

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF IDEOPHONES IN THE
SUBA LANGUAGE

BY

NAPHTALY P.O. MATTAH

A Linguistic Project submitted to the Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in Translation Studies

November, 2000

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STUDENT'S DECLARATION

**THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF IDEOPHONES IN THE
SUBA LANGUAGE**

**I declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to
any other College or University for academic credit.**

**The views presented herein are not necessarily those of the Nairobi
Evangelical Graduate School of Theology or the Examiners.**

(Signed)



Naphtaly P. O. Mattah

November, 2000

ABSTRACT

After my seven (7) years of reducing the Suba language into written form and translating the Bible into the language it came to the realization of the team that there were certain concepts which would not be expressed in any other way except by ideophones and onomatopoeia. When left out, a native speaker of the language finds the language sounding unnatural but whenever used appropriately an addition of some rich linguistic flavor is registered immediately.

One of the least studied features of human language by linguistics is ideophone and onomatopoeia. Whether they qualify to be categorized, as language proper is still a subject of debate among linguists. While some like Awoyale take ideophones and onomatopoeia as linguistic features with semantic and pragmatic value and hence worth being accounted, for others like Wescott they are nothing but “allolanguage.”

This paper is a descriptive study of ideophones and to a lesser extent, onomatopoeia in the Suba language. It aims at establishing what ideophones are, whether or not they have semantic, discourse or pragmatic roles in language. Our starting point shall be to consider the lexical categories of ideophones in the Suba language before proceeding to look at the phonological and morphological structure of ideophones in the language.

The end result of this paper is not only to establish the place of ideophones in language but more so to ascertain whether or not the use of ideophones can improve the quality of a Scripture translation or written language in general in those languages which have them.

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I would like to commend the hard work, patience, and encouragement of members of the Translation Department, classmates, Calvary Church NC, USA, Duries, Linebergers and the entire NEGST family.

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Most of all I give glory to God who stood behind all it took to bring out this paper. It is my sincere trust that the insights in this paper will be of benefit to linguists, particularly those who are involved in Bible translation, literacy and Scripture in use.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

2pp	Second person plural
2ps	Second person singular
3pp	Third person plural
3ps	Third person singular
DM	Demonstrative
id	Ideophone
Ncl	Noun class marker
inf	Infinitive
neg	Negative
obj	Object
psv	Passive
Qm	Question marker
sbj	Subject
SVO	Subject Verb Object
TAM	Tense, aspect, mood

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 About the Suba Language

The Suba language is spoken by about 119,000 people in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. It has been classified as Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Central, E, Kuria (E.10) (Grimes 1996, 295, 415).

The language has six dialects spoken in Kenya alone: Olwivwang'ano spoken on Mfangano Island, Rusinga Island, Takawiri Island, Kibwogi Island, Ragwe and Kisegi; Ekikune dialect spoken in Kaksingri, Ekingoe dialect spoken in Ngeri, Ekigase dialect spoken in Gwasi Hills, Ekisuuna dialect spoken in Migori and Olumuulu dialect spoken in Muhuru Bay. Of these Ekikune, Ekingoe and Ekigase are almost mutually intelligible while Ekisuuna and Olumuulu are also almost mutually intelligible.

The people's economic activities are mainly fishing, subsistence agriculture, and cattle keeping. The cattle kept are mainly for dowry and ceremonial sacrificing during burial ceremonies. The Suba people are renowned canoe builders and hippo hunters until recently when the government of Kenya prohibited poaching.

Western civilization came to the Suba community through their Luo counterparts who were also the gateway to Christianity, having been the first to come into contact with the faith. Luo was used as the medium of education until the mid 1990s when attempts were

made by the Suba people to introduce their language in public schools as well. It was during the same period that Scripture translation into the Suba language also began.

1.2 Definition

An ideophone is a linguistic strategy by which sounds are used to express both semantic and pragmatic meaning in such a way that the particular sounds (syllables) and in some cases reduplication of the same, create mental images of an action, object, or colour among others, in ways that are more culturally vivid than any adjective or any other intensifying strategy would. Through the use of ideophones an expert artist is capable of manipulating the sound system of the language and image schema in such a way that optimally captures the cultural experience of the listener.

Many linguists have classified ideophones to be mere interjections or exclamatory strategies of language with no grammatical components (Samarin 1965).

In spite of their importance, especially in African languages, ideophones have largely been ignored as features of human language, which have insignificant grammatical functions. Crystal defines ideophones merely as: “A term sometimes used in LINGUISTICS and PHONETICS for any vivid representation of an idea in sound, such as occurs through onomatopoeia.” (Crystal 1997, 189).

Other linguistic reference materials term ideophones to be intensifiers or adverbs, qualificatives, descriptives, etc.

Recent studies e.g. (Babalola 1966), (Awoyale 1979/1981), (Newman 1968) and (Rowlands 1970) proved that ideophones have grammatical functions distinguishable from prototypical adverbs as well as interjectives, while sharing the features of both. In this paper I propose that ideophones deserve formal description like any other morpho-syntactic features of the languages where they occur.

In the Yoruba language of Nigeria, which is one of the African languages richest in the use of ideophones, the semantic field of ideophones includes colour, sound, dimension, illumination, temperature, breath, motion, expansion, state and time (Awoyale 1978). Some ideophones duplicate while others do not and at the same time some ideophones overlap in terms of semantic fields they belong to.

Most ideophones in Suba, either adverbial or adjectival, can have predicative functions, i.e., they provide information about an entity in a proposition as in (35) and (36) below. They are also used attributively as modifiers of head nouns and adjectives in the same way adjectives and nouns are. Ideophones provide specificity, exactness and intensity, which neither nouns verbs nor adverbs can. They evoke a number of weak implicatures to the hearer, thus raising pragmatic questions about their usage and interpretation. I must point out that for any learner of a language, which has ideophony, they will not be considered proficient speakers of the language unless they have mastered the way ideophones work in the language. Engagement in speaking in a second language before such mastery of the language will sound foreign to the speakers of the language even though the writer may have used all other aspects of the language correctly.

1.3 Statement of Problem

Ideophony is a characteristic of many languages of the world with most manifestation found in African languages. Since very few analyses have been done in this area, one cannot be certain of the actual extent of occurrence in all languages which have been reduced to written form. Even in obvious cases such as Bantu languages, ideophones have largely been ignored because to many linguists, they are nothing but “allolanguage”, according to Wescott or merely “verbal gestures” as Moshi puts it Noss, (Philip n. d.). Some linguists consider them as arbitrary sequences of sounds. Yet others consider ideophony only as a feature of oral communication and folklore, which is unfit to be accounted for in written form. Lastly the fact that most African countries have undergone transition literacy from colonial languages, which either did not have this lexical category or did not take it into account, they too followed suit, taking ideophones as mere paralinguistic features of their languages.

The Suba language employs many ideophones in oral speech, yet little is used in written Suba. In the Bible translation process the translation team is already beginning to realize loss of natural flavor in the translated text as a result of not using ideophones appropriately. The same is true of even well known folk stories, which are very enjoyable in oral speech but a lot different in written form when ideophones are ignored.

Perhaps one major obstacle to the use of ideophones in writing Suba is the fact that English and Kiswahili, which are the main source languages for most literature being written or translated into the Suba language, do not use ideophones in writing. There is

therefore lack of a clear picture of the linguistic description and usage of ideophones, which this paper hopes to provide.

1.4 Research Questions

In order to find out what the linguistic structure and the use of ideophones is, the following research questions have to be addressed:

1. What phonological structure does Suba have?
2. What are the basic morphological and syntactic features of Suba?
3. What is the nature of lexical categories of ideophones in Suba?
4. Do ideophones depict any unique characteristics with respect to (1) and (2) above?
5. Are ideophones used only in particular genres?
6. What discourse and pragmatic functions do ideophones play in Suba?
7. How can ideophones be used in Scripture translation?

