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The Phonology of Kafi Noonoo Ideophones

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***Abstract*---**This paper is the first and original work on the phonology of Kafi Noonoo ideophones. All of the data used in this study are collected through fieldwork. Ideophones are attested word classes with peculiar phonology in that they break some phonological rules of the prosaic language. Kafi Noonoo ideophones also undergo unique phonological features from the regular phonology of the language. Kafi Noonoo ideophones use all the phonemes of the regular language and additional five click-like sounds (ʘ, !, ǁ, ʞ and tchip). One of the most striking in the phonology ideophones is that the click-like sounds do not found in language and the regular phonology of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages in general. Kafi Noonoo ideophones show different suprasegmental features from the regular phonology of the language. Another striking phonological feature in ideophones of the language is that ideophones break the phonotactics and suprasegmental features rules of the prosaic language. Moreover, Kafi Noonoo ideophones exhibit some syllable structures that are specific to ideophones. These are the (C1VC2C2), (CVVV…), (C1VVV…C2) and (C1VC2C2C2…). Furthermore, Kafi Noonoo is a tone language. The language has high and low tones. As the result of the study depicts high tones often show intensity. The ideophones of the language illustrate open and closed syllable shapes.

***Keywords*---**click-like sounds, consonant lengthening, ideophones, phonology, tones.

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1. Introduction

The paper aims to describe the phonology of Kafi Noonoo ideophones. Kafi Noonoo is one of the Omotic languages which is spoken in the Kafa zone. Kafa zone is located currently in the South-west region of Ethiopia. According to the CSA (2008) report, it is spoken by 870,213 people. Bender (1976b:47 and 51) grouped Kafi Noonoo under the Gonga Gimojan branch of northern Omotic. Kafa is a self-name and the Kafa people call themselves Kafecho. Specifically, the term *Kafa* refers to the place or the homeland of the Kafa people while *ǩafecho* and *ǩafechi* refer to male and female Kafa people respectively. In the Kafa language, the term *Noonoo* refers literally to the tongue which means language. Hence, Kafi Noonoo refers to the Kafecho language. As Teferi (2012), notes that Gomero and Manjo are the two basic social stratums of the Kafecho people. The former is the hegemons group and the latter is the subaltern social class. Gomeros are considered to have a high social status but Manjos are the minority (marginalized) groups.

Theil (2007), studied the phonology of the language and presented two phonological analyses on the languages which he calls Kafa I contemporary phonology of Kafa and Kafa II is the historical stage preceding when Kafi Noonoo loan words started to the Kafi Noonoo in large quantities. The phonology of Kafa at historical stages imported many Kafi Noonoo loan words. In his phonological analysis, he identifies that the language has only 18 consonant phonemes purely such as /**p, b, t, d, k, g, ʔ, h, m, n, ʃ, l, w, j, p', t', tʃ', k'**/. He suggests that consonant phonemes such as (**p, s, s', l** and **z**) are later developments via contact mainly from Kafi Noonoo. He also claims that the trill phoneme [**r**] is the allophone of the lateral consonant sound /**l**/. Unlike consonant phonemes, there is no ambiguity regarding the number and quality of vowel phonemes for all researchers on Omotic languages. Thus, all agree that Omotic languages have five short vowels and the counter long vowels such as (/**i**/, /**e**/, /**a**/, /**o**/, /**u**/, /**ii**/, /**ee**/, /**aa**/, /**oo**/ and /**uu**/). Theil (2007), analysis confirms that Kafi Noonoo has the same number and quality of vowels. However, there are some linguistic works in the language but there is no previous work on the ideophones of Kafi Noonoo. This presents the phonology of the Kafi Noonoo ideophone as follows. The paper has six sections. Section one gives a short introduction about the Kafa people, Kafi Noonoo, and the aim of the study. Section two provides some methodological issues. Section three gives a literature review (a cross-linguistic overview) on the phonology of ideophones and the conceptual framework of the study. Section four presents data analysis and the discussion of results and section five presents a summary and conclusions.

2. Methodology

The data used in this study are original and collected in the fieldwork from native speakers of the language. The data is collected from 15 native speakers of the language

for one hour each. The age of informants ranges from 18 to 60. We have used purposive sampling methods to save time and get valid and genuine data from the informants. We also used a digital voice recorder and video camera for data collection. The data is also collected through interviews, focus group discussions, video depiction, and picture illustration. The data collected through the above methods and instruments are transcribed using the IPA Unicode for a free keyboard system. The transcribed data is glossed and described, analyzed, and interpreted. In addition to this, Zotero 5.0.80 version software is also used for reference management.

3. Literature review on the phonology of ideophones

Arnaiz (2019), defines ideophones as a vivid representation of thoughts and feelings in sound. Likewise, Akita & Dingemanse (2019), also define ideophones as marked word classes that evoke sensory imagery. Many scholars agree on the unique phonological feature which ideophones show and claim this in different ways. Childs (1994), notes that most ideophones have distinctive phonological features that distinguish them from the regular phonology of a language. Dixon (2012), states that ideophones typically have special phonology from the rest word class of a language. Bodomo (2006), claims that ideophones are a phonologically separate group from other words in the language. Ideophones employ similar phonological lists as other words but they have unique phonological properties. This feature of ideophones also brings the markedness of these word groups in the way that they diverge from other words in a language. In addition to this, Franck (2014), states that ideophones contain phonemes that do not exist in the regular phonology language but which do exist in human languages. Mpahnde (2017), claims that the phonology of ideophones can be characterized based on the study of tone, vowel nasality, vowel length, consonantal contrast, and other recurrent phonological features. These have been identified in African languages, mainly Bantu languages. According to Mpahnde, the above-mentioned phonological features of ideophones maximize the ability to suggest the perceptual qualities of events and objects with vivid clarity and expressiveness. Moreover, sometimes reduplicated, triplicated and even quadruplicated ideophones act as intensifiers (White et al., 2020; Rey et al., 2002). Vowel lengthening, reduplications, consonantal clusters, geminations, and consonant lengthening seem common in the phonology of Kafi Noonoo ideophones.

Moreover, the above reviews of the literature on the phonology of ideophones are used as a conceptual framework in the paper. There is no single and agreed-upon theory for the study of ideophones. Due to this reason, I used the above works in combination as conceptual frameworks in this study since they complement each other (Byrd & Saltzman, 2003).

4. Data Analysis and Result Discussion

This part of the paper presents the entire phonological data analysis and the discussion of results on phonemic inventories, phoneme distribution, phonotactics, suprasegmental features, syllable structure, syllabification, and some prosodic features in Kafi Noonoo ideophones.

