1. Introduction

1.1 Background to ideophones in Africa

One of the most distinctive features of African languages are the abundance of ideophones, words that describe sensory experiences. The first clear reference to a class of ideophones in African languages was in the mid-nineteenth century, where they are touched on in Vidal’s preface to the Yoruba Dictionary of Crowther (1852). Vidal describes ideophones as a “peculiar and appropriate adverb which denotes the degree or quality attaching to it” and mistakenly claims they are unique to Yoruba. Koelle (1854) noted the presence of these “peculiar adverbs” in Kanuri, perhaps the first documentation for a non-Niger-Congo language. McLaren (1886) called ideophones “indeclinable verbal particles”. Banfield & Macintyre (1915) whose documentation for Nupe is particularly rich, use the term “intensive adverbs”. Doke (1935) defined them as “a vivid representation of an idea in sound” perhaps the first author to get away from the notion that ideophones must be adverbial. Childs (1994) lists some of the other terms occurring in the literature, such as “echo-words” (in relation to Semitic), “emphatics” (used by Lutheran Bible translators) and impressifs in Francophone publications. Blench (2010) reviews the literature on African ideophones in greater detail. Although ideophones (or ‘expressives’ in Asian terminology) are now of some interest to the broader scholarly community (e.g. Hinton et al. 1994; Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz 2001) they have hardly excited the attention they merit in terms of their overall importance in the lexicon of many languages (see review in Dingemanse 2011).

Dingemanse (2011:3) defines ideophones as ‘marked words that depict sensory imagery’. In many languages, ideophones have distinctive phonotactics, but they always have highly specific applications to the sensory world and describe visual, aural and emotional experiences in ways hardly paralleled elsewhere in the lexicon. They tend to fill an adverb-like slot, and they usually have no clear etymologies. Historically, they are hard to treat, as they do not seem to be lexically cognate across languages. However, typical sensory experiences can be identified semantically across languages and even phyla. African languages commonly have ideophones describing analogous experiences, for example, the noises made by objects falling onto different surfaces or specific aspects of body shape. Ideophones are thus crucial to a broader understanding of the perceptual world implicit in African languages.

Most publications on African ideophones have focused on Niger-Congo languages; a great deal less is known about Nilo-Saharan and Afroasiatic, although Chadic languages are clearly as rich as their Niger-Congo neighbours. Only Hausa could be said to be well-studied in this respect (e.g. Newman 1968). Although it is not entirely clear, dictionaries suggest that Afroasiatic and Khoisan are less replete
with ideophones and that it is interaction with Nilo-Saharan and Niger-Congo that increases their repertoire.

Because of their failure to play a major role in syntax, all types of expressive vocabulary remain poorly studied in many African languages. Even lumping together a mosaic of sensory words under a single category of ideophones is clearly problematic. This paper focuses on the broader class of such expressive terms in Mwaghavul, a West Chadic language of Central Nigeria. As part of a large-scale dictionary project (Dapiya et al. forthcoming), numerous expressives have been collected, together with examples of use, and this paper analyses both the morphology of ideophones and their syntactic context. It is preceded by a general discussion of the semantics of expressives and their classification, as well as their word classes and morphology.

1.2 Conceptual classes of ideophones

Our discussion of these orphan words remains unsophisticated; given the role they play in actual speech, their treatment in conventional grammars is inadequate, to say the least. Ideophones not only fall into different word classes, but also into a range of conceptual classes. They may demonstrate a characteristic phonology, morphology or canonical form, but this is absent in some languages, even where the ideas they express are conserved. To characterise this richness, it is helpful to switch to a larger class of ‘expressives’ (a characteristic Asian terminology) to encompass these ideas; ideophones would just be a subset. Table 1 shows the important conceptual classes characteristic of languages in the Nigeria/Cameroun area;

Table 1. Conceptual classes of expressive in Nigeria/Cameroun area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Onomatopoeia</td>
<td>direct imitation of sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontophones</td>
<td>terms that indicate states of mind or sensory experiences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body epithets</td>
<td>descriptive terms applied to body parts, with a generally mildly insulting character</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ophresiophones</td>
<td>descriptive terms applied to odours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colour</td>
<td>terms added to basic vocabulary for red, black and white to denote different intensities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensifiers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The terms ‘ontophone’ and ‘ophresiophone’ are not found in the literature and are proposed here, although neither are particularly elegant. Onomatopoeic words and ontophones usually form a convergent class in terms of morphology; the existence, morphology and syntax of the others seem to unpredictable in individual languages. It should be strongly emphasised that this is provisional; this is a fecund area for invention and it is positively likely further classes may be identified.

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1 I would like to thank Nathaniel Dapiya and Jacob Bess, with whom I work on the Mwaghavul dictionary project, for helping establish the words themselves and for the sentence examples of their use.
1.3 Word classes of expressives

Syntactically, it is not always easy to assign expressives to the conventional parts of speech. Newman (1968) discussing Hausa, argues that ideophones are identified by their morphology and phonology and the syntactic element is secondary. This argument has a danger of circularity; ideophones are identified by their shape, and then any word lacking this shape is excluded. Newman’s point that expressives can show up across a wide range of syntactic categories is well taken, but identifying expressives by shape clearly does not work for many languages.

Broadly speaking, onomatopoeic terms, direct imitations of sound, function as a type of adverb. Thus, ‘the bell sounded xx’. Other expressives can be placed at the end of a clause or sentence; thus ‘the heavy man walked along the road xx’. This can be analysed as qualifying the verb ‘walk’ but without the information about the heavy man the sentence would not be well-formed or pragmatically possible. Blench (2010) argues that discussions of ideophones have tended to overemphasise their adverbial status.

The other important word-class is adjectival. In a typical construction in Mwaghavul and many other languages of Central Nigeria, expressives follow the copula, in this case aasi ‘is’. There is no clear boundary between ideophonic adjectives and more standard qualifiers in terms of morphology, since in neither case do they agree with the noun. So classifying an adjectival form as ideophonic is largely based on semantics. Body epithets are clearly adjectival since they qualify nouns directly. Colour intensifiers qualify stative verbs, although in neighbouring languages they can also qualify other adjectives.

