IDEOPHONES IN DZƏ (JENJO), AN ADAMAWA LANGUAGE OF NORTHEASTERN NIGERIA

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Abstract: Ideophone is a phenomenon dominant in African languages. Dzə is an under-investigated and under-documented Adamawa language found in Taraba, Adamawa and Gombe States, Northeastern Nigeria. It was noticed that the language has a lot of ideophones. It became necessary to study it to understand its importance in the language. This study is to draw the attention of scholars working on Adamawa languages and ideophones. It will also thus form part of the grammar of Dzə someday. The study of ideophone is not exhaustive, especially in the minority languages of Northeastern Nigeria. The study shows that Dzə ideophones express intensity, emphasis and description. Dzə ideophones have unique phonological features and some of the sounds found in the conventional phonology of Dzə are not found in the ideophones. The phoneme $/\eta$ / is common in the coda position of the ideophones. Ideophones modify verbs, adjectives and nouns in Dzə. They also function as adverbs and are elements that constitute a noun phrase. They augment other word classes like nouns, verbs and adjectives.

Key words: Jenjo, ideophones, grammatical functions, Dzə, Adamawa languages, Taraba

1. Introduction

Dzə [jen] is an Adamawa language;¹ the language is spoken in some parts of Adamawa, Taraba and Gombe States in Northeastern Nigeria. The endonym is *Dzə* but the language is widely known by the exonym *Jenjo*. "Adamawa languages are among the least documented in Africa" (Kleinewillinghöfer 2016: 1). Dzə is a poorly studied language. Its speakers are predominantly in Jen (their capital home), Karim-Lamido local government area of Taraba state. According to Eberhard and al. (2020), it has 100,000 user population.

Ideophones are an integral part of African languages.² Blench (2009) reiterated this fact when he states that a characteristic feature of languages worldwide, but particularly those in Africa is ideophones, words of a distinct semantic type, which can fill one or many syntactic slots. Ideophones were first known by early researchers to be features of African onomatopoeia but now there are cross-linguistic analyses of ideophones in the Indo-European languages. There are several perceptions as to what an ideophone is (see Kilian-Hatz 2001; Dingemanse & Majid 2012; Jacques 2013; Beck 2008). Crystal (2008) defines ideophones as a term used in linguistics and phonetics for any vivid (ideophonic) representation of an idea in sound, such as occurs through onomatopoeia. From the above definition, we can see that ideophones have to do with sounds, onomatopoeia, ideas and perceptions. Ideophones in Dzə will, therefore, be examined with that in mind.

According to Blench (2010) most publications in general have focused on Niger-Congo languages. While it is true that a lot has been

¹ Adamawa is the classificatory label for about ninety languages, spoken in the central part of the sub-Saharan savannah belt (Sudan zone), in an area which stretches from the mountains bordering the basins of the Middle Benue and the Lower Gongola in northeast Nigeria across the north of Cameroon to the east into Chad and the Central African Republic (Kleinewillinghöfer 2016).

² Dingemanse has worked extensively on ideophone of an African language see Dingemanse (2012; 2013; 2015) and Dingemanse & Majid (2012).

written about Niger-Congo languages, there are not much studies on the ideophones of Adamawa languages. The few available are (Anonby 2008; Bohnhoff 2019). Bohnhoff (2019) gave a detailed description of Dii ideophones. In the same vein, the study of ideophones is not exhaustive, especially on small group languages of Northeastern Nigeria. Similarly, Pischedda (2017) states that despite scholars' interest in problems relating to functions and cross-linguistic aspects of ideophones, there are still areas that remain under-researched. For example, the expressive and creative role played by ideophones in comic books or an Anglophonic influence in the use of ideophones in Portuguese, Spanish or French Disney comics etc. Besides that, the forms of ideophones differ in languages.

This research follows the basic linguistic theory as described by Dixon (2010). It is a single cumulative theory which views each language as a complete linguistic system. It is the theory of linguistics as a natural science that involves studying and comparing the grammatical patterns of individual languages. It is eclectic in nature because it is a blend of several theories that can be used to address all levels of language.

The data was collected during fieldwork in Jen³ (the capital city of the Dzə people) in December 2014. Three Dzə folktale tellers were approached and with their consent, the folktales were recorded. Each told two to three tales. The bulk of the data for this study was collected through the recorded folktales. The recorded folktales were transcribed and translated using Saymore⁴ and the ideophones elicited. Participant observation of daily conversations of people at home and churches were noted.

