

# IDEOPHONES AS LINGUISTIC “REBELS”: THE EXTRA-SYSTEMATICITY OF IDEOPHONES IN XHOSA – Part II.

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This paper contributes to the study of the structural distinctiveness of the category of ideophony. The author analyzes the extent to which Xhosa ideophones exhibit the so-called extra-systematic properties, which cross-linguistically tend to distinguish ideophones from other lexical classes. The analysis demonstrates that ideophones are relatively extra-systematic in Xhosa, although their extra-systematicity is not unitary. It is the largest in morphology, slightly less visible in phonology, and only residual in syntax. It is proposed that the distinct degrees of extra-systematicity are related to differences in grammaticalization and a gradual integration of ideophones into the Xhosa grammar – with the adjustment in syntax occurring faster than the morphological adaptation. In this paper – the second in a series of two articles – the author introduces evidence related to syntax, answers the research question, and explains the contributions of this research to the general theory of ideophony.

**Keywords:** Ideophones, extra-systematicity, Xhosa, Bantu, (canonical) typology, cognitive linguistics

## 1. Introduction

The present article is concerned with the structural distinctiveness of ideophones – or their extra-systematicity. To be exact, I examine whether Xhosa ideophones exhibit extra-systematic properties that are associated with the prototype of an ideophone and determine the precise extent thereof. This

examination is developed within a canonical approach to typology<sup>1</sup> and a cognitive approach to categorization,<sup>2</sup> whereby a linguistic category is viewed as a radial network organized around an idealized, yet typologically driven and cognitively salient exemplar – the prototype.

In the previous paper – the first in a series of two articles<sup>3</sup> – I dealt with two types of issues. On the one hand, I presented my theoretical framework. That is, drawing on the recent scholarly literature dedicated to ideophones<sup>4</sup> and my own research on ideophones in the Nguni, Khoe, Semitic, and Slavonic linguistic families, and I identified 16 extra-systematic features of a prototypical ideophone as far as its phonology, morphology, and syntax are concerned. On the other hand, I introduced parts of my empirical research, specifically, the evidence related to the phonology and morphology of ideophones in Xhosa. In the present paper, I first introduce the remaining portion of my evidence, i.e.

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<sup>1</sup> BROWN, D., CHUMAKINA, M. What There Might Be and What There Is: An Introduction to Canonical Typology. In BROWN, D., CHUMAKINA, M., CORBETT, G. (eds.). *Canonical Morphology and Syntax*, pp. 1–19. Accordingly, my article continues the line of research that uses the framework of canonical typology on ideophones, e.g. KWON, N., ROUND, E.R. Phonaesthemes in Morphological Theory. In *Morphology*, 2014, Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 1–27; KWON, N. Total Reduplication in Japanese Ideophones: An Exercise in Localized Canonical Typology. In *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics*, 2017, Vol. 2, No. 1, Art. 40, pp. 1–31; IBARRETXE-ANTUÑANO, I. Basque Ideophones from a Typological Perspective. In *Canadian Journal of Linguistics*, 2017, Vol. 62, No. 2, pp. 196–220.

<sup>2</sup> EVANS, V., GREEN, M. *Cognitive Linguistics: An Introduction*; JANDA, L. Cognitive Linguistics in the Year 2015. In *Cognitive Semantics*, 2015, Vol. 1, pp. 131–154.

<sup>3</sup> ANDRASON, A. Ideophones as Rebels: The Extra-systematicity of Ideophones in Xhosa. Part 1. In *Asian and African Studies* 2020, Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 119–165.

<sup>4</sup> See especially CHILDS, T. African Ideophones. In HINTON, L., NICHOLS, J., OHALA, J. J. (eds.). *Sound Symbolism*, pp. 178–204; CHILDS, T. *An Introduction to African Languages*; VOELTZ, E., KILIAN-HATZ, C. (eds.). *Ideophones*; DINGEMANSE, M. *The Meaning and Use of Ideophones in Siwu*; DINGEMANSE, M. Advances in the Cross-linguistic Study of Ideophones. In *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 2012, Vol. 6, pp. 654–672; DINGEMANSE, M. Making New Ideophones in Siwu: Creative Depiction in Conversation. In *Pragmatics and Society*, 2014, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 355–383; LAHTI, K., BARRETT, R., WEBSTER, A. (eds.). *Pragmatics and Society*, 2014, Vol. 5, No. 3; DINGEMANSE, M., AKITA, K. An Inverse Relation Between Expressiveness and Grammatical Integration: On the Morphosyntactic Typology of Ideophones, with Special Reference to Japanese. In *Journal of Linguistics*, 2017, Vol. 53, No. 3, pp. 501–532; IBARRETXE-ANTUÑANO, I. Basque Ideophones from a Typological Perspective. In *Canadian Journal of Linguistics*, 2017, Vol. 62, No. 2, pp. 196–220.

that related to syntax (Section 2), and next holistically discuss all my data – phonological, morphological, and syntactic – within the adopted framework (Section 3). I answer my research question (To what extent do Xhosa ideophones comply with the structural prototype of an ideophone and its extra-systematicity?) and show how my results contribute to the general theory of ideophony. I end the article with formulating my main conclusions (Section 4).<sup>5</sup>

## 2. Ideophones in Xhosa – Syntax

### 2.1. Extra-clausality (S-I)

Ideophones in Xhosa may occupy an extra-clausal position, appearing at the sentence boundaries. In such cases, they are usually separated from the core clause by a perceivable pause:

- (1) a. **Mhu-u-u** , **ya-tsho** **inkomo**  
moo [pause] 9.SA.PAST-say 9.cow  
Moo, said the cow
- b. **Qhwi** , **z-aphuk-ile** **iivazi**  
crush [pause] 10.SA-be.broken-PERF 10.vases  
[sound of glass breaking], the vases are broken

However, in most cases, ideophones appear inside the clause, occupying a clause-internal position. In the most canonical situation, an ideophone appears as a complement of the verbs **thi** or **tsho**, with which it forms a verbal predicate (see Sections 2.2 and 2.3 below; consult also the first part of this study

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<sup>5</sup> As in the first part of this study, whenever possible, I will compare the properties of ideophones in Xhosa with those found in a closely related language – Zulu – for which research on ideophones is significantly more advanced. See FIVAZ, D. *Some Aspects of the Ideophone in Zulu*; VOELTZ, E. Toward the Syntax of the Ideophone in Zulu. In CHIN-WU, K., STAHLKE, H. (eds.). *Papers in African Linguistics*, pp. 141–152; VON STADEN, P. *Die ideofoon in Zulu*; VON STADEN, P. Some Remarks on Ideophones in Zulu. In *African Studies*, 1977, Vol. 36, No. 2, pp. 195–224; CHILDS, T. Where Have All the Ideophones Gone? The Death of a Word Category in Zulu. In *Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics*, 1996, Vol. 15, p. 81–103; MSIMANG, C. T., POULOS, G. The Ideophone in Zulu: A Re-examination of Conceptual and Descriptive Notions. In VOELTZ, E., KILIAN-HATZ, C. (eds.). *Ideophones*, pp. 235–250; DE SCHRYVER, G-M. The lexicographic treatment of ideophones in Zulu. In *Lexikos*, 2009, Vol. 19, p. 34–54.

published previously).<sup>6</sup> In such instances, the ideophone is not separated from **thi** or **tsho** by a pause.<sup>7</sup> Typically, the ideophone follows the verb **thi/tsho** and, if applicable, precedes internal arguments (i.e. a primary (**iemele** ‘bucket’ in 2.a) or a secondary object (**utata** ‘father’ in 2.b)) and adjuncts (e.g. a locative phrase (**e-Kapa** ‘to Cape Town’ in 2.c) or an adverbial (**kaninzi** ‘many times’ in 2.d)). Often, both an argument and an adjunct follow the ideophone (**iemele** ‘bucket’ and **etafileni** ‘on the table’ in 2.e; review also various examples introduced in the first part of this study).