Ophresiophones are a particularly problematic class; in languages such as Tarok and Kuteb, Benue-Congo languages in the same general area as Mwaghavul, they are a type of non-concordial adjective (Blench & Longtau 1995; Koops 2009). However, in Mwaghavul, their word-class and their role in the sentence appears to be highly variable. The moral, inasmuch as one may be drawn, is that description and exemplification should be primary, and analytic categories developed post hoc.

1.4 Morphology and phonology

Expressives are often characterised as having a particular shape, phonologically and morphologically. This is often true, but its incidence varies from language to language. The main distinctive features attested are;

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2 It is noteworthy that despite forty years’ work on the Ìzòn language, the most recent manuscript of the dictionary of the language (Williamson and Blench ined.) still contains numerous queries about the correct part of speech of some ideophonic-like terms.
Table 2. Distinctive features of expressives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Feature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phonology</td>
<td>Unusual phonemes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unusual distribution of phonemes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unusual or characteristic tonology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morphology</td>
<td>Reduplication, triplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ad libitum repetition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unusual canonical shape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syntax</td>
<td>Lack of agreement as opposed to concordial adjectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etymology</td>
<td>Low number of expressives with transparent etymological source</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two related aspects of ideophones that are hard to capture in a table like this are templatic morphology and the embedding of phonaesthemes. In some languages, Ijoid for example, there is a strong correlation between ideas or concepts and templatic morphology reflected in a triliteral root (Blench & Williamson forthcoming). This can be compared to the templatic formulae that characterise Semitic languages, although their application is much less systematic and is not recognised overtly by speakers. Similarly, ideophones can exemplify phonaesthemes, combinations of segments that suggest feelings or sensations to speakers. Little has been written about this in the analysis of African ideophones, partly because it seems to be only sporadically present, and partly because it only emerges with a very large corpus. A small set of elicited ideophones is unlikely to provide adequate evidence for such underlying structures.

1.5 Why is Mwaghavul interesting?

Mwaghavul, a West Chadic language, appears to have some unusual features, inasmuch as there is comparative evidence. These are:

- Low emphasis on short ideophonic elements that can be repeated ad libitum
- Large number of trisyllabic expressives
- An apparently regular relationship between single fronted adjectival ideophones and clause-final reduplicated ideophones
- Relatively high number of expressives with transparent etymologies
- Expressives are almost always clause-final

2. Background to Mwaghavul

Mwaghavul is a relatively large West Chadic language spoken in Mangu Local Government Area, Plateau State, Nigeria. The main towns of the Mwaghavul are Mangu and Panyam. There are generally estimated to be some 150,000 speakers of Mwaghavul, although such a figure is largely guesswork. Mupun, often considered a distinct language, is very close to Mwaghavul and the division may be more ethnic than linguistic. Although there is some geographic variation, Mwaghavul does not really group into distinct dialect areas. The closest relatives of Mwaghavul are Cakfem-Mushere and Miship and it falls within the same group as Ngas and Goemai. The Mwaghavul are known as ‘Sura’ in much of the older literature. Mwaghavul is bordered by Plateau (i.e. Benue-Congo) languages to the north and west, notably Berom and Izere. Mwaghavul (under the name Sura) was

First attempts to write the Mwaghavul language date back to the 1920s, when scripture portions were first published. There is an active literacy programme associated with a Bible Translation Project and a collaborative project to produce a dictionary is also under way. However, no phonological analyses associated with the orthography have ever been published. There are six vowels in Mwaghavul, the cardinal vowels and an additional central vowel /i/. Phonetically, the mid-vowels are /e/ and /o/ but they are not in contrast with /e/ and /o/ and are thus represented by ‘e’ and ‘o’ in orthographic practice.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half Open</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowel length is contrastive, but there are no nasal vowels.

Mwaghavul consonants are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labio-</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Post-</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Labial-</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implosive</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ž</td>
<td>ž̞</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃ</td>
<td>dʒ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are three level tones; glide tones usually characterised double vowels and occur mainly with kin terms.

3. Mwaghavul data

3.1 Ideophonic adjectives

Mwaghavul adjectives typically precede the noun. Thus:

àà cuk  naked (knife)
àà wus  naked flame

However, Mwaghavul ideophonic adjectives are those which qualify nouns in equative sentences. The most common adjectives follow the copula aasí. Thus the
term cèlpèt describes someone who does things carelessly. A typical sentence context can be:

\[
\text{wurí aasí cèlpèt} \\
\text{He is thoughtless}
\]

Ideophonic adjectives can also be the complement of the perfective copula sì; 

\[
\text{wurí shang mee lèè dùghúríí si mùndùlùng} \\
\text{He dug out a certain large yam tuber that was mùndùlùng}
\]

The adjective can also be fronted, behaving like a head noun. For example;

\[
cèlpèt dín mbut \\
\text{thoughtless without stomach} \\
\text{i.e. without manners}
\]

An ideophonic adjective can also follow the repeated copula a;

\[
a làà funu a gùrúmgúrúm ni dák \\
\text{Is child our Is truly great it only} \\
\text{Only our candidate is truly great}
\]

More rarely, an ideophonic adjective can follow the noun directly;

\[
mèn hilakhilak \text{ artificial beauty}
\]

Table 3 shows the range of Mwaghavul ideophonic adjectives so far identified, with an impressionistic description of their semantic content and an example sentence with translation.