CHAPTER TWO

LEXICAL CATEGORIES OF IDEOPHONES IN THE SUBA LANGUAGE

In this section we begin with a look at the semantic fields of ideophones in Suba and the domains of ideophones in the Suba language.

2.1 Lexical domains of ideophones in the Suba Language

According to Katz:

The vocabulary of a language divides into classes of items, each marking off an integrated conceptual domain within which the conceptual space is differentiated into elementary regions whose boundaries delimit and are delimited by boundaries of others. These elementary regions, either individually or taken together in groups, are labeled by words in a vocabulary, the elementary or compound region labeled by a word being regarded as its meaning. Different languages label different sets of regions in conceptual space (Katz 1972, 346).

Ideophones in the language are mainly adjectival and adverbial modifiers of nouns and verbs in a way that neither, prototypical adjectives, adverbs or any other devices in the language would modify them.

2.1.1 Ideophones modifying adjectives

Ideophones in Suba specify the functions of nouns as occurring in noun phrases both in attributive and predicative positions, as already stated in 1.2 above. The ideophones below function both as modifiers of head nouns (7) and as intensifiers modifying adjectives (1-6), for instance, see (1) below. Duplication is discussed in details in section

3.2.2.

(1) Ideophones of Colour:

Omunt ono mumwamu ã

person this black id

This man is extremely black.

Mbwine enguwo enzakanyu kà

I-have-seen cloth red id

I have seen an extremely red cloth.

Amiino gaae gari ameeru zére

teeth his are white id

His teeth are extremely white.

Lengthened vowel:Duplication:

ã-ã, ã-ã, ã

kà-kà, kà-kà, kà

zère-zère, zère

(2) Dimension:

omuliire ã

tall id

ã-ã, ã-ã, ã

(3) Taste:

ndulu pè

bitter/painful id

pè-pè, pè-pè, pè

(4) Texture/shape/weight:

kalu ngà

hard/strong id

ngà-ngà, ngà-ngà, ngà

<i>nzogi</i>	<i>pà</i>	<i>pà-pà, pà-pà, pà</i>
<i>sharp</i>	<i>id</i>	

(5) Temperature:

<i>omuyu</i>	<i>lè</i>	<i>lè-lè, lè-lè, lè</i>
<i>hot</i>	<i>id</i>	
<i>mpolu</i>	<i>zířì</i>	<i>zířì-zířì, zířì</i>
<i>cold</i>	<i>id</i>	

(6) Content:

<i>wusa</i>	<i>chè</i>	<i>chee</i>	<i>chè-chè, chè- chè, chè</i>
<i>empty</i>	<i>id</i>		
<i>kikuna</i>	<i>lî</i>		<i>lî-lî, lî-lî, lî</i>
<i>naked</i>	<i>id</i>		
<i>eizuule</i>	<i>du</i>		<i>du-du, du-du, du</i>
<i>it is full</i>	<i>id</i>		

(7) Time of day:

<i>kunkio</i>	<i>zířì</i>	<i>zířì-zířì, zířì-zířì, zířì</i>
<i>early morning</i>	<i>id</i>	
<i>omuwasu</i>	<i>dúlà</i>	
<i>broad day</i>	<i>id</i>	

(8) Others:

wisi	dúfù	dúfù-dúfù, dúfù
<i>raw</i>	id	
mulamu	ng'ésè	ng'ésè-ng'ésè, ng'ésè
<i>alive</i>	id	
kalu	béré	béré-béré, béré
<i>dry</i>	id	

2.1.2 Adverbial ideophones:

In the first sample case in (9), the ideophone does function as a modifier, specifically, as an intensifier of the verbs.

(9) Non-sound ideophones:

Okukono okumisi kuvunika bógò. [From appendix 1]	bógò-bógò, bógò		
Hand left broke id			
<i>The left hand broke completely.</i>			
okuigolola	tîrî		
<i>to be straight</i>			
okusarigira	kírî	kírî-kírî, kírî	
<i>to be silent</i>			
okuteeka	chè	chee	chè-chè, chè-chè, chè
<i>to get lost</i>			

okulowa	chè		chè-chè, chè-chè, chè
<i>to refuse</i>			
okukia		chee	
<i>day break</i>			
okuamba	tĩ		tĩ-tĩ, tĩ-tĩ, tĩ
<i>stick/hold</i>			
okumurika	mĩa (/m/ is palatalized)		
<i>flash</i>			
okumala	pè /chwe/nywe		pè-pè, pè-pè, pè
<i>to finish</i>			
okuwua	chwe		chwě-chwě, chwě
<i>to get finished</i>			
okuiguta	dù		dù-dù, dù-dù, dù
<i>to eat to the full</i>			
okunywenkera	nywě		nywě-nywě, nywě
<i>disappear in crowd</i>			
okufwa	chè	chee	chè-chè, chè-chè, chè
<i>die</i>			
okuizula	dù		dù-dù, dù-dù, dù
<i>full</i>			

okulala lárè

burn to ashes

okumioka mĩa (/m/ is palatalized)

to dislocate

okuvumbuka bě

flee/run away

okumizuka pùsú

to flee secretly

okukamiira béré

to dry up

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bèrè-bèrè-bèrè

(10) Physical perception of sound/Onomatopoeic:

Notice that although many scholars treat ideophones and onomatopoeia as being one and the same thing some do draw a line between the two. Whereas the former is a lexical category with conceptual relationship between the sound and the ideas which they represent, the latter are sound processes whose phonetic forms are perceived to be imitations of the actions of the verbs or activities which they represent. In this paper we shall take note of the similarity but without ignoring the difference.

Enyumba egwire boo.

A house has fallen boo/weakly.

okufugika bwaa

pour

emvula ekuba

pata-pata-pata

rain beginning to fall

emvula ekuba burrr

heavy rain

emvula ekuba saaaa

drizzling rain

okuwutuka putu

cutting of a rope

okuinyala saaaa

pass water

okugwa mumanzi bwaa

to fall in water

okugwa mumanzi chubulu

object drop in water

okusulula chulu-lu-lu-lu

leaking

okuatika tǎ

to break

There is a marked phonological difference between most of the above examples and the phonology of normal words in Suba. There is extra-ordinary lengthening of vowels and consonants word finally.

CHAPTER THREE

THE STRUCTURE OF IDEOPHONES IN THE SUBA LANGUAGE

In this section we consider the phonology, morphology and syntactic structures of Suba in relation to ideophones.

3.1 Ideophones and the phonology of the Suba language

To be able to have a clear picture of the phonology of ideophones in Suba, we shall first of all consider the basic phonology of the language in general and then proceed to specifically look at ideophones. This shall enable us to ascertain the extent to which ideophones conform to, or deviate from the ordinary sound system of the language.

3.1.1 Vowels

The Suba language has /a, e, i, o, u/. It has contrastively short and long vowels for each of these, represented in the orthography with single and double vowels respectively. There are three other phonological features, which lengthen short vowels to sound long namely prenasalization, labialization and palatalization of consonants. Whereas prenasalization influences the vowels that precede them, labialised and palatalized consonants influence the short vowels which they precede to sound long.

(11) Short vowels:

òkùwólà	‘to rot’
òkùkólà	‘to do’
àmàńĩ	‘livers’
àwàlà	‘he/she is counting’
èmèsà	‘flush’
émérà	‘stand for’
èmítì	‘trees’
ígì	‘egg’
òlùyà	‘you are getting tired’
òkùsúkà	‘to do hair’

Long vowels:

òkùwóólà	‘to say’
òkùkóòlà	‘to weed’
àmaàńĩ	‘strength’
àwáàlà	‘girls’
èmeêsà	‘table’
èmeêrà	‘grow’
èrĩsò	‘eye’
èkĩìnà	‘meeting’
òlúúyà	‘sweat’
òkùsúùkà	‘to be ashamed’

(12) Effect of prenasalized consonants on vowels:

àmàgààndà	‘pearls’
òmùkĩngà	‘tail’
òmùgĩmbè	‘rain maker’

(13) Effect of labialized consonant on vowels:

òmwâà	‘baby/child’
omulwîrè	‘patient’
òlùkwîrà	‘fish trap’

(14) Effect of palatalized consonants on vowels:

èryôgà	‘noise’
èkyâgî	‘granary’
èkîdyôrî	‘eating/meeting place for men’

Note: Vowels lengthened as a result of the three strategies discussed above are written short in the Suba orthography.