- (2) a. **Ndi-th-e** *hlasi* **iemele**  
 1<sup>st</sup>SG.SA-THI-PERF take 9.bucket  
 I took the bucket
- b. **Unyana u-th-e** *jwaxa* **utata** **izitshixo**  
 1a.boy 1a.SA-THI-PERF give 1a.father 8.key  
 The son gave father the keys
- c. **Abafundi ba-thi** *gxada* **e-Kapa**  
 2.student 2.SA-THI go LOC-5.Cape.Town  
 Students are going to Cape Town
- d. **Ndi-yi-th-e** *xhuzu* **kaninzi** **namhlanje**  
 1<sup>st</sup>SG.SA-9.OA-THI-PERF pull many.times today  
 I pulled it many times today

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<sup>6</sup> ANDRASON, A. Ideophones as Rebels: The Extra-systematicity of Ideophones in Xhosa. Part 1. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2020, Vol. 29, No. 2; DU PLESSIS, J. A. *IsiXhosa 4*, p. 290; GXOWA, N. C. *Ideophones in Xhosa*; NOKELE, A. *The Syntax of the Ideophone in Xhosa*.

<sup>7</sup> If one compares examples (1.a-b) with (2.a-e), Xhosa ideophones suggest an inverse relation between expressiveness and morphosyntactic integration. That is, in an extra-clausal position, ideophones are separated from the clause by a pause. In contrast, in a clause-internal position, they tend to be pronounced as a single unit with the verb **thi**. This corroborates an inverse relation between expressiveness and morphosyntactic integration as proposed by DINGEMANSE (2017) and DINGEMANSE, AKITA (2017). See DINGEMANSE, M. Expressiveness and System Integration. On the Typology of Ideophones, with Special Reference to Siwu. In *STUF – Language Typology and Universals*, 2017, Vol. 70, No. 2, pp. 377–380; DINGEMANSE, M., AKITA, K. An Inverse Relation between Expressiveness and Grammatical Integration: On the Morphosyntactic Typology of Ideophones, with Special Reference to Japanese. In *Journal of Linguistics*, 2017, Vol. 53, No. 3, pp. 501, 526–529.

- e.        **Usipho**                **u-th-e**                                *thaca*                                **iemele**  
             1a.Sipho                1a.SA-THI-PERF                                put                                9.bucket  
             **e-tafile-ni**  
             LOC-9.table-LOC  
             Sipho put the money on the table

The predicative ideophone cannot be moved to an extra-clausal position in left dislocation constructions or to a clause-initial position in fronted focus-topic constructions (see 3 below). This behavior contrasts with other complements of verbs, whether arguments or adjuncts, which can be left-dislocated or fronted.

- (3)                \**Jwaxa*                **u-th-e**                                **utata**  
             give                                1a.SA-THI-PERF                                1a.father  
             **inkwenkwe**                **imali**  
             9.boy                                9.money  
             Indented meaning: Father gave the boy money

If the verbs **thi** and **tsho** are absent, ideophones may occupy a clause-initial (4.a) or a clause-medial position (4.b).<sup>8</sup> In intransitive uses, the clause-initial position is the most common, contrary to the prevalent type of word order found with intransitive verbs, namely SV. Nevertheless, even here, the ideophone is not separated from the adjacent element – typically its compulsory subject – by the contouring or pause, which tend to be found at clause boundaries. The ideophone and the following element are rather pronounced as a single clause. In transitive constructions, the ideophone is most frequently found between the subject and the object, thus attesting to a clause-medial position (4.c). However, it may also be found in a clause-initial position, with the subject appearing after the object (4.d).

- (4)    a.        *Ngxingxilili*                **uloliwe**                                **ngequbuliso**  
             stop                                1a.train                                suddenly  
             The train stops / stopped suddenly  
             b.        **Uloliwe**                                *ngxingxilili*                                **ngequbuliso**  
             1a.train                                stop                                suddenly  
             The train stops / stopped suddenly  
             c.        **Inkwenkwe**                *cum*                                **isigawu**                                **ngonyawo**<sup>9</sup>  
             9.boy                                crush                                7.spider                                with.11.foot  
             The boy crushes the spider into pieces with his foot

<sup>8</sup> NOKELE, A. *The Syntax of the Ideophone in Xhosa*, pp. 200–201.

<sup>9</sup> GXOWA, N. C. *Ideophones in Xhosa*, p. 107.

- d.     ***Ngaku***            ***isela***    ***uZola***            ***lingalindelanga***<sup>10</sup>  
           catch                5.thief  1a.Zola            unexpectedly  
           Zola caught the thief unexpectedly

To conclude, Xhosa ideophones – both those that are accompanied by the verbs **thi/tsho** and those that are used without it – tend to appear within a clause frame, occupying an initial or medial position.

## 2.2. Complete utterance (S-2)

In Xhosa, ideophones may constitute complete autonomous utterances. This is relatively common in cases of onomatopoeic ideophones that reproduce or imitate sounds from the real world (5.a-b). However, less onomatopoeic ideophones may also be used holophrastically (see 5.c and especially 5.d).

- (5)    a.     - ***Nyawo-nyawo.***  
           meow-meow  
           Meow-meow  
           - ***Yi-nto-ni***                    ***leyo?***  
           9.COP-9.thing-what    DEM.9  
           What's that?  
           - ***Ku-kho***                    ***ikati***                    ***e-mnyango.***  
           15.SA-there                9.cat                    LOC-3.door  
           There is a cat at the door
- b.     ***Placa***    ***placa***        ***placa***    ***placa***        ***dyumfu***  
           splash    splash        splash    splash        plop  
           Splash, splash, splash, splash, plop!
- c.     ***Qhwa!***            ***Wa-m-betha***            ***ngempama***  
           Smack                1.SA.PAST-1.OA-hit    with.9.palm  
           Smack! He hit him with the palm of his hand
- d.     ***Guququ!***<sup>11</sup>  
           turn.around  
           'Turn around'

Although holophrasticity is attested, much more commonly, Xhosa ideophones appear as parts of clauses or sentences, thus failing to constitute separate utterances themselves. In such instances, they are used as predicates (**qoloko** '(they) enter' in 6.a), parts of the predicate (**athe khwashu** 'they

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<sup>10</sup> NOKELE, A. *The Syntax of the Ideophone in Xhosa*, p. 201.

<sup>11</sup> WEAKLEY, A. J. *An Introduction to Xhosa Ideophone Derivation and Syntax*, p. 34.

jumped quickly’ in 6.b) – the entire predicate being formed by **thi/tsho** and the ideophone – or adverbs (**qho** ‘continuously’ in 6.c) (see Sections 2.1 above and 2.3 below).<sup>12</sup>

- |     |    |                                       |                                |  |                                  |
|-----|----|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|
| (6) | a. | <b>Qolokotho</b><br>enter.quickly     | <b>iimpuku</b><br>10.mouse     | <b>e-khitshi-ni</b><br>LOC-5.kitchen-LOC |                                  |
|     |    | The mice enter quickly into the house |                                |  |                                  |
|     | b. | <b>Amakhwenkwe</b><br>6.boys          | <b>a-th-e</b><br>6.SA-THI-PERF | <b>khwashu</b><br>jump.quickly           |                                  |
|     |    | The boys jumped forward               |                                |  |                                  |
|     | c. | <b>Imvula</b><br>9.rain               | <b>i-na</b><br>9.SA-rain       | <b>qho</b><br>continuously               | <b>e-busika</b><br>LOC-14.winter |
|     |    | It rains continuously in the winter   |                                |  |                                  |

Crucially, a large set of ideophones that allow for both intransitive and transitive (often causative) interpretations necessitates a clausal structure to disambiguate their meaning. Such ideophones are, inherently, neither transitive nor intransitive (see **guqu** ‘turn something aside / be turned aside’ in 7.a-b). Rather, their valency relies on the type of a clause into which they are integrated. If the object is overtly expressed, the ideophone is interpreted as active, transitive and/or causative (7.a). In contrast, in object-less clausal structures, the interpretation of the ideophone is passive, intransitive/de-transitive, often accompanied by the nuance of resultativity (7.b).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Cf. DU PLESSIS, J. A. *IsiXhosa 4*, pp. 200–296, NOKELE, A. *The Syntax of the Ideophone in Xhosa*, pp. 43, 203–207.