**Table 3. Mwaghavul ideophonic adjectives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mwaghavul</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Example sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bwághàlāk, bwághàl-bwághàl</td>
<td>describes lukewarm water</td>
<td>ìm shwaa ni aasí bwághàlāk the drinking water is lukewarm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwághaasíáp</td>
<td>describes s.t. soft</td>
<td>lááwúr ni táp bwágháp sweet potato cooked in the right way is soft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwágháp</td>
<td>describes mouth with no teeth</td>
<td>dikaam wurí dëë a pò bwágháp the old man has become toothless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cèlpèt</td>
<td>describes s.o. who does things carelessly</td>
<td>wurí aasí cèlpèt He is thoughtless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cèlpèt</td>
<td>describes s.o. thoughtless</td>
<td>cèlpèt dín mbut lit. thoughtless without stomach i.e. without</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwaghavul</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Example sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dükülûm</td>
<td>ignorant, not knowing s.t.</td>
<td>manners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gînînôn</td>
<td>describes s.o. who looks sickly [rare]</td>
<td>wurí dëé ìaasî gînînôn He looks very sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gûrûmgûrûm</td>
<td>tough, great (person)</td>
<td>a là̀ funu a gûrûmgûrûm ni ìdâk it is only our child [candidate] who is truly great</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hilâklâk</td>
<td>describes artificial appearance</td>
<td>mën hilâklâk to be artificially beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mmôghôdish</td>
<td>describes s.t. very ugly</td>
<td>til màâr ni mó bîsh ìaasî mmôghôdish the ridges of the farm are misshapen, ugly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mmôghôdish</td>
<td>describes s.t. tasteless</td>
<td>mbìi së ni bîsh ìaasî mmôghôdish the food is bad, tasteless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mùndûlûng</td>
<td>describes how a long fat worm or other legless animal or a plant like a yam tuber lies in one place inert but without projections</td>
<td>wurí shang mee lëè dùghûríí sì mùndûlûng he dug out a large yam tuber, mùndûlûng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhàrmàn</td>
<td>describes the condition of the clothes of s.o. who falls into dirty water</td>
<td>wurí sham yaghâl mbût ìm bôök ni zhàrmàn he rises out of the muddy water zhàrmàn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zîdîdyás</td>
<td>describes s.o. lean and emaciated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An important subset of adjectives are those applied to supposedly mis-shapen body parts, ‘insultatives’. Similar insultatives have been reported from nearby Tarok and eBoze, Benue-Congo languages (Blench 2010). Such adjectives are invariant, and do not seem to be cognate across language boundaries. Nonetheless, there is a strong community of ideas; the notion that certain animals, such as the owl or the red patas monkey, have deepset eyes and that this is an insulting attribute when applied to humans is found in many regional languages. Table 4 shows a sample of typical Mwaghavul body idioms.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mwaghavul</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Example sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>báán</td>
<td>describes s.o. with a flat head</td>
<td>mwaan nii cighir màà shii dughûl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dughûl</td>
<td>describes s.o. who is flat footed</td>
<td>s.o. who is flat-footed easily gets tired when walking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gujurûk</td>
<td>describes a face with deep-set eyes or a deep hole</td>
<td>nyilyii dii dëê si ni ki yit gujurûk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jéghérékjéghérék</td>
<td>describes s.o. who is thin and fragile-looking</td>
<td>di-kâa wuri sight wëel ntôök jéghérékjéghérék the man with the big head now has a a thin neck jéghérékjéghérék</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaamkaam</td>
<td>very wide (ears)</td>
<td>kom kaamkaam kaa kûtût si Ears as wide as a winnowing tray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koryông</td>
<td>crooked (limb)</td>
<td>koryông ki baal; baal koryông crooked arm! abusive remark. But reversed it becomes a nickname</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koryôngkoryông</td>
<td>describes how people with crooked legs stand</td>
<td>mó dirang ki shii mó koryôngkoryông they stood there with crooked legs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mondôs</td>
<td>describes the snout of a pig or a dog</td>
<td>mondôs ki pôô kaa as si your mouth is mondôs like a dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mondôsmondôs</td>
<td>describes a projecting mouth [the sense is that someone is angry but won’t come out and express it, so they purse their mouth]</td>
<td>wuri mwaan ki pôô mondôsmondôs he walks with his mouth mondôsmondôs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rongshông</td>
<td>describes s.t. that is branching such as the horns of an antelope</td>
<td>a yaghal ki kâa dî rongshông si, kaa góór si Get away from here with your horn-like head. e.g. someone with sticking out strands of hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vûkmûn</td>
<td>describes s.t. ill-looking and dusty</td>
<td>vûkmûn ki shwoop messy hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vûrmûs</td>
<td>describes s.t. with a rounded end such as an amputated hand, a leper without fingers or a blunt hoe</td>
<td>loghom ki se sar mó dëê vûrmûs leprosy has eaten his hands and only the stump remains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vwàplàs</td>
<td>describes s.t. that is oversized, such as extra-wide feet or</td>
<td>wurí ki shii vwàplàs his feet are very wide [like a duck]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mwaghavul | English | Example sentence
--- | --- | ---
vwàplàs | describes a very flat nose | pigiziŋ vwàplàs *flat-nose*
vyàngràghàs | describes a mis-shapen head | laa ni wuri ki káá vyàngràghàs *his child has a mis-shapen head*

As with other ideophonic adjectives, insultatives have a strong tendency to be sentence final. They can qualify a noun directly, but they can also be fronted, as in *mondòs ki pòò káá as si* ‘mis-shapen your mouth like a dog’s is’. An idiosyncrasy of these adjectives is the sentence-final copula *si*, which is not usual in Mwaghavul grammar and is apparently a feature of these abusive utterances.

