Onomatopoeias in Kambaata

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Introduction

The Kambaata language (iso-code: ktb, glottolog code: kam1316) is spoken by more than 600,000 speakers (Central Statistical Agency 2007: 74), the large majority of which live in the Kambaata-Xambaaro Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State. Kambaata belongs to the Highland East Cushitic branch of the Cushitic family (Afroasiatic). Its immediate neighbours are speakers of other Cushitic languages (Hadiyya and Alaaba) and Ometo languages of the Omotic family (Wolaitta and Dawro). The language is spoken in the Ethiopian Linguistic Area (Crass & Meyer, 2008). Amharic, the Ethiopian lingua franca, is the second language of most Kambaata speakers.

Kambaata has a consistently head-final constituent order, it is agglutinating-fusional and (almost) exclusively suffixing. Kambaata's open word classes are verbs, nouns, adjectives, ideophones and interjections. Verbal, nominal and adjectival roots are bound, i.e. they cannot occur in isolation but combine obligatorily with inflectional morphology.[1] The language has phonemic stress. The official orthography of Kambaata is Roman-based (Treis, 2008, pp. 73–80; Alemu 2016). The data in this chapter, however, is presented in an IPA-based phonological transcription to allow for easier comparability with other contributions to this book; length is marked by doubling (e.g. aː = aa, bː = bb); stress is marked by an acute accent on the (first) vowel of a stressed syllable.

Position of onomatopoeias in the language system

There is no prior linguistic work on Kambaata onomatopoeias, and lexicographic and pedagogical works by native speakers do not identify onomatopoeias as a category of words

[1] Citation forms in this chapter: The citation form of nouns, adjectives and verbs consists minimally of a root and a suffix, which is set off by a hyphen. Nouns are cited in their accusative form. Gender-agreeing adjectives are given in their masculine accusative form with the feminine marker in brackets. Verbs are cited in their verbal noun form, which is always realized with a *-ú*-suffix.

on its own and do hence not propose any Kambaata-specific label. Primary onomatopoeias belong to the large, open word class of ideophones, which encompasses almost a third of verbal concepts including lexemes expressing sounds, movements, visual patterns, other sensory perceptions, and inner feelings and cognitive states (cf. Dingemanse's 2012 implicational hierarchy of ideophone systems). Ideophones are morphologically invariant and are obligatorily accompanied by light verbs. Most ideophones are not sound-imitative, and onomatopoeias therefore constitute a subclass of ideophone. Apart from onomatopoeic ideophones, Kambaata has a small number of secondary, inflecting onomatopoeias that belong to the word classes of nouns and verbs.

Kambaata has no conventionalized phonesthemes. We are not aware of borrowed onomatopoeias, but the light verb construction (discussed below) which helps embed ideophones into the clause could easily accommodate onomatopoeic loans and adhoc coinages. Further research based on natural language use, especially with children, could shed light on the expansion of the onomatopoeia category through borrowing and creative word invention.

The data on which this chapter is based comes from different sources. We proceeded as follows in our data collection: The first author consulted the Kambaata dictionary by Alemu (2016). As onomatopoeias are not tagged, she searched for 'sound' in the English translation, for <maccoccis> 'produce a sound' and <laaga tukkaanchuta> (or similar) 'sound representation' in the Kambaata definitions of the entries. In parallel, the second author brainstormed for sound-imitative lexemes according to the questionnaires of the handbook editor. In a third step, the data was combined, compared, supplemented, its transcriptions and translations revised, and stress marking added. Dictionary entries with which the second author was not familiar were discarded. We equally left out lexemes whose status as onomatopoeias was disputable.