5. Phonemic and non-phonemic sounds inventories ideophones

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

5.1. Consonant inventories

The phonemic inventories of Kafi Noonoo ideophones exhibit the twenty-three (23) consonant phonemes of the language plus five (5) click-like sounds. Theil (2007), is relatively recent and detailed work on the phonology of Kafi Noonoo. In this work, he made two different phonological analyses on the language that he calls Kafa II and Kafa I phonology. According to him, Kafa II is regarded as historical reconstruction and Kafa I is the modern phonological system of the language. In his Kafa II phonological analysis he identifies eighteen (18) basic consonants such as /**p, b, t, d, k, g, ʔ, h, m, n, ʃ, l, w, j, pʼ, tʼ, tʃʼ, kʼ** /. He claims that these are purely native consonant phonemes of the language. In his Kafa I analysis he notes four (4) loan phonemes such as /**f, s, z** and **r**/ are introduced to the phonemic inventories of language via language contact especially from Amharic. In addition to this, he claims that two consonant sounds such as [**tʃ** and **dʒ**] are the allophones of /**ʃ** and **j**/ respectively. The result of the phonemic inventory of ideophones language shows that ideophones use all phonemes of the regular phonology. It also comprises the above recently introduced phonemes except **/z/.** As indicated earlier, exhibits, the seventeen (17) pulmonic **/p, b, t, d, k, g, ʔ, h, m, n, f, s, ʃ, r, l, w, j/** and four (4) ejectives phonemes **/pʼ, tʼ, tʃʼ, kʼ/.** In addition to this, the phonemic inventory of ideophones exhibits five (5) click-like sounds, which are completely lacking in the phonology of the language. Consider the following descriptions.

5.2. Click-like sounds (verbal gestures) inventories in ideophones

As pointed out in the preceding section, Kafi Noonoo ideophones comprise five click-sounds. These click-like sounds have the similar phonetic properties, IPA symbols and functions across Amharic, Kafi Noonoo and Oromo. The forms are (the nasal click-like sound [ʞ], the lateral click-like sound [ǁ], the post-alveolar click-like sound [ǃ], the

bilabial click-like sound [ʘ]) and[tchip]. However, the tchip (suck-teeth) has no IPA symbol designation and as pointed out in the preceding section it is not phonemic in any language. In addition to this, as ideophonic words they stand alone by themselves or the conjugate with auxiliaries to form compound ideophonic words like Amharic. Moreover, most of these sounds are onomatopoeic. This can be observed in the following examples.

1)	**Ideophones**	**Gloss**
a.	um**ʘ**a-	'kissing ideophones (onomatopoeia)'
b.	**ʞɨ**-	'sound used to show disapproval'
c.	ǁa-	'ideophone used to show sympathy'
d.	ǁuǁuǁu-	'ideophone of calling dog (onomatopoeia)'
e.	**!**u**!**u**!**u-	'ideophone used to urge horse(onomatopoeia)'
f.	tchip	'sound used to express sympathy'

As we have considered in the preceding section, the above ideophone with click-like sounds (verbal gestures) have almost similar semantic functions and most of them are onomatopoeic ideophones.

5.3. Vowel inventories

The phonemic inventories of Kafi Noonoo ideophones exhibit all the five short and their counter long vowel phonemes of the language. Phonologists who studied Kafa phonology including Theil (2007), agree on the number of vowels of the regular phonology of the language. Theil (2007), summarizes the vowel inventories of the language and identifies five short vowel such as /**i, e, a, o, u/** and their counter long vowels /**ii, ee, aa, oo** and **uu**/. As pointed out in the preceding discussion ideophones use all vowel phonemes of the regular phonology.

In the preceding sections, we have noted that ideophones use the all phonemes (consonants and vowels) of the regular phonology and some other new sounds (click-like/verbal gestures) that completely lack in the normal phonology. Since we have seen the phoneme and phone inventories in ideophones of the language, next we shall examine the distributions and frequencies of the above phonemes and sounds in ideophonic words of the language. Consider the following descriptions.

6. The phonemes and click-like sounds distribution in ideophones

This sub-section presents the distributions of the above phonemes and the non-phonemic (click-like) sounds in the ideophones of the language. In this part, we will examine the consonant phonemes distributions, non-phonemic (click-like) sound distribution and third, vowel phoneme distribution in ideophones of Kafi Noonoo. These distributions are examined by the occurrences of phoneme and click-like sound

in word initial, word medial and word final positions. Consider the following descriptions.

6.1. Consonant phoneme distributions in ideophones

This section presents the distribution of phonemes in ideophones of the language. As noted above, almost all consonant phonemes of the normal phonology occur in word initial, word medial and word final positions as the following are some examples.

Table 1 Consonant distributions

C	WIP	Gloss	WMP	Gloss	WFP	Gloss
/b/	**b**ák'k'ák'-	'abandoned'	hó**b**úbb-	'glow'	ʃí**bb**-	'grasp'
/d/	**d**ábbdább-	'nightfall'	bé**d**ó	'giant/big'	bú**gg**ú**dd**-	'cut quickly'
/f/	**f**étt-	'slaughter'	t'ó**f**t'óf-	'writhe'	jófjó**f**-	'bat'
/g/	**g**áágíʃ-	'smirked'	bá**gg**úll-	'big eyes'	bá**gg**-	'mongoose '
/h/	**h**íkk'in-	'hiccup'	háw**h**áw-	'bad smell'	tá**h**-	'hit by force'
/j/	**j**úmbúr-	'slipped out'	**J**újé	'owl'	ha**jj**	'is that?'
/k/	**k**áwáʃ-	'break glass'	ma**k**at-	'disapproval'	nú**k**núkk-	'trot of dog'
/k'/	**k'**ák'ák'-	'crackling'	k'áp'i**k**áp'-	'greedy'	p'áá**k'k**'-	'glitter'
/l/	**l**úúngó	'tall'	ka**ll**kall-	'fast walk'	bí**ll**-	'disappear'
/m/	**m**ú**tʃ'**ír-	'appear suddenly'	**g**í**m**g**i**m-	'nightfall'	**g**ú**g**gú**m**-	'fall'
/n/	**n**íp'p'-	'stab, pierce'	ʃúú**n**gút'-	'pinched'	dú**nn**-	'very black'
/p/	**p**átpát-	'seeped out'	te**p**tep-	'leak, drip'	tó**pp**-	'kill'
/p'/	**p'**ák'k'-	'sparkle'	p'étàl**p'**éʃ-	'care less'	tʃ'**íp'p'**-	'full'
/r/	**rrr**…	'signal to stop dance'	ʃó**r**óól-	'very tall'	hó**rrr**	'lead to tripe'
/ss/	**-**	-	má**ss**émέw-	'undermine'	t'e**ss**	'slap'
/ʃ/	**ʃ**ét't'-	'sit tightly'	kù**ʃ**íkùnd-	'black ant'	ki**ʃʃ**-	'break glass'
/t/	**t**úút-	'rainbird'	ʃó**tt**-	'drag'	futfú**t**-	'slipped out'
/t'/	**t'**óp-	'kiss loudly'	dá**t't'**ábòtt'-	'jabbered'	mó**t't'**-	'uproot'
/tʃ'/	**tʃ'**íip'-	'became full'	dùt**ʃ'**ìdtʃ'-	'move'	t'ó**tʃtʃ'**-	'grab'
/w/	**w**úllwúll-	'fluttered'	tʃíí**w**úll	'dive'	-	-
/z/	**-**	-	-	-	-	-
/ʔ/	**ʔ**ááp'p'-	'take food out of mouth'	háá**ʔ**áá-	'breath of pain'	há**ʔ**áhú**ʔ-**	'monkey's chatter'

