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## 12 IDEOPHONES, INTERJECTIONS AND PARTICLES

This chapter is concerned with three types of words that are commonly used in everyday discourse: ideophones, interjections and particles. These word types share some properties. They are all expressive in nature. They are used to express a speaker's perception, mental state and attitudes. Nevertheless, there are differences between them. Ideophones and particles cannot be used by themselves non-elliptically while interjections can be used by themselves as non-elliptical utterances.

### 12.1 Ideophones

Ideophones are widespread crosslinguistically (Voeltz and Kilian-Hatz 2001). Westermann described them for several West African languages and observed that they are “picture words” (Westermann 1930: 107). They have also been defined after Doke (1935) as words that are “a vivid representation of an idea in sound” (see also Welmers 1973). Following Dingemanse (2011:25), we assume that ideophones are “marked words that depict sensory imagery”. That is, they stand out formally, phonologically, morphologically and syntactically. They are depictions rather than descriptions that invite the audience to perceive with their senses what they represent in sound and they represent images perceived by the speaker.

In Tafi, ideophones are phonologically marked in a number of ways:

Some ideophones have a CVV syllable structure which is not found in other parts of the language except in some loanwords. Examples of such ideophones include:

- |              |                                 |
|--------------|---------------------------------|
| <b>gũí</b>   | ‘IDEO.sound.of swallowing.food’ |
| <b>táwéé</b> | ‘IDEO.completely’               |
| <b>gbáá</b>  | ‘IDEO.vanished’                 |
| <b>vĩĩ</b>   | ‘IDEO.disappear’                |

Some ideophones also defy phonotactic constraints. For instance, in a CGV syllable where the initial C is a [-coronal] sound, the G that follows should be the liquid. However in some ideophones we find the trill in such a context as shown in (2).

- |             |             |               |               |                |             |                 |       |     |          |         |
|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------|-----|----------|---------|
| Kulí        | y’ayıkɔ     | y’áhúdzɔ      | ní            | kesukpón       | kulí        | y’áákó          | átsya | odi | gridjɔdɔ | aflán̄. |
| <b>kulí</b> | <b>yí</b>   | <b>á-yíkɔ</b> | <b>yí</b>     | <b>á-húdzɔ</b> | <b>ní</b>   | <b>ke-sukpó</b> |       |     |          |         |
| CONJ        | 3SG.IND     | SM-take       | 3SG.IND       | CM-horsetail   | LOC         | CM-handle       |       |     |          |         |
| <b>ní</b>   | <b>kulí</b> | <b>yí</b>     | <b>á-yíkɔ</b> | <b>á-tsya</b>  | <b>o-di</b> | <b>gridjɔdɔ</b> |       |     |          |         |
| DEF         | CONJ        | 3SG.IND       | SM-take       | SM-draw        | CM-line     | IDEO            |       |     |          |         |

**a-flá-n̄**

SM-pass-COM

‘Then he took the handle of his horsetail and drew a circle.’ (Kásālā)

Morphologically too, ideophones stand out in a number of ways. First, as the ideophone in example (2) shows, several ideophones have an inherently repetitive structure. Some have a basic reduplicative structure, i.e. two repetitions, e.g. **kpāwukpāwu** ‘IDEO.plenty’, **gidigidi** ‘IDEO.tumult’, **hoyhoy** ‘IDEO.fat’. Several also have an inherent triplicative structure like the ideophones illustrated in (3a) and (3b).