Description of onomatopoeias

Phonology

Vowel and consonant inventory

Kambaata has a phoneme system of medium complexity with 25 safely established consonant phonemes: /b, t, d, tʃ, dʒ, k, g, ʔ, p', t', tʃ', k', f, s, z, ʃ, h, m, n, r, r', l, l', w, y/, one marginal

consonant /ʒ/, which is restricted to a regional variant of certain perfect(ive) forms, and four marginal consonants /p, v, ɲ/, which are essentially restricted to Amharic and English loanwords. The vowel system distinguishes between five oral phonemes /a, e, i, o, u/ and three rare nasal phonemes /ã, ĩ, ũ/. The distinction between single and geminate consonants and between short and long vowels is phonemic and amply exploited to distinguish between lexemes and grammatical word forms.

Apart from a single noun, *hãy-í* (M) 'front leg of cattle', nasal vowels are only attested in a few interjections, see *ắã* 'yes', *ãʔắʔã* 'no', *hḯ̃* 'huh?', and *ḯ* 'take what I have in my hand', and in ideophones, especially onomatopoeic ideophones, see (1).[2]

(1) a. *hắã* {say/do} 'sound of a gaping mouth (or fig. abyss, deep hole)'
b. *hắãʔʔã* {say} 'sound of a braying donkey'
c. *hãʔʔắ* {say} 'sound of human groaning from sudden pain'
d. *hĩʔʔḯ* {say/do} 'sound of defecation, sound of pushing out a baby (during birth)'
e. *ű̃ũ* {say} 'humming sound (mhm, uh) (to show that one is listening)'

Only a single non-borrowed word, an onomatopoeia (2), contains a palatal nasal /ɲ/.

(2) *ɲáu* {say} 'sound of meowing cat'

In non-onomatopoeic word forms, geminate glottal fricatives are always realized as /kː/, and glottal stops are never realized as geminate, the interjection *háʔʔa* 'yuck' being the only known exception. In onomatopoeias, we find both long /hː/ (3a) and long /ʔː/ (3b-c; 1b-e).

(3) a. *buhhú* {say} 'sound of coughing'
b. *dúʔʔu-dúʔʔu* {say} 'sound of beating heart'
c. *méʔʔa* {say} 'sound of bleating goat'

[2] For all ideophones, including for all onomatopoeic ideophones, we indicate whether they combine with the light verb 'say' or 'do' or both. We do **not** exclude that an onomatopoeia attested with only one of the light verbs in our data could also be used with its (in)transitive counterpart, given an appropriate context.

Unsurprisingly from a cross-linguistic perspective, high vowels tend to correlate with smallness and low vowels with bigness of the sound source (see Appendix no. 7 and 8 for a particularly clear case). Furthermore, breathing-related onomatopoeia, e.g. *fúrr* 'sound of snorting horse', *fúu* 'sound of snorting cattle' and *úff* 'sound of sighing, sound of blowing' all contain the voiceless labiodental fricative.

Syllabic structure

Possible syllable types are V(V), CV(V) and CV(V)C(C), of which V(V) is only found word initially. Clusters are generally either sequences of identical (i.e. geminate) consonants (C_1C_1) or different consonants of the following types: sonorant plus obstruent (if the obstruent is not ʔ) or obstruent plus sonorant (if the obstruent is ʔ). Other clusters are uncommon and occur, if anything, in certain derived forms or in loanwords.[3] The language does not permit sequences of three consonants, which means that such clusters are broken up by epenthesis or simplified at syllable boundaries.

Onomatopoeias do not seem to differ in syllable structure from the prosaic lexicon. Non-reduplicated forms of various shapes to up to four syllables are attested. Mono- and disyllabic forms are predominant (cf. Appendix). Monosyllabic onomatopoeias usually have of a heavy syllable with a long vowel and/or a coda with a consonant (cluster); the only exception to this rule is (4a).

(4) a. *tú* {say} 'sound of spitting'
b. *úu* {say} 'call/cry for help'

Consonant-only onomatopoeias are not attested, but forms consisting of only a (long) vowel are seen in (1e) and (4b).

Stress

Kambaata is a language with morphology stress. Whereas lexical roots and derivational morphemes are unspecified for stress, inflectional morphemes always consist of a segmental component and a suprasegment (stress) that is realised, dependent on the grammatical category to be marked, on a specific syllable of the inflected word form. Consequently, there are no lexical but only grammatically determined minimal pairs in the inflecting word classes.