In addition to these adjectives, Mwaghavul can apply a prefix to body parts which emphasises their strange shape. The prefix is different for men and women, reflecting the almost vanished gender system. Thus *dì* is used for men (from *dàá*) and *nì* for women;

- *digin*, *nigìn* describes fat cheeks
- *dijet*, *nijet* describes a protruding back of the head
- *dikom*, *nikom* describes wide ears

These are more noun-like since they are used as the subject of the main verb accompanied by the appropriate pronoun;

Nigìn wùrá shwaa wàár ðìmo le ñìa ni fat-cheeked [woman] she drink gruel that it for child the the woman with fat cheeks drank the gruel they left for the child

### 3.2 Onomatopoeic ideophones

Mwaghavul also has a very impressive range of onomatopoeic imitations of natural sounds. A sample of these is shown in Table 5;
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mwaghavul</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bài</td>
<td>sound of hitting a fat person in the stomach</td>
<td>wurí shwoor shaar firi mbut bài</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biir</td>
<td>sound of a bird taking off</td>
<td>nyer ni sham yaghär biir the bird took off biir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bílášh</td>
<td>sound of a light person falling down</td>
<td>pee milam be wúrá sham pal blásh the place was slippery and she fell down blásh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilàsh</td>
<td>sound of heavy person falling down in a slippery place</td>
<td>ngu nan ni táá can shii de wurí pal si blásh the old man stumbled and fell blásh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bük</td>
<td>sound of a ripe fruit falling on the ground</td>
<td>làà koon dínung ni sham táá bük the ripe fig fell to the ground, bük</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cóícói</td>
<td>sound of frying s.t. in oil</td>
<td>wúrá naka sughär lwaa mbut mwòòr cóícói she is frying the meat in oil cóícói</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cùrèt</td>
<td>sound of s.o. sucking their teeth in annoyance</td>
<td>ni làà nwura mbut be wúrá ñwàa pòò cùrèt she was angry and she sucked her teeth, cùrèt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dài</td>
<td>sound of a big bundle of millet falling onto the ground</td>
<td>wurí táá vwèt lwàghàt kàs ni si dái he dropped the bundle of millet onto the ground, dái</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dúgbúmdúbúm</td>
<td>sound of flapping clothes when s.o. is walking</td>
<td>ngu tár wurí jwa nghin léé mó nkaa shin däng wurí mwaan dógishdîghish the madman wore many clothes and as he walked made the sound, dógishdîghish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dúgbúmdúbúm</td>
<td>sound of a building falling to the ground</td>
<td>lú ni shíp sham táá dúgbúmdúbúm the house collapsed and fell to the ground, dúgbúmdúbúm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fîyóótfîyóót</td>
<td>sound of a flute made a certain species of grass</td>
<td>dàá kaa long wurí ka tânn bîl fîyóótfîyóót an expert is blowing the flute bel, fîyóótfîyóót</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fwàà</td>
<td>sound of water pouring out</td>
<td>âm ni sham beer fwàà the water poured out fwàà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghôghô</td>
<td>noise of frogs</td>
<td>nningkoro ni a zàrgong dìnì ki wál mbut âm ghôghô frog sp. that cries inside the water ghôghô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwaghavul</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>Example sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girgir</td>
<td>sound of a large and rather old truck creeping along</td>
<td>wu kiling wal ki mota ni ki kàa si Ndai girgir hear the sound of the lorry at Ndai coming along girgir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gûdyàkgûdyàk</td>
<td>the sound of gruel being swallowed quickly</td>
<td>wuri dílang wáár ni nkyennken gûdyàkgûdyàk he swallowed the gruel quickly, gûdyàkgûdyàk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gûk</td>
<td>sound of a stone falling to the ground</td>
<td>jwak ni sham laa gûk the rock falls down gûk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gûkgûkgûk</td>
<td>sound of running footsteps</td>
<td>wu kiling wát ni wuri su cighir si mbwoon lú gûkgûkgûk Hear the thief running behind the house!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gûlûnggûlûng</td>
<td>sound of gruel sloshing around, either in a gourd or in the stomach of a child</td>
<td>wáár ni wál sidí mbut mbeen ni gûlûnggûlûng the gruel is making noise in the gourd, gûlûnggûlûng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunggung</td>
<td>sound of a big drum</td>
<td>kung nii wál si njwak gunggung the big drum is sounding gunggung in the rocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gûlûl</td>
<td>sound of a fist hitting a person</td>
<td>gwar ni shwoor wát ni shi dúghūl sár gûl the thief with his fist, gûl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwíshgwísh</td>
<td>sound of a cow tail used by performing artistes</td>
<td>màt céér mó kàt dăng ning ki mó gwíshgwísh dí póò The female dancers are waving the cow tails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwûy</td>
<td>sound of hitting s.o. on the back</td>
<td>wurí shwoor shaar firi nkinòk gwûy he hit his friend on the back, gwûy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hâghâshhâgâsh</td>
<td>sound of a piece of meat falling on dry leaves</td>
<td>lwaa miir ni sham táá mbut kom pee dí fíi kuni wá hâghâshhâgâsh the meat of a python fell inside the dry leaves and made the noise hâghâshhâgâsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hâghâshhâgâsh</td>
<td>noise of sand in acca when it is poured or it is in your mouth</td>
<td>yîl nii wál si dí mbut ngwom fwoon ni hâghâshhâgâsh sand makes the noise hâghâshhâgâsh when it is in the fonio cuscus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hîikhîk</td>
<td>sound of coughing</td>
<td>laa ni teer mmâàp kuni ki sighim dak hîikhîk the child cried all night and was coughing hîikhîk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwat</td>
