

# MWAGHAVUL EXPRESSIVES

[DRAFT -PREPARED FOR COMMENT ONLY]

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## 1. Ideophones in Africa

The first clear reference to a class of ideophones in African languages was in the mid-nineteenth century, where they are touched on in Vidal's preface to Crowther's Yoruba Dictionary (Crowther 1852). Vidal describes ideophones as a "peculiar and appropriate adverb which denotes the degree or quality attaching to it" and mistakenly claims they are unique to Yoruba. Koelle (1854) noted the presence of these "peculiar adverbs" in Kanuri, perhaps the first documentation for a non-Niger-Congo language. McLaren (1886) called ideophones "indeclinable verbal particles". Banfield (1915) whose documentation for Nupe is particularly rich, used the term "intensitive adverbs". Doke (1935) defined them as "a vivid representation of an idea in sound" perhaps the first author to get away from the notion that ideophones must be adverbial. Childs (1994) lists some of the other terms occurring in the literature, such as "echo-words" (in relation to Semitic), "emphatics" (used by Lutheran Bible translators) and *impressifs* used in Francophone publications. Blench (in press) reviews the literature on African ideophones in greater detail.

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

An aspect of ideophones in most African languages is reduplication; words are wholly or partly reduplicated according to language-internal rules and it is often these reduplications that give the onomatopoeic sense that plays a role in their generation. Ideophones tend to be polysyllabic and in some cases can be freely extended.

Blench (in press) argues that analyses of ideophones has tended to overemphasise their adverbial status. Expressives (a characteristic Asian terminology) not only fall into different word classes, but also into conceptual classes. At least in the Nigeria/Cameroun area, important classes are shown in Table 1;

**Table 1. Conceptual classes of expressive in West-Central Africa**

Class	Characteristics
Onomatopoeia	direct imitation of sound
Expressives	terms that indicate states of mind or experiences
Body epithets	descriptive terms applied to body parts with a generally mildly insulting character
Colour intensifiers	terms added to basic vocabulary for red, black and white to denote different intensities

Syntactically, it is not always easy to assign expressives to the conventional parts of speech. Broadly speaking, direct imitations of sound can be regarded as a type of adverb. Thus 'the bell sounded xx'. Other expressives also typically follow verbs; thus 'the heavy man walked along the road xx'. However, most other types of expressive are adjectival in quality. In a typical construction in Mwaghavul, expressives follow *aasi* 'is'. There is no clear boundary between ideophonic adjectives and more usual qualifiers, since they do not agree with the noun. So classifying an adjectival form as ideophonic is largely based on semantics. Body epithets are clearly adjectival since they qualify nouns directly. Colour intensifiers qualify stative verbs, although in other neighbouring languages they also qualify other adjectives.

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

- Low emphasis on short ideophonic elements that can be repeated *ad libitum*
- Large number of trisyllabic expressives
- An apparently regular relationship between single fronted adjectival ideophones and clause-final reduplicated ideophones
- Some evidence for the creation of nouns and verbs from ideophones
- Relatively high number of expressives with transparent etymologies

As part of a large-scale dictionary project (Dapiya et al. forthcoming), numerous expressives have been collected, together with examples of use, and this paper analyses both the morphology of ideophones and their syntactic context.

## 2. Background to Mwaghavul

Mwaghavul is a relatively large West Chadic language spoken in Mangu Local Government Area, Plateau State, Nigeria. The main towns of the Mwaghavul are Mangu and Panyam. There are generally estimated to be some 150,000 speakers of Mwaghavul, although such a figure is largely guesswork. Mupun, often considered a distinct language, is very close to Mwaghavul and the division may be more ethnic than linguistic. Although there is some geographic variation, Mwaghavul does not really group into distinct dialect areas. The closest relatives of Mwaghavul are Cakfem-Mushere and Miship and it falls within the same group as Ngas and Goemai. The Mwaghavul are known as ‘Sura’ in much of the older literature. Mwaghavul is bordered by Plateau (i.e. Benue-Congo) languages to the north and west, notably Berom and Izere. Mwaghavul (under the name Sura) was first described in modern linguistic terms by Jungraithmayr (1963/4). More recently, Frajzyngier (1991, 1993) has published a dictionary and grammar of the Mupun language.