This section presents an introduction of the study, framework and methodology used in the study. Section 2 concentrates on tone and

³ Jen is one of the alternate names of Dzə and also the town of the Jenjo people located along the Benue river of the Karim-Lamido Local Government Area of Taraba State.

⁴ https://software.sil.org

phonological properties of Dzə ideophones. Morphological properties of ideophones are discussed in Section 3. Section 4 examines syntactic properties ideophones and section 5, the semantic properties of Dzə ideophones, conclusion in section 6 and lastly, there is a list of Dzə ideophones in Appendix.

2. Phonological properties and tone

2.1. Phonemic inventory

According to Othaniel (2014), Dzə has thirty-three consonant phonemes: /p, b, t, d, c, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}$ s, z, ſ, ʒ, м, h, l, j, j, y, y, w/. The sounds that occur in Dzə ideophones are /b, p, t, d, \widehat{kp} , \widehat{gb} , k, g, \widehat{ts} , \widehat{dz} , \widehat{tf} , $\widehat{d3}$, p, n, m, n, f, v, s, z, ſ, 3, h, l, j, w/. The following sounds do not occur in Dzə ideophones: the voiceless bilabial nasal /m/; voiceless velar fricative /m/; voiceless palatal approximant /j/; voiceless palatal approximant /u/ and voiced palatal approximant /u/. The voiceless velar approximant /w/ does not occur alone in the ideophones except in a consonant cluster. For example: dzwà dzwà in bwí dzwà 'ideophone that describes softness', and bwàn bwàn 'ideophone that describes something tight and small'. Furthermore, the consonant phoneme /r/ i.e. the voiced alveolar trill [r] occurs in ideophones such as hàr 'sound of coming in a hurry' and bir 'sound of flying birds'. But it is not found in the Dzə consonant phoneme. The voiced bilabial plosive /b/, voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ and voiceless velar plosive /k/, voiced affricate velar $/\eta$ and their variants are the most common phonemes in ideophones which are found in large numbers, more than any other sound and its variants. The majority of ideophones have a consonant $/\eta$ / in coda position. This is probably because Dzə is rich in consonant $/\eta$ /. They can occur in onset, medial and coda of all word classes including ideophones.

According to Othaniel (2014), Dzə has nine oral vowel phonemes: /i, u, i, e, ə, o, ϵ , o, ϵ , o, even nasalized vowel phonemes: /ī, \tilde{i} , \tilde{u} ,

 $\tilde{\varrho}$, $\tilde{\varrho}$, $\tilde{\varrho}$, $\tilde{\varrho}$, and six breathy vowel phonemes: $\langle i, u, e, \varrho, \varrho, \varrho, \varrho \rangle$. There is vowel harmony in Dzə ideophones with -ATR vowels [ə, ɛ]. Usually, the -ATR vowel [ə] can co-occur with any other vowel but in the ideophones, it occurs only with -ATR vowel [ɛ] or itself. Such ideophones are kwàte in tsà kwàté 'very hard', tàkpé tàkpé 'sound of milling'. The +ATR vowels [i, u] co-occur as in kúní kúní 'state of walking and moving shoulders to each side with each step'. There is no ±ATR vowel harmony between the nasalized and breathy vowels in the ideophones. We have not experienced any breathy vowel in the ideophones but there are nasalized vowels e.g. $b\tilde{\tilde{z}}b\tilde{\tilde{z}}$ 'describes anything of a nut that is not yet matured', fyɔ̃ fyɔ̃ 'describes how bright or how light something is', k\u00e0k\u00e0 describes something or someone short'. The ideophone tūtū will sometimes lengthen a vowel⁵ for emphasis. For example, yè tūtū 'horrible smell' can be emphasised as yè tūtūūūū 'extremely horrible smell'. This is also attested by Anonby (2008: 402) in the ideophones of Mambay.

2.2. Syllable structure

According to Othaniel (2014), Dzə has six basic syllable types: V, CV, CVC, CCV, N and VC.⁶ However, only three syllable structure types were evident in Dze ideophones. They are as follows.

- (1) CV gbà 'manner-less'
- (2) CCV
 a. zhà zhà 'ideophone that describes thick, big lips'
 nwá mà Zhàzhà
 mouth 2sg ideo
 'your thick big mouth'

⁵ More on vowel lengthening see Gussman (2002).