The data in Table 15 shows that Kafi Noonoo ideophones use almost all consonant phonemes of the regular phonology. These consonant phonemes can occur in the

word initial, medial and final positions of ideophones. Theil (2007), notes the lack of phoneme /**r**/ in word initial position with reference of Shekki Noonoo in Leslau (1958:137). In contrast, as the above data shows phoneme/**r**/ occurs in word-initial position in ideophonic words. In addition to this, Theil (2007), claims that phonemes /**s**/ and /**z**/ are foreign phonemes and /**z**/totally lacks his consonant frequency analysis. In line with Theil (2007), claim phoneme /**z**/ does not occur in ideophones elsewhere. However, phoneme /**s**/ rarely occurs in ideophonic words like [ma**ss**emmew] 'ideophone used to show superiority over someone (ideophone used to make someone disclose secrets he or she knows)'. As the above data shows /**s**/ occurs in ideophonic word medial and final positions. From the examples it obvious that phoneme /s/ occurs in its geminated form/ss/. Since we have seen the consonant phonemes distributions, now let us proceed to investigation of the distribution of non-phonemic sounds (click-like sounds) in ideophones of the language. As we have considered in the preceding sections, the language comprises five click-like sounds in its inventories. These sounds have their own distributions in the ideophones of the language. Consider the following description.

6.2. The click-like sounds distributions in ideophones

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

Table 2 the click-like (verbal gestures) distributions

Sound	WIP	Gloss	WMP	Gloss	WFP	Gloss
[ʘ]	ʘa-	'kiss'	umʘa-	'kiss (onomatopoeic)'	-	-
[ǂ]	ǂɨ-	'disapproval'	ǂɨǂɨǂɨ …	'expressing feeling of pain'	-	-
[ǁ]	ǁa-	'show sympathy'	ǁaǁaǁaǁa…	'express regression'	-	-
[ǃ]	ǃu-	'urge house'	ǃuǃuǃu…	'urge house (onomatopoeic)'		
[tchip]	tchip	'show sympathy'	**-**	-	-	-

As can be observed from Table 16, click-like sounds occur in word initial and word medial positions. These sound distributions seem the same with the distributions they have in Amharic ideophones. Ideophones formed with click-like sounds show little differences when compared the form they have in Amharic. That is the kissing (onomatopoeic ideophone) formed with the bilabial click-like sound [ʘ] is preceded in Amharic by the high central vowel /ɨ/ as in ɨmʘa-'kiss' and mʘa-'kiss' in Kafi Noonoo. In addition to this, the ideophonic word formed by the lateral click-like

sound [ǁ] is followed by the vowel high central vowel /ɨ/ as in ǁɨ -'show sympathy' ǁɨǁɨǁɨǁɨ…'express regression' but followed by the low vowel /a/ in Kafi Noonoo an in ǁa-'show sympathy' and ǁaǁaǁaǁa…'express regression'. The nasal click-like sound seems to combine with the Amharic high central vowel /ɨ/ in both languages as in **ᵑǂi**- 'disapproval'. Moreover, the suckteeth (tchip) click-like sound seems not to combine with any vowel in the languages under the study. Up to here, we have seen the distributions of click-like sounds in Kafi Noonoo ideophones. Next, let us proced to the description of vowel phonemes distributions in ideophones of the language.

6.3. Vowel phonemes distribution in ideophones

As the following data shows, Kafi Noonoo vowel phonemes seem distribution without any positional restrictions. Consider the following examples.

Table 3 Vowel distributions

V	WIP	Gloss	WMP	Gloss	WFP	Gloss
/a/	**á**mbámbò	'flood'	há**a**w-há**a**w-	'bad smell'	ʃá-	'slapped'
/aa/	**áá**kkòòò	'scavenger'	ká**áá**wútʃtʃ'-	'break down'	k'**áá**	'snap'
/e/	**é**mìʃ-	'goat'	t'**é**p'ér-	'arrived'	p'érité	'shiny worm'
/ee/	**éé**llòò	'colobusmonkey'	kéng**éé**ng-	'very red'	kéngel**éé**	'beautiful'
/i/	**í**ndʒíndʒ-	'beetles'	ʃung**i**t'-	'pinch'	bángí	'starvation'
/ii/	**íí**ʃírábáʃár-	'nonsense'	tʃ'ír**íí**t'-	'skinny'	híii híii	'signal to stop dance'
/o/	**ó**ndʒíndʒ-	'sluggish'	hótʃ'ótʃ'-	' abundance'	ʃákʃákò	'loose'
/oo/	**óó**ngóng-	'clumsy walk'	dóppóór-	'elephantiasis'	ʃóróló**óó**	'very tall'
/u/	**ú**gé	'pigeon'	bú**u**dd-	'cut, split out'	ʔit**u**-	'spit'
/uu/	**úú**kó	'yell for help'	t**úú**tè	'rain bird'	tut**uu**…	'blow horn'

As the data in Table 17 shows all vowel phonemes, occur in word-initial, word medial and word-final positions of ideophonic words. From the above data, it is obvious that both sort and long vowels are used in ideophones of the language. Likewise as in the regular phonology of the language, two different vowels do not occur immediately one after the other. When ideophones are reduplicated vowel /**i**/ is used as epenthetic vowel as in the ideophonic word k'ap'**i**kap'o which means 'greedy'.