## 3. Mwaghavul data

### 3.1 Ideophonic adjectives

Mwaghavul adjectives typically precede the noun. Thus;

àà	naked (knife)
àà wus	naked flame

However, Mwaghavul ideophonic adjectives are those which qualify nouns in equative sentences. The most common adjectives follow the copula *aasí*. Thus the term *cèlpèt* describes s.o. who does things carelessly. In a sentence context this can be;

wurí	aasí	cèlpèt
He	is	thoughtless

In some expressions, the adjective can be fronted behaving like a nominal. For example;

cèlpèt	dín	mbut
thoughtless	without	stomach
i.e. without manners		

In a more complex sentence, an ideophonic adjective can follow the repeated copula *a*;

a	làà	funu	a	gùrùmgúrúm	ni	ḍak
is	child	our	is	truly great	it	only
Only our candidate is truly great						

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

mèn	hìlakhìlakh	artificial beauty
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wuri	shang	mee	lèè	dúghurí	sí	mùndùlùng
he	dug out	a	large	yam tuber	a	mùndùlùng

**Table 2. Mwaghavul ideophonic adjectives**

<b>Mwaghavul</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Example sentence</b>	<b>Translation</b>
ḃwàghàlàk, ḃwàgàl- ḃwàgàl ḃwàgháp	describes water that is lukewarm  soft	am shwaa ni aasi ḃwàghàlàk  laawur ni táp ḃwàgháp	the drinking water is lukewarm  sweet potato cooked in the right way is soft
ḃwàgháp	describes mouth with no teeth	dikaam wurii ḃée a po ḃwàgháp	the old man has become toothless
cèlpèt cèlpèt	describes s.o. who does things carelessly describes s.o. thoughtless	wuri aasi cèlpèt cèlpèt ḃín mbut	He is thoughtless lit. thoughtless without stomach i.e. without manners
dùkùlùm gìnìnòn gùrùmгурúm	ignorant, not knowing s.t. describes s.o. who looks sickly [rare] tough, great (person)	wuri ḃée aasi gínìnòn a laa funu a gùrùmгурúm ni ḃàk	He looks very sick its only our child [candidate] who is truly great
hìlàkhìlàk mmòghòḃish	artificial appearance describes s.t. very ugly	men hìlàkhìlàk til maar ni mo bish aasi mmòghòḃish	Artificial beauty the ridges of the farm are misshapen, ugly
mmòghòḃish	describes s.t. tasteless	mbiise ni bish aasi mmòghòḃish	the food is bad, tasteless
mùndùlùng	describes how a long fat worm or other legless animal or a plant like a yam tuber lies in one place inert but without projections	wuri shang mee lee dughuri sì mùndùlùng	he dug out a large yam tuber, <i>mùndùlùng</i>
zhàrmàn	describes the condition of the clothes of s.o. who falls into dirty water	wuri sham yaghal mbut am ḃook ni zhàrmàn	he rises out of the muddy water <i>zhàrmàn</i>
zídíḃyás	describes s.o. lean and emaciated		

An important subset of adjectives are those applied to body parts which are supposed to be mis-shapen. Similar insultatives have been reported from nearby Tarok and εBoze, Benue-Congo languages (Blench 2010). Such adjectives are invariant, and do not seem to be cognate across language boundaries. Nonetheless, there is a strong community of ideas; the notion that certain animals, such as the owl or the red patas monkey have deepset eyes and that this is an insulting attribute when applied to humans is found in many regional languages. Table 3 shows a sample of typical Mwaghavul body idioms.

**Table 3. Mwaghavul body idioms**

Mwaghavul	English	Example sentence	Translation
báán	describes s.o. with a flat head		
dùghùl	describes s.o. who is flat footed	mwaan nii cighir maa shii dùghùl	s.o. who is flat-footed easily gets tired when walking
gùjùrùk	describes a face with deep-set eyes or a deep hole	nyiiyii ðii ðee si ni ki yit gùjùrùk	That owl has deepset eyes
gùjùrùk	describes a face with deep-set eyes or a deep hole	a tap ki yit ðii gùjùrùk si	Be careful with your deepset eyes [insulting expression]
jéghérékjéghérék	describes s.o. who is thin and fragile-looking	dikaa wuri sighit weel nttook jéghérékjéghérék	the man with the big head now has a a thin neck <i>jéghérékjéghérék</i>
kaamkaam	very wide	kom kaamkaam ka kutut si	Ears as wide as a winnowing tray
koryòng	crooked	koryòng ki baal; baal koryòng	crooked arm! abusive remark. But if you reverse it it becomes a nickname
koryòngkoryòng	describes how people with crooked legs stand	mo ðirang ki shii mo koryòngkoryòng	they stood there with crooked legs
koryòngkoryòng	describes how people with crooked legs stand	kat cin ðe wura mwaan gurum mo a yit koryòngkoryòng	She is not ashamed to move backwards and forwards in public despite her <i>koryong-koryong</i> legs
mondòs	describes the snout of a pig or a dog	mondòs ki poo kaa as si	your mouth is <i>mondòs</i> like a dog
mondòsmondòs	describes a projecting mouth [the sense is that someone is angry but won't come out and express it, so they purse their mouth]	wuri mwaan ki po mondòsmondòs	he walks with his mouth <i>mondòsmondòs</i>
rongshòng	describes s.t. that is branching such as the horns of an antelope	a yaghal ki kaa ði rongshòng si, kaa goor si	Get away from here with your horn-like head. e.g. some one with sticking out strands of hair
vùkmùn	describes s.t. ill-looking and dusty	vùkmùn ki shwoop	messy hair
vùrmùs	describes s.t. with a rounded end such as an amputated hand, a leper without fingers or a blunt hoe	loghom ki se sar mo ðee vùrmùs	leprosy has eaten his hands and only the stump remains
vwàplàs	describes s.t. that is oversized, such as extra-wide feet or mouth	wuri ki shii vwàplàs	his feet are very wide [like a duck]
vwàplàs	describes a very flat nose	pìgizij vwàplàs	flat-nose
vyàngràghàs	describes a mis-shapen head	laa nii wuri ki kaa vyàngràghàs	his child has a mis-shapen head