3.1.2 Consonants and consonant clusters

(15)	b	ìbù	‘a musical instrument’
	ch	íchúpà	‘bottle’
	d	òkùdúmà	‘to roar’
	f	ìfúmò	‘spear’
	g	ìgúgè	‘baboon’
	j	èkìjávájà	‘swamp’
	k	èkínù	‘pestle’

l	òmùlálù	‘mad man’
m	òmǔntù	‘person’
mb	èmbúzì	‘goat’
mf	èmfulù	‘kind of fish’
mp	èmpógò	‘traditional clothing’
mv	èmvúwù	‘hippo’
n	àmànáńì	‘orges’
nd	èkǐdòndò	‘navel’
ng	èngókò	‘chicken’
ng’	èng’ éńì-ng’ éńì	‘star’
nj	ènjúgù	‘peanuts’
nk	ènkàwì	‘luck’
ns	ènsáwúlò	‘sling’
nt	èntámù	‘pot’
ny	ènyònyǐ	‘bird’
nz	ènzókà	‘snake’
p	èkìkápù	‘basket’
r	èrǐsò	‘eye’

r	òmùrrò	‘fire’
s	ìsígámò	‘knee’
t	èkítuútù	‘flute’
v	òkùvúnà	‘to break’
w	òlùwáyà	‘wing’
y	àmàyáyà	‘lungs’
z	òlùùzì	‘river’

Note: With the exception of a very few, all these can either be labialised or palatalized thus increasing the sequence of consonants.

3.1.3 Syllable Structure of the Suba language

According to (Awoyale 1983) there are hardly any monosyllabic ideophones in African languages. The data we have here, however, attests to the truth of the direct opposite of this assumption. In fact most ideophones in the language are monosyllabic.

Thus as seen in (16), the basic syllable patterns of the Suba language are (V), (CV). No consonants occur word finally, and the (CVC) syllable pattern, which is common in other languages, does not occur in the language. The words range from monosyllabic to as many as six (6) syllable words.

(16)	ni	‘but/and/when’	CV
	igu	‘wasp’	V.CV
	ekinu	‘pestle’	V.CV.CV
	omugizi	‘home’	V.CV.CV.CV
	okuserera	‘to marry’	V.CV.CV.CV.CV
	owugeremano	‘remarriage’	V.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV

3.1.4 Tone

Suba has four contrastive tones namely:

- i) low tone (˘)
- ii) high tone (ˊ)
- iii) falling tone (ˇ)
- iv) rising tone (ˆ)

(17) òmùkîngà ‘a person from Wakinga clan’

òmùkingà ‘tail’

(18) ènsîmbò ‘walking stick’

ènsîmbò ‘potato plant’

(19) òwítà ‘you are passing’

òwítà ‘you passed’

- (20) nò 'is'
 nó 'with/and'

All the four tones can occur word initially, word medially and word finally. For most words, however, the second to the last syllable has a high tone while the final syllable usually has a low tone.

3.1.5 Ideophones in the light of Suba phonology

According to P. H. Matthews ideophony is the aspect of language:

... used by Africanists of a distinct class of forms characterized by phonological structures that tend to be peculiar to them: e.g. by patterns of sound symbolism, reduplicative structures, or distinct patterns of tones (Matthew 1997, 169).

That Suba ideophones constitute an exception to this generalization is shown by the following conclusions drawn from the comparison between the basic phonological features and the lexical features of ideophones discussed above:

i) Suba ideophones, like all other lexical categories, have both short and long vowels e.g. section 2.1 above and (21) below.

- (21) okukia chee
 day break
 okuamba ã
 stick/hold

ii) All the phonemes found in ideophones in section 2.1 above are found in the rest of Suba phonology, both vowels and consonants.

iii) The syllable patterns of ideophones in the Suba language are the same as the rest of Suba phonology, i.e., (V) and (CV).

(22) okuvumbuka bě CV

flee

okukamiira béré CV.CV

to dry up

iv) The same tones, high (´), low (˘), rising (ˇ) and falling (ˆ), found in the rest of Suba phonology are found in ideophones and just as we find a high tone on the second last syllable and a low tone on the final syllable of most no-ideophones, the same applies to ideophones.

(23) okuigolola tířĩ

to be straight

okusarigira kířĩ

to be quiet

okunywenkera nywě

disappear in crowd

v) Just like consonants do not occur finally in non-ideophones, so it is with ideophones. It is only with onomatopoeic ideophones that we may have unrestricted vowel or consonant clusters, e.g., *uuuuwu* denoting wailing or *vurrrrrrr* denoting the motion of a thrown stone.

3.2 Morphological structure of ideophones in the Suba language

In this section we look both at how morphemes are arranged to form an ideophone (morphology). The notable morphological features of ideophones in the Suba language include the following:

- i) Basic form
- ii) Reduplication
- iii) Inter-morphological structure patterns

3.2.1 Basic form

The internal structure of ideophones does not include productive morphemes such as those found in Suba nouns that have noun class prefix and a noun stem, or in verbs, which have tense and aspect, subject and object, infinitive, benefactor, reciprocal, negative and relativizer, among others, all attached to the verb stem. Except for a few cases in (3.2.3), for most ideophones in Suba, it is impossible to draw a line between morphemes whether the ideophones are monosyllabic or polysyllabic. They thus function as single morphemes.

3.2.2 Reduplication

In the Suba language partial or complete reduplication of nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives is a common phenomenon. The question we may ask at this stage is whether the same functions are what we have in reduplication of ideophones. It is also important to compare how findings from a look of reduplication Wilbur (1973) in other aspects of language compare with ideophones.

a) Reduplication of verbs

- (24) Kibuuro a-kuba-kuba ekiriango. (multiplicity)
 Kibuuro 3ps-beat-beat door
Kibuuro is knocking the door repeatedly.
- (25) Omwana ono o-seka-seka otio kolaki? (frequency/uncontrollability)
 Child this 2ps-laugh-laugh like so why
Child, why do you laugh without restraint?

Reduplication of verbs is slightly different from that of ideophones, in that unlike the pairing up of ideophones, with an emphatic single ideophone at the end (see 2.1.1-2.1.2), verbs do not exceed one pair. Reduplication of verbs denotes a repeated action.

b) Reduplication of nouns

- (26) Omunt-umuntu owagala, emirimo omutoole.
 Person-person who-wants work take-him
Take any person who wants work.

Reduplication of nouns means “any X”, where X is the noun.

c) Reduplication of adverbs

- (27) Katono a-fumire wuangu-wuangu, wuangu oku-gia muluuzi. (intensity)
 Katono 3ps-left quickly-quickly, quickly to go in-river
Katono has left very quickly to go to the river.
- (28) Ukiere ino-ino, ino (intensity)
 It has dawned very-very, very
Very very very (good) morning.

Notice that this kind of on-going reduplication is the very kind which we find also in ideophones, including the emphatic single adverb at the end. This further proves the fact that ideophones share similar phonological structure with other lexical classes.

c) Reduplication of ideophones

In 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 we have several examples of reduplication of ideophones in Suba. The examples show that ideophones occur in pairs, with a partial or semi-reduplicated ideophone coming at the end of the clause. (The same phenomenon, has been observed by Awoyale 1983) in Yoruba.)

(29) Owuita wumiire okuwua chwě-chwě, chwě. (intensity)

Ugali is already finished chwě-chwě, chwě.