⁶ See Othaniel's (2014) phonology write up.

b. $\widehat{dz}w\delta$ 'ideophone that describes softness' as in:

bwí dzwódzwó
soft IDEO
'quiet soft'

- (3) CCVC
- a. bwàŋ bwàŋ 'ideophone that describes something small and tight'
- b. kyáŋ kyáŋ 'ideophone 'that describes something long and tight'

Dzə ideophones are mostly disyllabic with a default shape /CVCV/. Ideophones in Dzə have only one reduplicative pattern which is the full reduplicated ideophones. Trisyllabic ideophones are rare.

(4) bùlùlù 'ideophone for sleepy or sexy eye'
tòlòlò 'ideophone for motion or walking foolishly'
kòlòlò 'ideophone that describes loudness'

The trisyllabic ideophones are not common. They seem like partial reduplication but are not because there are no forms to be traced back to morphophonologically to show that these trisyllabic ideophones are partially reduplicated. Another reason is that there are no ideophones such as $b\hat{u}lu$, $t\hat{o}l\hat{o}$ or $k\hat{o}l\hat{o}$ for partial reduplication to take place. They are also characterized by identical tone and vowel.

2.3. Tone

The Dzə language has three primary tone levels and contours involving all three levels. These are H, M and L tones (5).

(5)	H		\mathbf{M}	M		L	
	bí	'song'	bī	'metal'	bì	'word'	
	kí	'stalk'	kī	'mat'	kì	'prune'	
	wá	'fry'	wā	'pluck'	wá	'roast'	

(6) shows examples of contour tones involving H and L.

(6) HL $k\check{u}$ 'belch' $t\hat{u}$ 'capsize' $u\check{e}$ 'red monkey' $t\hat{a}$ 'father'

Contour tones involving M are exemplified in (7).

(7) MH $dz\bar{t}\eta dz\bar{t}\bar{\eta}$ 'baobab fruit' k\hat{a} 'appreciation/thankful'

LM

f\hat{a}m\hat{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\tii

These primary tone levels and contour tones are also found in Dzə ideophones and most of the ideophones are disyllabic as seen in the appendix below. It is seen that there are disyllabic ideophones with the tone melodies HH, MM, LL, LH, LR, and LM in Dzə, the dominant tone pattern is LL and MM. There are tone melodies that are not found in Dzə disyllabic verbs but are found in Dzə disyllabic nouns and ideophones. These are LH and LM. Out of the 84 ideophones, there are six monosyllabic ideophones that carry the same L tone; and one tone melody in the trisyllabic Dzə ideophones which is LLL as against the conventional Dzə trisyllabic nouns which have HHH, HHM and HHL.

3. Morphological properties

Morphologically, ideophones in Dzə have no inflection. This is unlike other word categories in Dzə such as nouns and verbs that inflect for number, tense and aspects respectively.

Fully reduplicated ideophones express intensity, as in (8).

(8) a. wà hí zítí nwà 3SG POSS black/dirt mouth IDEO 'His mouth is very dirty.' hí wà h nwà zítí zítí mouth 3sg.poss black/dirt IDEO IDEO 'His mouth is extremely dirty.'

- c. sò n hò gúdú 1sg NPST walk IDEO '(S)he walks heavily.'
- d. sò n hò gúdú gúdú 1sg NPST walk IDEO IDEO '(S)he walks extremely heavily.'

zítí zítí in (8b) and gúdú gúdú in (8d) express intensity respectively. We see that in (8a) and (8c) the single ideophones did not carry the amount of intensity/seriousness the reduplicated ideophones did. The difference in marking intensity and emphasis is that intensity uses reduplication while emphasis uses vowel lengthening. There are more fully reduplicated ideophones than the non-reduplicated ones as the fully reduplicated ones are likely more to be used than the non-reduplicated root (see the list of Dzə ideophones in Appendix 1). Fully reduplicated ideophones are certainly one of the features of African ideophones as attested by Okoye & Egenti (2015: 58) on Etulo ideophones and Asohsi (2018) on Bafut. This could imply that African ideophones are rich in reduplication.

4. Syntactic properties of ideophones

Dzə ideophones may follow nouns, verbs or adjectives, i.e. they modify the elements they follow. An example an ideophone that modifies a noun is presented in (9).