Mwaghavul has a prefix applied to body parts which emphasises their strange shape. The prefix is different for men and women. Thus *ði* for men (from *daa*) and *nì* for women

<b>dìgín, nìgín</b>	describes fat cheeks
<b>dìjet, nijet</b>	describes a protruding back of the head
<b>dìkom, nìkom</b>	describes wide ears

For example;

<b>Nìgín</b>	<b>wara</b>	<b>shwaa</b>	<b>wáár</b>	<b>dímo</b>	<b>le</b>	<b>nlàa</b>	<b>ni</b>
fat-cheeked [woman]	she	drink	gruel	that	it	for child	the
the woman with fat cheeks drank the gruel they left for the child							

Mwaghavul also has a very impressive range of onomatopoeiac imitations of natural sounds. These are shown in Table 4;

**Table 4. Mwaghavul onomatopoeiac ideophones**

<b>Mwaghavul</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Example sentence</b>	<b>Translation</b>
bài	sound of hitting a fat person in the stomach	wuri shwoor shaar firi mbut bài	he hit his friend in the stomach, <i>bài</i>
bíír	sound of a bird taking off	nyer ni sham yaghar bíír	the bird took off <i>bíír</i>
bílásh	sound of a light person falling down	pee milam be wura sham pal bílásh	the place was slippery and she fell down <i>bílàsh</i>
bìlàsh	sound of heavy person falling down in a slippery place	ngunan ni taa can shii de wuri pal si bìlàsh	the old man stumbled and fell <i>bìlàsh</i>
bùk	sound of a ripe fruit falling on the ground	laa koon dīnūng ni sham taa bùk	the ripe fig fell to the ground, <i>bùk</i>
cóicói	sound of frying s.t. in oil	wura naka sughur lwaa mbut mwoor cóicói	she is frying the meat in oil cóicói
cùrèt	sound of s.o. sucking their teeth in annoyance	ni laa nwura mbut be wura dwas po cùrèt	she was angry and she sucked her teeth, <i>cùrèt</i>
dài	sound of a big bundle of millet falling onto the ground	wuri taa vwet bwaghat kas ni si dai	he dropped the bundle of millet onto the ground, <i>dai</i>
dìghishdìghish	sound of flapping clothes when s.o. is walking	ngutar wuri jwa nighin lee mo nkaa shin dang wuri mwaan dìghishdìghish	the madman wore many clothes and as he walked made the sound, <i>dìghishdìghish</i>
dùbùmdùbù	sound of a building falling to the ground	lu ni ship sham taa dùbùmdùbù	the house collapsed and fell to the ground, <i>gim</i>
dùbùmdùbù	sound of s.o.'s feet as they learn to swim	wuri nkaa kam taa lung dùbùmdùbù	he is learning to swim, <i>dùbùmdùbù</i>
fīyóótfīyóót	sound of a flute made a certain species of grass	daa kalong wuri ka taan bel fīyóótfīyóót	an expert is blowing the flute bel, <i>fīyóótfīyóót</i>
fwàà	sound of water pouring	am ni sham beer fwàà	the water poured out <i>fwàà</i>
ghòghò	noise of frogs	nningkoro ni a zargong dini ki wal mbut am ghòghò	frog sp. that cries inside the water <i>ghòghò</i>