Ugali is already finished chwě-chwě, chwě.

(30) Eng'ombe eizuule dù-dù, dù-dù, dù. (intensity)

Cow is full dù-dù, dù-dù, dù

Cow is pregnant dù-dù, dù-dù, dù


The reduplication of ideophones adds intensification to the meaning of nouns, verbs and adjectives to a degree which neither verbs, adjectives nor adverbs can ever reach. This symmetric structure poses the ideophone at the end, which carries the most intensifying function. The stress on this last form is higher compared to the reduplicated ones as indicated by the underlining in the above examples.

Reduplication of ideophones and adverbs has the denotation of intensification, while that of the verb denotes a repeated action and that on nouns conveys the sense of ‘any’. The morphological structure of reduplication of ideophones is similar to that of adverbs but differs from that of nouns and verbs. The linguistic structure e.g. phonological structure of ideophones in the Suba language is similar to that found in non-ideophones with respect to reduplication.

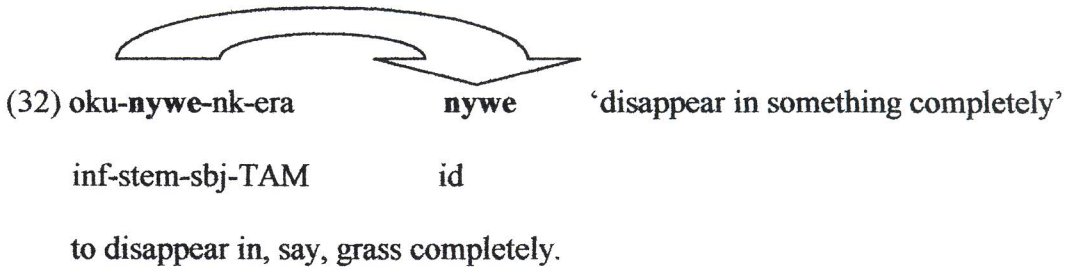
3.2.3 Inter-morphological patterns of ideophones

There are, however, some ideophones which have visible morphological structural boundaries, with a stem that represents a concept, plus a suffix. If that were generally true then our notion of ideophones as arbitrary sequences of sounds, as many linguists have taken them to be, would be canceled or seriously weakened.

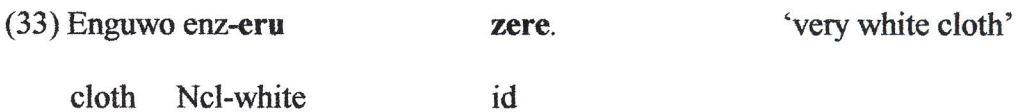
Such ideophones have a way whereby either the whole ideophone is drawn from the stem of the noun it modifies or only part of the stem and an additional affix. In (31) below we can see how ideophones are derived from the stems of those words whose concepts they express:

		
(31)	omu- li -ire li	‘a very tall person’
	Ncl stem completive id	
	Person-tall-completive very	

Thus we see that the ideophone **li** draws from the stem meaning ‘tall’. The same phenomenon is found in (32):



Some ideophones take only part of the stems of the words which they modify and add new morphemes to the stems, as in (33), (34) and (35) below:



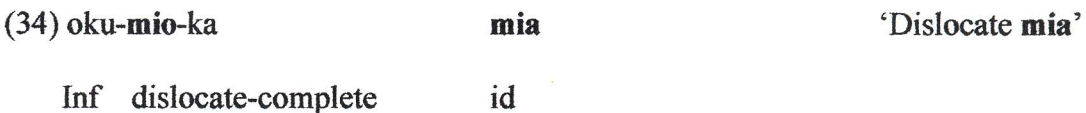
In **zere** it is possible to see a deeper structure and divide it into morphemes as **z-er-e** standing for the following:

nz → of unclear origin but most likely derived from pre-vocalic form of the 9th noun class prefix, eNz-

er → stem meaning white

e → derivational marker depicting a stative morpheme

If what has been said of (33) is true then we can apply the same principle to (34).



In the case of **mi-a**, only part of the stem **mio** has been taken by the ideophone. The final vowel drops out possibly because it is very rare to have the combination of palatalized /m/ followed by /o/ occurring finally, and so is replaced by the more common vowel /a/. Unfortunately this data is not sufficient to ascertain the plausibility of this supposition.

(35) oku- la -la	lare	‘burn up completely’
inf-burn-completive	id	

As in (33) we notice that the ideophone seems to be drawn partly from the verb stem and partly from derivational morphology as follows:

la → verb stem

r → where an alveolar lateral /l/ becomes an alveolar trill /r/. [this is common but it would need more study to establish the reason behind this transformation]

e → the stative morpheme

Thus for (33) and (35) we find an evidence of a productive derivational morphology in the formation of ideophones from verbs. On the whole this is proof that ideophones are not “allolanguage” or “verbal gesture” unworthy of the attention of linguistic research, as many linguists have assumed.

3.3 Syntax

In this section we look at the syntax of ideophones in Suba. To facilitate our enquiry we begin with an attempt to answer the following question:

- What syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations do ideophones share with verbs, nouns or adverbs?

We talk of syntagmatic relation when we consider the relationships between the constituents of a unit of speech. We shall now consider the sequential order of phrases in Suba taking specific note of the position of ideophones.

- (36) Malowa a-amb-re olu-goe ti 'Malowa is holding a rope very tightly.'
 Malowa 3ps-hold-pfv Ncl-rope id
- (37) Omwana a-ri kikuna li. 'Baby is completely naked.'
 baby 3ps-is naked li.
- (38) Omwana a-ri li. 'Baby is totally without clothes.'
 baby 3ps-is li
- (39) Omwana ari kikuna. 'Baby is naked.'
 baby is naked

Sentence (36) shows us among other things that Suba is a SVO language. In (37) the ideophone modifies the adjective. In other words, *li* is in syntagmatic relation with the adjective 'naked' but looking at (37), (38) and (39), we see that *li* is in paradigmatic relation with 'naked li' and 'naked'. The same applies to (40) and (41) and in these five cases the ideophones function as intensifiers modifying the adjectives 'empty' and 'naked' with (38) and (41) where the adjective has been elided.

- (40) Nyang'ani a-ri wusa chee. 'Nyang'ani has nothing at all.'
 Nyang'ano 3ps-is empty id
- (41) Nyang'ani a-ri chee. 'Nyang'ani is totally without.'
 Nyang'ani 3ps id

In (42) the ideophone **bě** has taken the place of the verb ‘flee’ while at the same time carrying with it the notion of adverbial modification whereby the ideophone serves to modify the elided verb.

- (42) A-zinduusie omwiwi. Omwiwi **bě**. ‘He has shocked a thief. The thief fled.’
 3ps-frightened thief thief id

In (43) the ideophone **du** is an adverb because it modifies the verb ‘fill’ in spite of the fact that it does not immediately follow the verb, but comes after ‘house.’

- (43) Awantu wa-izuuzie enyumba **du**. ‘People have filled the house completely’
 People 3pp-filled house id

- i) When used as a response to questions in conversations where the question itself supplies what the ideophone is referring to, the answer may be elliptical, up to the point where only the ideophone is overtly mentioned.

- (44) a. Paskalia: Amanzi ago mayu? ‘Is the water hot?’
 b. Victoria: **le**. ‘very hot’

In (44) Victoria’s response with an ideophone implies the whole utterance of Paskalia.

The ideophone is thus an ellipsis whose explicit meaning is recoverable from (44) a.

Here instead of explicating what is readily available by saying something like (45) a. or

(45) b, she finds it most relevant to make utterance (44) b.