<sup>13</sup> DU PLESSIS, J. A. *Comparative Syntax: The Structure of the Verb Phrase in the African Languages of South Africa (Bantu Languages)*, pp. 70–85. See also **qhwi** ‘die suddenly / kill suddenly’, **qhwa/qhwasha/qhwakra** ‘be broken / break something hard, or **beke** ‘be cut / cut’. This phenomenon approximates the valency alternations in Manding, where the same root has two readings (facets): active, if the object is overtly expressed (either nominally or pronominally), and intransitive, if no object is overtly expressed (CREISSELS, D. *Éléments de grammaire de la langue mandinka*; ANDRASON, A. *A Complex System of Complex Predicates: Tense, Taxis, Aspect and Mood in Basse Mandinka from a Grammaticalization and Cognitive Perspective*). Compare with an identical phenomenon in Zulu (DOKE, C. M. *Zulu Syntax and Idiom*, p. 142; FIVAZ, D. *Some Aspects of the Ideophone in Zulu*, pp. 144–145).

- (7) a. **Indoda**            **i-th-e**                                    *guqu*            **ubuso**<sup>14</sup>  
           9.man                9.SA-THI-PERF                            turn.aside       14.face  
           The man turned his face aside
- b. **Ubuso**            **bu-th-e**                                    *guqu*<sup>15</sup>  
           14.face                14.SA-THI-PERF                            turn.aside  
           The face is turned aside

**2.3. Asyntagmaticity (S-3)**

As is evident from the above discussion, ideophones are not inherently asyntagmatic in Xhosa. On the contrary, ideophones commonly enter in various types of syntactic relationships with the other elements of the clause and sentence.

It has already been mentioned that Xhosa ideophones appear in two main functions: predicative and adverbial.<sup>16</sup> When constituting the predicate, or when forming the predicate together with the verbs **thi** and **tsho**, ideophones determine the argument structure of the clause – or its potential scope, if more than one valency pattern is possible (see Section 2.2 above). Accordingly, ideophones project the external argument (i.e. subject; **bafundi** ‘students’ in 8.a) and internal arguments, e.g. primary (**isinambuzane** ‘insect’ in 8.b) and secondary objects (**ititshala** ‘teacher’ in 8.c).

- (8) a. **Bafundi**            **ba-th-e**                                    *ntywili*  
           2.student                2.SA-THI-PERF                            plunge  
           The students have just plunged
- b. **USipho**            *cum*            **isinambuzane**            **ngesandla**  
           1a.Sipho                crush            7.insect                with.7.hand  
           Sipho crushed the insect into pieces with his hand

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<sup>14</sup> DU PLESSIS, J. A. *Comparative Syntax: The Structure of the Verb Phrase in the African Languages of South Africa (Bantu Languages)*, p. 66.

<sup>15</sup> DU PLESSIS, J. A. *Comparative Syntax: The Structure of the Verb Phrase in the African Languages of South Africa (Bantu Languages)*, p. 66.

<sup>16</sup> The same holds true for Zulu. See FIVAZ, D. *Some Aspects of the Ideophone in Zulu*; VOELTZ, E. *Toward the Syntax of the Ideophone in Zulu*. In CHIN-WU, K., STAHLKE, H. (eds.). *Papers in African Linguistics*, pp. 141–152; VON STADEN, P. *Die ideofoon in Zulu*; VON STADEN, P. *Some Remarks on Ideophones in Zulu*. In *African Studies*, 1977, Vol. 36, No. 2, pp. 195–224; CHILDS, T. *Where Have All the Ideophones Gone? The Death of a Word Category in Zulu*. In *Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics*, 1996, Vol. 15, pp. 81–103; MSIMANG, C. T., POULOS, G. *The Ideophone in Zulu: A Re-examination of Conceptual and Descriptive Notions*. In VOELTZ, E., KILIAN-HATZ, C. (eds.). *Ideophones*, pp. 235–250.



- c.        **ititshalakazi**                      **i-th-e**                                      **qhushe**  
             9.female.teacher                      9.SA-THI-PERF                                      give.secretly  
             **Ititshala**                      **imali**  
             9.teacher                      9.money  
             The female teacher gave the male teacher money secretly

In their predicative function, ideophones also project thematic (semantic) roles to arguments, e.g. beneficiary (**intombi** ‘for the girl’ in 9.a) and purpose/goal (**iilekese** ‘for sweets’ in 9.b).<sup>17</sup>

- (9)      a.        **Umfana**                      **u-th-el-e**                                      **khwaphululu**  
             1a.Mfana                      1a.SA-THI-APPL-PERF                                      wake  
             **intombi**<sup>18</sup>  
             9.girl  
             Mfana wakes up for a girl  
             b.        **Abantwana**                      **ba-the-el-e**                                      **gqada**  
             2.child                      2.SA-THI-APPL-PERF                                      jump.hurriedly  
             **iilekese**<sup>19</sup>  
             10.sweets  
             Children jumped hurriedly for sweets

Moreover, ideophones enter into relationships with adjuncts, e.g. prepositional phrases expressing location (**elwandle** ‘into the sea’ and **eKapa** ‘in Cape Town’ in 10.a-b) or goal/theme (**kum** ‘to me’ in 10.c), and copulative phrases (**ngamasela** ‘by thieves’ in 10.d).<sup>20</sup> This applies both to predicative complexes with **thi/tsho** and to cases where ideophones are used without an introductory verb.

- (10)    a.        **Amaphenyane**                      **a-thi**                                      **le**                      **e-lwandle**  
             6.small.boat                      6.SA.PAST-THI                                      sink                      LOC-11.sea  
             The small boats sank into the sea

<sup>17</sup> See GXOWA, N. C. *Ideophones in Xhosa*; NOKELE, A. *The Syntax of the Ideophone in Xhosa*.

<sup>18</sup> GXOWA, N. C. *Ideophones in Xhosa*, p. 68.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> DU PLESSIS, J. A. *IsiXhosa* 4, pp. 294–296; NOKELE, A. *The Syntax of the Ideophone in Xhosa*.

- b. **OoLandile, si-ba-th-e tshé**  
 2a.Landile 1<sup>st</sup>PL.SA-2a.OA-THI-PERF see.once  
**e-Kapa**  
 LOC-5.Cape.Town  
 Landile and his friends, we saw once in Cape Town
- c. **Lo mcimbi u-th-e**  
 DEM.3 3.matter 3.SA-THI-PERF  
**thaa ku-m**  
 become.clear LOC-1<sup>st</sup>SG  
 This matter became clear to me / I understand this matter
- d. **Impahla i-th-e vuthu nga-masela**<sup>21</sup>  
 9.clothing 9.SA-THI-PERF be.finished 6.COP-6.thief  
 The clothes are depleted by thieves

The firmest syntagmatic relationship links the ideophone to the verbs **thi** and **tsho**, with which it forms a complex predicate. As already explained, ideophones need to be introduced by **thi** or **tsho** if the subject or object affixes are to be overtly expressed. Furthermore, the verb **thi** must be used if specific temporal, aspectual, or modal nuances are to be made explicit, or when the construction requires a negative polarity value.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, if the sense of reflexivity, reciprocity, and passivity need to be expressed, **thi** is regularly found. In all such cases, inflectional and derivational categories are specified morphologically by the verb **thi** or, much less commonly, **tsho**, while the ideophone itself determines the lexical meaning of the predicate, the scope of its argument structure (e.g. intransitivity, mono-transitivity, or di-transitivity), and the potential argument-structure alternations in case of derivational extensions. For example, in (11.a), the ideophone **shwaka** expresses the action of disappearing – which typically involves one participant, i.e. the experiencer – and, consequently, projects a single argument, i.e. the external subject argument. The verb **thi** locates the action in the near past, additionally profiling its current relevance by means of the ILE tense. In (11.b), the meaning of the ideophone **xhakamfu** ‘hold’ involves two participants, the root often being transitive. As a result, it is possible to use the reciprocal affix **an** ‘each other’ on the verb **thi**, if two subjects exert the action of holding one another. Additionally, by means of its inflection, the verb **thi** overtly places the activity expressed by the ideophone in the future.