7. The phonotactics of Kafi Noonoo ideophones

As Bjorkman & Zeijlstra (2015), note that cross-linguistic descriptions of inventories, phonological processes and phonotactics are inseparably bound up with some apparently a theoretic concept of segments. According to Kager & Pater (2012),

phonological analysis of a language normally takes phonotactics as part of the data to be considered. In addition, every living language in the world has also its own permissible sound sequences or phonotactic rules. However, ideophones sometime have similar phonotactics with the regular phonology or deviate from it. According the data, Kafi Noonoo ideophones allow the following five (5) sound sequences. These are:

1. Nasal + voiced obstruent ⇒**mb**, **nd**, **ndʒ**, and **ng**
2. Nasal + unvoiced obstruent ⇒**nk**
3. Obstruent +trill ⇒**gr** and **t'r**
4. The sequences of two identical consonants ⇒**bb**, **gg**, **ll, mm, nn, pp, tt, p'p', rr …**
5. Two identical vowel sequences(long vowels) ⇒**ii, uu, ee, oo and aa**

The first two (1-2) sound sequences are also common in non-ideophonic words. Theil (2007), identifies them in his prehistory Kafa (Kafa II) phonology consonant sound cluster sequences. Theil notes that these consonant clusters occur intervocalically in word medial position. Correspondingly, in ideophonic words, sound sequences in (1-3) purely occur in word medial potions too. Sound sequences in (4) occur in word medial and/or word final position in ideophones. In addition to this, sound sequence (rr) occurs in word initial position as in **rrrrr…** 'signal pause/end of cultural song and dance'. However, Theil (2007), notes that the /r/ sound does not occur in word initial positions except in borrowed words. Furthermore, the last sequence in (5) occur in ideophonic words elsewhere but in ideophonic word final position this sound sequences result extreme vowel lengthening. This extreme lengthening affects the vowel quality. Since we have considered the general phonotactic rule of ideophones, next we shall proceed to the descriptions of sound sequence in their syllable structures.

7.1. The consonant phonotactics

As Theil (2007), notes in the language all words end with vowels. However, some words like, ʔa**nd** 'now' and ʔo**kk** 'there' have the C1V**C1C**2 and C1V**C2C2** syllable structures that end with heterogenic or homorganic consonant sequences. As the data shows, most monosyllabic Kafi Noonoo ideophones follow the C1V **[C2C2]** structure exclusively as in words tʃ'ó**bb** 'flash', kú**mm-** 'rap/chip off' and bú**dd** 'cut quickly at once'. From this evidence, we can conclude that the phonotactics of ideophones allows homorganic consonant sequences in the coda of monosyllabic ideophones. On the other hand, most disyllabic ideophones follow the C1VC2C3VC4 and C1VC2C2VC3 consonant sequences as in ideophonic words like jú**mb**úr 'slip' and bú**gg**úl 'rolling of big eyes'. In such structures C1V [**C2C3**] VC4 the intervocalic heterogenic consonant sequence [-**C2C3**-] applies the phonotactic rule listed (1-3). In addition to this, in the structure C1V [**C2C2**] VC3 the intervocalic homorganic

consonant sequence [-**C2C2**-] applies rule (4). Furthermore, the trill consonant sound /**r**/ deploys unique consonant sequences [C1C1C1…] and (C1V [C2C2C2…]). In ideophone of the language, such as in **rrr…**'ideophone used to signal stop/end cultural song and dance' and **hórrr…** ideophone used to lead prey into trap (trap nets)'. The former sound sequences violate the three phonological rules of the language. First, as we have noted above sound /**r**/ does not occur word initial positions in the regular phonology except in loan words as in raʃóó 'head of some localities' browed from Amharic. In most formal speech, it is pronounced as iraʃóó/irannóó 'the leader/head of certain locality'. Second, the sound is pronounced for longer time without vowel insertion but Theil (2007) notes that the language does not allow more than two (CC) sequences in word medial and final positions. This phonological feature will be treated under the suprasegmental ideophones.

7.2. The vowels phonotactics

Like Amharic phonotactics, diphthongization and triphtongization are not possible in the phonotactics of Kafi Noonoo. However, like the regular phonology of all Omotic and Cushitic languages, the sequences two identical vowels (long vowels) are common in the language. As the data shows, the phonotactics of vowels in ideophones is almost similar except extreme long vowels occurring in ideophonic words. This happens in ideophonic words like h**ííí…** h**ííí…** h**ííí…** 'ideophone used to signal stop/end cultural song and dance' and the ideophone that follows the ending signal and articulated by the entire dancer is **ahojéééé…** 'ideophone used to help dancers keep the same rhythms and stop dance uniformly.' In these ideophones, the length of the vowel is determined by the ability to articulate by the singer and dancers respectively. In addition to this, extremely long vowel sequences are found in many onomatopoeic ideophones such as in **kááá…(h)** 'hit something by force' and in some visual ideophones like **wááá…(h)** 'become extremely white'. Vowel lengthening will be threated independently under the supra segmental of ideophones in the following section.

8. The suprasegmental features of Kafi Noonoo ideophones

As we have considered in the preceding section, suprasegmental deals with lengthening, tone, intonations and stress. Out of these suprasegmental features, in this sub-section we will see lengthening and tone. As data shows, ideophones of the language deploy both consonant and vowel lengthening. In addition to this, tone plays important role in ideophones of the language. Therefore, this section presents consonant lengthening, vowel lengthening and tones in Kafi Noonoo ideophones respectively. Consider the following descriptions.

8.1. Consonant lengthening in ideophones

As Childs (1994), notes expressive lengthening is connected with iconic lengthening and it undergoes (unlimited) reduplication of segments or forms. Ideophones often deploy expressive lengthening at phonological and morphological levels. In the former case, ideophones undergo consonant and vowel lengthening. In the latter case, they undergo words lengthening via segment, syllable and word reduplication. Most of the time ideophones lengthening takes place in word final position. In the same way in many languages, ideophones use expressive consonant and vowel lengthening to show extension, strength and duration of action and events. Lydall et al.(2000), identifies the role of vowel and consonant lengthening in Hamar ideophones. In the language, ideophones use vowel and consonant lengthening to show extension. For example, **lei** shows (being/going a short while/distance) while le**::::::::::i:** expresses (being/going a long time/distance). On the other hand, **pärr** shows (spread out once/one thing) whereas the use of consonant lengthening in **pärrrrrrrrr** expresses (spread out far and wide). Similarly, Smoll (2014), notes that in Katuena ideophones deploy expressive consonant and vowel lengthening to show duration, speed and/or spatial characteristics of events. In the same way, in Kafi Noonoo, ideophones also expressive vowel and consonant lengthening shows duration and strength of actions and events. Consider expressive consonant lengthening in the following examples.

Table 4 consonant lengthening

No.	Ideophones	Gloss
a.	ki**ʃʃʃ**…	'sound of breaking glass'
b.	bi**lll**…	'ideophone of cursing (damn)'
c.	di**lll**…	'sound of gun fire'
d.	gugu**mmm**…	'fall in full length'
e.	ho**rrr**…	'sound used to lead animals trap(prey)'
f.	**rrr**…**rrr**… **rrr**…	'sound used to signal stop cultural dance'

As can be seen in Table 18 ideophones use expressive consonant lengthening word final positions. In ideophones of the language, continuants such as fricatives, liquids, nasals and trills are extra-lengthened word final position. As mentioned above ideophonic word final consonant lengthening expresses intensity and durativity of actions and events. However, this phonological feature is not common in the regular phonology of the language. As noted above, similarly ideophones also undergo extra vowel lengthening. Consider the following descriptions.