- (45) a. Victoria: Amanzi ago mayu **le**. ‘That water is very hot.’
 water DM hot id

b. Victoria: Mayu le.

hot id

ii) Other syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations:

- (46) a) Omugaaka a-wula ni isendi chee. 'Old man has no money totally.'
 old man 3ps-without () money id
- b) Chee, omugaaka a-wula ni isendi. 'Old man has no money completely.'
 id old man 3ps-without () money
- c) Omugaaka a-ri chee. 'Old man without anything totally.'
 Old man 3ps-is id
- d) Isendi? Chee. 'Money? Totally without money.'
 money id
- e) Omugaaka? Chee. 'Old man? Totally has no money.'
 old man id
- f) Chee. 'Totally without money.'
 id

In Section (III) I shall show the pragmatic function of the alternative syntactic forms we find in (46) above. At this stage however we need to take note of some important points: the ideophone in (46) a), b) and c) has an adverbial function of modifying the action of the verb; in (46) d) and e) it expresses both the verb and the subject or object as well as the manner or degree of the verb; and in (46) f) the ideophone elliptically denotes the subject, verb, object and manner. This substitution role of ideophones is paradigmatic in relation to, for instance the verb, subject or object.

Paradigmatic relation here refers to the substitution relationships among potential constituent units of an utterance in context. This substitution has an underlying pragmatic meaning, which we shall turn to in section 4. Also to be considered is the ability of one ideophone to stand for a number of concepts all at the same time.

CHAPTE FOUR

THE ROLE OF IDEOPHONES IN THE SUBA LANGUAGE

In this section we shall consider how ideophones are used pragmatically. We shall use data from natural text collected from mother-tongue speakers of the language to help us understand the role ideophones play within context. Our source texts include a narrative, a procedural text and an exhortatory text, found in the appendixes.

We will show how the interpretation of ideophones can vary according to context and how explicatures and implicatures play a role in the interpretation of ideophones.

4.1 Ideophones in context

According to Relevance Theory (Sperber & Wilson 1995) we are able to explain how the hearer is able to recover elliptic information, which otherwise requires enriching by supplying the proper reference assignment if it is to be understood properly. Sperber & Wilson present us with a way of explaining how the hearer goes about interpreting such usage of language.

The main thrust of Relevance Theory is that in any ostensive communication, the speaker's aims are to enable the hearer to gain optimal relevance. In other words, he aims at presenting the hearer with adequate contextual effects with least processing costs. To

put more information than is required would mean increasing processing costs unnecessarily. If however the speaker estimates that the hearer would require more information due to limited availability of context, then he will make more information explicit. In ambiguous situations, the first utterance accessed by the hearer is the one that will be chosen. Thus although (46) may have varied possible assumptions as seen above only one would be chosen for specific contexts.

- (47) Omwala alowere che. 'The girl has totally refused.'
 girl has-refused id
- Owuato wuteekere che. 'The canoe has gotten lost completely.'
 boat (is)lost id
- Omuntu oyo a-fwire che. 'That man has died completely.'
 person DM 3ps-die-has id
- Omugaaka ari wusa che. 'The old man does not have anything completely.'
 old man is empty id
- Amiire okuria che. 'He/she has finished food completely.'
 he-has-finished food id
- (48) omuti omuliire li. 'a very tall tree.'
 tree tall id
- Ari kikuna li. 'He/she is completely naked.'
 he-is naked id

(49) Amiire pe. 'He/she has finished completely.'

he-has-finished id

Amalwa ago malulu pe. 'The beer is extremely bitter.'

beer those bitter id

(50) Enguwo emwamu ti. 'The cloth is absolutely black.'

clothe black id

Amba wukalu ti. 'Hold very tightly.'

hold hard id

The hearer, based on the principle of relevance will have no problem interpreting the correct meaning, which the context should supply. Other than the context, it would be difficult to assess the intended meaning.

4.2 Ideophone as an echoic or interpretive use marker

Some ideophones have echoic interpretation in certain contexts. The following are some examples:

(51) Malowa: Mberi omiire okumala emirimo? 'Have you finished the work?'

Qm you-have finish work

Siiso: che. 'Completely'

id

Siiso's answer echoes the utterance of Malowa, without being ironical, by only mentioning the ideophone. He could have answered by uttering (52) below but he does not. Since the proposition has already been mentioned by Malowa himself it would add no contextual effects to him. Thus Siiso, aiming at optimal relevance, avoids increasing the processing cost to Malowa unnecessarily. The ideophone does not only echo

Malowa's utterance but also provides the manner or extent of the action of the verb.

(52) [Miire okumala emirimo] che.

I-have to-finish work id

(53) Mother: Omuzia iifu Wigio ya-teeka kandi nga-tu-ri-mu-wona kandi.

son our Wigio pst-lose and neg-pl-fut-obj-see again.

Our son Wigio got lost and we will not see him again.

Father: Chee.

id

In (53) the father's response echoes the utterance of the mother without being ironical.

Here the ideophone functions as an agreement marker to the statement made.

4.3 Ideophones and explicatures

An assumption communicated by an utterance *U* is explicit (that is, an explicature) if and only if it is a development of a logical form encoded by *U*.

An explicature is a combination of linguistically encoded and contextually inferred conceptual features. The smaller the contribution of the contextual features, the more explicit the explicature will be, and inversely (Sperber & Wilson 1995, 182-183).

According to Sperber and Wilson the distinction between implicatures and explicatures stems from the fact that whereas the latter is about what a speaker communicates explicitly in an utterance, the former is whatever the speaker implicitly communicates in an utterance. As such an explicature refers to what the speaker asserts and not what he implicates.

However, explicatures have to be filled or enriched by the hearer by making the reference assignment explicit. In (57) we have an example of a filled ellipsis.

In (54), (55) and (56) the information in square brackets [] can be left out because the ideophone is able to guide the hearer to appropriate interpretation within a given context.

(54) Omugaaka a-ri [wusa] chee. ‘Old man is [totally without any possession]’
old man 3ps-is [empty] id

(55) Isendi? Chee. ‘Money? [He is has no money at all]’
money? id

(56) Omugaaka? Chee. ‘The old man? [He is totally without anything]’
old man? id

(57) Chee. ‘[Old man is totally without money]’
id

Thus in given contexts, the hearer is able to infer the more explicit contents found. (54) would be appropriate in a context where people are supposed to contribute money; in a case where X knows that the old man does not have money and someone is insisting that he (the old man) must contribute, X can utter (54).

4.4 Ideophones and implicatures

By implicatures we mean propositions that can be deduced from the form of an utterance and assumptions from context. There are those implicatures which are determinate and

those which are indeterminate. The former require particular context, hence are strong implicatures, while the latter do to a lesser degree, and hence are weak implicatures.

(58) B: This class is an oven. (Determinate)

K: You have such a big, big house all for yourself. (Indeterminate)

Whereas with B's utterance what comes directly into our minds is that the room is very hot, in K's utterance the reduplication of 'big' does not tell us how big the house in question is. Instead, it invokes in the mind of the hearer a number of weak implicatures. Such reduplications in English have poetic effects.

Ideophones in Suba serve the same poetic function. There are concepts in Suba which can be expressed by more than one ideophone. These ideophones paint pictures and spark creative interpretations, which may not be exactly the same from person to person. In (59), the ideophones are rich in weak implicatures. They guide the hearer to a direction of interpretation but each hearer may have a slightly different poetic effect. A writer who uses them carefully immediately gets the favour of the mother-tongue speaker of the language. Such readers would enjoy the natural usage of their language in print. To dismiss such ideophones as mere interjections would therefore be ignoring their semantic and pragmatic functions.

(59)	Malowa amiire pe .	'Malowa has finished completely'
	Malowa amiire chwe .	‘ ‘
	Malowa amiire che .	‘ ‘
	Malowa amiire nywe	‘ ‘

Likewise utterance (57) repeated below as (57') invokes weak implicatures in the mind of the hearer as follows:

(57') Chee. [Old man is totally without money]

id

- i) The old man does not have any possessions.
- ii) He is very poor and desperate.
- iii) He has given all he had and has no more.
- iv) He is giving an excuse for not giving because he is known for being stingy.