[3] Obstruent-obstruent clusters are found, for instance, between the root and the C-initial causative morpheme *-siis* (Treis, 2022, §3.1.3).

In contrast, for non-inflecting interjections and ideophones (including onomatopoeias), the stress position is lexically determined, i.e. arbitrary. Ultimate stress is more common on multisyllabic forms (5), but there are also onomatopoeias with penultimate stress. A near minimal stress pair is seen in (1b-c).

(5) a. *didí* {say/do} sound of stones tumbling down a slope
b. *t'it'í* {say/do} sound of small seeds being roasted on the fire
c. *t'at'á* {say/do} sound of big seeds being roasted on the fire

When onomatopoeias are reduplicated, each reduplicant has its own stress (6), which is in contrast to lexically reduplicative onomatopoeias, which have one stressed syllable (5).

(6) a. *wáak'k'-wáak'k'* {say} sound of cawing crow or raven
b. *p'íip'-p'íip'* {say/do} 'sound of a (beeping) car horn'
c. *k'umbú-k'umbú* {say/do} 'sound of drum'

Morphology and syntax

Word-formation

Kambaata has a wealth of word-class maintaining and word-class changing derivational processes that input nominal, adjectival, verbal or ideophonic roots and output derived nouns, adjectives or verbs. Among the most productive processes are the adjectivizing agentive and proprietive derivations (Treis, 2008, pp. 274–277, 2011) and the causative, passive and middle derivations of verbs (Treis, 2022). Ideophones are the input of the dedicated adjectivizing resultative derivation with *-eem*, e.g. *k'onfóʔl* {say/do} 'be(come)/make dented' > *k'onfoʔl-**eem**-á(ta)* 'dented', and the dedicated nominalizing derivations with *-itt* and *-eenn*, e.g. *gíp'p'* {say/do} 'pause, halt (v)' > *gip'p'-**itt**-á* 'pause, instant (n)' and *múgg* {say/do} 'descend' > *mugg-**eenn**-á* 'down(side), down direction' (Treis, 2008, pp. 157, 165, 283f.).

Ideophonic onomatopoeias, like ideophones in general, are underived, monomorphemic words that cannot be generated by means of word-formation. In some cases, they themselves have served as word-formation bases. Examples of de-onomatopoeic nouns are *ilill-eenn-á* 'ululation', derived from *ilíli* {say} 'sound of ululation', and *tililll-eenn-á* 'telephone', derived from *tililí* {say/do} 'sound of telephone ringing'. For de-onomatopoeic verbs see next section.

Many ideophones including onomatopoeias can be fully reduplicated (twice or more often) to mirror a repeated realisation of an event; recall (6) and see the recurrent, intermittent sound represented in (7).

(7) *tí* ***síi-síi****=j-itáa* *láag-at*
DEM.ADJ.F.NOM high.pitched.sound-RED=say-3F.IPFV.REL sound-F.NOM
matʃ'tʃ'-áta *af-fáa-taa*
ear-F.ACC seize-3F.IPFV.REL-F.COP2
'This high-pitched *sii-sii* sound (e.g. of a car driving in reverse) is irritating (lit. ear-seizing).'

Word classes

Apart from closed word classes including different types of pronouns, Kambaata has five open word classes, i.e. verbs, nouns, adjectives, ideophones and interjections, which are defined by morphosyntactic criteria (Treis, 2008, pp. 82–97). Primary, non-inflecting onomatopoeias belong to the word class of ideophones. However, in Kambaata, onomatopoeias and ideophones are not congruent. As mentioned above, most members of the ideophone word class are not sound-imitative (even if they may display other iconic features such as iconic reduplication), and primary onomatopoeias thus constitute an ideophone subclass.

