and open.MID-PASS-P.PRF

“The door opened.”

SLDDP\_004\_025

*ʔeʔ-ø-ino*  
enter-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“He entered.”

SLDDP\_004\_026

*ʔeʔ-ø-e kaʔ-ø-e kʰaatʰ-u ʔaana ʔofoll-ø-ino*  
enter-3.SG.M-CNV raise.up-3.SG.M-CNV loft-NOM top sit-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“After he entered home, he sat down on the loft.”

## SLDDP\_004\_027

*ʔofoll-ø-e*                    *heeʔr-ø-e-nna*                    *gereewo*    *ʔadd-i-t-e*  
 sit-3.SG.M-CNV            present-3.SG.M-CNV-while    sheep.PL    take-EP-3.SG.F-CNV  
*mini-ra*    *dag-g-ino*  
 house-to    come-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“While he was sitting on the loft, she came home with her sheeps.”

## SLDDP\_004\_028

*mine*    *gereewo*    *hadiri-ra*    *kbʔl-i-t-e*                    *giira*    *faʔn-i-t-ino*  
 house    sheep.PL    barn-to            return.MID-EP-3.SG.F-CNV    fire    open.MID-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“After she entered the sheeps to the barn, she set fire.”

## SLDDP\_004\_029

*faʔn-i-t-a-nni*                    *heed-d-e-nna*                    *gororo*    *joobbi*    *ʔass-ø-ino*  
 open.MID-EP-3.SG.F-INF-while    present-3.SG.F-CNV-and    saliva    trickle    do-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“While she was setting fire, he trinkled down saliva on her.”

## SLDDP\_004\_030

*hīʔʔi*    *hīʔʔi*    *kuni*    *ʔaabbo-ʔoo-ʔja*                    *foole*  
 EXCL    EXCL    this    personal.name-HNR-1.SG.POSS    odor  
*j-ø-anno-ʔe = nso*                    *j-i-t-ino*  
 say-3.SG.M-IMP-1.SG = or    say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“Oh! this must be the *ʔaabbo*’s smell’ she said.”

## SLDDP\_004\_031

*hakki-nni*    *ʔaabbo-ʔja*                    *foole*    *j-ø-anno-ʔe = nso*                    *j-i-t-ino*  
 there-from    father(HNR)-1.SG.POSS    odor    say-3.SG.M-IMP-1.SG = or    say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“After that she said, ‘Is this my *ʔaabbo*’s smell?’”

## SLDDP\_004\_032

*kiniine-ama*                    *j-ø-ino*  
 personal.name-mother    say-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“He called her name, *Kiniinaama*.”

SLDDP\_004\_033

*jee j-i-t-ino*

say say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“She replied, ‘yes!’”

SLDDP\_004\_034

*?ate ?aana = nso wobbo-kki ?aana wobbi j-ø-o j-ø-ino*

you top = or sheep.M-2.SG.POSS top jump.onto say-3.SG.M-OPT say-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“‘Shall I jump on you or your sheep.M?’ he asked.”

SLDDP\_004\_035

*wobbo-?ja woká?-ø-o ?isi-na wobbo-?ja ?aana wobbi*

sheep.M-1.SG.POSS die.suddenly-3.SG.M-OPT he-and sheep.M-1.SG.POSS top jump.onto

*j-ø-i j-i-t-ino*

say-3.SG.M-2.SG.IMP say-EP.3.SG.F-IMP

“‘Jump on my sheep.M (lit. let my sheep die sudden death, jump on him)’ she replied.”

SLDDP\_004\_036

*gotfo gorr-ø-ino*

sheep.M slaughter-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“He jumped on the sheep and killed it.”

SLDDP\_004\_037

*gorr-ø-ee-nna gorr-i-?n-u-mmo = lla-na wa-i mine*

slaughter-3.SG.M-CNV-and slaughter-EP-MID-S.PRF-1.PL = EMPH-and water-NOM house

*dino-nke j-i-t-ino*

there.is.not-1.PL.POSS say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“After he killed the sheep, she said ‘we don’t have water at home’.”