Mwaghavul	Gloss	Example sentence	Translation
gìrgìr	sound of a large and rather old truck creeping along	wu kiling wal ki mota ni ki kàà si Ndai gìrgìr	hear the sound of the lorry at Ndai coming along <i>gìrgìr</i>
gùdyàkgùdyàk	the sound of gruel being swallowed quickly	wuri dīlang waar ni nkyennkyen gùdyàkgùdyàk	he swallowed the gruel quickly, <i>gùdyàkgùdyàk</i>
gùk	sound of a stone falling to the ground	jwak ni sham laa gùk	the rock falls down <i>gùk</i>
gùkgùkgùk	sound of running footsteps	wu kiling wat ni wuri su cighir si mbwoonlu gùkgùkgùk	Hear the thief running behind the house!
gùlúnggùlúng	the sound of gruel sloshing around, either in a gourd or in the stomach of a child	waar nii wal sidī mbut mbeen ni gùlúnggùlúng	the gruel is making noise in the gourd, <i>gùlúnggùlúng</i>
gunggung	sound of a big drum	kung nii wal si njwak gunggung	the big drum is sounding <i>njwak</i> in the rocks
gùùl	sound of a fist hitting a person	gwar ni shwoor wat ni shi dughul sar gùùl	the man hit the thief with his fist, <i>gùùl</i>
gwùì	sound of hitting s.o. on the back	wuri shwoor shaar firi nkinok gwùì	he hit his friend on the back, <i>gwùì</i>
hàghàshhàgàsh	sound of a piece of meat falling on dry leaves	luwa miir ni sham taa mbut kom pee dīi fii kuni wal hàghàshhàgàsh	the meat of a python fell inside the dry leaves and made the noise <i>hàghàshhàgàsh</i>
hàghàshhàgàsh	noise of sand in acca when it is poured or it is in your mouth	yil nii wal si dī mbut ngwom fwoon ni hàghàshhàgàsh	sand makes the noise h~ when it is in the fonio cuscus
hííkhíík	sound of coughing	làà ni teer mmààp kkuni ki sighim dak hííkhíík	the child cried all night and was coughing <i>hííkhíík</i>
hwat	sound of a dry stick breaking	yoghom dīifi ni tep hwat	the dry stick snapped <i>hwat</i>
júm	sound of a light object falling in water	giil kwaghar sham taa mbut am júm	the pebble fell into the water <i>júm</i>
jùm	sound of a heavy object falling in water	wuri met sham mbut am kuur ni jùm	he jumped into the pool of water <i>jùm</i>
kìcòr	sound of a dead frond of the borassus palm falling to ground	kwak ngang sham taa kìcòr	the borassus frond fell down, <i>kìcòr</i>
kípétkípét	sound of flip-flops when walking	gwaghazak kípét nii wal si kípétkípét	the flip-flops are making the sound, <i>kípétkípét</i>
kìrètìkìrèt	sound of s.o. grinding their teeth	wuri nkaa dīees aghas kìrètìkìrèt	He is grinding his teeth, <i>kìrètìkìrèt</i>
kúléngkúléng	sound of a bell ringing	kungguleng ni wal si kúléngkúléng	the bell rings <i>kúléngkúléng</i>
kúráshkúrásh	sound of scraping burnt porridge from a pot [a sound well known to dogs]	laa reep wura nkaa aar tughul kúráshkúrásh	the girl is scraping the pot <i>kúráshkúrásh</i>
kúráshkúrásh	sound of s.o. scratching their thigh	wura sam pyaghal kúráshkúrásh	he scratched his thigh, <i>kúráshkúrásh</i> [implies lying]
kwàà	sound used to drive birds away	sak maar dang nyer mo shwaa wèèt wèèt. kwaa kwaa nyer oo!	I made my farm and the birds came and ‘drank’ it all. Go away birds! [Children’s song]
kwááskwáás	noise of girls dragging their shoes on the ground	wa kiling shii kì laareep ni wuraa jì si kwááskwáás	hear the sound of the foot of the girl coming along <i>kwááskwáás</i>
kwàsh	sound of a bundle of firewood falling to the	ḡwaghat yoghom ni sham taa kwàsh	the bundle of firewood fell down <i>kwàsh</i>