This would therefore be ironical.

This invoking of weak implicatures, as has already been said, gives ideophones rich pragmatic as well as stylistic effect which an experienced writer would not wish to ignore. The ideophone may have attitudinal function in that it interprets the attitude of the speaker towards what is being attributed or predicated.

4.5 The role of ideophones in discourse

Languages have strategies of foregrounding the storyline in such a way that events can be viewed against background materials such as descriptions of context, minor events and things which support main events. One of the concerns of discourse connectivity is the way in which languages depict major characters verses minor characters in a story. Time line and the chronological progression are all important subjects in discourse and our concern here is to establish what role ideophones play in such matters in Suba.

In this section we shall base most of our claims on natural texts in Appendix 1 to 3 where we have a narrative, a procedural and an expository text. We shall extract portions of the same and use them to illustrate important conclusions, e.g., examples (60), (61) and (62). We shall consider the role ideophones play within the clause and sentence and the contributions these make to the whole discourse texts where they occur.

In (60) below, ‘**bogo**’ has an intensifying function. At the same time it marks the focused part of the sentence and represents the foregrounded implication in relevance terms. In that way it brings out a visual image of a fracture, which totally incapacitated the boy Malowa.

(60) [From Appendix 1, a narrative discourse]

4. Olwa yawona omugaaka Walwanda, yaaluguka ku omuti agwa ansi
 when he-saw old-man Walwanda, he-slipped on tree he-fell down
 okukono okumosi kuvunika **bogo**!

hand left broke id

*When he saw the old man Walwanda, he slipped on the tree, fell down, and his
 left arm broke completely!*

From the global discourse point of view, ideophones, as occurs here, often mark the beginning of the peak of narratives. In this story it is what the whole narrative revolves around to the end of the story. To draw a principle that ideophones mark the peak of any narrative would, however, not be true. What does stand out clearly is the fact that whenever they are used they indicate that the reader or hearer should take proper note of the point and expect later parts to draw from it. Hence whether in backgrounded or

foregrounded clauses, they mark prominence. Moreover, as already observed, the weak implicatures they spark create the notion of suspense.

In example (61) we have the ideophone occurring in a backgrounding clause of a procedural text. It is background information because the content of the sentence does not take the procedure forward but merely presents us with a precaution to take, lest flour gets wasted in the process of making 'ugali'. It is, however, an important precaution to take, thus an important piece of information which makes a key contribution to the whole text.

(60) [From Appendix 2, a procedural text]

Owuita owua awantu awangi, ino-ino awantu awa-kola emi-rimo emi-kalu
ugali of people many especially people who-do pl-work pl-hard

wu-agala amanzi amangi. Lwona amanzi ga-agala-na aga-ta-izu-zia isuguria
sbj-need water much also water sbj-wanted sbj-neg-fill-obj pot

du. Yaaya, ago ga-kir-re isuguria ao a-ka-ona owusie wusa.

id No, those sbj-more-than pot there she-could-waste flour for-nothing
*Ugali for many people, especially people who do hard work requires much water.
Also water is not required that fills the pot completely, that is more than enough
for the pot, there you can waste flour for nothing.*

Example (62) supports our earlier assumption about the role of ideophones in discourse in the Suba language. In the context of a father advising a son to stop drinking, with all cultural appropriateness, the father presents the most serious thing that might happen to the son if he does not stop drinking, that is, death. The sentence serves to strengthen the

fact that drinking can cause death.

(62) [From Appendix 3, an exhortatory text]

Izuuzi na-ga-ita ano Nyamuunyu **chee** nawuno a-gia
 recently not-they-kill here Nyamuunyu id until 3ps-went
 mu ilowa **chee**, tu-wona?
 in soil id we-saw

The other day didn't it kill Nyamuunyu chee until he went to the soil chee, we saw?

According to Blakemore discourse features of coherence and connectivity only have the basic function of guiding the hearer to relevance and not cohesiveness of a text for the sake of it (Blakemore 1992, 138-142). The same can be said of ideophones in the Suba language. We have seen how ideophones mark focus, foregrounding and peak of a discourse, yet all these serve the basic purpose of enabling the hearer to assess optimal relevance.

CHAPTER FIVE

APPLICATION OF IDEOPHONES IN BIBLE TRANSLATION

In spite of the fact that the Suba language demonstrates heavy use of ideophones, as illustrated above, not much of it has found a place in the books of Scriptures which have so far been translated into the language. The main reason for this phenomenon is the fact that the English language, which the translators use as a source language, does not use ideophones. Whereas this may not violate faithfulness it does to a great extent compromise naturalness and clarity of the translation. A great deal is lost in terms of the emotional appeals based on the people's culture and world view which are embedded in such linguistic strategies as ideophony.

A great deal of flavour is lost in such a language as Suba when ideophones are ignored in written language. This study has taken advantage of the fact that Suba was reduced to written form less than ten years ago and the first major literature in print are portions of the Bible. It is therefore most appropriate to make changes where necessary before the volume of literature in the language is overwhelmingly enormous.

In Scripture, particularly on the story of transfiguration of Jesus Christ when he went to the mountain, there is no better way to describe the clothing of Jesus in Suba than an ideophone:

(62) [Mark 9:2c-3]

Vs 2c. Omuwiri ogwa Yesu gwagaluka emberu wa awalonzi waae wasatu awo. Vs 3.

body of Jesus changes in-front of disciples his three those

Enguwo ziae ziawa enzeru **zere** kandi ezing'ena-ng'ena okukira kiomo omuntu

clothes his became white id and shining more (than) the way person

akaozia enguwo kukialo kuno.

could wash cloth in earth this

The body of Jesus changed before his three disciples. His clothes became extremely white more than the way any man could wash cloth in this world.

In this story, the ideophone occurs in the pre-peak part of the story, whereby the peak is the voice of God the father declaring Jesus as his beloved son. It is also true that it occurs on the foregrounded sentence and that it is a strategy to focus on the actual transfiguration.

The alternative of using a simile with milk, teeth or cotton, which are the most white things in the culture, fails to capture the picture. To say 'very white' does not equally give sufficient intensification as the use of the ideophone. This is because of the weak implicatures which the ideophone invokes in the hearer's mind.

In addition, the ideophone can be compared to an exclamatory function. It represents the author's attitude of impression concerning how white he perceived the scene to have been.

There are appropriate ideophones for different contexts in Scripture, particularly in the book of Revelation. It is beyond the scope of this paper to exhaustively discuss these examples from Scripture.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The findings of this paper present linguists, particularly those working in African languages, with the challenge of revisiting ideophony in their respective languages of concern. We have proved beyond any reasonable doubt that ideophones in the Suba language follow a similar phonological structure of the language and that they have grammatical functions. Much of what (Welmer 1973) says as true of the linguistic structure of various African languages can also be said of ideophones in the Suba language hence deserves concern for linguists.

Semantically, ideophones in Suba are adjectival and adverbial intensifiers. Their semantic range is diverse, covering colour, dimensions, texture, temperature, time, content, taste among others. As intensifiers, reduplication of ideophones serves the function of further intensification. Ideophones occur in both attributive and predicative relations and have definite syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations in Suba grammar.

Ideophones mark focus and therefore foregrounded information in Suba discourse. In traditional discourse, they also mark pre-peak material. In Suba, however, what is clear is that ideophones mark prominence so in spite of the fact that they may be found in the pre-peak stage of a discourse, this is not the only place where they occur. As a discourse

feature, ideophones guide the hearers to obtain the correct interpretation of the utterance in question, i.e., guide to relevance.

Ideophones in Suba touch the area of implicatures and explicatures. In the case of elliptic information, they require enrichment to enable the hearer to access or infer the correct interpretation of an utterance. As for implicatures, ideophones invoke weak implicatures, which render rich contextual effects in the hearer. Ideophones could be seen as having exclamatory value as they may express the speaker's surprised attitude.