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<sup>21</sup> GXOWA, N. C. *Ideophones in Xhosa*, p. 94.

<sup>22</sup> The verb **tsho** can only be used in the A past tense with ideophones. See the first part of the study: ANDRASON, A. Ideophones as Rebels: The Extra-systematicity of Ideophones in Xhosa. Part 1. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2020, Vol. 29, No. 2.

- (11) a.     **Inkwenkwe**    **i-th-e**                    *shwaka*  
           9.boy                9.SA-THI-PERF            disappear  
           The boy has disappeared
- b.     **USipho**            **no-Landile**                **ba-za-th-ana**  
           1a.Sipho            and-1a.Landile            2(a).SA-FUT-THI-REC  
           *xhakamfu*  
           hold  
           Sipho and Landile will hold each other

The close syntactic relationship coupling the ideophone and the verb **thi/tsho** is evident in the contiguity of these two elements. That is, the word order of this predicative complex is rigid, and the chain is unbreakable. For instance, the sequence [**thi/tsho** + ideophone] cannot be interrupted by arguments or adjuncts. In canonical word order, the subject regularly precedes the verb **thi/tsho**, while the internal arguments and adjuncts follow the ideophone (see various examples introduced thus far).<sup>23</sup> Specifically, if an object (**uSipho** ‘Sipho’ in 12.a) or two objects (**inkwenkwe** ‘boy’ and **imali** ‘money’ in 12.b) are to be expressed, they must appear after the complex predicate, and hence after the ideophone. Similarly, prepositional adjuncts and adverbs cannot be placed between the verb **thi** and the ideophone (**egumbwini** ‘in the room’ in 12.c). Furthermore, in case of subject-verb inversion, the subject must occupy the position after the entire [**thi/tsho** + ideophone] chain.<sup>24</sup> This occurs both in intransitive (see **amakhwenkwe** ‘boys’ and **imvula** ‘rain’ in 12.c-d) and transitive constructions (see **uZola** ‘Zola’ in 12.e).<sup>25</sup> When the arguments or adjuncts intervene between **thi/tsho** and the ideophone, the two verbs regain their literal lexical value ‘to say; do’. In other words, the ideophone is no longer the complement of **thi/tsho**.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> For further cases consult DU PLESSIS, J. A. *IsiXhosa* 4, pp. 290–295; GXOWA, N.C. *Ideophones in Xhosa*; NOKELE, A. *The Syntax of the Ideophone in Xhosa*, pp. 858, 893–895, 104–105.

<sup>24</sup> GXOWA, N. C. *Ideophones in Xhosa*, pp. 97–99.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 102–103.

<sup>26</sup> See NOKELE, A. *The Syntax of the Ideophone in Xhosa*, pp. 198–199. NOKELE argues that, very rarely, and only in spoken language, the chain [verb + ideophone] can be interrupted by an adjunct – where the sequence still functions as a complex predicate. However, all such constructions were viewed as ungrammatical by my informants.

- (12) a. **Ndi-th-e** *xhipu* **uSipho**  
 1<sup>st</sup>SG.SA-THI-PERF grab 1a.Sipho  
 I grabbed Sipho
- b. **Utata** **u-th-e** *jwaxa* **inkwenkwe**  
 1a.father 1a.SA-THI-PERF give 9.boy  
**imali**  
 9.money  
 Father gave the boy money
- c. **Ku-thi** *qwaa* **amakhwenkwe** **e-gumbw-ini**  
 15.SA-THI sit 6.boy LOC-5.room-LOC  
 The boys sit in the room (lit. There sit the boys in the room)
- d. **Ku-thi** *gxii* **imvula**<sup>27</sup>  
 15.SA-THI pour 9.rain  
 It is pouring' (lit. There is pouring the rain)
- e. **Ku-thi** *petye* **uZola** **ukhuni**<sup>28</sup>  
 15.SA-THI break 1a.Zola 11.log.of.wood  
 Zola breaks a log of wood (lit. There breaks Zola a log of wood)

In their adverbial function, ideophones typically modify verbs (**ufuna** 'he wants' in 13.a) and descriptives, e.g. adjectives and relatives (**intsha** '(it) is new' in 13.b).<sup>29</sup>

- (13) a. **USipho** **u-funa** **lencwadi** *qha*  
 1a.Sipho 1a.SA-want DEM.9.book only  
 Sipho only wants this book
- b. **Impahla** **i-ntsha** *kraca*  
 9.clothing 9.SA-new completely  
 The clothes are brand new

#### 2.4. *Verba dicendi* or quotative markers (S-4)

I have mentioned several times that Xhosa ideophones, specifically those used in a predicative function, tend to be introduced by the verbs **thi** and, much less commonly, **tsho**.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> NOKELE, A. *The Syntax of the Ideophone in Xhosa*, p. 197.

<sup>28</sup> GXOWA, N. C. *Ideophones in Xhosa*, p. 102.

<sup>29</sup> WEAKLEY, A. J. *An Introduction to Xhosa Ideophone Derivation and Syntax*, p. 30–33. NOKELE, A. *The Syntax of the Ideophone in Xhosa*.

<sup>30</sup> An identical phenomenon is found in Zulu. See FIVAZ, D. *Some Aspects of the Ideophone in Zulu*; VOELTZ, E. *Toward the Syntax of the Ideophone in Zulu*. In

The verb **thi** is highly polysemous – the *Great Xhosa Dictionary* distinguishes thirty-three senses that **thi** may express.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, it is plausible that the entire semantic potential of **thi** has arisen from one sense through a chain (or network) of metaphorical and metonymical meaning extensions. Currently, one of the most pervasive groups of senses conveyed by **thi** – i.e. ‘say, produce a sound’, ‘call’, ‘state, declare’ – is related to its usage as a *verbum dicendi*.<sup>32</sup> This usage is illustrated below:

- (14) a.       **USipho**           **u-th-e**                           **ma-nd-enz-e**  
           1a.Sipho           1a.SA-THI-PERF           must-1<sup>st</sup>SA-do-SUBJ  
           **ikofu**  
           9.coffee  
           Sipho said (that) I must make coffee
- b.       **U-thi-ni?**  
           2<sup>nd</sup>SG.SA-THI-what  
           What are you saying?

In some ideophones, especially those of an onomatopoeic character, **thi** may still express this speech-related nuance, functioning simultaneously as a lexical speech verb (15.a) and the carrier of inflections and derivations (15.b). In its usage as a speech verb, **thi** is usually marked by contouring and/or pause that separates it from the ideophone, as well as by special expressive phonation (15.a).<sup>33</sup>

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CHIN-WU, K., STAHLKE, H. (eds.). *Papers in African Linguistics*, pp. 141–152; VON STADEN, P. *Die ideofoon in Zulu*; VON STADEN, P. Some Remarks on Ideophones in Zulu. In *African Studies*, 1977, Vol. 36, No. 2, pp. 195–224; CHILDS, T. Where Have All the Ideophones Gone? The Death of a Word Category in Zulu. In *Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics*, 1996, Vol. 15, pp. 81–103.

<sup>31</sup> See PAHL, H. W. *The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa*, pp. 294–297. Compare with a similar extent of polysemy exhibited by a cognate verb in Shona as discussed by GÜLDEMANN (see GÜLDEMANN, T. When ‘Say’ Is Not Say: The Functional Versatility of the Bantu Quotative Marker *ti* with Special Reference to Shona. In GÜLDEMANN, T., VON RONCADOR, M. (eds.). *Reported Discourse: A Meeting Ground for Different Linguistic Domains*, pp. 256–271). For a synchronic and diachronic review of the cognates of **thi** and their properties (as well as of other quotative markers in African languages) consult GÜLDEMANN, T. *Quotative Constructions in African Languages: A Synchronic and Diachronic Survey*.

<sup>32</sup> PAHL, H. W. *The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa*, p. 294.