- 3a. Ákān edí pópópó sí, ókě, **eee** ényí ídōnōn gɪ ábabhítí.  
**á-kā**      **ní**      **é-dí**      **pópópó**      **sí**      **ókě**  
 CM-father DEF SM-look IDEO.very.much COMP okay  
**eee**      **é-nyí**      **kí-d̄**      **n̄**      **ní**      **gɪ**      **á-ba-bhítí**  
 INTJ SM-know CM-thing wh.ever DEF REL SM-FUT-do  
 ‘The father considered (the situation) for a long time and said okay, he knows what to do.’ (Kásālā)
- 3b. Mí za ’klí tútútú kúlí gbaxálí ábáyík̄ y’iapamí.  
**mí**      **ɪ-za**      **ɪ-klí**      **tútútú**      **kúlí**      **gbaxálí**  
 1SG.IND 1SG-be.PST CM-there IDEO.exactly CONJ striped.mouse  
**á-bá-yík̄**      **yí**      **ká-pamí**  
 SM-VENT-take 3SG CM-cutlass  
 ‘In fact, I was there when striped mouse came and took his cutlass.’  
 (Gbaxálí)

Other ideophones have a basic quadruplicate structure as the one in (2) above and as the one in (4).

4. Gigigigigi, anóían̄ abáyík̄ y’oklebh̄.  
**gigigigigi**      **a-n̄-nyáá-a-n̄**      **á-bá-yík̄**      **yí**  
 IDEO CM-person-DISTR-CM-person SM-VENT-take 3SG.IND  
**o-klebh̄**  
 CM-bundle.of.thatch  
 ‘Hustling and bustling, everybody came and took his bundle of thatch.’ OR  
 ‘In confusion, everybody came for his bundle of thatch.’ (Kásālā)

For some ideophones with an inherent structure the number of repetitions does not seem to be limited. The ideophone in example (5) is one such example.

5. Bétúkú ámóní pétée ámínā bakpí n’owúlēnīm, owúlē ní tótótótót.  
**bé-túkú**      **a-m̄**      **ní**      **pétée**      **bá-mínā**      **ba-kpí**      **ní**  
 3PL-carry CM-rice DEF all SM-bring SM-put.in LOC

**o-wúlě ní kím̩ o-wúlě ní tótótótót**  
 CM-storage.bin DEF inside CM-storage.bin DEF IDEO  
 ‘They carried all the rice and they put it in the storage bin, it was filled to the brim.’ (Kásālā)

In addition, most ideophones stand out in discourse as they are repeated several times to give them prominence or to express intensity. In (6a), the ideophone **gura** is repeated two times to iconically depict the sound of boiling water. In (6b), the mode of the swarming of the men around the girl is imagistically reflected in the repetition of the ideophone that describes the manner three times. Similarly, in (6c) and (6d), the ideophones are repeated four times each to signal a high degree of the ideas expressed: the full degree of completeness in (6c) and the high degree of speed with which the thing was hidden in (6d).

- 6a. Buní ní yábā gura gura búshuí dzú.  
**bu-ní ní yábā gura gura bú-shuí dzú**  
 CM-water DEF boil IDEO IDEO 1PL-fetch put.down  
 ‘When the water boils we fetch (some) and put down.’ (Kímokó)
- 6b. Báányí ní pétée áasée bodo bodo bodo.  
**báa-nyí ní pétée bá-a-sá yí bodo bodo**  
 CM.PL-man DEF all SM-PSTPROG-swarm 3SG IDEO IDEO  
**bodo**  
 IDEO  
 ‘All the men were swarming around her like flies.’ (Kásālā)
- 6c. Banōn eyúkū ’klí kpén kpén kpén kpén.  
**ba-nō ní bē-yúkū ɪ-klí kpén kpén kpén kpén**  
 CM.PL-person DEF SM-be.full CM-there IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO  
 ‘The people filled there completely.’ (Kásālā)
- 6d. Ékpú ’íd̩ ní zia zia zia zia.  
**é-kpu kí-d̩ ní zia zia**  
 3SG-hide CM-thing DEF IDEO.quickly IDEO.quickly  
**zia zia**  
 IDEO.quickly IDEO.quickly  
 ‘He quickly hid the things.’ (Kásālā)

It was noted above that some ideophones with inherent repetitive structure do not seem to have any limit on the number of repetitions. Similarly, the number of iterations of ideophones does not seem to be constrained. The repetitions are dependent on the speaker’s meaning and on the oratorical skills of the performer. In (7), the speaker repeats the ideophone **gidigidj** ‘IDEO.tumult’ six times to create the image of a lot of commotion taking place.