- (9) δ jí bē nyívī fĚfĒ 3sG wake with morning IDEO '(S)he wakes up early morning.'
- In (9), $f \hat{E} f \bar{E}$ modifies the noun *nytvi*, the ideophone tells us that he or she wakes early. It modifies the noun when it follows the noun in noun phrases or sentences.

An ideophone modifying a verb is presented in (10).

(10) ihyue fànin vò íbwì dè chí kwẽ kwẽ maize farm GEN man DET to.be.dry IDEO iDEO 'The maize in the man's farm is very dry.'

An ideophone modifying an adjective is presented in (11).

- (11) nɨŋ imwà dè hyð kpàng eye child DET red IDEO 'The child's eye is very red.'
- In (10), the ideophone $k w \tilde{\epsilon} k w \tilde{\epsilon}$ modifies the verb ch i 'to be dry'. In (11), the ideophone $k p \tilde{\alpha} n g$ modifies the adjective $h y \tilde{\delta}$ 'red'.

4.1. As adverbs

Payne (1997) states that Any word with semantic content (i.e., other than grammatical particles) that is not clearly a noun, a verb, or an adjective is often put into the class of adverb. Adverbs in Dzə are adverbs of information and usually modify verbs, verb phrases or clauses. (12) examplifies how this works in Dzə.

(12) $s\grave{e}$ n $y\grave{i}d\acute{t}$ $p\grave{t}$ $t\acute{o}$ $b\bar{e}$ $w\grave{o}$ $t\grave{a}\eta$ $v\grave{o}$ $s\grave{t}$ Yeso they NPST want LOC go with 3sG in house LOC Jesus 'They want to take him to the house to see Jesus.'

The additional information *si Yeso* 'to Jesus' is an adverb of information because the proposition can be complete without the addition.

(13) *îbwì bánsè nī fī kàlàŋtàŋ nī bí gbá hyɔ́* man Fulani dem to.be.tall ideo dem dem beat cow dé táká

DET went

'The Fulani man that is very tall took the cows away. (lit. Fulani man that/who is tall kàlàŋtàŋ took the cows away.'

In (13), the phrase $\tilde{f}i$ kələŋtəŋ appears to give us more information on how tall the man is. Therefore, an adverb of information. The ideophone also modifies the stative verb $f\tilde{i}$.

(14) à pé kwáŋ kwáŋ wú à pé bì ò bà má 2sg bend IDEO IDEO come 2sg pass lest 3sg see 2sg 'You bend quietly pass lest (s)he sees you.'

In (14), the phrase \grave{a} $p\acute{e}$ $kw\acute{a}\eta$ $kw\acute{a}\eta$ 'you bend quietly' is an additional information in the clause because the remaining part of the clause $w\acute{u}$ \grave{a} $p\acute{e}$ $b\grave{i}$ \grave{o} $b\grave{a}$ 'come and pass before she/he sees you' is a complete proposition. $kw\acute{a}\eta$ $kw\acute{a}\eta$ modifies the verb $p\acute{e}$ 'bend' and expresses the manner of the bend.

(15) và ijé dè bí zití zití house woman DET black/dirt IDEO IDEO 'The woman's house is very dirty.'

The occurrence of ideophones may or may not be conditioned by verbs, adjectives or nouns they modify. For example $k \partial l \partial \eta t \partial \eta$ cannot occur with any other word, but $f\tilde{t}$ as well as $z\tilde{t}t\tilde{t}$ $z\tilde{t}t\tilde{t}$ that can only occur with $b\tilde{t}$.

In Dzə, $v \partial ij \acute{e} d \acute{e} b \acute{i}$ can be a complete proposition. The ideophones $z \partial i \acute{e} z \partial i$ is additional information. It also modifies the verb $b \acute{i}$, therefore, it is seen as an adverb here. The ideophones in examples (13)–(15) all function as adverbs

4.2. As elements of a noun phrase

Ideophones constitute one of the elements that form a noun phrase in Dzə. They occur with a head noun to form a noun phrase, as in (16) to (18). The ideophones that modify nouns either precede or follow the nouns.

(16) kpiŋtiŋ kú

IDEO head
'heavy/big head'

The ideophone kpintin and the noun $k\acute{u}$ 'head' can be seen as a noun phrase as is the case in banlin nwa 'big wide mouth'.