<sup>33</sup> This again suggests that Xhosa ideophones show an inverse relation between expressiveness and morphosyntactic integration. See DINGEMANSE, M. Expressiveness and System Integration. On the Typology of Ideophones, with Special Reference to

- (15) a. **Inkomo** **i-th-e** [,] **mhu-u-u**  
 9.cow 9.SA-THI-PERF moo  
 The cow said “moo”
- b. **Inkomo** **i-th-e** **mhu-u-u**  
 9.cow 9.SA-THI-PERF moo  
 The cow lowed

Apart from its speech- or sound-related meaning, the verb **thi** may also be used as a *verbum facendi*. In such cases, it communicates a set of imitative meanings, e.g. ‘(do) like this, imitate’, and is often accompanied by gestures (16.a-c).<sup>34</sup> The use of **thi** with ideophones that exploit less direct sound-meaning associations might have been prompted by such an imitative value of **thi** (16.d).

- (16) a. **Lenkwenkwe** **i-thi** **xa** **ihambayo**  
 DEM.9.boy 9.SA-THI when 9.walking  
 This boy does like this when walking
- b. **U-cula** **eli-thi**<sup>35</sup>  
 1.SA-sing 5.SA.REL-THI  
 He sings one (i.e. a song) that goes like this (accompanied by a performative type of imitation)
- c. **U-mk-e** **wa-thi**<sup>36</sup>  
 1.SA-go-PERF 1.SA.CONS-THI  
 He went this way (accompanied by a gesture showing direction)
- d. **Ndi-th-e** **zava** **e-situlw-eni**<sup>37</sup>  
 1<sup>st</sup>SG.SA-THI-PERF comfortably LOC-7.chair-LOC  
 I sat comfortably in the chair (lit. I did like *zava* in the chair)

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Siwu. In *STUF – Language Typology and Universals*, 2017, Vol. 70, No. 2, pp. 377–380; DINGEMANSE, M., AKITA, K. An Inverse Relation between Expressiveness and Grammatical Integration: On the Morphosyntactic Typology of Ideophones, with Special Reference to Japanese. In *Journal of Linguistics*, 2017, Vol. 53, No. 3, pp. 501, 526–529.

<sup>34</sup> PAHL, H. W. *The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa*, p. 295; cf. GÜLDEMANN, T. When ‘Say’ Is Not Say: The Functional Versatility of the Bantu Quotative Marker *ti* with Special Reference to Shona. In GÜLDEMANN, T., VON RONCADOR, M. (eds.). *Reported Discourse: A Meeting Ground for Different Linguistic Domains*, p. 275.

<sup>35</sup> PAHL, H. W. *The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa*, p. 295.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 295.

<sup>37</sup> DU PLESSIS, J. A. *Comparative Syntax: The Structure of the Verb Phrase in the African Languages of South Africa (Bantu Languages)*, p. 99.

The exact origin of **thi** in Bantu – and thus the diachronic relationship between its various senses – is still debated. The traditional view – which is now rejected<sup>38</sup> – links the origin of **thi** to the meaning ‘say’.<sup>39</sup> This hypothesis was already revised by Guthrie, who related Proto-Bantu \*-t̪i (or \*-T̪É) to ‘that, namely’, from which the speech value has only posteriorly been derived.<sup>40</sup> Current scholarship generally favors two postulates of the diachronic source of **thi**: **thi** derives either from a deictic (focal) element indicating manner ‘thus, like this’<sup>41</sup> or from a generic action verb ‘do’.<sup>42</sup> According to both proposals, the use of **thi** as a speech and quotative verb – currently pervasive in Xhosa – is secondary.

As has been explained in the first part of this study, the use of **tsho** with ideophones is much more restricted. The verb **tsho** is limited to cases involving the subject prefixes of the (remote) A past tense. Even then, my informants preferred the verb **thi**, using it either instead of or after **tsho** (17).<sup>43</sup> As was the case of **thi**, the verb **tsho** is highly polysemous. The *Great Xhosa Dictionary* lists sixteen senses expressed by **tsho**. In further similarity to **thi**, two pervasive clusters of meanings can be distinguished: speech-related (e.g. ‘say, declare, tell, narrate, produce a sound’) and performance-related (e.g. ‘perform, do’). The former cluster can be encompassed under the term of *verba dicendi*, while the latter approximates the category of *verba facendi*. According to a current view in Bantu scholarship, **tsho** “emerged via the incorporation of the

<sup>38</sup> Cf. GÜLDEMANN, T. *Quotative Indexes in African Languages: A Synchronic and Diachronic Survey*, p. 347.

<sup>39</sup> MEINHOF, C. Introduction to the Phonology of the Bantu Languages, p. 224; LORD, C. *Historical Change in Serial Verb Constructions*, p. 207; see also HEINE, B., KUTEVA, T. *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*, p. 263.

<sup>40</sup> GUTHRIE, M. *Comparative Bantu: An Introduction to the Comparative Linguistics and Prehistory of the Bantu Languages. Vols. 1–4*.

<sup>41</sup> GÜLDEMANN, T. When ‘Say’ Is Not Say: The Functional Versatility of the Bantu Quotative Marker ti with Special Reference to Shona. In GÜLDEMANN, T., VON RONCADOR, M. (eds.). *Reported Discourse: A Meeting Ground for Different Linguistic Domains*, pp. 275–276; GÜLDEMANN, T. *Quotative Indexes in African Languages: A Synchronic and Diachronic Survey*, pp. 347–349; GÜLDEMANN, T. Thetic Speaker-instantiating Quotative Indexes as a Cross-linguistic Type. In BUCHSTALLER, I., VAN ALPHEN, I. (eds.). *Quotatives: Cross-linguistic and Cross-disciplinary Perspectives*, pp. 117–143.

<sup>42</sup> DEVOS, M., BOSTOEN, K. Bantu DO/SAY Polysemy and the Origins of a Quotative in Shangaci. In *Africana Linguistica*, 2012, Vol. 18, pp. 97–132.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. WEAKLEY, A. J. *An Introduction to Xhosa Ideophone Derivation and Syntax*, p. 20.

Common-Bantu previous-reference marker **-o** into the basic form **thi**".<sup>44</sup> Thus, the use of **tsho** with ideophones would arguably have the same origin as was the case with **thi** described above.

(17)	<b>Inkwenkwe</b> 9.boy	<b>ya-tsho</b> 9.SA.PAST-TSHO	<b>ya-thi</b> 9.SA.PAST-THI
	<b>Dyumpu</b> plunge	<b>e-manzi-ni</b> LOC-6.water-LOC	
	‘The boy plunged into the water’		

Even though the elements **thi** and **tsho** found with ideophones derive, most likely, from a *verbum facendi* or a deictic of manner, subsequently grammaticalized as a *verbum dicendi*, they need not exhibit those senses when heading an ideophone. Indeed, in most cases of their use with ideophones, due to grammaticalization, **thi** and **tsho** are lexically empty,<sup>45</sup> used merely as a carrier of inflectional, derivational, or polarity information/markers.

All ideophones that are used as parts of complex predicates may be introduced by **thi** or **tsho**. Nevertheless, as mentioned in the section dedicated to morphology in the first part of my study,<sup>46</sup> the presence of these two introductory verbs is not compulsory. In several cases, **thi** and **tsho** are (or may be) omitted. This applies to both intransitive (18.a) and transitive constructions (18.b).<sup>47</sup>

(18)	a.	<b>Pheselele</b> disappear.quickly	<b>indoda</b> 9.man
		‘The man disappears quickly’	
	b.	<b>linkomo</b> 10.cow	<b>grum-grum</b> graze
			<b>ingca</b> 9.grass
		‘The cows graze (lit. eat grass)’	

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<sup>44</sup> GÜLDEMANN, T. *Quotative Indexes in African Languages: A Synchronic and Diachronic Survey*, pp. 348–349.

<sup>45</sup> WEAKLEY, A. J. *An Introduction to Xhosa Ideophone Derivation and Syntax*, p. 41.