- (7) Banɔn enú ní ho! gidɔgidɔ gidɔgidɔ gidɔgidɔ gidɔgidɔ gidɔgidɔ gidɔgidɔ.  
**ba-nɔ**                **ní**        **bé-nú**        **ní**        **ho**        **gidɔgidɔ**  
 CM.PL-person DEF SM-hear TOP INTJ IDEO.hustle.and.bustle  
**gidɔgidɔ**                **gidɔgidɔ**                **gidɔgidɔ**  
 IDEO.hustle.and.bustle IDEO.hustle.and.bustle IDEO.hustle.and.bustle  
**gidɔgidɔ**                **gidɔgidɔ**  
 IDEO.hustle.and.bustle IDEO.hustle.and.bustle  
 ‘When people heard it, oh, there was commotion.’ (Kásālā)

In examples (8a) and (8b), the ideophone is repeated several times, but the number of iterations is different. What is significant is that the sentences are produced by the same narrator in the same story. This confirms the point that the number of iterations is dependent on meaning and the speaker. Compare (8a) and (8b).

- 8a. Kápanín ’ál’ɔŋa shíshíshíshí  
**ká-pamí**        **ní**        **ka-lí**        **ɔ-ŋa**                **shíshíshíshí**  
 CM-cutlass DEF SM-be.at SM-sharpness IDEO  
 ‘The cutlass is extremely sharp.’ (Gbaxálí)
- 8b. Ákányááká áyɔ y’iapamí shíshíshíshíshíshíshí.  
**á-kányááká**    **á-yɔ**        **yí**                **ká-pamí**        **shíshíshíshíshíshíshí**  
 CM-every SM-whet 3SG.IND CM-cutlass IDEO.sharp  
 ‘Each one (of them) whetted his cutlass very sharp.’ (Gbaxálí)

Another aspect of the expressive morphology of ideophones which is used to draw attention to them and to express intensity or degree is that part of the ideophonic root is repeated. It can be argued that it is the last syllable of the root that gets extended. In example (9a), the ideophone **ridɔdɔdɔ** ‘IDEO.continuously’ is used in its basic form with an inherent repetitive structure. In (9b), however, the last syllable of the ideophone is repeated several times to iconically depict the length of time and the continuous nature of the dancing. A similar process is at play in (9c).

- 9a. Íyu ridɔdɔdɔ ítɔ.  
**í-yu**                **ridɔdɔdɔ**        **í-tɔ**  
 1SG-dance IDEO 1SG-be.tired  
 ‘I danced continuously for a long time till I was tired.’ (Kásālā)
- 9b. Ótɔ́mɔ g’ílíyú ridɔdɔdɔdɔdɔdɔdɔ?  
**ót-tɔ́-mɔ**                **gí**        **í**                **lí-í-yu**  
 2SG-NEG.PRSPROG REL 1SG.DEP 3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-dance  
**ridɔdɔdɔdɔdɔdɔdɔ**  
 IDEO  
 ‘Can you not see how I have been dancing continuously for a very loooooooooong time?’ (Kásālā)

- 9c. Flôgo ti kiwi békóéyī ní bátíwe 'edo 'elú gblálálálálálálálá.  
**flôgo ti ki-wí békóéyī ní bá-tí-wa**  
 before COMP CM-sun VENT-exit TOP 3PL-PERF-do  
**kí-do be-lú gblálálálálálálálá**  
 CM-thing SM-place IDEO  
 'Before the sun appeared they had cleared a huuuuuuge portion of the land.'  
 (Gbaxáǎĩ)

Syntactically too, ideophones display some characteristics. We saw in Chapter 4 that several ideophones have an adjectival function where they are used to represent properties of a head noun in a noun phrase. Similarly, in (10) the noun 'woman' is qualified by the ideophone glossed as 'fat'.