The ideophonic load does vary with languages and hence analysis of each case is warranted. The Yoruba language situation, for instance, shows that ideophones function as nominal, a feature we do not have in Suba. Those who develop vernacular materials, be it Scripture, literacy or post-literacy materials in all disciplines must employ all aspects of language, including ideophones. Something valuable is lost when ideophones are not used as the natural usage of language would require.

APPENDIX 1
NARRATIVE TEXT

Omwana Owa-vunika

child who-broke

Child who had a fracture

Yawangao omuzia owaetwanga mbwe Malowa owa-wanga na agonziizie oku-niina
there-was boy who-was-called ?? Malowa who-used () loving to-climb

There was once a boy called Malowa who liked climbing trees.

emiti ino.

trees very

very much

Owuire wundi yagia mu omusiri ogwa omugaaka Walwanda okunoga amachunga,
day certain he-went into garden of old-man Walwanda to-pick oranges

One day the boy when to the farm of an old-man Walwanda to pick oranges, the

omwene a-mu-tukra-mo.

owner found-him-inside.

owner found him.

Olwa yawona omugaaka Walwanda, yaaluguka ku omuti agwa ansi okukono okumosi

when he-saw old-man Walwanda, he-slipped on tree he-fell down hand left

When he saw the old man Walwanda, he slipped on the tree fell down the left arm

kuvunika **bogo!**

broke id

broke completely!

Omugaaka Walwanda yamuwona, a-anguya wuangu-wuangu okumugiako kugere

old-man Walwanda saw-him, he-hurried quickly-quickly to-go-to-him in order-to

Old man Walwanda saw him hurried towards him

amwambre aa yawanga na agwire ao. Ni olwa yamutuukako, yatuukra na

catch-him where he-had ?? he-fallen there. But when he-reached-him, he-found ??

so as to catch him where he had fallen. But when he reached him, he found him with a

avuniike okukono kandi amasaai gamumiire pe!

broken hand and blood finished-him id!

broken left hand and blood all over his body completely.

Omugaaka ono yamuwuzia ekiageranga na amuiwira amachunga owuire-
 old-man this he-asked-him what-made ?? him-to-steal-form-him oranges every-
This old man asked him why he had been stealing his oranges every day

kio-owuire ni iye ngakamwirania yawa, yagia emberi na arira wululu. Omugaaka
 day but him not-did-reply-him no, he-went ahead ?? crying bitterly. old-man
but the boy could not answer but went on crying bitterly. When the old man saw that,

olwa yawona otio, yairana engo atuma omwana waae aawu Malowa okugia
 when he-saw that, returned home he-sent child his at-home-of Malowa to-go
he returned home and sent his son to Malowa's home to tell people there

okuwalaga ekimwikoreere.

to-tell-them what-happened-to-him

what had happened to him.

Olwa awiwuzi awa omwana oyo waawurra amang'ana ago, waafuma wagia
 when parents of child that heard news those, they-left went
When the parents of the boy heard, they left went.

wamutuukra na agonere ansi arira. Waamutoola wamuirira engo kandi
 found-him ?? lying down he-is-crying. They-picked-him pl-took-him home and
They went and found him lying down crying. They took him home and

wagia wamuretera omurezi owaaza amusiwra ekisembo.

pl-went brought-him healer who-came tied-for-him sticks.

brought him a healer who tied for him a special instrument made of sticks on the hand.

Okwemerra ao Malowa yareka enkola yaae eya okuniina emiti no okuiwa

beginng-from there Malowa left practice his of climbing trees and to-steal

From that day on, Malowa stopped climbing on trees and stealing.

amachunga aga awantu.

oranges of people.

people's oranges

APPENDIX 2

PROCEDURAL TEXT

Oku-fumba Owuita

to-cook ugali

How to cook ugali

Omu-kazi na a-gala oku-fumba owuita a-sooka y-a-wa no owusie na
woman when she-want to-cook ugali she-first sbj-past-be with flour and
When a woman wants to cook ugali first she should have flour and enough water.

amanzi aga- sugire. Enkwi ziona paka a-we na-zio ezi-sugire. Na a-miire
water are-enough firewood also must she-be with-them are-enough when she-finishes
Fire wood also she must have in sufficient quantity. When she has has these things,

oku-wa ne ewintu wino, katio a-kuma omurro. Na a-miire, a-renga amanzi
to-be with things these so she-light fire when she-finish she-measure water
she therefore lights the fire. When she has finished, she pours water in a pot and put the

mu isuguria, y-a-ta isuguria ku-masiga. Amanzi gano ga-fuk-wa
in pot sbj-past-put pot on-firestones water these sbj-pour-psv
pot on the fire stones. This water should be poured according to the people she wants to

nikulondekana na awantu awa a-gala okufumbra owuita. Owuita owua awantu
 according to people who she-want to-cook-for ugali ugali of people
prepare the ugali for. Ugali for many people, especially people who do hard work

awangi, ino-ino awantu awa-kola emi-rimo emi-kalu wu-agala amanzi amangi.
 many especially people who-do pl-work pl-hard sbj-need water much
requires much water.

Lwona amanzi ga-agala-na aga-ta-izu-zia isuguria du. Yaaya, ago
 also water sbj-want-* sbj-neg-fill-obj pot id No, those
Also water is not required that fills the pot completely, that is more than enough

ga-kir-re isuguria ao a-ka-ona owusie wusa.
 sbj-more-than pot there she-could-waste flour for nothing
for the pot, there you can waste flour for nothing.

Katio no omurro nawuno amanzi ga-sere. Ni ga-miire oku-sera-usera atino, katio
 so is fire until water sbj-boil when sbj-have to-boil boil like-this so
So she adds fire until the water boils. After it boild, so she brings

a-recta owusie wu-ae no omuwango ampi y-a-toola owusie owu-sugire y-a-
 she-brings flour of-her and cooking-stick near sbj-past-take flour sbj-enough sbj-
her flour and a cooking still near, takes enough flour and pours in the water

fuka mu-manzi aga- miire oku-sera ga-ria.
 past-pour in-water sbj-have to-boil sbj-those
which is already boiling.

Nikuewmao a-toola omuwango y-a-tanika oku-vuluga owusie wuria mu-manzi
 after-that she-takes cooking stick sbj-past-begin to-stir flour that in-water
After that she takes the cooking stick and starts to stir the flour in water like one

kio o- fwanana no o-vuluga owusera nawuno owusie wu-i-zoge geeza na
 like one-looking like one who-stir pourodge until flour sbj-rfl-mix well with
making pouridge until the flour is mixed with water properly.

amanzi. A-songa owusie nawuno owuita wu-zito-ye.
 water she-add flour until ugali sbj-heavy-become
She adds flour until ugali becomes thick.

Owuita ni wu-gia oku-zito-ya a-fumia enkwi mu-masiga kugere omurro
 ugali when sbj-go to-heavy-become she-remove firewood in-fireplace so-that fire
When the ugali is about to be thick she removes firewood from the fire place so as to

gu-we omutono. Omukazi a-taza isuguria, y-a-galula-galula owusie mu isuguria
 sbj-be small woman she-step pot sbj-past-stir-stir flour in pot
reduce the fire. The woman steps on the pot and turns the ugali over and over until all the

nawuno owusie wuona wu-i-zoge geeza. Katio a-wu-reka mu-masiga wutono kugere
 until flour all sbj-rfl-mix well so she-obj-leave in-fireplace small so-that
flour is mixed well. So she leaves it on the fire shortly for it to get fire until it

wu-wurre omurro nawuno wu- tanike oku-wunya ki owu-agala oku-lala. Ao otio
 sbj-hear fire until sbj- begin to-smell like sbj-want to-burn there that-way
starts smelling like it is burning. There it is ready the woman therefore

wu-yiire omukazi katio a-wu- fumia mu-masiga y-a-wu-fuka mu esaani
 sbj-ready woman theefore she-obj-remove in-fireplace sbj-past-obj-pour in plate
removes it from the fire place and turns over into the traditional plate. That is the way

nakuwa ekigudu. Nintio owuita wu-fumb-wa.
 or stick-plate that-is-how ugali sbj-cook-psv
ugali is prepared.