Mwaghavul	Gloss	Example sentence	Translation
kwáshkwásh	ground sound of striking a flintstone to make fire	wuri cut shaghal wus kuni wal kwáshkwásh	he struck the flintstones against each other, <i>kwáshkwásh</i>
kwengkweng	sound of metal being hammered	pee nii wal kwengkweng daa ndung kilom caan	the place sounds <i>kwengkweng</i> when father makes a hoe
lípàtlípàt	sound of the ears flapping when an animal such as a sheep is running. Also when the forefathers who weren't wearing clothes were running, those with fat thighs would make this noise.	tum ni nsushii 6e kom nii wal lípàtlípàt	the sheep is running and its ears are making the noise <i>lípàtlípàt</i>
mbyar	sound made by the hands of women slapping against the pestle while pounding grains in the mortar	jiraap si mo nkaghan fwo mbyar	the girls are competing to make the sound <i>mbyar</i>
njung	describes a place that becomes suddenly quiet	pee ni òk titik njung	the place became extra quiet, <i>njung</i>
pàshpàsh	sound of splashing water as you run along or play in it with your feet, or water coming out of a spring	jep mo cin tan mbut am dí a naar pee ni pàshpàsh	children play in the water on the ground, <i>pàshpàsh</i>
rùghùsrùghùs	sound of crunching food	jep mo nkaa sum bangkar ni rùghùsrùghùs	The children are eating the dry peanut cakes <i>rùghùsrùghùs</i>
shùrètshùrèt	describes a woman crying and constantly sniffing	mo baa wat putughup dí mmat poo furu ni ku wura ðee saa a làa píit ðak shùrètshùrèt	they upset the new wife so she is sniffing continuously
shwèrshwèr	sound of rain or other liquid dripping	mo teer nfwam kuni 6eer sham si shwèrshwèr	it rained all night and it is still dripping, <i>shwèrshwèr</i>
shwètshwèt	describes s.o. who weeps continuously	mat kaa ni wura ki baa 6ilang dí mme la fra ni ðee wura teer shoor a map ðak shwètshwèt	the widow has lost another child and she has been crying all night <i>shwètshwèt</i>
tìràttìràt	sound of sipping hot gruel	nigin nkaa mwak waar ðiital ni tìràttìràt	the woman with fat cheeks is sipping hot gruel, <i>tìràttìràt</i>
tùlulúúttùlulúút	sound of a fruitshell ocarina	jep mo nkaa laa ndutughut tùlulúúttùlulúút	the children were playing the ocarina, <i>tùlulúúttùlulúút</i>
tùmbulúng	sound of a stone falling into deep water	ghik ni sham taa mbut am ni tùmbulúng	the stone fell into the water <i>tùmbulúng</i>
zhùrùmzhùrùm	sound of small plants being uprooted	wuri shwat kom ni zhùrùmzhùrùm	he uprooted the groundnuts <i>zhùrùmzhùrùm</i>



In a case of sound-symbolism, there is an association between tone and the weight of the object or person. Thus in the two cases shown in Table 5, high tone symbolises light in weight and low tone heavy.

**Table 5. Tonal symbolism in Mwaghavul idiophones**

Mwaghavul	Gloss
bílásh	sound of a light person falling down
bìlásh	sound of heavy person falling down in a slippery place
júm	sound of a light object falling in water
jùm	sound of a heavy object falling in water

The most common form of ideophone in Mwaghavul is the adverbial. These are usually the classic reduplicated adverbial and describe motion or behaviour. Table 6

**Table 6. Mwaghavul adverbial s**

Mwaghavul	English	Example sentence	Translation
bìcìcìt, bùcìcìt cukcur	very wide (space, piece of cloth) describes being very excited	kom milom ni kaam bùcìcìt kook pughal ni doghon shang mighin mat funu no zam har ni kaa wura cukcur	The leaves of the cocoyam are very wide yesterday our old woman danced the Pughal dance so much that she became very excited <i>cukcur</i>
cwètcwèt dìbìlāk dībìlāk	describes walking quickly describes s.o. who talks too fast and who replies without thinking	a mwaan mmun cwètcwèt wuri kat po dībìlāk dībìlāk	lit. walk quickly for us, i.e. Hurry up! he speaks too fast without thinking
dìghìrìkdìghìrìk	describes how a lazy person walks	seer si wurii mwaan kaa si dìghìrìkdìghìrìk	See that lazy man walking <i>dìghìrìkdìghìrìk</i>
gàrmàs	describes a very large person who stands in a challenging posture	mu kar wuri, 6e wuri jì dār si gàrmàs	They incited him and he stood there <i>gàrmàs</i>
gashbáng	describes a light person falling to the ground	wura sham pal gashbáng	She [a light person] fell on her back
gìdìbìsgìdìbìs	describes how a very large person or animal walks with a sluggish movement	mee luwa ki sham si gīdībīsgīdībīs	A big animal is dragging itself along over there
gìdìrìkgìdìrìk gìjìnànggìjìnàng	describes how a lazy person walks describes how a crab walks sideways and a bit frightened	dialect version of dīghīrīkdīghīrīk kwangkibel ni ki mwaan sor si gìjìnànggìjìnàng	that crab over there is walkng <i>gìjìnànggìjìnàng</i>
gìnìnòn	describes s.o. with a mouth with few teeth	aghas ki gunan ni ki liyoon kyes ku po ni dee gìnìnòn	The old man has lost almost all his teeth and his mouth is now just empty, <i>gìnìnòn</i>
gìnìnòn	describes s.o. with superficial wounds	dì gyók pal sham meen kipak gìnìnòn	The delinquent child fell and wounded the side of his