SLDDP\_004\_038

*waa-ho ha?r-ø-ino lam-u-nku*

water-for go-3.PL-P.PRF two-NOM-EMPH

“They went to fetch water.”

SLDDP\_004\_039

*wai-wi-nni kintfo haad-d-e dag-g-ino*  
water-place-from stone take-3.SG.F-CNV come-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“From the place they fetched water, she bring a stone.”

SLDDP\_004\_040

*kintfo haad-d-e ?ani loos-ee-mm-a-na ?ati got'i j-i-t-ino*  
stone take-3.SG.F-CNV I work-IMP-1.SG.F-and you sleep-2.SG.IMP say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“Telling him that she will cook the meat, she ordered him to sleep.”

SLDDP\_004\_041

*got'ø-ee-nna*  
sleep-3.SG.M-CNV-and

“In the mean time while he is sleeping,”

SLDDP\_004\_042

*tboom-u tfofftfo?ø-e ba?ø-i j-i-t-e kintfo-ho*  
fat-NOM drip-3.SG.M-CNV disappear-3.SG.M-S.PRF say-EP-3.SG.F-CNV stone-on  
*giir-t-e kajis-s-ino*  
fire-3.SG.F-CNV raise.up.PASS-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“After she rolled fat on the stone and burned, she awaken him and approached the fat to his mouth.”

SLDDP\_004\_043

*hāhhā j-i j-i-t-ee-nna hāhhā j-ø-ino*  
open.mouth say-2.SG.IMP say-EP-3.SG.3-CNV-and open.mouth say-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“She ordered him to open his mouth, he opened his mouth.”

SLDDP\_004\_044

*kokke-te kintfo tug-g-ee-nna re-ø-ino*  
throat-LOC.F stone throw-3.SG.F-CNV-and die-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“For she dropped the burning stone with fat, he died.”

SLDDP\_004\_045

*r-ø-ee-nna*

die-3.SG.M-CNV-and

“After he died,”

SLDDP\_004\_046

*soodo kaʔ-ø-e*

*gotiittf-u da-ø-ino*

morning raise.up-3.SG.M-CNV

hyna-NOM

come-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“The next morning, hyena comes.”

SLDDP\_004\_047

*gotiittf-u da-ø-ino-hu*

*kinine-ama*

*maa*

hyna-NOM

come-3.SG.M-P.PRF-CMPL

personal.name-mother

what

*ʔaf-i-ʔr-oo-tt-a*

*j-ø-ino*

know-EP-MID-P.PRF-3.SG.F-F

say-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“The hyena asked what she has got.”

SLDDP\_004\_048

*kortfo mite kookki*

*ʔass-i-ʔr-oo-mm-a*

*j-i-t-ino*

flea

one

slaughter

do-EP-MID-P.PRF-1.SG-F

say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“She told him that she slaughtered a flea.”

SLDDP\_004\_049

*deeʔni-na*

*kul-i-ʔe*

*j-ø-ino*

no-reason

tell-2.SG.IMP-1.SG

say-EP-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“No, you are lying and tell me the truth’ said the hyena.”

SLDDP\_004\_050

*tʃwüitfo = lla*

*tʃlikki*

*ʔass-i-ʔr-oo-mm-a*

*j-i-t-ino*

egg.of.louse = EMPH

slaughter

do-EP-MID-P.PRF-1.SG-F

say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“She told him that she slaughterd an egg of louse.”

SLDDP\_004\_051

*deeʔni-na kul-i-ʔe=lla j-ø-ino*  
no-reason tell-2.SG.IMP-1.SG = EMPH say-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“‘Still you are lying, you must tell me the truth.’ said the hyena.”

SLDDP\_004\_052

*wobbo-ʔja gorr-i-ʔr-oo-mm-a j-i-t-ino*  
sheep.M-1.SG.POSS slaughter-EP-MID-P.PRF-1.SG-F say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“‘She told him that she slaughtered her sheep.’”