10. Adzɪ hɔyɪhɔyɪ am'ágbánɔ̃  
**a-dzɪ hɔyɪhɔyɪ a-má á-gbánɔ̃**  
 CM-woman IDEO.fat SM-be.at:NEG SM-marry  
 'A fat woman cannot be married.'

Several ideophones function as adverbs. In this function they may characterise degree as in (6d) and (8a) above or they may express the manner in which a state of affairs unfolds, as in (11).

11. Pɪ latsí 'itsikpɪ ní p'ɪal'ááhwā hlohlohlo pɪ kitsikpɪn ɪwólɪn... agboyaa.  
**pɪ la-tsí ki-tsikpɪ ní pɪ kalí**  
 CONN 3PL.DEP-take.off CM-pot DEF CONN 3SG.IND  
**ka-á-hwā hlohlohlo pɪ ki-tsikpɪ ní kɪ-wólɪ**  
 SM-PRSPROG-move IDEO CONN CM-pot DEF SM-fall  
**ní agboyaa**  
 TOP IDEO.sound  
 'When they took the pot from the fire with him moving in it (then) the pot fell... (with a loud noise).' (Kásālā)

Some ideophones are also used as depictive secondary predicates where they denote the condition or state of one of the arguments of the clause. This is the case with the use of **gbadzaa** 'IDEO.wide' in example (12). The second ideophone in this example is used adverbially.

12. Bábhítu 'ɪlí gbadzaa, kɪnɪ bhledu  
**bá-bhítu kɪlí gbadzaa kɪ-nɪ bhledu**  
 3PL-make 3SG IDEO.wide 3SG-be.wide IDEO  
 'They made it wide, it is extensively broad.' (Gbaxáǎĩ)

Some ideophones are used as the main predicate in clauses. In such clauses they function as verbs. In example (13), the two ideophones **gbáá** 'IDEO' and **vĩ** 'IDEO' are used as the main predicates in the clauses in which they occur. These

ideophones are not too well integrated into the grammatical system as they do not take any verbal markers like the subject cross-reference markers.

13. Bápí fufuo pétée fufuo gbáá. Béd' ókónyókókó, fufuo vī.  
**bá-pí**            **fufuo** **pétée** **fufuo** **gbáá**  
 3PL-look.for fufu all fufu IDEO  
**bé-dí**    **ókó-nyáá-ókó**                    **fufuo** **vī**  
 3PL-look CM-place-DISTR-CM-place fufu IDEO  
 'They looked for fufu everywhere, fufu was nowhere to be found. They looked everywhere, fufu had vanished.' (Gbaxáǎĩ)

Similarly, in (14) the ideophone **kikikiki** is used as the main predicate in the first clause and the second clause as it were paraphrases the predicative meaning that it expresses.

14. Ákányááká kikikiki, akanyááká ésí áv'upém.  
**á-kányááká** **kikikiki** **a-kanyááká** **é-sí**    **á-vi**    **bu-pá**  
 CM-every IDEO CM-every SM-run SM-go CM-house  
**kumi**  
 inside  
 'Every one of them ran home kikikiki.' (Kásālā)

Unlike the ideophones in (13) and (14), some ideophones that function as verbs are quite well integrated into the grammatical system, e.g., they can take verbal markers. As illustrated in (15), the ideophone **gbáá** can take subject pronouns.

15. Kánā lagbáá, bagbáá, lagbáá, bagbáá  
**ká-nā**            **la-gbáá**            **ba-gbáá**            **la-gbáá**            **ba-gbáá**  
 CM-manner 3PL.DEP-IDEO 3PL-IDEO 3PL.DEP-IDEO 3PL-IDEO  
 'So they went on and on and on.' (Gbaxáǎĩ)

Some ideophones are multi-categorical. The ideophone **bubuibu** 'IDEO.cold' functions as an adverbial in (16a) whereas in (16b), it functions as the main predicate, i.e. as a verb. It is however not marked for subject cross-reference, hence it is not very well integrated into the system.