<sup>46</sup> ANDRASON, A. Ideophones as Rebels: The Extra-systematicity of Ideophones in Xhosa. Part 1. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2020, Vol. 29, No. 2.

<sup>47</sup> GXOWA, N. C. *Ideophones in Xhosa*; NOKELE, A. *The Syntax of the Ideophone in Xhosa*.



The presence of **thi** and **tsho** is ungrammatical in instances where the ideophone functions as an adverb. In such cases, the ideophone appears on its own, in its bare form.<sup>48</sup>

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| (19) | <p><b>U-hamb-e</b><br/>         1.SA-go-PERF<br/>         ‘He went straight’</p> | <p><i>mbo</i><br/>         straight</p> |
|------|--|---|

### 2.5. *Accumulation (S-5)*

Contrary to many other syntactic elements and/or lexical classes, ideophones can be accumulated and deliver long chains of ideophonic entities.<sup>49</sup> The accumulated ideophones may be formally identical (20.a), similar (20.b), or divergent (20.c-d). They may concern a similar semantic domain (20.b-c) or independent domains (20.d). This usage is especially common if ideophones are employed onomatopoeically (20.a-c) and/or if nuances of emphasis, consecution, or iteration need to be profiled.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, in less onomatopoeic uses, and in cases where ideophones function as true predicates, their accumulation into a series is also grammatical.<sup>51</sup> The other lexical class that allows for such accumulation is interjections.<sup>52</sup> It is possible that in some cases, such analytical sequences have given rise to synthetic chains, reanalyzed

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<sup>48</sup> This can be explained by the fact that, in such cases, the ideophone does not form part of a predicate. The absence of **thi** in those adverbial instances also suggests that the Proto-Bantu ancestor of **thi** was most likely a verbal base. This, in turn, provides some support for the hypothesis linking the origin of **thi** to a generic action verb. See DEVOS, M., BOSTOEN, K. Bantu DO/SAY Polysemy and the Origins of a Quotative in Shangaci. In *Africana Linguistica*, 2012, Vol. 18, pp. 97–132. According to WEAKLEY (*An Introduction to Xhosa Ideophone Derivation and Syntax*, p. 31), ideophones modifying lexical verbs and descriptives (whether adjectives or relatives) may *rarely* be introduced by **thi**. This usage is not grammatical according to my informants. In fact, all adverbial examples provided by WEAKLEY himself fail to contain **thi**.

<sup>49</sup> OOSTHUYSEN, J. C. *The Grammar of isiXhosa*, p. 354.

<sup>50</sup> WEAKLEY, A. J. *An Introduction to Xhosa Ideophone Derivation and Syntax*, p. 36.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. The same phenomenon appears in Zulu, where ideophones may be accumulated. See FIVAZ, D. *Some Aspects of the Ideophone in Zulu*, p. 132.

<sup>52</sup> ANDRASON, A., DLALI, M. The (Crucial yet Neglected) Category of Interjections in Xhosa. *STUF – Language Typology and Universals*, 2020, Vol. 73, pp. 159–217.

as new ideophones (e.g. **tyatyasini** ‘speak clearly’ from **tyaa** ‘be clear’ and **sinini** ‘be prominent of teeth’).<sup>53</sup>

- (20) a.      **Ndi-v-e**                              **ku-si-thi**  
 1<sup>st</sup>SG.SA-hear-PERF    15.SA-7.OA-THI  
**qhwa qhwa qhwa qhwa qhwa**  
 smash smash smash smash smash  
 ‘I heard something smashing’
- b.      **Tsi**    *tsi*    *tsi*    *tsi*    *tsi*    *tsi*    *tsi-i-i*  
 tweet tweet tweet tweet tweet tweet tweet  
**wa-tsho**                      **umlonji**  
 3.SA.PAST-TSHO            3.canary  
 ‘Tweet, tweet, tweet, tweet, tweet, tweet, tweet, tweet, said the canary’
- c.      **Placa**    *placa*    *placa*    *placa*    *dyumfu*  
 splash    splash    splash    splash    plop  
 ‘Splash, splash, splash, splash, plop!’
- d.      **Igusha**    **za-thi**                              *qhu*                              *saa*  
 10.sheep    10.SA.PAST-THI                      (fill) completely                      spread  
**e-madlelw-eni**<sup>54</sup>  
 LOC-6.pasture-LOC  
 ‘The sheep spread out all over the pastures’

### 3. Discussion

The evidence introduced in the empirical sections of my study – both in its first and second part – demonstrates that the issue of the potential extra-systematicity of ideophones in Xhosa is complex and intricate. Therefore, to evaluate this evidence within the adopted framework and propose higher-level generalizations, a brief summary of the main findings is, in my opinion, necessary.

As far as phonology is concerned, ideophones generally do not involve sounds that are aberrant in Xhosa (P-1). However, the pervasiveness of clicks is unusual. Very rarely, truly extra-systematic sounds do occur, especially in onomatopoeic ideophones. Similarly, ideophones do not usually contain extra-systematic configurations of sounds – the noticeable exceptions being the use of consonants in a final position and the occurrence of words composed only of

<sup>53</sup> WEAKLEY, A. J. *An Introduction to Xhosa Ideophone Derivation and Syntax*, pp. 64.

<sup>54</sup> OOSTHUYSEN, J. C. *The Grammar of isiXhosa*, p. 354.

consonants (P-2). Ideophones extensively exploit vocalic length (P-3). Four degrees of quantity are possible, i.e. short, long, extra-long, and extra-extra-long vowels – the two last ones being unusual in Xhosa. Contrary to the rule in Xhosa, the long vowel (as well as the stress) may appear in syllables other than the penultimate one. Moreover, in ideophones, vowel length is exploited phonemically to a significantly larger extent than in other parts of the language. Infrequently, ideophones exhibit long consonants, which are generally absent in Xhosa. As is typical of Xhosa, tone is a regular characteristic of ideophones (P-4). Nevertheless, in ideophones, tone seems to play a more relevant role at the phonemic level. Furthermore, ideophones exhibit a strong preference for a low tone, with the tonal pattern [L-L] being predominant. Ideophones make use of consonantal and vocalic harmony to a significantly greater extent than any other lexical classes (P-5). They also utilize tonal harmony, which contradicts the tendency of tone alternation otherwise predominating in Xhosa. These harmony features often result in rhymes. Lastly, ideophones – especially onomatopoeic ones – may be accompanied by distinctive phonation (P-6). To conclude, if treated in its totality, the category of ideophones exhibits a semi or moderately extra-systematic phonological profile. That is, even though various features exhibited by ideophones are not radically different from those found in other lexical classes, certain properties or the frequency of their occurrence are unusual and transgress the rules operating in the language.

As far as morphology is concerned, ideophones do not host inflectional markers (M-1). When ideophones constitute parts of the predicate, the verbal inflection is carried out by the verbs **thi** and, to a much more limited extent, **tsho**.<sup>55</sup> Exceptionally, in the A-tense, the contracted verb **thi** and the ideophone yield a more grammaticalized form, in which the ideophone is directly preceded by inflectional markers. In cases where the verbs **thi** and **tsho** are absent, inflections are not realized at all. Ideophones are not compatible with derivational morphemes that are otherwise typical of verbs and adverbs – the two functions in which ideophones are used (M-2). In cases where ideophones are employed as parts of the predicate, all the verbal derivative extensions appear on the verb **thi**.<sup>56</sup> In an adverbial function, a bare form of an ideophone is employed. Ideophones are often roots (M-3). The majority of ideophones are not derived from verbs or nouns. Even though it is still debatable and unsettled, the derivative relationship seems to be rather inverse. The only exceptions are

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<sup>55</sup> Although all inflectional categories can be used with the verb **thi**, certain differences with normal inflectional patterns occur. **Tsho** is only compatible with the subject prefixed of the remote A past tense.