SLDDP\_004\_053

*mikittfo ʔaa-tt-a-ʔe j-ø-ino*  
bone give-2.SG-F.IMP-1.SG say-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“‘Will you give me a piece of bone from the sheep?’ he asked.”

SLDDP\_004\_054

*ʔi ʔee-mm-a-he-na ʔane farro-nna ʔate farro gomb-o j-i-t-ino*  
yes give-1.SG-F-2.SG-and me tail-and your tail sew-OPT say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“‘She replied ‘Yes I will, but do you agree to sew your tail and mine together?’”

SLDDP\_004\_055

*ʔi-na gomb-o j-ø-ino*  
yes-and sew-OPT say-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“‘Yes I do agree, let us sew our tail together.’ the hyena replied.”

SLDDP\_004\_056

*mikittfo ʔuj-i-t-ino*  
bone give-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“‘She gave him a piece of bone.’”

SLDDP\_004\_057

*gob-b-ino*  
sew-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“‘She start sewing.’”

SLDDP\_004\_058

*tʃss-ee-nna*      *hã??ã*      *hã??ã*      *j-ø-ino*  
hurt-CNV-and      EXCL      EXCL      say-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“For he feels pain, he uttered *hã??ã hã??ã* (exclamation of pain).”

SLDDP\_004\_059

*?u-i-tã*                      *mikittfo*      *j-i-t-ino*  
give-2.SG.IMP-EMPH      bone      say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“She said ‘give me the bone back.’”

SLDDP\_004\_060

*sada=ho=nna*                      *saala=ho-na*                      *kãs-i-?e*                      *j-ø-ino*  
guilty.feeling=NPC.M.PRED=and      shame=NPC.M.PRED-CMPL      stab-2.SG.IMP-1.SG      say-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“For it is shame, stab me’ he said.”

SLDDP\_004\_061

*tã=no*      *kãs-s-ino*  
now=also      stab-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“She stabbed him again.”

SLDDP\_004\_062

*hĩ??ĩ*      *hĩ??ĩ*      *j-ø-ino*  
EXCL      EXCL      say-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“He again uttered the exclamation of pain.”

SLDDP\_004\_063

*sada=ho*                      *?u-i-t’a*                      *mikittfo-?ja*                      *j-i-t-ino*  
guilty.feeling=NPC.M.PRED      give-2.SG.IMP-EMPH      bone-1.SG.POSS      say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“‘Give me my bone back’ she said.”

SLDDP\_004\_064

*sada=ho=nna*                      *saala=ho=na*                      *kãs-i-?e*                      *j-ø-ino*  
guilty.feeling=NPC.M.PRED=and      shame=NPC.M.PRED=and      stab-2.SG.IMP-1.SG      say-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“‘For it is shame, stab me.’ the hyena said.”

SLDDP\_004\_065

*gob-b-ino*

sew-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“She sewed.”

SLDDP\_004\_066

*gob-b-e*

*ka??-u-ti*

sew-3.SG.F-CNV raise.up-3.SG.F-NOM-CMPL

“After she finished sewing,”

SLDDP\_004\_067

*t'a koje ?aabbo-?ja*

*?ab-b-e*

*faaffi = nso falakki*

*?ass-u-mm-a-ro*

now here father.HNR-1.SG.POSS bring-3.SG.F-CNV disclose = or turn.opposite.side do-P.PRF-1.SG-F-CMPL

*hiikk-a-tt-o*

*j-i-t-ino*

where-IMP-3.SG-M say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“she asked, ‘What if I bring my *?aabbo* and show you?’.”

SLDDP\_004\_068

*boono boono = ho*

*j-ee-mm-o*

*bobboodo*

*bobboodo = ho*

chasm chasm = NPC.M.PRED say-IMP-1.SG-M very.deep.chasm very.deep.chasm = NPC.M.PRED

*j-ee-mm-o*

*ful-ø-e = lla*

*kalalli*

*j-ee-mm-o*

say-IMP-1.SG-M come.out-3.SG.F-CNV = EMPH run.away say-CNV-1.SG-M

“‘I will run away in any way I find, even into the chasm.’ said the hyena.”