APPENDIX 3

EXHORTATORY TEXT

Mwana Wange, reka Owunywi

Son my leave drinking

My son, Stop drinking

Omwana wange o-ri omwana owa-n-gonziizie ino kandi kiemo m-bona, iwue ni

Child my 2ps-are child whom-i-love very and the-way I-see you are

My child you are a child I love very much and the way I see, you the one who should

iwue o- sugaane o-n-tunzi-zie awa-ana wa-to wano no o-wa-gerera kiemo

you 2ps-should 2ps-I-help-for-me pl-child pl-small these by 2ps-them-teach the-way

take help these small children for me as you teach them how they should live

wa- sugre oku-menya aeniki ni iwue omu-ntu mukulu ku-iwo ku omu-gizi guno.

3pp-should to-live because is you person old among-them in home this

because your are the older person among them in this home.

O-wona nyingeno n-gwi-re ansi kandi amaani gange reero ga-wue-re che. Kutio

2ps-see now I-fall-have down and strength mine today are-finished id. so

You see how these days I have gone down and my strength is completely finished..So you

iwue ni iwue ami-iso gange kandi ku omugizi guno ni iwue o-n-gwa-ko aa no
 you is you eyes mine and in home that is you 2ps-I-fall-me where if
are the one who is my eyes and in this home you are the one who is next to me so that in

olu-mbe ni lu-n-toor-re n-yeme ku-kialo kino, ni iwue o-za oku-sigala aa-nge.
 death if it-I-take-s I-leave on-earth this is you 2ps-will to-remain place-my
case death takes me I leave this world, it is you who will remain in my place.

Ngo-wona ne enzala e-wuere ku- mugizi guno? Iwue no o-ambre ebeeti nakuwa
 not-see that hunger is-finish in- home this you if 2ps-hold panga or
Don't you see that hunger is finished in this home? You when you take hold of a panga or

embago, a-ri-o o-ku-tuuka-ko? Kutio aa n-yikaale -manyire mbwe
 hoe 3ps-is-there who-you-reach-you so where I-sit I-know that
a hoe is there anyone who marches you? So wherever I am seated I know that this home

omugizi gu-uza oku-gia geeza namba ni n-ku-rekere na awa -ku-mugizi guno.
 home it-will to-go well even when/if I- you-leave with of- in-home this
will go well even if I leave you with the people of this home.

Ni eki-ku-ona ne akintu kilala kieng'ene kiemo m-bona, owu-nywi. Mwana
 But thing-you-spoil is thing one only the-way I-see, drinking child
But there is only one thing which is spoiling you, the way I see, drinking. My child, you

wange iwue ngo-wona no o-teeka? Enkola yaa eno e-gera na-n-yiguta namba ni
 my you not-see that 2ps-lost habit your this it-cause not-I-be full even when
don't you see that you are getting lost? This habit of yours makes me not to get satisfied

n-diireki. O-za oku-gera m-fwe n-gie ku wa-so-ifu amiire gange ni
 I-eat-what 2ps-will to-cause I-die I-go to pl-father-our says my when
even when I eat.

gakiari mwana wa-nge. Katio inze n-kola-ki ku-kialo? N-yagala o-reke
 they-not-reached child my so me I-do-what on-earth I-want 2ps-leave
Now what shall I do? I want you to leave drinking you look at how the home is

owu-nyi ilala o-warre omugizi kiomo gugia. Ngo-manyire mbwe ni iwue
 drinking at-once 2ps-watch home the-way it goes not-know that is you
progressing. Don't you know that it is you your brothers and sisters are looking at?

awi-ina waa wa-warra? Katio no o-ta-wa-weere ekilago eki-lootu, wo-ona nga-
 pl-mates your 3pp-looking-at so if 2ps-not-be example good they-also not-
Therefore if you to not become a good example for them, are they not going to follow

wa-aza oku-londa enkola embiiwi eno? Izuuzi wa-wona kiomo wa-a-tu-reete-ra
 3pp-will to-follow habit bad this recently you-saw the-way you-past-we-bring-us
this bad habit? Recently you saw how you brought shame to us during the funeral of your

ensuuko ku olumbe olwa omukwe waa0 mala ku amang'ana aga owunywi. A-ri-o
 shame in funeral of in-law your just for words of drinking 3ps-is-there
in-law just because of drinking. Is there anybody who does not know those he should

omuntu o-ta-manyire awantu awa a-tia? Wa-gala omukazi waa0 ono a-ku-reke
 person who-not-know people who 3ps-fear you-want wife your this 3ps-you-leave
respect? Do you want your this your wife to leave you cook for yourself and these

o-i-fumbe na awa-ana waa0 wa-no? Inze na a-gi-ire na-n-yiza oku-siwula
 2ps-rfl-cook with children your these me if she-goes not-I-will to-untie
children of yours? As for me if she goes I will not untie my cow to go and bring another

eng'ombe yange mbwe e-gia oku-reeta omu-kazi wundi ku omu-gizi guno.
 cow mine that it-go to-bring wife another in home this
wife to this home.

Mwana wange, omuntu ekintu ni ki-ku-kir-re o-ki-reke-ra a-weene
 child my person something if it-you-defeat-you 2ps-it-leave-for 3ps-owners
My child, if something has defeated you, leave it to those who can manage it.

awa-ki-esa. Amalwa ga-ku-kir-re kandi no o-ta-wari-ire geeza ao
 who-it-able beer they-you-defeat-have and if 2ps-not-look-have well there
Beer has defeated you and if you to not watch carefully there is where your death will

ni-o olu-mbe lwao lu-ri-eme-ra, mwana wange. Izuuzi na-ga-ita ano
 is-where death your It-will-come-from child mine recently not-they-kill here
come from My child. The other day didn't it kill Nyamuunyu completely until he went to

Nyamuunyu **chee** nawuno a-gia mu ilowa **chee**, tu-wona? N-yagala o-kenge
 Nyamuunyu id until 3ps-went in soil id we-saw -want 2ps-cut
the soil for sure, we saw? I want you to cut the rope once for all and be like you were.

olugoe ilala o-we kiomo wa-wanga. N-gamba-gamb-re ni iwue no oku-su
 rope once 2ps-be the-way you-were I-speak-have with you with anger
I have spoken to you with anger like your father who bore you because you are the one

otio ki swao o-wa-ku-iwula aeniki ni iwue o-za oku-fumia aa-nge.
 that-way as your-father who-past-you-bore because is you 2ps-will to-establish place-my
who will establish my home. Therefore I want you to go and sit down and think well
 kandi o-galusie enkola eno. Kutio n-yagala o-gie o-ikale ansi o-ingirizie geeza
 and 2ps-change habit this therefore I-want 2ps-go 2ps-sit down 2ps-think well
and change this habit of yours.

Ni, no o-ta-korre otio mang'ana gaa. Awakulu waa-woola mbwe,
 but if 2ps-not-do that-way problem yours Ancestors pl-dpast-say that,
But if you do not do that, it is upon you. The people of old said that,

“Nyatagererwa y-a-gi- iwoy-ira-ko ama-wambo!” kandi mbwe, “Emfulu ekitigi
 ‘Never-learn she-past-it-dress-with-on pl-pegs!’ again that, ‘fish stubborn
“Never learn, clothed herself with skin and pegs!” and again that, “The stubborn fish, put
 gi-te ku erianda!” Inze agange ga-wue-re.
 it-put on coal!’ me mine are-finish-ed
it on coals of fire.” Me mine are finished.

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