(17) bàŋláŋ nwà
IDEO mouth
'big/wide mouth'

The ideophones in (16) and (17) can occur with either $k\acute{u}$ or $nw\grave{a}$ i.e. we can have $b\grave{a}\eta l\acute{e}\eta k\acute{u}$ and $kp\grave{i}\eta t\grave{i}\eta nw\grave{a}$. When the phrase $kp\grave{i}\eta t\grave{i}\eta k\acute{u}$ occur alone, the $k\acute{u}$ carries a high tone but if it occurs in clause like (18) below it carries a low tone.

- (18) *ímwò ni kù kpìntìn ni si n wí* child DEM head IDEO DEM LOC NPST come 'That child that has big head is coming.'
- (19) nwà wà bàŋláŋ mouth 3sg.poss ideo 'His mouth big and wide.'

5. Semantic properties

The semantics of ideophones are about expressivity, i.e. they are expressing the meaning of the senses they evoke. This is in line with Jacques (2013: 263) and Okoye & Egenti (2015: 58) who posit that ideophones describe various features like sound, smell, taste, shape, texture, colour etc. Jenjo ideophones express sound, shape, texture, feeling, state, degree and colour as the following examples show: Ideophones that describe sound e.g. kpåkpå kpåkpå 'sound of horns hitting against a tree', kpònò kpònò 'atmospheric sound', gúdú gúdú 'sound of heavy, large feet on the ground like elephant feet'. Ideophones that describe shape e.g. bànlán 'wide'. Ideophones that describe texture e.g. bùtú bùtú 'fine textured smooth flour'. Ideophones that describe feelings e.g. vivi 'the feverish feeling'. Ideophones that describe state e.g. gbà 'manner-less'. Ideophones that describe degree e.g. yìli yìli 'something extremely cool', yìli 'very cool' and ideophones that describe colour e.g. kpàng 'shows how bright a colour is'. Ideophone that describes smell e.g. tùtù 'horrible smell', mùmù 'nice smell'. The ideophones of sounds, smell and feelings can be used with noun phrases, verbs, or stative verbs as in the examples below.

(20) pt st n wà kpònò kpònò place LOC NPST sound IDEO IDEO 'The place sounds empty.'

The verb wà 'sound' is modified by the ideophone kpònò kpònò.

(21) níŋdʒwà yé tùtù wound 3SG smell IDEO 'His/her wound smells bad.'

The ideophones for degree, colour and texture may modify adjectives and stative verbs respectively, cf. (22) to (24).

- (22) níŋmárí dè tấ yìlí yìlí rice DET be.cold IDEO IDEO 'The rice is very cold.'
- (23) yấŋ basí dè lá kpàŋ leaf kind of tree with orange flower DET ADJ IDEO 'very red flower'
- (24) níŋ wà hyễ kpàŋ eye 3sg.poss red ideo 'his/her very red eye'

The word $l \delta$ is an adjective signifying red and this ideophone seems to be the only ideophone that can modify this particular adjective.

(25) yớmwuì và kwì ìjé dè fó bùtú bùtú flour GEN old woman DET be.smooth IDEO IDEO 'The old woman's flour is extremely smooth.'

6. Conclusion

We noticed that the language has a lot of ideophones. It became necessary to study it to understand its importance in the language. This study is to draw the attention of scholars working on Adamawa languages and ideophones. Ideophones are frequently used in Dzə folktales as well as everyday conversations. The unique features of Dzə ideophones are seen throughout the study. Morphologically, Dzə ideophones have no inflection and in the syntactic aspect, they function as adverbs. Ideophones in Dzə augment and modify other word classes like nouns, verbs and adjectives. They express intensity and emphasis through reduplication and final vowel lengthening. The difference in marking intensity and emphasis is that intensity uses reduplication while emphasis uses vowel lengthening. They hardly precede the word they modify. It is rare but only happens with nouns as in the case of bàŋláŋ nwà and nwà wà bàŋláŋ.