Ideophones are morphologically invariant. In order for them to be inflected and be syntactically integrated in a clause, e.g. to index the subject and, for instance, be marked for aspect, mood, syntactic dependency, they must combine as invariant coverbs with a light verb, which is *j-ú* 'say' or *ih-ú* 'become' to express a noncausal meaning (in an intransitive clause) or *aʔ-ú* (or its variant *ass-ú*) 'do' to express a causal meaning (in a transitive clause). The light verb tends to encliticise to the preceding coverb, as indicated by the equal sign. In our database, the majority of primary onomatopoeias is attested in combination with *j-ú* 'say'; see, e.g., (7) and (8).

(8) ***hĩʔʔí****=j-ít* *íl-tee-haa* *tʃ'íil-a*
push.out.O=say-3F.PFV.CVB give.birth-3F.PRF.REL-M.COP2 infant-M.PRED
'(It) is a child that she (herself) gave birth to, pushed it out with a *hĩʔʔí*-sound.'
(Message: it is *her own* child.)

If the emitted sound is perceived to be externally caused, *aʔ-ú* ‘do’ is used. In (9), the onomatopoeia ‘hiccup’ takes the light verb ‘do’ in a transitive clause. In Kambaata, hiccupping is expressed in the same way as many other physical or psychological states, namely in a construction in which the experiencer is expressed as the direct object, see the 1SG suffix on the verb. The causing subject can remain unspecified and the subject position empty, in which case a default 3M subject is indexed on the verb.

(9) ***hík’k’****=aʔ-ájjoo-ʔe*
hiccup.O=**do**-3M.PROG-1SG.OBJ
‘I have the hiccups (lit. (it) is doing/causing me *hík’k’*).’

‘Hiccup’ in (9) cannot be expressed intransitively with ‘say’, and, vice versa, the combination of animal onomatopoeias (cf. Appendix) with transitive ‘do’ does not seem possible to us. However, many onomatopoeic ideophones are combinable with either light verb, given an appropriate context. For instance, in a context where a child is potty trained, the use of *hĩʔʔĺ* ‘sound of defecation’ (cf. 1d, 8) with transitive ‘do’ is possible, in which case the adult trainer is the subject and the child the object. Similarly, the onomatopoeia *k’umbú-k’umbú* ‘sound of drum’ (6c) is used with ‘say’ when the drum is the subject but with ‘do’ when the sound-causing drummer is the subject and the drum the object.

Apart from onomatopoeias integrating the ideophone word class, Kambaata has a number of secondary onomatopoeias that belong to the inflecting word classes of verbs and nouns, cf. (10)-(12).

(10) *kuukkul-ees-ú* ‘crow (of rooster)’ – base cf. Appendix no. 15
kaakk-ees-ú ‘cackle (of hen)’ – base cf. ex. (17)
himimm-ees-ú ‘neigh, whinny (of horse), laugh (of hyena)’
(no synchronic base)
ororr-ees-ú ‘sing a lullaby’ – base cf. (16)
wooww-ees-ú ‘bawl’ – cf. Appendix no. 20
hant’iff-aʔ-ú ‘sneeze’ – cf. nominal base: *hant’iff-úta* ‘sneezer’

(11) *haʃaaff-ú* ‘whisper’
tut-ú ‘stammer’
gug-ú ‘thunder’

	t'ot'-ú	'crackle, pop (of grain being roasted on the fire), explode, go off (e.g. of gun), crack (of whip)'
(12)	*doddok'-íta* (F)	'motorbike' (a vehicle with a two-stroke engine producing a *dok'-dok'*-sound)

The onomatopoeic verbs in (10) are derived, as the derivational morphemes *-ees* and *-aʔ*,[4] set off by hyphens, show (see Treis, 2022, §4.5 for information on these, at most, semi-productive processes). Where existing, the onomatopoeic bases are given in (10).

Secondary onomatopoeias inflect exactly like other members of the verb or noun word class, i.e. as verbs, they minimally index the subject and are marked for mood and/or aspect (13), and as nouns they are obligatorily marked for case and gender (14).