8.2. Vowel lengthening in ideophones

According to Akumbu (2016), in Kejom ideophones deploy vowel lengthening as one of the phonological pattern that distinguishes them from non-ideophonic words. This

vowel lengthening can be extended based the speaker's need and the ability to articulate them. Akumbu also concludes that in the language ideophones are formed via vowel lengthening and reduplication (Akumbu, 2016). Childs (1994), also notes that ideophones are characterized by their use of extra-long vowels as in **síìì** 'continuing for short distance or period' Kafi Noonoo ideophones similarly undergo expressive extra vowel lengthening to express durativity and intensity of actions and events. Consider the following examples.

Table 5 Vowel lengthening in Kafi Noonoo ideophones

No.	Ideophones	Gloss
a.	h**íííí**… h**íííí** … h**íííí…**	'signaling stop cultural dancing'
b	j**ááá…**(h)	'is that? (sure?)'
c.	m**ááá…**(h)	'sound used call calf, disapproval of someone else'
d	ʃ**ááá…**(h)	'giving a forceful slap on one's face'
e.	w**ááá…**(h)	'become extremely white'
f.	t**ááá…**(h)	'hit forcefully'
g.	k'**ááá…**(h)	'sound of breaking dry wood'

As can be observed from Table 19, some ideophones in Kafi Noonoo use expressive vowel lengthening. These vowel lengthening in here is quite different form long vowels of the regular lexicon. The expressive vowel lengthening in ideophones are extra-long long vowels. As the above description shows, these extra-long vowels form the CVVV… syllable structure that is uncommon in the regular phonology. In addition to this, the word final long vowels express surprise, duration, intensity of actions and events and imitated sounds. As the data shows in most cases, the extra-long vowel used in ideophones is vowel /a/. The extreme vowel lengthening in ideophones results change in vowel quality. These changes can be seen from the above examples. In examples (19.a-g), the extra lengthening of vowel /a/ yields the breathy sound (h) word final positions. However, like the regular words of the language, most ideophones use both short and long vowels. Moreover, most nominal ideophones use the normalizer suffixes è/èè and ò/òò. The former is feminine nominalizer whereas the latter is masculine nominalizer. We shall see this in detail in the morphology chapter. As pointed out in the preceding section, Kafi Noonoo is a ton language. The following sub-section present tons in ideophones (Kwon & Yu, 2018).

8.3. The roles and patterns of tone in Kafi Noonoo ideophones

As we have noted in the preceding section, tone is one of the suprasegmental features. In this section, we will examine the tone patterns and functions in Kafi Noonoo ideophones. Taddese (2001), identifies two-tone systems in the regular phonology. These are the high (H) and low (L) tones. From the entire data, it is observed that Kafi Noonoo ideophones uniformly bear high (H) tone except the final vowel. Like the

non-ideophonic words, in ideophones the final vowels are nominalizing suffixes. In ideophones, these terminal vowels carry low tones as in **túútè** 'rain-bird'. On the other hand, the high tones in ideophonic words show the intensity of actions or events. Since we have seen the suprasegmentals of ideophones, we shall move to the descriptions of syllable structures and syllabifications of ideophones (Cheung et al., 2001; Yip, 2006).

9. The syllable structure of Kafi Noonoo ideophones

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

2) The syllable structures of Kafi Noonoo ideophones

No.	Syllable	word	Gloss
a.	V	**íʃírábáʃárò**	'nonsense'
b.	VV	**éé**	'yes'
c.	VVC	**ááp'**	'take food out of mouth'
d.	VCC	**óndʒóndʒ**	'talk nonsense/gibberish'
e.	CV	**gágíʃó**	'smirking'
f.	CVV	do**pòòròò**	'elephantiasis'
g.	CVC	**ʃúh**-	'swift'
h.	CVVC	p'et't'el**peeʃ**	'careless/thoughtless'
i.	CVVCC	**tʃ'úút't'**	'catch tightly'
j.	CVVV….(h)	**waaa…(h)**	'become extremely white'
k.	CVCC	**mútʃtʃ**	'cut quickly'
l.	CVCCC…	**dill….**	'sound of gun'
m.	CCC…	**rrrrr…**	'signal to cultural song and dance'

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

10. The Syllabification of Kafi Noonoo ideophones

As we have noted in the preceding section, syllabification is a phonological process in which segments are positioned (slotted) around the nucleus of the syllable. As Gussmann (2002), notes syllabification is process that encompasses phonological construction of a language and is not merely slotting phonetically transcribed segments. Gussenhoven & Jacobs (2017), note languages differ in types of syllables they exhibit. Some have CV and a few contain (C) V some others may have CVC and others even include one segment in the onset, nucleus and coda. However, out of these differences cross-linguistically they show the same phonological properties that the intervocalic consonants are governed by the Maximum onset principle (Huffman & Krakow, 1993). Thus, inter vocalic consonants are slotted to the onset of the second syllable than the coda of the first syllable as far as the onset maximum principle is legitimate. As the data shows, Kafi Noonoo ideophones comprises both simple and complex syllable types. According to the syllabification result, Kafi Noonoo ideophone range from monosyllabic to polysyllabic ideophones. Consider the following descriptions.

10.1. Monosyllabic ideophones

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

Table 6 Monosyllabic ideophones

Monosyllabic	No.	Ideophone	Gloss
VC	a.	á̠h!	'sound used to make others cautious'
CV	b.	tʃʾá	'sound of slapping someone'
	c.	ʃá	'sound of slapping someone'
CVVV…	d.	maáá…	'sound used to call calf, sound of undarning someone'
	e.	hiii…	'sound used to signaling stop dance'
CVVC	f.	jiif-	'fallen (for seeds)
	g.	tuut-	'sound of blowing a horn, rain bird'
	h.	tʃʾuuk'-	'a very small ears'
CVC	i.	dʒut-	'hit gently something with a stick'
	j.	ʃuh-	'swift, fly away'
	k.	juʃ-	'enter suddenly'
CVCC	l.	dudʒdʒ-	'enter suddenly'
	m.	kopp-	'pickup'
	n.	nip'p'-	'pierce, stab'
	o.	ʃíbb-	'catch tightly'

	p.	hórrr...	'leading an antelope in a net trap'
	q.	kíʃʃʃ...	'became dry like seeds and grains'
CVVCC	r.	kóóndʒ-	'straight became straight usually nose'
	s.	tʃ'úút't'-	'catch tightly'
	t.	búút't'-	'released loud fart'