Abbreviations

1sg — 1st person singular	IDEO — ideophone
2sg — 2 nd person singular	L — low tone
3sg — 3 rd person singular	LOC — locative
ADJ — adjective	LH — low high tone
ATR — advanced tongue root	LM — low mid tone
CV — consonant vowel	M — mid tone
CVC — consonant vowel consonant	MH — mid high tone
DEM — demonstrative	ML — mid low tone
DET — determiner	N — Nasal
GEN — genitive	NPST — non-past tense
H — high tone	Poss — possessive
HL — high low tone	V — Vowel

Appendix. Lists of Dzə ideophones

Ideophone	Meaning
báŋláŋ to be big and wide	
bàbà	describes something small and tight
bồbồ	describes anything of a nut that is not yet matured
bìr	describes sound of flying bird or insect
bùlùlù	sexy/sleepy eye

Continuation of Appendix

	3 11
bùtú bùtú	describes fine textured flour that is very smooth
bùtùm	sound of someone or something that has fallen
bwàŋ bwáŋ	describes something tight and small
bwùjì	the sound of something like a building collapsing
byà byá	describes how tears fall from someone's eye
chō chō	describes something that is very sour
$dar{arepsilon}dar{arepsilon}$	describes how someone or something runs
dìdì	describes something or a place that is very clean
dɨŋ dɨŋ	describes when something is full to the brim
dódó	desscribes something or someone that is the only one
dzwá dzwá	decribes something that is soft
fĚfĒ	describes early hours of the morning or midnight
fờn fàn	describes something or place that is very open
fyɔ̃ fyɔ̃	describes the brightness of red colour
gbà	to stand mannerlessly on someone sitting down
gbàŋ gbàŋ	sound from a big drum
gbɨntɨŋ	describes something or a place that is dark
gàŋtáŋ	describes something that is very bitter
gògò	be rough
g i g i	describes the reaction of someone being anxious, angry etc
g ì ti	describes someone walking with all strength and energy
gùdù gùdù	describes someone or something with large heavy feet running heavily
hàlàlà	describes watery soup, stew or porridge
hàr	describes that someone or something is coming in a hurry
j ì ng	describes act of moving one's neck to look elsewhere
jōjō	describes someone that shakes as a result of sickness or
	anger
kēkē	drink down
kàlàlà	describes the loudness of a shout
kàlàŋtàŋ	describes how tall someone or something is
kāsé	describes someone or something that is very white
kỡkỡ	describes the degree of boiling
kɨŋkɨŋ	descsribes light steps of tiptoeing

Continuation of Appendix

kírkír	describes someone running heavily
kùnènè	describes someone that is greedy and covetous
kúní kúní	descibes the state of walking and moving shoulders to each
	side with each step
kữkữ	describes someone or something short
kūtwī	describes shape of something thick and round
kpăkpá kpăkpá	describes the sound of horns hitting against another horns
	or tree
kpàŋ	describes the brightness of red colour
kpāntāŋ	decribes how white someone or something is
kpɨŋ kpɨŋ	sound from a small drum
kpɨŋtɨŋ	describes something that is big and heavy
kpònò kpònò	describesthe sound of distance noise or commotion
	(atmospheric sound)
kyàŋ kyàŋ	something that is long and tight
kwəŋ kwəŋ	describes the manner in which someone bends
kwātē	describes how hard something is
kwé kwé	describes how dry something is
làŋ làŋ	up high
lùbí	sound of water or something falling in water
lùlú	describes water that is lukewarm
тѝтѝ	pleasant or nice smell
nchán nchán	broken to pieces
лwà лwà	describes when something is plenty and unorganized
กพลิŋ	sound of bowel movement when hungry
лwāŋ лwāŋ	sound of grains cooking in a tin container
ກວັກ ກວັກ	describes something plenty
pàpí	hurry
pātē	describes how flat something is
рūрā	describes sound of slap on the cheek
рѝрѝ	describes an area or place that is swampy, loamy ground
pwàpû	sound of falling
pwè pwè	bloated/kwashiorkor stomach
sèsè	describes feeling lightweighted and happy

End of Appendix

sếsế	describes a bright place or atmosphere
swè swè	describes how tears fall from the eyes
těkpé těkpé	sound of milling especially with a grinding stone
tètè	describes how vast or empty something is
tỗtỗ	describes distance/farness
tòlòlò	describes someone or something walking foolishly
tŏtó	describes something that is shining
tūtū	horrible smell
tùtù	full to the brim
twáŋ twáŋ	quiet place
yìlí yìlí	describes the degree of coolness of something
yìyì	describes feverish condition
zhầ zhầ	describes that something is thick and big
zití zití	describes how dirty someone or something is
zùzù	sound of liquid or watery things pouring
zwà zwà	walking uncoordinatedly (shapelessly)

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