<td>sound of a dry stick breaking</td>
<td>yoghom diifi ni tep hwat the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwaghavul</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>Example sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jüm</td>
<td>sound of a light object falling in water</td>
<td>dry stick snapped hwat giil kwaghar sham táá mbut âm jüm the pebble fell into the water jüm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jüm</td>
<td>sound of a heavy object falling in water</td>
<td>wurí met sham mbut âm kuur ni jüm he jumped into the pool of water jüm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kicôr</td>
<td>sound of a dead frond of the borassus palm falling to ground</td>
<td>kwak ngàng sham táá kicôr the borassus frond fell down, kicôr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kipétkipét</td>
<td>sound of flip-flops when walking</td>
<td>gwaghzak kipét nii wal si kipétkipét the flip-flops are making the sound, kipétkipét</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirètkirèt</td>
<td>sound of s.o. grinding their teeth</td>
<td>wurí nkaa dyees âghâs kirètkirèt He is grinding his teeth, kirètkirèt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>küléngküléng</td>
<td>sound of a bell ringing</td>
<td>kungguleng ni wál si küléngküléng the bell rings küléngküléng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûráshkûrásh</td>
<td>sound of scraping burnt porridge from a pot [a sound well known to dogs]</td>
<td>laa reep wûrá nkaa aar tughul kûráshkûrásh the girl is scraping the pot kûráshkûrásh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûráshkûrásh</td>
<td>sound of s.o. scratching their thigh</td>
<td>wurá sâm pyâghâl kûráshkûrásh she scratched her thigh, kûráshkûrásh [implies lying]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwàá</td>
<td>sound used to drive birds away</td>
<td>sak máár dâng nyer mó shwaa wëëtwëët. Kwàá kwàá nyer oo! I made my farm and the birds came and ‘drank’ it all. Go away birds! [Children’s song]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwááskwáá</td>
<td>noise of girls dragging their shoes on the ground</td>
<td>wa kiling shii kí laa reep ni wûrá jí ji sî kwááskwáás hear the sound of the foot of the girl coming along kwááskwáás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwàásh</td>
<td>sound of a bundle of firewood falling to the ground</td>
<td>bwâghôt yóghóm ni sham táá kwàásh the bundle of firewood fell down kwàásh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwááshkwáásh</td>
<td>sound of striking a flintstone to make fire</td>
<td>wurí cut shàghàl wus kuni wál kwááshkwáásh he struck the flintstones against each other, kwááshkwáásh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwengkweng</td>
<td>sound of metal being hammered</td>
<td>pee nî wál kwengkweng dâá ndûng kilom cáá the place sounds kwengkweng when father forges a hoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lipàtlipità</td>
<td>sound of the ears flapping</td>
<td>tum ni nsûshû ëé kom nî wál</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwaghavul</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>Example sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when án animal such as a sheep is running. Also when the ancestors who weren’t wearing clothes were running, those with fat thighs would make this noise.</td>
<td>lipåtlipåt the sheep is running and its ears are making the noise lipåtlipåt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbyar</td>
<td>sound made by the hands of women slapping against the pestle while pounding grains in the mortar</td>
<td>jírááp si mó nkághán fwo mbyar the girls are competing to make the sound mbyar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njung</td>
<td>describes a place that becomes suddenly quiet</td>
<td>pee ni dök tífik njung the place became extra quiet, njung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pás hpåsh</td>
<td>sound of splashing water as you run along or play in it with your feet, or water coming out of a spring</td>
<td>jép mó cin tan mbut åm di a naar pee ni pás hpåsh children play in the water on the ground, pás hpåsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rúghüsrúghühs</td>
<td>sound of crunching food</td>
<td>jép mó nkaa sum bángkúr ni rúghüsrúghühs The children are eating the dry peanut cakes rúghüsrúghühs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shürëtshürët</td>
<td>describes a woman crying and constantly sniffing</td>
<td>mó báà wát putughuh di mmat poo furu ni ku wùrá déé saa a làà piit dák shürëtshürët they upset the new wife so she is sniffing continuously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shwërs wêr</td>
<td>sound of rain or other liquid dripping</td>
<td>mó teer nfwam kuni beer sham si shwërs wêr it rained all night and it is still dripping, shwërs wêr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shwëtshwët</td>
<td>describes s.o. who weeps continuously</td>
<td>mát káá ni wùrá ki baa bilang di mme la fr ni dëé wùrá teer shoor a map dák shwëtshwët the widow has lost another child and she has been crying all night shwetshwet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tírràttiràt</td>
<td>sound of sipping hot gruel</td>
<td>nígin nkaa mwak wáár dítal ni tírràttiràt the woman with fat cheeks is sipping hot gruel, tírràttiràt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tûlulûüttûlulûùt</td>
<td>sound of a fruitshell ocarina</td>
<td>jép mó nkaa làà ndútûghût tûlulûüttûlulûùt the children were playing the ocarina, tûlulûüttûlulûùt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tûmbulûng</td>
<td>sound of a stone falling into deep water</td>
<td>ghik ni sham táá mbut åm ni tûmbulûng the stone fell into the water tûmbulûng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhûrûmzhûrûm</td>
<td>sound of small plants being</td>
<td>wûrí shwat kom ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mwaghavul onomatopoeic idiophones are almost exclusively clause or sentence-final and generally can be said to reflect the entire content of the utterance rather than just the verb.