<sup>56</sup> In contrast to regular verbs, when heading an ideophone, **thi** cannot host the causative marker. **Tsho** cannot host any derivational extensions.

ideophones that are derived from verbs by means of the suffix **-iyani**. To a significantly greater extent than elsewhere in the language, ideophones make use of repetitive patterns, especially reduplication and multiplication (M-4). Ideophones constitute an open and productive category. Their productivity is often spontaneous and idiolectal (M-5). Overall, the category of ideophones attests to a highly extra-systematic morphological profile, complying with most of the features postulated for the prototype. However, minimal signs of a lesser degree of morphological extra-systematicity (cf. the contracted form in the A tense and the derivation by the suffix **-iyani**) can also be detected.

As far syntax is concerned, ideophones tend to be found clause-internally, appearing without pause or contouring separating them from the other parts of the clause, especially from the verb **thi** or **tsho**. However, their extra-clausal use is also possible (S-1). Furthermore, even though ideophones may be used as autonomous utterances, they appear, much more commonly, as parts of clauses and sentences, i.e. as predicates (or their part) and adverbs (S-2). Inversely, ideophones are not inherently asyntagmatic. Instead, they tend to enter into various types of syntactic relationships with the other elements of the clause or sentence (S-3). As predicates, they may govern the subject, objects, and adjuncts. They also project thematic roles to internal and external arguments. As adverbs, they modify verbs and descriptives, e.g. adjectives and relatives. Overall, ideophones are well integrated into the clause. In the predicative function, ideophones are typically introduced by *verba dicendi* or *verba facendi* – **thi** and **tsho** ‘say / do’ (S-4). However, in the same function, they may also appear without **thi/tsho**. In their adverbial uses, ideophones are not accompanied by **thi/tsho**. This means that even though the presence of **thi** and, less so, **tsho** is a characteristic feature of ideophones, it is not compulsory. Lastly, various ideophones may be accumulated (S-5). On the whole, the category of ideophones exhibits a (very) limited degree of syntactic extra-systematicity. Rather, in various instances, ideophones behave as other fully systematic elements of the language, i.e. verbs or adverbs.

The evidence summarized above demonstrates the following: First, the compliance of Xhosa ideophones with the formal extra-systematicity associated with the ideophonic prototype is uneven. Although various extra-systematic properties are present, others are absent or instantiated to a limited degree. Second, the extent of extra-systematicity is dissimilar in the three levels of the language. It is the most evident in morphology, slightly less palpable in phonology, and residual in syntax. Third, the extent of extra-systematicity may be distinct in specific ideophonic lexemes. That is, extra-systematicity is not unitary for all the members of the ideophonic category in Xhosa. Some ideophones are highly extra-systematic, be it phonologically, morphologically, or syntactically. Many may, in contrast, exhibit a limited degree of extra-

systematicity. Several others are confined between these two limits. Even a single ideophone may be more or less canonical and thus extra-systematic – especially with regard to syntax – depending on its use. As a result, when considered in its totality – i.e. if all ideophonic tokens are envisaged jointly – the category of ideophones in Xhosa spans a fragment of the available network of structural extra-systematicity. It covers the section that links canonical extra-systematicity located in the center of the network to more moderate extra-systematic profiles located in peripheral zones. In the former case, Xhosa ideophones comply with the behavior postulated for the crosslinguistic prototype. In the latter case, ideophones are taxonomically more distant from that prototype, inversely approximating the other, more systematic lexical classes – verbs and adverbs.<sup>57</sup>

Overall, ideophones seem to be relatively well integrated in the Xhosa language. First, their type and token frequency<sup>58</sup> are both significant. That is, the class of ideophones is numerous, and ideophonic lexemes appear commonly in both colloquial and more formal language, be it a spoken or written variety (e.g. in comics). Second, even though ideophones distinguish themselves from the other elements of the language as far as their morphological behavior is concerned, they seem fairly systematic from a syntactic perspective. In other words, while their morphological extra-systematicity is evident, the extra-systematicity of ideophones is only minimal in syntax – or it is optional. To be exact, even though ideophones may be used as holophrastic, extra-clausal, and/or asyntagmatic elements, their non-holophrastic, inter-clausal, and syntagmatic usage is also possible, and is, in fact, prevalent.

The above facts – i.e. the frequency of ideophones and their extent of integration in the language – suggest a semi-advanced grammaticalization stage of the category of ideophony in Xhosa. On the one hand, type and token frequencies are generally viewed as overt signs of an increase in grammaticalization, being a concomitant phenomenon to it.<sup>59</sup> On the other hand, the syntax of a language is affected by innovations and changes more rapidly than morphology. This stems from a unidirectional progression operating in all languages whereby morphology develops from syntax. That is, synthetic boundedness constitutes a subsequent developmental stage of analytical unboundedness – thus morphology (or a tighter structure) evolving from syntax (a looser structure).<sup>60</sup> As accurately captured by Givón “[t]oday’s morphology is

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<sup>57</sup> Compare with similar results for Zulu (VON STADEN, P. Some Remarks on Ideophones in Zulu. In *African Studies*, 1977, Vol. 36, No. 2, pp. 195–224).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. HOPPER, P., TRAUGOTT, E. C. *Grammaticalization*, p. 127.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 26, 32, 100.

yesterday's syntax".<sup>61</sup> Therefore, the assimilation of a category to a given language should proceed more rapidly with respect to syntax than morphology. Indeed, in Xhosa, the adaptation of ideophones to syntax, or their syntacticization, is well advanced. In contrast, the adaptation of ideophones to the morphology of the language, or their morphologization, is significantly less advanced. The initial stage of this process is only visible in the coalesced form of the A past tense, where ideophones appear superficially as if inflected.

The study of ideophones in Xhosa has, at least, four implications for the general theory of ideophony. First, the extra-systematicity of the category of ideophones in a language cannot be estimated in binary terms, i.e. as either extra-systematic or systematic, or even as a single point in a network linking genuine extra-systematicity with the absolute lack thereof. Rather, the category of ideophones in a language spans a section of that network, attesting to cases that are more extra-systematic (these cases can be located in the center of the network) and to those that are less extra-systematic (these cases radiate towards the periphery of the network). Overall, languages may differ in the range of the section covering the network of extra-systematicity or that section's precise boundaries; and in the extent to which determined parts of that fragment of the network are populated by ideophonic lexemes (i.e. how typical ideophones of determined (extra-)systematicity degrees are in a language).<sup>62</sup>

Second, the extra-systematicity of ideophones is not only a question of compliance, or not, with the prototype of extra-systematicity posited on typological grounds. It also derives from the idiosyncrasy of the language in which ideophones are used. That is, the compliance with a given feature need not be a sign of extra-systematicity, since other components of the language may also make use of that particular device. Put differently, even though a feature is met, it need not be extra-systematic in a particular language. For example, if the language makes extensive use of tone, vocalic length, marked consonants such as clicks, and reduplication, or if it does not use any inflectional and derivational morphemes, the presence of tone, length, clicks, and reduplication in ideophones on the one hand, and their incompatibility with inflections and derivations on the other hand, are all insignificant for the estimation of ideophones' extra-systematicity.

Third, the different extents of the extra-systematicity of ideophones exhibited in a language and/or across languages – and thus different positions

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<sup>61</sup> GIVÓN, T. Historical Syntax and Synchronic Morphology: An Archaeologist's Field Trip. In *Chicago Linguistic Society*, 1971, Vol. 7, p. 413.

<sup>62</sup> For a similar observation regarding Siwu see DINGEMANSE, M. Expressiveness and System Integration. On the Typology of Ideophones, with Special Reference to Siwu. In *STUF – Language Typology and Universals*, 2017, Vol. 70, No. 2, p. 377.

occupied by them in the network of extra-systematicity – arguably attest to different stages of grammaticalization and the gradual integration of ideophones into grammar. During this integrational grammaticalization process, ideophones that are para-grammatical or para-lexemic, gradually evolve into items that are grammatically and/or lexically more canonical. My research suggests that this adaptation is first visible in syntax from which it spreads to morphology. This conclusion would corroborate the evolutionary view on the integration of ideophones in languages. According to that hypothesis, ideophones begin their grammatical life as an independent class characterized by a highly extra-systematic profile. Subsequently, they are grammaticalized, in a gradual manner, into other classes (mostly verbs, adverbs, and adjectives), losing, at the same time, their typical ideophonic profile and thus lowering the degree of their extra-systematicity.<sup>63</sup> The final stage of this process may be a total diffusion of ideophones into another category (or other categories) and their indistinguishability from the other members of the hosting class(es).<sup>64</sup> Xhosa arguably attests to an advanced, albeit non-final stage of this process, where “the ideophonic words augment the class into which they are [being] integrated”.<sup>65</sup> That is, ideophones increase the size of the class of verbs and adverbs, while still maintaining their own categorial integrity.