As observed from the data in Table 20, monosyllabic Kafi Noonoo ideophones roughly comprise eight-syllable patterns. These are (VC), (CV), (CVVV…), (CVVC), (CVC), (CVCC), and (CVVCC). In addition to this, most ideophonic words formed by the click-like sounds (verbal gestures) as in **ǂi** 'disapprove', **Θa**- 'kiss', **ǁa**-'show sympathy' , **!u**- 'urge horse' have the CV and also are monosyllabic. Moreover, as can be seen in the above description, monosyllabic ideophones described in (d&e) that display the syllable structure CVVV… and in (p&q) that display syllable structure CVCCC… are not permitted in the regular phonology of the language. In the former pairs, ideophones deploy extremely long vowels at word-final positions. While in the latter pairs of ideophonic words, the final consonants can be produced for a very long time as the speaker wishes enough messages are conveyed through these ideophones. Moreover, as examples (l-t) depict most monosyllabic ideophones that have the CC and/or (CCC…) coda sequences have short vowels. Furthermore, the above data shows that the phonology of monosyllabic ideophones constitute in (a b, & c) light syllables, ideophones in (i, j, & k) are heavy syllable types and ideophone in (d, e, l, m, n, o p, q, r,) are supper heavy syllable types respectively. Kafi Noonoo ideophones also constitute disyllabic ideophones. Consider the following description.

10.2. Disyllabic ideophones

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

Table 7 Disyllabic Kafi Noonoo

Disyllabic	No.	Ideophones	Gloss
	a.	áp'p'ér-	'became full for fluid'
V.CVC	b.	óʃír-	'became rusted'
	c.	áákkòò	'scavenger'
VVC.CVV	d.	úúkkóó	'yell for help'
	e.	éélóó	'colobusmonkey'
	f.	ʃíífòò	'genet'
CVV.CVV	g.	ʃíikóó	'sound of a jammed TV/something fermenting'
	h.	béédòò	'big, giant'
CVVC.CVVC	i.	déékkòò	'dwarf, very short'

CVC.CVC	j.	tungiʃ-	‘fall into sleep suddenly’
	k.	jumbur-	‘slip suddenly’
	l.	ʃúngút’-	‘pinch forcefully’
	m.	mútʃír-	‘appear suddenly’
	n.	kákér-	‘split with an ax’
	o.	ʃékér-	‘become strewn’
CV.CVC	p.	tʃ’órór-	'sound produced when liquid is poured into container'
	q.	tóróp’-	‘sound produced when piercing hard surface’
	r.	bágar-	‘drop teas’
	s.	dʒútúp-	‘sound of hitting something’
CVV.CV	t.	túúmò	‘becoming sad, dejected’
	u.	t’ééjò	‘thunder’
CVC.CVCC	v.	tʃúbbíll-	'fall into the water'
	w.	púttúll-	‘slipup’

As can be observed from Table 21, disyllabic Kafi Noonoo ideophonic words roughly follow the next ten syllabic patterns such as (V.CVC), (VV.CVV), (VVC.CVV), (CVVC.CVVC), (CVV.CVV), (CVC.CVC), (CV.CVC), (CVV.CV), (CVC.CVCC), and (CVC.CV). In the language, most disyllabic ideophones follow the normal syllable types of the regular phonology of the language. In addition to this, the above analysis illustrates certain positional restrictions in disyllabic ideophones such as the CVCC pattern appears word-final, the CV, CVV, and CVC patterns occur either in word-initial or final syllable positions and V and VVC occur word-initial syllable. From the above examples, it is obvious that most disyllabic ideophonic nouns as in (c-i and u) end with (VV) sequences. These vowels are often nominalizing suffixes in the regular phonology. On the other hand, most disyllabic ideophonic verbs end with consonants (C and CC) sequences. Moreover, as noted above, disyllabic ideophone in the language constitute light, heavy and super-heavy syllable types like those described in monosyllabic ideophones. Thus, Kafi Noonoo disyllabic ideophone constitutes the same syllable patterns the regular phonology of the language employ. Since we have seen the syllabication of disyllabic ideophones, let us proceed to the descriptions of trisyllabic ideophones in the language.

10.3. Trisyllabic ideophones

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

nouns, trisyllabic adjectival ideophones end with vowels. Consider the following descriptions.

Table 8 Trisyllabic ideophones

Trisyllabic	No.	Ideophones	Gloss
VC.CVC.CV	a.	ámbámbò	'flood (from the sound of gush)'
CV.CV.CVCC	b.	p'ít'ík'inn-	'turned upside-down suddenly change position'
CVC.CVC.CVC	c.	ʃúkkúkkíl-	'swing, pendulum'
	d.	p'et't'elp'eeʃ	'careless, thoughtless'
	e.	mákkándéw-	'sound used to show superiority over someone'
	f.	mássémmέw-	'sound used to show superiority over someone'
CV.CV.CV	g.	gágíʃò	'smirk (insultative)'
	h.	búrák'ò	'to gambol'
	i.	bútʃínò	'huge'
	j.	gímbíllό	'of a big skull'
CVC.CVC.CV	k.	búggíllό	'big eyes, rolling big eyes (positive)'
	l.	ʃémbét'ò	'a very thin and small lip (negative)'
	m.	métʃtʃékkò	'type of bird named by its song'
	n.	jút't'út't'ò	'walk in step, walk-in mass'
CV.CVC.CV	o.	tútútto	'to chase something/somebody'
	p.	ʃáráárò̀ò̀	'thin and tall'
CV.CVV.CVV	q.	dópóórò̀ò̀	'elephantiasis, swollen legs'
CV.CVC.CVV	r.	ʃóróólóó	'very tall'
	s.	dúmbúllέέ	'fat and attractive(usually a woman)
CVC.CV.CVV	t.	kéngéllέέ	'tall and beautiful'
	u.	mátʃtʃímátʃtʃ-	'became restless'
CVC.CV.CVCC	v.	tʃ'óbbítʃ'óbb-	'became nasty'
	w.	nákkínákk-	'trot (dog)'
CVV.CV.CVVC	x.	dóókídóók-	'sluggish, bleary'