In a case of sound-symbolism, there is an association between tone and the weight of the object or person. Thus in the two cases shown in Table 6, high tone symbolises light and low tone heavy in weight.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mwaghavul</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zhùrùmzhùrùm</td>
<td>uprooted</td>
<td>he uprooted the groundnuts zhùrùmzhùrùm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6. Tonal symbolism in Mwaghavul idiophones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mwaghavul</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bilásh</td>
<td>sound of a light person falling down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilásh</td>
<td>sound of heavy person falling down in a slippery place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jùm</td>
<td>sound of a light object falling in water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jùm</td>
<td>sound of a heavy object falling in water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.3 Adverbial ideophones

The most common form of ideophone in Mwaghavul is the adverbial which corresponds broadly with the ontophones characterised in Table 1. These are usually the classic reduplicated adverbial and describe motion, behaviour or experience. Table 7 shows the list of those so far recorded:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mwaghavul</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Example sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abetabet</td>
<td>immediately</td>
<td>a sò abetabet kus a tàng làà ni wurí dì you go at once and find the boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bìcìcìt, bùcìcìt</td>
<td>very wide (space, piece of cloth)</td>
<td>kom milom ni kaam bùcìcìt The leaves of the cocoyam are very wide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cukcur</td>
<td>describes being very excited</td>
<td>kòòk pughal ni doghon shang mighin màt funu no zam har ni làà wùrá cukcur yesterday our old woman danced the Pughal dance so much that she became very excited cukcur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cwètcwèt</td>
<td>describes walking quickly</td>
<td>a mwaan ñìmun cwètcwèt lit. walk quickly for us, i.e. Hurry up!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dém dém</td>
<td>describes a compulsive desire for meat and other things</td>
<td>làà si dém dém zam This child desires meat excessively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dìñììdìñìì</td>
<td>describes s.o. who talks too fast and who replies without thinking</td>
<td>wurí kàt ñòò dìñìììdìñìì he speaks too fast without thinking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mwaghavul</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Example sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dighirkdighirik</td>
<td>describes how a lazy person walks</td>
<td>sèèr si wùríí mwaan kaa si dighirkdighirik. <em>See that lazy man walking dighirkdighirik</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diisizòk</td>
<td>hidden</td>
<td>shàghál fina n a diisizòk <em>my money is hidden</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dikidiki</td>
<td>repeatedly, again and again</td>
<td>a kàt póò nkaa ni dikidiki <em>you talk about it repeatedly</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gàrmàs</td>
<td>describes a very large person who stands in a challenging posture</td>
<td>mú kár wùríí, be wùríí jì dår si gàrmàs <em>we incited him and he stood there gàrmàs</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gashbáng</td>
<td>describes a light person falling to the ground</td>
<td>wùríí mwaan kaa sèèr s gashbáng <em>She [a light person] fell on her back</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gidibisgidibis</td>
<td>describes how a very large person or animal walks with a sluggish movement</td>
<td>mee lwaay ki shàm si gidibisgidibis <em>A big animal is dragging itself along over there</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gidirikgidirik</td>
<td>describes how a lazy person walks</td>
<td>dialect version of dighirkdighirik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gijinànggijinàng</td>
<td>describes how a crab walks sideways and tentatively</td>
<td>kwàng kìbèl ni mwaan sòr si gijinànggijinàng <em>that crab over there is walking gijinànggijinàng</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gininòn</td>
<td>describes s.o. with a mouth with few teeth</td>
<td>aghas ki guna ni liyoon kyes kú pòò ni dèé gininòn <em>The old man has lost almost all his teeth and his mouth is now just empty, gininòn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gininòn</td>
<td>describes s.o. with superficial wounds on the skin, e.g. after falling on gravel</td>
<td>dì gyök pal shàm men kìpák gininòn <em>The delinquent child fell and wounded the side of his face gininòn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gishishash</td>
<td>describes struggling with a load</td>
<td>mpè dèss kì lèé ni dèé mó gishishash <em>Due to the size of the load, they had to struggle gishishash to lift it</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gishishash</td>
<td>describes how people hold each other when fighting</td>
<td>mó yak shàk gishishash gishishash <em>They held on to each other gishishash gishishash</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gishishash</td>
<td>describes difficult to control like a violent mad person.</td>
<td>mó aasí gishishash gishishash <em>They are very violent</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gitàtà</td>
<td>describes scrambling out of a house, or struggling to climb a hill</td>
<td>jèp mó swà put gitàtà ndang wàt mó they scrambled out, gitàtà, in pursuit of the thieves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gitàtà</td>
<td>describes s.o. who is strong and will not yield easily</td>
<td>wùríí bál aasí gitàtà <em>He is very strong and difficult to calm down</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
gòkshiròk describes a person or animal that is very thin

The dog has not been fed for some time, and it is looking emaciated, gòkshiròk

gòkshiròk describes s.o. who is very old and worn out

The old woman looked worn out like an old jute bag

gùghùtùk suddenly, unexpectedly

you have come to us unexpectedly

gùsmètgùsmèt describes sluggish movement of a well-fed person or animal

He now walks sluggishly

gùtùtùt describes people or animals rushing out from somewhere

The cows came out of the pen

gwísh describes how a short person falls

Who are you imitating, that walks gwísh?

the small person fell down

gỳììsh describes s.o. with dry, cracked feet

Your old woman’s feet have cracked so much they are gỳììsh

hàthàt describes struggling to do s.t.

the workers had to really struggle in order to finish the work

hàthàt describes struggling to do s.t.