Fourth, the results of my study corroborate a potential relationship between the frequency of ideophones and the increase of their morpho-syntactic

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<sup>63</sup> WESTERMANN, D. *A Study of the Ewe Language*, p. 189, MOSHI, L. Ideophones in KiVunjo-Chaga. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 1993, Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 190; cf. AMEKA, F. Ideophones and the Nature of the Adjective Word Class in Ewe. In VOELTZ, E., KILIAN-HATZ, C. (eds.). *Ideophones*, p. 29. See, especially, DINGEMANSE, M. Expressiveness and System Integration. On the Typology of Ideophones, with Special Reference to Siwu. In *STUF – Language Typology and Universals*, 2017, Vol. 70, No. 2, pp. 377–380; DINGEMANSE, M., AKITA, K. An Inverse Relation between Expressiveness and Grammatical Integration: On the Morphosyntactic Typology of Ideophones, with Special Reference to Japanese. In *Journal of Linguistics*, 2017, Vol. 53, No. 3, pp. 501, 526, 529.

<sup>64</sup> WESTERMANN, D. *A Study of the Ewe Language*; MOSHI, L. Ideophones in KiVunjo-Chaga. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 1993, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 185–216; DINGEMANSE, M. Expressiveness and System Integration. On the Typology of Ideophones, with Special Reference to Siwu. In *STUF – Language Typology and Universals*, 2017, Vol. 70, No. 2, pp. 378–380.

<sup>65</sup> AMEKA, F. Ideophones and the Nature of the Adjective Word Class in Ewe. In VOELTZ, E., KILIAN-HATZ, C. (eds.). *Ideophones*, p. 29.

integration or deideophonization.<sup>66</sup> That is, the more numerous and the better represented the category of ideophones is, the more likely it is to undergo the process of adaptation to the general grammatical profile of a language, and, thus, to acquire grammatical features typical of other lexical classes. My study shows that at least as far as syntax is concerned, the large number of ideophones in Xhosa – ideophones being the third largest lexical class in this language – is correlated with their relatively low extra-systematicity and, conversely, advanced integration.

To conclude, the present study demonstrates that ideophones in Xhosa are, in several aspects, structurally distinct from other lexical classes. This corroborates, to an extent, the typologically driven hypothesis of the structural extra-systematicity of the ideophonic prototype. However, the issue of extra-systematicity has also proven to be more nuanced, as the extra-systematic profile of ideophones is not equal in the different modules of the Xhosa language. Overall, given my findings, and the evident integration of ideophones – especially as (a subtype of) verbs – in the clause syntax of Xhosa,<sup>67</sup> Nguni,<sup>68</sup> and (Southern) Bantu,<sup>69</sup> the postulate of the syntactic extra-systematicity of

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<sup>66</sup> DINGEMANSE, M. Expressiveness and System Integration. On the Typology of Ideophones, with Special Reference to Siwu. In *STUF – Language Typology and Universals*, 2017, Vol. 70, No. 2, pp. 363, 378.

<sup>67</sup> See also GXOWA, N.C. *Ideophones in Xhosa*; NOKELE, A. *The Syntax of the Ideophone in Xhosa*; DU PLESSIS, J. A. *IsiXhosa 4*; DU PLESSIS, J. A. *Comparative Syntax: The Structure of the Verb Phrase in the African Languages of South Africa (Bantu Languages)*.

<sup>68</sup> FIVAZ, D. *Some Aspects of the Ideophone in Zulu*; CHILDS, T. Where Have All the Ideophones Gone? The Death of a Word Category in Zulu. In *Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics*, 1996, Vol. 15, p. 85; MSIMANG, C. T., POULOS, G. The Ideophone in Zulu: A Re-examination of Conceptual and Descriptive Notions. In VOELTZ, E., KILIAN-HATZ, C. (eds.). *Ideophones*, pp. 235–250.

<sup>69</sup> KUNENE, D. The Ideophone in Southern Sotho. In *Journal of African Languages*, 1965, Vol. 4, pp. 19–39; SAMARIN, W. Survey of Bantu Ideophones. In *African Language Studies*, 1971, Vol. 12, pp. 149–152; MARIVATE, C. T. D. The Ideophone as a Syntactic Category in the Southern Bantu Languages. In *Studies in African Linguistics Supplement*, 1985, Vol. 9, pp. 210–214; MTINTSILANA, P. N., MORRIS, R. Terminography in African Languages in South Africa. In *South African Journal of African Languages*, 1988, Vol. 8, No. 4, pp. 109–113; CHILDS, T. Where Do Ideophones Come from? In *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences*, 1989, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 55, 61–65; CHILDS, T. African Ideophones. In HINTON, L., NICHOLS, J., OHALA, J. J. (eds.). *Sound Symbolism*, pp. 178–204; CHILDS, T. Where Have All the Ideophones Gone? The Death of a Word Category in Zulu. In *Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics*, 1996, Vol. 15, p. 85; MOLOTSI, K. J. *The Characteristics of Southern Sotho Ideophones*; MALIMA, N. N. *Ideophones in Tshivenda*; SCHADEBERG, T. C.



ideophones across languages and, thus, the ideophonic prototype itself, may be questioned. While the phonology and morphology of ideophones and their prototype may indeed be deeply extra-systematic, the extra-systematicity of their syntax need not be the case. This last statement, resulting from the present research, remains a working hypothesis, which needs to be verified by more in-depth typological studies.

#### 4. Conclusion

The present study analyzed the compliance of Xhosa ideophones with the extra-systematic properties that structurally distinguish the prototype of an ideophone from the other components of the language.

The analysis demonstrates that the extra-systematicity of ideophones is not unitary in Xhosa. It is the greatest in morphology, slightly less visible in phonology, and only residual in syntax. It also varies for specific ideophonic lexemes. When considered in its totality, the category of ideophones spans a fragment of the cline of extra-systematicity: it ranges from the pole of a fully extra-systematic profile to the stage in which extra-systematicity is only moderate. Overall, ideophones constitute a characteristic and common feature of Xhosa. This explains their relative integration into the Xhosa language system – the adjustment being profound in syntax, albeit only minimal in morphology.

In light of my findings, I propose that the extra-systematicity of the category of ideophones should be represented as a fragment of a network rather than a single unitary value; that different degrees of extra-systematicity available on that network attest to different stages of grammaticalization and, in particular, to a gradual integration of ideophones into the grammar of a hosting language – with the adjustment to syntax occurring faster than a morphological adaptation; that the extent of extra-systematicity of ideophones heavily relies on the properties of a particular language-system, not only on compliance – or non-compliance – with the prototype; and that the syntactic extra-systematicity of ideophones and their prototype may indeed be largely exaggerated.

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Derivation. In NURSE, D., PHILIPPSON, G. (eds.). *The Bantu Languages*, pp. 71–89; SCHADEBERG, T. C. Historical linguistics. In NURSE, D., PHILIPPSON, G. (eds.). *The Bantu Languages*, pp. 143–163.

## Abbreviations

APPL – applicative; C – consonant; CONS – consecutive; COP – copulative; DEM – demonstrative; FUT – future; L / <sub>L</sub> – low tone; LOC – locative; NEG – negative; NEUT – neuter-stative; OA – object agreement; PASS – passive; PAST – (remote) A past; PERF – perfect-perfective; PRES – present; REC – reciprocal; REFL – reflexive; REL – relative; SA – subject agreement; SIT – situative; SUBJ – subjunctive; TEMP – temporal; V – vowel. Numbers refer to noun classes.

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