Mwaghavul	English	Example sentence	Translation
gìshishash	on the skin, e.g. after falling on gravel describes struggling with a load	mpe òs ki lee ni òee mo gishishash ki ni òák	face <i>gìnìnòn</i> Due to the size of the load, they had to struggle <i>gishishash</i> to lift it
gìshishash	describes how people hold each other when fighting	mo yak shak gishishash gishishash	They held on to each other gishishash gishishash
gìshishash gìshishash gìtìtát	describes difficult to control like a violent mad person. describes scrambling out of a house, or struggling to climb a hill	mo aasi gishishash gishishash jep mo swa put gítìtát ndang wat mo	They are very violent they scrambled out, <i>gítìtát</i> , in pursuit of the thieves
gítìtát	describes s.o. who is strong and will not yield easily	wuri òal aasi gítìtát	He is very strong and difficult to calm down
gòkshiròk	describes a person or animal that is very thin	as disi ni yem ndín biise kuni òee si gokshirok	The dog has not been fed for some time, and it is looking emaciated, <i>gokshirok</i>
gòkshiròk	very old and worn out	nighín mat òisi wura òee si gòkshiròk kaa gok tip si	The old woman looked worn out like an old jute bag
gùsmètùsmèt	describes sluggish movement of a well- fed person or animal	òee wuri ki mwaan aase gùsmètùsmèt	[as a result of over-eating] He now walks sluggishly <i>gùsmètùsmèt</i>
gùtùtùt	describes people or animals rushing out from somewhere	randong mo òel pwat nkuut long gùtùtùt	The cows came out of the pen <i>gùtùtùt</i>
gùshìbìrìng	imitates a short person walking along and falling	aa kam a we kisi gùshìbìrìng gùshìbìrìng ye?	Who are you imitating, that walks gùshìbìrìng gùshìbìrìng?
gùshìbìrìng	describes how a short person falls	rep gwar si sham pal gùshìbìrìng	the small person fell down <i>gùshìbìrìng</i>
gùshìgùshì gùshìgùshì	describes how a very short person walks sound of a cow tail used by performing artists	rep mat si wuraa so si gùshìgùshì mat óeer mo kat dang ning ki mo gùshìgùshì òi poo	there goes the short woman <i>gùshìgùshì</i> The female dancers are waving the cow tails
hàghàphàghàp	describes walking in dry leaves	kom pee òii fii ki tung pee hàghàphàghàp	Dry leaves are making <i>hàghàphàghàp</i> when blown by the wind
hámhóghósh	describes s.o. with dry, cracked feet	shii ki nighín mat fúú ni fes òák áase hámhóghósh	Your old woman's feet have cracked so much they are hámhóghósh
hàthàt	describes struggling to do s.t.	nyem òák ni o cin a hàthàt òang mo kyes òák ni	the workers had to really struggle in order to finish the work
hìlákhlák	describes s.t. shiny reflecting the sun	taji yi pwos mwor caan pee kas, ji yi milep hìlákhlák	Do not use bleaching cream otherwise you will shine artificially
jéghérékjéghérék	describes appearing or moving in a	doghon wan naa me yer sham òel-	I saw a bird with long neck moving down, tossing itself