the workers had to really struggle in order to finish the work

hilàkhilàk describes s.t. shiny reflecting the sun

Do not use bleaching cream otherwise you will shine artificially
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mwaghavul</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Example sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jéghérékjéghérék</td>
<td>describes appearing or moving like a big bird with long neck as if it is about to break</td>
<td>doghon wán náa me yèr sham dèl jéghérékjéghérék I saw a bird with long neck moving around, tossing itself here and there jéghérékjéghérék</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jirakjirak</td>
<td>describes s.t. scattered around like maize grains</td>
<td>jèp ni mó jirak máár ni a jirakjirak when children move here and there in the farm they do it jirakjirak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jirèngjirèng</td>
<td>describes the way a tall person moves</td>
<td>reep waaaza wuraa sham si jirèngjirèng There comes the [tall] girl who plays the metal rattle for velang, walking jirèngjirèng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jwèèt</td>
<td>intensifies verbs of tightening esp. applied things tied in a bundle</td>
<td>mwòòr funu nii kyes jwèèt intensifies verbs of tightening esp. applied things tied in a bundle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kindingding</td>
<td>describes being finished completely</td>
<td>mwòòr funu nii kyes kindingding our oil is completely finished kindingding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirkir</td>
<td>describes s.t. going straight ahead</td>
<td>nyer nii só sì kirkir ki pòò fùng ni the bird is flying straight towards the window</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirkir</td>
<td>describes s.t. going straight at s.t.</td>
<td>wurí pùs pas ni só kirkir ki nyer ni he shot the arrow straight at the bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kishkish</td>
<td>describes bursting into laughter</td>
<td>wurá ji dèl sò ñe mó piin shwar kishkish she walked by and they burst out laughing kishkish. N.B. you use a singular verb as they all burst out laughing at the same time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kískíf</td>
<td>describes breaking apart and smashing, also describes s.t. that is completely scattered or spoilt</td>
<td>tughul ni sham tāá ñe ni pyan kishkish the pot fell and it broke kishkish [the verb is plural because it breaks into many pieces]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kudùnùng</td>
<td>protruding like a cow hump</td>
<td>kudùnùng kaa randong si protruding like the hump of a cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kudùnùngkudùnùng</td>
<td>describes the way a heavy person or animal runs</td>
<td>nìí ni sù sò ndigín shi yeep mó kudùnùngkudùnùng the elephant ran into the trees, kudùnùngkudùnùng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kùràsh</td>
<td>describes when s.o. gets up suddenly</td>
<td>kaa dì mó dòo àm nkaa làà ni ñe wurí sham yághál dák kùràsh when they poured water on the boy he got up suddenly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwààk</td>
<td>describes s.t that finishes very quickly or vanishes</td>
<td>mó cìghir sak máár ni kyes kwààk they finished farming kwààk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwaghavul</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Example sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leele</td>
<td>bit by bit, in small increments</td>
<td>wurí kát pòò ndáaghámmndághám nkaa shaar firi He speaks grumblingly against his friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndáaghámmndághám</td>
<td>describes how s.o. grumbles or murmurs</td>
<td>wúra cét gwóm mwoór ni ndire she cooked the oily food correctly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndírendíre</td>
<td>properly, correctly, well</td>
<td>yit kí ngunan ni moo náá pee ndire ndire the eyes of the old man see very well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nfúmvum</td>
<td>blindly, blindfolded</td>
<td>doghon, dyéél páá péé ni ku mó swa pwat nfúmvúm yesterday, smoke covered the place, so they had to run out blinded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaangaa</td>
<td>for a very long time, for ever and ever</td>
<td>ba mish kághám ni würín ntong dí a ngaangaa kás the chief will not live for ever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntííntíít</td>
<td>describes things that are very similar or at the same time</td>
<td>mó ji wul a ntííntíít they arrived at exactly the same time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plotplot</td>
<td>describes how the flesh of a cocoyam pops out of the skin</td>
<td>mó téér dùm mflóm ku ni fes ret pun plotplot they cooked the cocoyam overnight so that it was so good [soft] it popped out plotplot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ròòjòròòjò</td>
<td>describes s.t. very tall</td>
<td>mee lwaa yil kí sò sì ròòjòròòjò A really tall animal is moving over there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rúsííkúl</td>
<td>describes a very fat person falling down sideways</td>
<td>wurí doghon mét táá rúsííkúl Yesterday, she fell down on her side rúsííkúl!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rúttiítút</td>
<td>describes hasty movement of animals, rushing in somewhere</td>
<td>mó dél pwat rúttiítút but kiir muut They rushed out, rúttiítút, as a result of fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rúttiítút</td>
<td>describes hasty movement of animals, rushing in somewhere</td>
<td>long ni mó dél pwat dák rúttiítút The animals rushed out in a disorderly manner, rúttiítút</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sálmutáát</td>
<td>describes a very lazy person, sitting there almost helpless</td>
<td>wurí mét tong sì sálmutáát He sits there, sálmutáát</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shíáárhíááár</td>
<td>daily, every day</td>
<td>ni rét kú wu se yil Naan shíáárhíááár It is good for you to worship God every day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shííshíílú</td>
<td>describes moving from house to house</td>
<td>nyëm dák yen mó nkaa cin yen ni a shííshíílú The health workers are treating people in every house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shinishini</td>
<td>different, variety of</td>
<td>a pèé dyik ni ñe mó ji ki mbíí sé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwaghavul</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Example sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shipeeshipee</td>
<td>describes moving from place to place</td>
<td>nyèm sòr ndang Naan no ki mwaan sat póò Naan ni ngùrùm mó a shipeeshipee Christians go around preaching to people from place to place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shiyìlishiyìl</td>
<td>describes moving from one country to another or from one place to another</td>
<td>gùrùm mó shiyìlishiyìl ki ár bilip nyèm sél furu mó People in different countries have different ways of electing their leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twéttwét</td>
<td>first, only one, singled out, unique</td>
<td>a wūrá shee ji nlú ki Naan ni gùрùm mó twéttwét She was the first to come to church before all the others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vwàmvwam</td>
<td>describes scrambling for things without being orderly</td>
<td>jép mó bwòt vwàmvwam káá rèp sé dì mó cín mó Children scrambled vwàmvwam for the small amount of food they were given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wàshwàsh</td>
<td>describes performing a task energetically</td>
<td>mòt dìì si wuaraa cìn mbìì wàshwàsh this woman does her tasks energetically</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wéél</td>
<td>slim, slender, thin</td>
<td>mó kì ràng a ngo dì wéélwéél mpe táá lúng They look for a very slim person to swim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wéélwéél</td>
<td>very thin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wèèlwèèt</td>
<td>describes s.t that finishes very quickly or vanishes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wúrwúr</td>
<td>straight without turning</td>
<td>o ceen láá hìì fìna ni bé ni sù sòr tʊlú wúrwúr They drove away my goat and it ran straight to the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wúrwúr</td>
<td>describes preparing oneself</td>
<td>nìghin māt ni wūrá wúrwúr a ār sòr kasuwa The old woman prepared herself to get on road to the market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yàlpàtyàlpàt</td>
<td>describes s.t. hanging loose or flapping like a curtain</td>
<td>mee ki sham dèl mpèë sì ki kom yàlpàtyàlpàt A certain goat just passed down here with its ear hanging yàlpàtyàlpàt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yàngyàng</td>
<td>extremely well</td>
<td>dì yèm fìna wuri gyar màn tààn velàŋ ni yàngyàng My son knows how to blow velang extremely well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwaghavul</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Example sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yingyíng</td>
<td>describes s.o. who is mad</td>
<td>Koghorong làà yingyíng⁷ màng ghà put swot mmo shwar Koghorong [a hero] has given birth to an insane person, which makes him become a laughing-stock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yingying</td>
<td>describes s.o. who is mentally retarded,</td>
<td>gyet mó kwár lop wuri mákåránta a mpe yingying firi ni Last year they refused to send him to school because of his mental retardation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zángzáng</td>
<td>describes s.t. straight and tight</td>
<td>màt ni würá man bwàghât yóghóm zángzáng the woman knows how to tie firewood zángzáng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zéénzëëen</td>
<td>truly</td>
<td>a sát án a zéénzëëen, a we cin wát niyee? Tell me truly, who committed the theft?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhirkzhirk,</td>
<td>describes a person or animal who jumps</td>
<td>làà tum ni yághál mirep shi rét nyit zhirkzhirk the child jumped up and down with excitement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jirikjirik</td>
<td>from a height to the ground without fear</td>
<td>zhirkzhirk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zókmònzòkmòm</td>
<td>describes s.o. who has done s.t. to be</td>
<td>wurí mwaan ndín nnaashwoop zókmònzòkmòm he walks around without shame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zonzón</td>
<td>follows another person thoughtlessly or</td>
<td>a zonzón a só ku mó tů ghà dì dák You are following them zonzon and they are going to kill you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>without taking care</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zònzòn</td>
<td>to walk aimlessly, foolishly</td>
<td>mó lop würá mpe sút kóm bë würá wé tòn zònzòn dì kasuwa ni They send her to buy groundnuts and she wandered about aimlessly in the market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zònzòn</td>
<td>to go ahead without paying attention to what is happening</td>
<td>wàn sút nwùrì nne món ìtù würá bë würá sút a nso dák zònzòn I told him they were going to kill him, but he kept on going zonzon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zònzòn</td>
<td></td>
<td>naa würìi sò sì zònzòn There he goes zonzon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Other expressives