(13) *gót-u* *ankar-í* ***himimmees-án*** *gállo*
hyenas-M.NOM night-M.ACC laugh-3M.IPFV.CVB pass.the.night-3M.PFV
'The hyenas laughed all through the night.'

(14) ***doddók'-it*** *ʃiin-íin-ta-nne* *hig-góo'u*
motorbike-F.NOM side-M.ICP-LNK-1PL.POSS pass-3F.PFV
'A motorbike passed us by.'

Syntax

Onomatopoeias, be they of the primary or secondary type, display no specific syntactic behaviour, and they do not occur in a fixed position. The syntactic functions that onomatopoeic ideophones and onomatopoeic verbs can adopt are exactly like that of verbs. They can be used

- as the main predicate of a sentence (9)
- as a subordinate predicate, e.g. in relative and in converb clauses, as in (7) and (8), or
- as a verbal noun in argument function (15).

(15) *kú* *sáʔ-u* ***humbáa****=y-ú* *batíʃʃ-eeʔu*
DEM.ADJ.M.NOM cow-M.NOM moo.O=say-M.ACC do.much-3M.PRF

[4] The derivational *-aʔ*-suffix is not to be confused with the homonymous light verb *aʔ-ú* 'do'.

‘This cow has mooed a lot/too much.’

The most likely position for an onomatopoeia is in a converb clause. Kambaata has five semi-finite, subordinate verbal paradigms (Treis & Vanhove, 2022, §20.2.4.1). Of these, the perfective and imperfective converbs often expresses the manner in which a syntactically superordinate verbal event is carried out. Being accompanied by a specific sound is a possible manner; cf. (8) and (16).

(16)	*tʃìil-á-se*	***ororó**=at-tán*	*malat’-t’óoʔu*
	infant-M/F.ACC-3F.POSS	sing.lullaby.O=do-3F.IPV.CVB	make.stop.crying-3F.PFV
	‘She sang the baby a lullaby and made it stop crying.’		

Onomatopoeic nouns are used in the same syntactic functions as other nouns in the language, i.e. as arguments, modifiers and nominal predicates.

Semantics

Overview

Checked against the typology of sound types developed in the introduction to this volume, mammals, birds, human voice- and body-related types are most richly represented in Kambaata. In contrast, onomatopoeia for the domains of reptiles and amphibians as well as fish and sea creatures are lacking – which can easily be explained by the mountainous environment in which the Kambaata live, far from sea, with no permanent standing water and only small, often temporary streams. For the sound of artifacts, only a few examples were discovered. For the sound types of musical instruments and instruments of war and destruction, we found only one example each. The relative poverty of onomatopoeia in the artefact domain is possibly explicable by the choice of the sound types in the questionnaire, which may culturally not be particularly relevant. It would need to checked whether a richer inventory could be found if artefacts of traditional material culture – e.g. sounds of the mortar, to give but one example – were considered.

The relative richness of onomatopoeias for domestic animals can be linked to the Kambaata social and economic environment. Traditionally, a family shares their circular one-room house with their few domestic animals, i.e. around half a dozen animals including cows, sheep, goats, a donkey, possibly a mule or horse. The spatial proximity to domestic animals

might have facilitated the development of onomatopoeias for them (cf. Appendix). Noteworthy in this respect is also the differentiation between three types of chicken sounds in (17), plus the sound of a crowing rooster (Appendix no. 15).

(17) *káakk* ‘sound of a hen that wants to lay an egg’
kutáakk ‘sound of a chicken warning others of a predator’
k’uk’ú ‘sound of a hen that is about to stop laying eggs’

In addition to the onomatopoeias for the voice, also animal body-related onomatopoeias are attested, recall the snorting sounds in the section on phonology above.

The size inventory of human-related onomatopoeias is comparable to that of mammals and birds. Apart from primary onomatopoeia for the sound of the voice and the body, some onomatopoeic verbs also fall in these two sound types, recall (10)-(11).