As data in Table 22 depicts, trisyllabic ideophonic words roughly display the following syllable patterns. These are (VC.CVC.CV), (CV.CV.CVCC), (CVC.CVC.CVC), (CV.CV.CV), (CVC.CVC.CV), (CV.CVC.CV), (CV.CVV.CVV), (CV.CVC.CVV), (CVC.CV.CVV), (CVV.CV.CVVC) and (CVC.CV.CVCC). As the above data illustrates that, almost all trisyllabic ideophones possess onsets necessarily but contain optional codas. As we have noted above trisyllabic ideophones include ideophonic verbs. Examples in (b, c, e, f, g, n, u, v and x) are ideophonic verbs and they end with consonants. Example ideophones in (a, h, m and o) are ideophonic nouns and like any

non-ideophonic noun they end with vowels. Example ideophones in (d, i, j, k, l, p, q, s and t) are ideophonic adjectives and they end with vowel sound like any other non-ideophonic adjectives. From the above description, it is observed that most Kafi Noonoo trisyllabic ideophonic words are monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophonic words. However, there are also some true trisyllabic ideophonic words as in (b, c, d, e and f). As the data show most monosyllabic ideophonic verbs as in (u, v, and x), get trisyllabic ideophonic verbs through reduplication. They become trisyllabic when vowel <i> connects the reduplicated ideophonic words. For example see the monosyllabic ideophone tʃ'óbb- which means 'nasty/sparkle' becomes trisyllabic ideophonic verb via reduplication as in tʃ'óbb<í>tʃ'óbb-'became nasty'. In addition to this, disyllabic ideophones also become trisyllabic ideophonic nouns through suffixing nominalizing vowels as in (a, h, m and o). The final vowel(s) in this trisyllabic ideophonic nouns are suffixed to the disyllabic ideophonic bound stems. Moreover as pointed out in the preceding discussion, most trisyllabic ideophonic adjectives in (d, i, j, k, l, p, q, s and t) are formed by suffixing the final vowel(s) to the disyllabic ideophonic word roots. Since we have seen trisyllabic ideophonic words, we shall move to the description of quadricsyllable ideophonic words.

10.4. Quadrisyllabic ideophones

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

Table 9 Quadrisyllabic ideophones

Quadricsyllable	No.	Ideophones	Gloss
VC.CV.CV.CV	a.	Ámbédánè	'very small'
CVC.CVC.CV.CV	b.	wák'k'ák'k'ílò	'fraudulent'
CV.CV.CV.CV	c.	gógímát'ó	'giant, huge'
	d.	kóʃíkóʃò	'a poison warm which damages fingers'
CVC.CV.CVVC.CV	e.	tʃúndíbáát't'è	'tiny, diminutive'
	f.	Wúlliwáákkò	'spin, rotate something'
CVC.CV.CVC.CV	g.	jámbírát't'ò	'stretch-out legs when sitting'
	h.	fúrítfúrít-	'slipup,

CV.CVC.CV.CVC	i.	k'áfárk'áfár-	'squirmed, wriggled'
	j.	p'úk'írp'úk'ír-	'roll down'
CVC.CV.CVC.CV	k.	k'ándʒík'ándʒò	'jabbered, talked nonsense'
	l.	bándʒíbándʒò	'jabbered talked nonsense'
	m.	núútʃ'ínúútʃ'ò	'smile, show smiley face'
CVV.CV.CVV.CV	n.	t'úúrít'úúrò	'big eyes(has a negative meaning)'
	o.	bágárbágár	'drop tears/cry'
CV.CVC.CV.CVC	p.	ʃékérʃékér	'become strewn'

As can be observed form Table 23, Kafi Noonoo quadrisyllabic ideophones roughly display nine syllable patterns. These are (VC.CV.CV.CV), (CVC.CVC.CV.CV), (CV.CV.CV.CV), (CVC.CV.CVVC.CV), (CVC.CV.CVC.CV), (CV.CVC.CV.CVC), (CVC.CV.CVC.CV), (CVV.CV.CVV.CV) and (CV.CVC.CV.CVC). From the above description, it is obvious that quadric-syllable ideophones constitute two classes. Ideophones in (a, b, c, e, f, g) are pure quadrisyllabic ideophones and those in (h-p and d) are the results of reduplication. In addition to this, most of these ideophones deploy full reduplication and some of them deploy partial reduplication. I shall give a detailed description of this in the morphology part. Moreover, Kafi Noonoo ideophones also comprise polysyllabic ideophones. The next description presents syllabification of polysyllabic ideophones.

10.5. Polysyllabic ideophones

There are too many polysyllabic ideophonic words in Kafi Noonoo. The data in Table 24 presents some examples of polysyllabic ideophone in the language. As can be seen from the data, most of these ideophone types deploy reduplications but a few ideophonic words are purely polysyllabic. In addition to this, almost all polysyllabic ideophones have short vowels and these seems to because word length. Consider the following description.

Table 10 polysyllabic ideophones in Kafi Noonoo

Polysyllabic	No.	Ideophones	Gloss
V.CV.CV.CV.CV	a.	íʃírábáʃárò	'nonsense, rubbish'
CVC.CV.CV.CVC.CV.CV	b.	k'iŋgírak'íŋgírò	'twisted'
CV.CV.CV.CV….CV	c.	t'át'át'át'á…t'á -	'repeated popping sound'
CVC.CVC.CVC…CVC	d.	két'két'két'két'…két'-	'shrieked with laughter'
	e.	bét'bét'bét'bét'…bét'-	'offensive pungent smell'
	f.	bét'ét'ét'ét…t'ét't'-	'offensive pungent smell'
CVC.CVC.CVC…. CVCC			

	g.	húbúbúbúb…búbb-	‘over blazing fire’
	h.	jíníníní…ínn-	‘slowly burning fire’
CV.CV.CV.CV….CVC	i.	tʃ’óróróróróróŕ…róŕ(r)-	‘sound of pouring liquid’
	j.	ʃóróróróróróróŕ…. róŕ(r)	‘running snake’
	k.	kéŋgíkéŋgí…kéŋg-	‘sound of ringing bell’
CVC.CV.CVC.CV….CVCC	l.	k’índík’índí… k’índ-	‘burn black’
CVC.CVC.CV….CVC.CVCC	m.	ʃókkóllí… ʃókkóll-	‘walk limply’
	n.	ʃék’k’éllí… ʃék’k’éll-	‘walk limply’
CVCC.CVCC.CVCC.CVCC…	o.	díll díll díll díll díll…	'sound of an automatic gun'

From Table 24 it is observed that polysyllabic ideophones roughly display the following nine syllable patterns. These are (V.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV), (CVC.CV.CV.CVC.CV.CV), (CV.CV.CV.CV….CV), (**CVC.CVC.CVC…CVC), (**CVC.CVC.CVC…. CVCC), (CV.CV.CV.CV….CVC),(CVC.CV.CVC.CV.…CVCC),(CVC.CVC.CV….CVC.CVCC)and(CVCC.CVCC.CVCC.CVCC…) As indicated above, polysyllabic ideophones in the language are of two types. Ideophones as (a) are none reduplicated (basic) polysyllabic ideophonic words. On the other hand, polysyllabic ideophonic words as in (b-o) are the results of reduplication. The above description indicates that in polysyllabic ideophonic words, the (V) syllable structure is restricted at initial syllable position and the (CV and CVC) syllable structures occur at word-initial, medial and final syllable positions. Moreover, the (CVCC and CVCCC…) remain occurring in the word-final syllable positions. Furthermore, polysyllabic ideophones deploy both total and partial reduplications. Ideophone as in (b, c, d, e, g, k, l, m, n and o) and (f, n, i and j) are some examples these types respectively. As can be observed from the above description, polysyllabic ideophones can be made loner according to the interest of the speaker, as they believe enough message is conveyed via the ideophonic words. Furthermore, the above description shows that polysyllabic ideophone that underwent reduplication geminate the coda of the ultimate syllables to indicate the intensity or strength of the actions or the events. Besides this, in the above description we have seen that Kafi Noonoo ideophones comprise monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic and polysyllabic ideophones. In all of these syllable types, open and closed syllable types are abundant. The following description shows these closed and open syllable types. Consider the following descriptions.