SLDDP\_004\_069

*faaffi*

*?ass-i-t-ino*

disclose do-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“She disclosed the body of *?aabbo*.”

SLDDP\_004\_070

*t'ook'ø-a-nni*

*t'ook'ø-a-nni*

*mar-ø-e*

*gotiittf-u*

run.away-3.SG.M-CNV-while run.away-3.SG.M-INF-while go-3.SG.M-CNV hyna-NOM

*boono = ho*

*ba?-ø-ino*

chasm = NPC.M.PRED disappear-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“The hyna, while runing away, fall into the chasm.”

SLDDP\_004\_071

*?aabbo-se*                      *widoo-nni*                      *gat-ø-ino*  
father.HNR-3.SG.F.POSS    across-LOC                      remain-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“Her *?aabbo* remained on the verge of the chasm.”

SLDDP\_004\_072

*manna fuff-i-t-e*                      *?aabbo-?ja*                      *?iima*                      *?ikk-i-nni-na*  
people bring.out-EP-3.SG.F-CNV    father.HNR-1.SG.POSS    up.in.the.sky    be-P.PRF-only-CMPL  
*?uulla*    *di = madaar-r-anni*                      *j-i-t-ino*  
earth    NEG = bury-3.PL-IMPF                      say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“Gathering people, she told them that *?aabbo* must be burried in the sky.”

SLDDP\_004\_073

*j-i-t-e*                      *manna fuff-i-t-ee-nna*                      *ful-i-hu*                      *mann-u*  
say-EP-3.SG.F-CNV    people    get.out-EP-3.SG.F-CNV-CMPL    come.out-S.PRF-CMPL    people-NOM  
*?ane*    *?aana*    *ha?r-o*                      *j-i-t-ino*  
I    top    go-OPT    say-EP-3.SG.F-IMPF

“She told the people to climb though her one after another till the skyscraper is built.”

SLDDP\_004\_074

*?iimi-nni*                      *mann-u*                      *?ise*    *?aanaa*    *hig-ø-e*                      *ha?r-ø-e*  
up.in.the.sky-LOC    people-NOM                      she    on.top    return-3.SG.M-CNV    go-3.SG.F-CNV  
*goof-i-ta*                      *?ani*    *milli = nso*                      *milikki*                      *j-ø-o*                      *j-i-t-ino*  
finish-EP-CMPL    I    move = or                      disceptive.move    say-3.SG.M-OPT    say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“After all the people climbed up on one another, she said ‘shall I make a move?’”

SLDDP\_004\_075

*?ani*    *milli = nso*                      *milikki*                      *j-ø-o*                      *j-i-t-ino*  
I    move = or                      disceptive.move    say-3.SG.M-OPT                      say-EP-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“Again she said, ‘Shall I move or slide aside?’.”

SLDDP\_004\_076

*milli* = no      *j-i-tooti*                      *milikk'i* = no                      *j-i-tooti*  
move = also    say-EP-2.SG.NEG.IMP      desceptive.move = also      say-EP-2.SG.NEG.IMP

“The people replied, ‘Do not make any move.’”

SLDDP\_004\_077

*milli*    *j-i-t-ee* = nna                      *mann-u*                      *boono* = ho                      *goof-∅-ino*  
move    say-EP-3.SG.F-IMP = and    people-NOM    chasm = NPC.M.PRED    terminate-3.SG.M-P.PRF

“For she moved, the skyscraper collapsed and the people fall in the deep chasm & died.”

SLDDP\_004\_078

?ise    *gat-t-ino*  
she    remain-3.SG.F-P.PRF

“She remained alive.”

## Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and that all sources of material used for this thesis have been dully acknowledged.

Girum Tesfaye

Name



Signature

This thesis has been submitted with my approval as a thesis advisor.

Shimeles Maruengon

Name



Signature