Semantic relations

Relations of synonymy, antonymy and polysemy are common in the Kambaata lexicon, but lexical semantic studies are lacking for the language. In general, ideophones tend to be semantically narrow and to show less polysemy than, for instance, verbal lexemes. What is true of ideophones also seems true of its onomatopoeic subclass, where polysemy is not very common. However, some onomatopoeias have two clearly distinct, albeit related meanings; see the case of *hĩʔʔĺ*, which imitates, firstly, the sound of defecation, and, secondly, the sound of pushing a baby out in the last phase of birth, and the case of *úff*, which stands for the sound of sighing (audibly exhaling) as well as for the sound of blowing into a fire to light it and of blowing off a candle. Also cases of semantic vagueness and/or semantic extensions are observed when the same onomatopoeia is used for sound sources of different sound types; see *ʧ’íi-ʧ’íi* (Appendix no. 18), which is used both for the high-pitched sound of little birds and crickets, and *síi-síi* (Appendix no. 19), which was likely to be used initially for the squeaking sound of mice and rats and later extended to repetitive, high-pitched sounds of electronic devices. The onomatopoeia *hắã* {say} ‘sound of a gaping mouth’ is used metaphorically for a gaping deep hole or abyss. In this figurative use, the sound element, i.e. the “ah” produced by the person opening the mouth widely, is lost. Finally, the onomatopoeia *ʧ’úf* (or more frequently due to its repetitive nature: *ʧ’úf- ʧ’úf*) ‘smacking sound of clothes when washed in shallow water’ has come to mean ‘wash’ in a very general sense (18), without necessarily evoking the sound linked to a specific washing technique.

(18) *gaʔ-áa* *oddak'k'-aammí* *oddíiʃʃ-at*
tomorrow-F.GEN wear.MID-1SG.IPFV.REL clothes-F.NOM
***tʃ'úf**=j-itée=da* *dag-im-báʔa*
wash.O=say-3F.PRF.REL=COND know-1SG.NIPFV-NEG
'I don't know whether the clothes that I will wear tomorrow are (already) washed.'

Conclusion

This chapter is the first systematic study of onomatopoeias in a Cushitic language. It has argued that Kambaata primary onomatopoeias are a subclass of its large open word class of ideophones. Onomatopoeias differ only minimally from the language's general word stock. Almost all features that make onomatopoeias different from, say, nouns and verbs are shared by the ideophonic word class of which they are a part – see the lexically determined stress, the morphological invariance, the syntactic integration by light verbs, the preferred occurrence in converb clauses and the fairly high degree of semantic specialization. The only true idiosyncrasies concern their phonology: otherwise very rare nasal vowels are quite common with onomatopoeias. In certain onomatopoeias, the glottal obstruents /h/ and /ʔ/ are realized as geminate – which is elsewhere (virtually) not attested in the language. Secondary, inflecting onomatopoeias are indistinguishable from nouns and verbs in Kambaata.

While the definition of onomatopoeias as imitations of sounds of extra-linguistic reality (see introduction to this volume) seems intuitively straightforward, applying it to real-world examples is not an easy task. The boundary between clearly sound-imitative lexemes of the *kuukkulúukku*-type on the one end of the scale and clearly arbitrary lexemes, e.g. the verb *wod-ú* 'make a sound (of animals)', on the other end of the scale is fuzzy. In the grey area in the middle, it is difficult, if not impossible, to draw the line between exclusively sound-imitating lexemes and sound-imitative lexemes that also express a characteristic movement or visual pattern; see, e.g. *ororó* 'sound of lullaby', which seems inseparably linked to rocking and/or stroking the child, and *habább* 'sound of dry leaves burning', which also evokes a high flame that quickly consumes the leaves. Judgments about what is sound-imitative are certainly also influenced by whether the linguist is a native speaker of the analysed language and, therefore, whether a lexeme can evoke a sound or not. We have tried to be consistent in our choice of onomatopoeic lexemes, and if there was doubt about the sound-imitating nature of a lexeme, the native speaker perspective was given preference.