10.6. Open syllables ideophones

From the above description, we have noted that almost all ideophonic verbs have closed syllable types in the coda of their ultimate syllables. On the contrary, most

ideophonic noun and ideophonic adjectives have open syllable types in their ultimate syllable codas. The following description shows some examples open syllable types.

Table 11 Open syllable ideophones

Syllable types	Syllable	No.	Ideophones	Gloss
Monosyllabic	CV	a	ʃá-	'sound of slapping'
Disyllabic	CVV.CVV	b	dɛ́ɛ́kkɔ̀ɔ̀	'dwarf, very short'
Trisyllabic	CV.CV.CV	c	gágíʃɔ̀	'smirked'
Quadrisyllabic	CVV.CV.CVV.CV	d	núútʃ'ínúútʃ'ɔ̀	'showing smiley face'
Polysyllabic	V.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	e	íʃírábaʃárɔ̀	'nonsense, rubbish'

From Table 23 we can observe that ideophones of the language encompass open syllable types. These open syllable types comprise monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllable and polysyllabic ideophones. As pointed out in the preceding discussions, most of these syllable types are ideophonic nouns as in (b, c, and d) and ideophonic adjectives as in (e). In addition to this, most monosyllabic onomatopoeic ideophones as in (a) are open syllable types. From the description, it is observed that longer ideophonic words constitute open syllable types. Moreover, Kafi Noonoo ideophones also encompass closed syllable types. Consider the following examples.

10.7. Closed syllables ideophones

As we have considered in the preceding, most monosyllabic ideophones end with consonant sounds. In addition to this, from the entire description it is observed that all syllable types have closed syllables such as (VC, VCC, CVC, CVCC, CVVC, CVVCC, CVCCC…). The following decryption shows some examples of these types.

Table 12 Closed syllable ideophones

Syllable types	Syllable	No.	Ideophones	Gloss
Monosyllabic	VC	a.	áh	' be cautious'
Disyllabic	CVC.CVC	b.	búggúd-	'cut and split'
Trisyllabic	CVC.CVC.CVCC	c.	fót'fót'fót't'-	'simmer/babble'
Quadrisyllabic	CVC.CVCC.CVC.CVCC	d.	ʃókkóll ʃókkóll-	'walk limping'
Polysyllabic	CVCC.CVCC.CVCC…	e.	dílldílldíll…	'sound of an automatic gun'

As the data in Table 26 shows, all syllable types such as monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic and polysyllabic ideophones in the language constitute closed

syllable types. As the entire data depicts, monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophones have numerous closed syllable types compared with the rest syllable types.

11. Summary and Conclusion

As the result of the finding depicts, Kafi Noonoo ideophones use almost all consonants and vowel phonemes of the regular phonology. In addition to this, the phonemic inventory shows that ideophones exhibit five click-like sounds (verbal-gestures) and these click-like sounds are [**ʞ**], [**ʘ**], [**ǁ**], [**ǃ**] and **tchip** (suck-teeth).

As the phoneme distribution analysis shows, except phonemes /z/, /s/ and the click-like sounds almost all consonants of the regular phonology are distributed in word-initial, medial and final position in ideophonic words. According to the data, phoneme /z/ seems lacking in ideophones but it may happen in some borrowed ideophones. However, phoneme /s/ is restricted in word medial and final potions only. These phoneme /**s**/ occurs in a few ideophonic words, as in **mássámew** 'a word used contextually either to declare superiority over someone or to make someone disclose secret by using a negative imposition through this word' and imitative ideophonic word **t'ess** 'slap'. The word m**ss**mew also exists in several Omotic languages, such as Shekki Noonoo, Dawuroo and Woliyyita having the same form, meaning and use. As the finding of the study shows, the above click-like sounds are restricted in word initial and medial positions.

Furthermore, the phonotactics analysis of ideophones shows that ideophones violate some phonotactic rules of the regular phonology. As Theil (2007), claims, the regular Kafi Noonoo words do not start with phoneme /r/. However, it occurs as **rrrr…** 'to signal stop cultural dance and song' as ideophonic words. In addition to this, phoneme/r/ occurs as in **horrr…**. 'sound of leading a prey into trap' but Theil (2007), claims that more than two consonant (**CC)** sequences is impermissible in the language. In same way, more than two identical vowel (**VV)** sequences are impossible in the regular phonology but more than two identical vowel sequences as in **p'iiii…p'** 'blow horn' and **máá́á́…** ideophone of 'disapproval' are observed. On the other hand, in the regular phonology words end with vowels but almost all ideophonic verbs as in **gip'p'**- 'close (door) tightly with force' end with consonant sounds.

As the result on the suprasegmental features shows, ideophones of the language deploy extreme consonant lengthening as in imitative ideophonic word **kíʃʃʃ …** 'sound of glass breaking' in word final positions. Likewise, ideophones also use extra-long vowels that are different from lexical long vowels in word final positions as in wáá́á́…(h) 'become very white' and ʃáá́á́… (h) 'slap force fully'. Such lengthening in ideophones shows intensity of actions and events. In addition to this, ideophones use evenly high /H/ tones in the entire syllables of words. These high /H/ tones in ideophones show the intensity of actions and events.

As the result of the finding shows the syllable types (CVCC), (CVVV…), (CVCCC…) and (CCC…) are typical to ideophones. In addition to this, ideophones also display the eight syllable types which Taddese (2001), identifies in the regular phonology of the language.

Based on the result of the finding, Kafi Noonoo ideophone are classifies as monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic and polysyllabic ideophones. Kafi Noonoo ideophones constitute open syllable types (V), (VV), (CV), (CVV) and closed syllable types (VC), (VCC), (CVC), (CVCC), (CVVC), (CVVCC) and (CVCCC…).
In conclusion, Kafi Noonoo ideophones have unique phonological features, which distinguish them from the regular phonology of the languages. These phonological deviations are observed in phoneme inventories, phoneme distribution, phonotactics, suprasegmental features such as consonant lengthening, vowel lengthening and tone patterns, syllable types and syllable shapes. In the language, ideophones use high (H) tone in all ideophonic stems and low tone systems in Nominalizer suffixes and adjectivalizing suffixes such as /è//èè/ and /o̗/ (o̗o̗).

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