Mwaghavul	English	Example sentence	Translation
	manner like a big bird with long neck as if it is about to break	jéghérékjéghérék	there and there ie jéghérékjéghérék
jirakjirak	describes s.t. scattered around like maize grains	jep ni mo jirak maar ni a jirakjirak	when children move here and there in the farm they do it <i>jirakjirak</i>
jìrèngjìrèng	describes the way a tall person moves	reep waazaa wuraa sham si jìrèngjìrèng	There comes the [tall] girl who plays the metal rattle for <b>velang</b> , walking jìrèngjìrèng
kíndingding	describes being finished completely	mwoor funu nii kyes kíndingding	our oil is completely finished kíndingding
kírkír	describes s.t. going straight ahead	nyer nii so si kírkír ki po fung ni	the bird is flying straight towards the window
kírkír	describes s.t. going straight at s.t.	wuri pus pas ni so kírkír ki nyer ni	he shot the arrow straight at the bird
kíshkísh	describes bursting into laughter	wura ji dél so 6e mo piin shwar kíshkísh	she walked by and they burst out laughing kíshkísh. N.B. you use a singular verb as they all burst out laughing at the same time
kífkíf	describes breaking apart and smashing, also describes s.t. that is completely scattered or spoilt	tughul ni sham taa 6e ni pyan kíshkísh	the pot fell and it broke kíshkísh [the verb is plural because it breaks into many pieces]
kudùnùng	protruding like a cow hump	kudùnùng ki tugus kaa randong si	protruding like the hump of a cow
kudùnùngkudùnùng	describes the way a heavy person or animal runs	nii ni su so ndighin shi yeep mo kudùnùngkudùnùng	the elephant ran into the trees, kudùnùngkudùnùng
kùràsh	describes when s.o. gets up suddenly	kaa dí mo dóo am nka laa ni 6e wuri sham yagha ðak kurash	when they poured water on the boy he got up suddenly
kwààk	describes s.t that finishes very quickly or vanishes	mo cighir sak maar ni kyes kwààk	they finished in the farm kwààk
leelee	bit by bit, in small increments		
ndághámndághám	describes how s.o. grumbles or murmurs	wuri kat po ndághámndághám nkaa shaar firi.	n.b. etymology throat. He speaks grumblingly against his friend
ndíre ndíre	properly, correctly	wura cet gwom mwoor ni ndíre ndíre	she cooked the oily food correctly
ndíre ndíre	well	yit ki ngunan ni moo naa pee ndíre ndíre	the eyes of the old man see very well
nfúmvmum	blindly, blindfolded	doghon dyéél páá péé ni ku mó swa pwat nfúmvmum	yesterday, smoke covered the place, so they had to run out blinded
ngaangaa	for a very long time, for ever and ever	ba mish kagham ni wurin ntong dí a ngaa ngaa kas	the chief will not live for ever
ntíít ntíít	describes things that are very similar or at the same time	mo ji wul a ntíít ntíít	they arrived at exactly the same time

Mwaghavul	English	Example sentence	Translation
plotplot	describes how the flesh of a cocoyam pops out of the skin	mo téér dùm mílóm ku ni fes ret pun plotplot	they cooked the cocoyam overnight so that it was so good [soft] it popped out <i>plotplot</i>
ròòjòròòjò	really tall	mee luwa yil ki so si ròòjòròòjò	A really tall animal is moving over there
rùskùl	describes a very fat person falling down sideways	wura doghon met taa ruskul	Yesterday, she fell down on her side <i>ruskul!</i>
rùtùtùt	describes hasty movement of animals, rushing in somewhere	mo dèl pwat rùtùtùt but kiir muut	They rushed out, <i>rùtùtùt</i> , as a result of fear
rùtùtùt	describes hasty movement of animals, rushing in somewhere	long ni mo dèl pwat òk rùtùtùt	The animals rushed out in a disorderly manner, <i>rùtùtùt</i>
sàlmùtāt	describes a very lazy person, sitting there almost helpless	wuri met tong si sàlmùtāt	He sits there, <i>sàlmùtāt</i>
wàshwàsh	describes performing a task energetically	mat òk si wuraa cìn mbii wàshwàsh	this woman does her tasks energetically
wèètweèt	describes s.t that finishes very quickly or vanishes	cf. kwàà	
yàlpàtyàlpāt	describes s.t. hanging loose or flapping like a curtain	mee ki sham dèl mpeesi ki kom yàlpàtyàlpāt	A certain goat just passed down here with its ear hanging <i>yàlpàtyàlpāt</i>
yingyíng	describes s.o. who is mad	Koghorong laa yingying [proverb]	Koghorong [a hero] has given birth to an insane person, which makes him become a laughing-stock
zángzáng	describes s.t. straight and tight	mang gha put òwot mmo shwar mat ni wura man òwaghal yoghom zángzáng	the woman knows how to tie firewood <i>zángzáng</i>
zéénzèèn	truly	a sat an a zéénzèèn, a we cin wat niyee?	Tell me truly, who committed the theft?
zhìrikzhìrik, jìrikjìrik	describes a person or animal who jumps from a height to the ground without fear	laa tum ni yaghal mīrep shi ret nyit zhìrikzhìrik	the child jumped with excitement <i>zhìrikzhìrik</i>
zòkmònzòkmòn	describes s.o. who has done s.t. to be ashamed of but shows no shame in fact	wuri mwaan ndin nnaashwoop zòkmònzòkmòn	he walks around without shame

#### 4. Ideophone to verb?

It is generally assumed that verbs are fundamental and that expressives are likely to be generated from verb roots by morphological processes. However, Mwaghavul would seem to challenge this assumption.