4.1 Tastes and smells

Some languages in this region have elaborate ophresiological vocabulary to describe smells, for example Tarok (Blench & Longtau 1995). Mwaghavul is quite

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⁷ A proverbial expression
restricted in this respect, apparently having just three words, each of which functions in a slightly different syntactic slot. Mwaghavul has a general verb ᵇu ‘to smell’, which can also function as a noun. It also has the noun fwààp ‘characteristic odour, smell’ which is usually the head noun in a sentence. Thus;

fwààp pèl dísí ni a mu ŋłaaghír the smell of the flower is that of Plateau berry

Table 8 shows the three terms;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8. Odour terms in Mwaghavul</th>
<th>Mwaghavul</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example sentence</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>caf</td>
<td>describes a pungent odour</td>
<td>gòghor nfút ni ᵇu aasí caf</td>
<td>the grass sp. its smell is pungent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tàghàs</td>
<td>to have a bad taste, bad smell</td>
<td>léé díisi ni tàghàs nzutur</td>
<td>this cloth, it smells of bedbugs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viir</td>
<td>very bad smell</td>
<td>tughun ni ᵇu viir</td>
<td>the pit has a very bad smell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

caf resembles an adjectival ideophone and indeed is also a colour intensifier for ‘red’ (Table 10). tàghàs is a verb followed by a nominal complement, and viir fills an adverbial slot after the verb ᵇu. Unlike Tarok where these terms fill a standard syntactic slot, Mwaghavul seems to have developed only a haphazardly constructed repertoire.

4.2 Colours and colour intensifiers

Mwaghavul has four stative verbs marking the three basic colour terms. Three of them have extended meanings representing luck or importance, as shown in Table 9;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 9. Stative verbs for colour in Mwaghavul and their extended meaning</th>
<th>Mwaghavul</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Symbolism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nààt</td>
<td>to be red</td>
<td>to be serious (issue/matter)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyáá</td>
<td>to be white, fair</td>
<td>to be lucky</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rap</td>
<td>to be black, dirty, dark (complexion)</td>
<td>to be unlucky</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tùp</td>
<td>to be black colour, dark, obscure</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each of the three basic colour terms has an intensifier, which follows the verb, like an adverb. However, no intensifier has been recorded for rap, although that is the verb that participates in colour symbolism as shown in Table 9. Table 10 shows these colour intensifiers;
Table 10. Colour intensifiers in Mwaghavul

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mwaghavul Colour</th>
<th>Intensifies</th>
<th>Example, comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>càf</td>
<td>extremely red</td>
<td>nààt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bítbít</td>
<td>very black</td>
<td>tìp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péngpéng</td>
<td>extremely white</td>
<td>pyáá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pétpét</td>
<td>extremely white</td>
<td>pyáá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apart from the core colour terms, Mwaghavul adopts nouns or noun phrases to describe the colour of persons or animals, above all horses, which have a high cultural value (Table 11). The table shows the application of these terms and their probable etymology. All of these are used in equative sentences with the copula aasì.

Table 11. Non-standard colour terms in Mwaghavul

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mwaghavul Colour</th>
<th>Etymology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>àm mès yellow colour</td>
<td>water of locust bean powder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bèèn mwòòr light brown complexion of person</td>
<td>lit. ‘gourd oil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndúmoghol colour of a horse</td>
<td>grasshopper sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngármoghol colour of horse (reddish/brown)</td>
<td>? grasshopper sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njwèè colour of reddish-brown horse</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shiit mwòòr dark brown colour of animals (especially goats)</td>
<td>lit. ‘pounding oil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vuun foggy, cloudy, ash colour horse</td>
<td>fungus sp.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Conclusions

Mwaghavul has an elaborate array of expressive terms, both covering the standard field of ideophones and also including odour and colour terms, as well as body epithets. Capturing their syntactic function is often problematic as they seem to occur in a variety of pragmatic contexts. In part this is because the distinction between noun and verb is not well established in Mwaghavul, with many CV(C) lexemes apparently occupying multiple slots. Expressives go well beyond onomatopoeic ideophones into a wide range of experiential concepts. Clearly these have phonaesthetic component for speakers, which remains to be fully characterised. This paper suggests that this is a rich field in the study of African languages, which research has hardly begun to investigate.

References