As the current study is the first of its type on Kambaata, gaps will certainly be filled, and analyses be refined in the future. At the current stage, data on the use of onomatopoeia in natural language, including language produced by or directed at children, is lacking. Further studies might also help document interspeaker variation across the Kambaata-speaking area and onomatopoeias as a field of linguistic creativity.

List of abbreviations

<…>	transcription in the official orthography
~	alternative pronunciation
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjectival
C	consonant
COND	conditional
COP	copula
CVB	converb
DEM	demonstrative
F	feminine
GEN	genitive
ICP	instrumental-comitative-perlative
IPFV	imperfective
LNK	linker
M	masculine
MID	middle
n	noun
NEG	negator
NIPFV	non-imperfective
NOM	nominative
OBJ	object
O	onomatopoeia
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRED	predicative
PRF	perfect
PROG	progressive
RED	reduplication
REL	relative
SG	singular
SGV	singulative
v	verb
V	vowel

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Appendix

	Onomatopoeia	**Light verb**[5]	**Meaning**	**Semantic domain**
Natural sounds				
1	*t’ulbú*	say	sound of stone splashing into water	Water
2	*tʃ’óp’p’(-tʃ’óp’p’)*	say/do	sound of drops falling	Water
3	*k’ultʃ’ú-k’ultʃ’ú*	say/do	sound of water sloshing back and forth (e.g. in a container when carried)	Water

[5] As attested in our database.

4	*fúu*	do/*say	sound of strong wind	Air
5	*haxáx*	say/do	sound of creaking tree	Earth
6	*dìdí*	say/do	sound of stones tumbling down a slope	Earth
7	*t'at'á*	say/do	sound of big seeds (e.g. maize) being roasted on the fire	Fire
8	*t'it'í*	say/do	sound of small seeds (e.g. wheat, barley) being roasted on the fire	Fire
9	*wúh*	say	sound of barking dog	Mammals
10	*ɲáu*	say	sound of meowing cat	Mammals
11	*humbáa*	say	sound of mooing cow	Mammals
12	*báaʔa*	say	sound of baaing sheep	Mammals
13	*méʔʔa*	say	sound of bleating goat	Mammals
14	*hắãʔʔã*	say	sound of braying donkey	Mammals
15	*kuukkulúukku*	say	sound of crowing rooster	Birds
16	*kuukú ~ guugú*	say	sound of cooing dove	Birds
17	*búu*	say	sound of buzzing bee, beehive, beetle, fly	Insects
18	*tʃ'íi-tʃ'íi*	say	sound of chirping crickets, little birds	Insects/ Birds
19	*hĩhĩhḯ*	say	sound of laughter	Human voice
20	*wóo*	say	sound of wailing	Human voice
21	*dúʔʔu-dúʔʔu*	say	sound of beating heart	Body
22	*dúbb-dúbb*	say/do	sound of footsteps, sound of pounding coffee leaves	Body/Artefact
Artefacts				
23	*k'umbú-k'umbú*	do	sound of drum	Musical instruments
24	*háann*	do	vrooming sound	Vehicles
25	*p'íip'-p'íip'*	say	sound of (beeping) car horn	Vehicles
26	*tililí*	say/do	sound of phone ringing	Mechanical and electronic equipment
27	*k'iríp'p'*	do	sound of button being pressed (e.g. of camera)	Mechanical and electronic equipment
28	*síit't'*	say	beeping, high-pitched sound	Mechanical and electronic equipment
29	*síi-síi*	say	irritating, repetitive high-pitched sound; sound of squeaking mice and rats	Mechanical and electronic equipment/ Mammals
30	*táa*	do	sound of a gun, sound of hail hitting the roof	Instruments of war and destruction/ Water
31	*tilí ~ tíll*	say	clanking, reverberating sound	Bells and gongs

32	*ʧílk(-ʧílk)* *~ ʧilkí(-ʧilkí)* *~ kilʧí(-kilʧí)*	say	clinking sound (of keys, coins, small bells on horse's neck)	Bells and gongs