**demdem** to have a compulsive desire for meat and other things      **Laa si demdem zam** This child desires meat excessively

**hàthàt** describes struggling to do s.t.      **nyem òk ni o cin a hàthàt** the workers had to really struggle in order to finish the work  
**đang mo kyes òk ni**

**abetabet** immediately      **a so abetabet kus a tang laa ni** you go at once and find the boy  
**wuri òk**

**điisizòk** hidden      **shaghal fina ni a òk** my money is hidden  
**đikíđikí** repeatedly, again and again      **a katpo nkaa ni òk** you talk about it repeatedly

**gùghùtùk** suddenly, unexpectedly      **wagha jì mmun a gùghùtùk** you have come to us unexpectedly

#### 5. Other expressives

##### 5.1 General

##### 5.2 Tastes and smells

**càf<sup>1</sup>** describes a pungent odour      **goghor nfut ni òk aasi càf** grass sp. smells pungent  
**òk<sup>2</sup>** odour, smell  
**fwààp** characteristic odour, smell      **fwààp pel òk ni a mu** the smell of the flower is that of Plateau berry  
**taghàs** bad taste, bad smell      **lee òk nii taghas nzutur** this cloth has the bad smell of bedbugs  
**vìr** very bad smell      **tughun ni òk vìr** the pit has a very bad smell

##### 5.3 Colour intensifiers

**càf<sup>2</sup>** extremely red      intensifies **òk**  
**òk<sup>2</sup>** to be red  
**rap<sup>1</sup>** black, dirty, dark (complexion)  
**bítbít** very black      intensifies **tùp**      **fwaat ni a tup bítbít** the cloth is very black  
**tùp<sup>1</sup>** black colour, dark, obscure  
**pyáá** white, fair  
**péngpéng** extremely white      intensifies **pyáá**  
**pétpét** extremely white

<b>am mès</b>	yellow colour
<b>bèèn mwòòr</b>	colour complexion of person light brown
<b>ndúmoghól</b>	colour of a horse
<b>ngármoghól</b>	colour of horse (reddish/brown)
<b>njwèè</b>	reddish-brown horse
<b>shiit mwòòr</b>	brown colour of animals (especially goats)
<b>vuun</b>	foggy, cloudy, ash colour horse

<b>vwàm-vwam</b>	scrambling for things without being orderly	jep mo bwot vwamvwam káá rep sé dí mó cin mo	children scrambled <i>vwamvwam</i> for the small amount of food they were given to share
<b>shìdààr-shìdààr</b>	daily, every day	ni ret ku wu se yil Naan shidaar-shidaar	it is good to worship God every day
<b>shilúshilú</b>	from house to house	nyem dak yen mo nkaa cin yen ni a shilushilu	the health workers are treating people in every house
<b>shinishini</b>	different, variety of	a pèè dyik ni 6e mo ji ki mbise mo shinishini	at the wedding, they brought different varieties of food
<b>shipeeshipee</b>	from place to place	Nyem sor ndang Naan no ki mwaan sat poo Naan ní ngurum mo a shipeeshipee	Christians go around preaching to people from place to place
<b>shiyilshiyil</b>	from one country to another or from one place to another	gurum mo shiyilshiyil ki ar bilip nyem sel furu mo	people in different countries have different ways of electing their leaders
<b>twéttwét</b>	first, only one, singled out, unique	a wura shee ji nlu ki Naan nigurum mo twettwet	she was the first to come to church before all the others
<b>wéél</b>	slim, slender, thin		
<b>wéélwéél</b>	very thin	mo ki tang a ngo dí weelweel mpe taa lúng	They look for a very slim person to swim
<b>wúrwúr</b>	straight without turning	o cén láá hii fina ni 6e ni su sor tulu wúrwúr	They drove away my goat and it went straight to the house
<b>wùrwùr</b>	describes preparing oneself	nighin mat ni wura wùrwùr a ar sor kasuwa	the old woman prepared herself to get on road to the market
<b>yángyáng</b>	extremely well	diyem fina wuri gyar man taan velang ni yangyang	my son knows how to play <i>velang</i> extremely well
<b>yíngyíng</b>	low IQ person	gyét mo kwár lop wuri makaranta a mpe yíngyíng firi ni	last year they refused to send him to school because of his low IQ
<b>zonzón</b>	describes s.o. who follows another person thoughtlessly or without taking care	a zonzón a so ku mo tu gba dí ðák	you are following them zonzon and they are going to kill you
<b>zonzon</b>	to walk aimlessly, foolishly	mo lop wuta mpe seet kom 6e wura wet zònzòn dí kasuwa ni	They send her to buy groundnuts and she wandered about aimlessly in the market
<b>zonzon</b>		wan sat nwuri nne mon ntu wuri 6e wuri sat a nso ðák zònzòn naa wurii so s zònzòn	I told him they were going to kill him, but he kept on going <i>zonzon</i> there he goes <i>zonzon</i>

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