- 16a. Buní ní yó bubuibu.  
**bu-ní**            **ní**    **yó**            **bubuibu**  
 CM-water DEF be.cold IDEO.cold  
 'The water is very cold.'

- 16b. Bló 'kĩ ní bubuibu.  
**bló**            **ĩ-kĩ**            **ní**            **bubuibu**  
 1PL.IND CM-here DEF IDEO.cold

‘Our place is cool, i.e. peaceful.’

Ideophones are also marked in the sense that they can be performatively foregrounded in discourse. In Tafi the main strategy applied to achieve this is to use the ideophones in sequence. Further modulations may be applied to the ideophone sequences. For instance in (17), the ideophones in sequence are each repeated to emphasise the degree of strength exerted in the weeding.

- (17) Otsígo kój, kulí y’aza gbla ní kíd̩sús̩ ní shú, ahumá ahumá ahumá ahumá  
 azhúá azhúá atsyírékékéj atsyírékékéj.  
 Otsígo kój kulí yí a-za gbla ní kí-d̩  
 now INT CONJ 3SG.IND SM-be.PST IDEO LOC CM-thing  
 s̩-s̩ ní shú ahumá ahumá ahumá ahumá  
 RED-weed DEF surface IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO  
 azhúá azhúá atsyírékékéj atsyírékékéj  
 IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO  
 ‘It was now that he applied a new zeal to his weeding.’ (Gbaxáĩĩ)

In some cases the sequence of ideophones appears to be alliterated as the example in (18) illustrates.

- (18) Kásālā tsyí évu aló hulu kpúlú, hulu kpúlú.<sup>73</sup>  
 ká-sālā tsyí é-vu a-ló hulu kpúlú  
 tortoise too SM-catch SM-get.up IDEO.manner.of.walking  
 hulu kpúlú  
 IDEO.manner.of.walking  
 ‘Tortoise too got himself up (with some zeal) walking clumsily.’ (Kásālā)

The ideophones in sequence may represent subcomponents of the same event. In (19), for instance, the first ideophone and the second in sequence talk about different parts of putting food in the mouth and swallowing it. The third ideophone in the sequence provides a temporal structure for the event segments. The sequencing of these words foregrounds the event segment in the narration.

19. Ébhui fufuón, at̩ gũí ridj̩d̩j̩ áŋa ’fuón pétéé táwéé ní kísígbé nīm.  
 é-bhui fufuó ní at̩  
 3SG-cut fufu DEF IDEO.sound.of.putting.food.in.the.mouth  
 gũí ridj̩d̩j̩ á-ŋa fufuó ní  
 IDEO.sound.of.swallowing.food continuously 3SG-eat fufu DEF  
 pétéé táwéé ní kí-sígbé ní kumí  
 all IDEO.completely LOC CM-bowl DEF inside

<sup>73</sup> In narratives, animals are personified so the subject-verb agreement is most often that of the a’/ba(a)- class.



‘He cuts the fufu, he drops it into his mouth, he swallows it till he ate all the fufu to the last little bit from the bowl.’ (Gbaxáǎĩ)

In (20), the first ideophone in the sequence is iterated to indicate the temporal duration of the subevent of whetting the cutlass and to provide the temporal backdrop for the occurrence of the subcomponents of the event represented by the other ideophones in the sequence.

20. Gbaxáǎĩ áǎ ko kulí ayíkǎ fufuón kulí y’étsobúno kiyón, kplaxlá kplaxlá  
kplaxlá, atǎ gǎĩ.  

<b>gbaxáǎĩ</b>	<b>á-ǎ</b>	<b>ko</b>	<b>kulí</b>	<b>a-yíkǎ</b>	<b>fufuón</b>	<b>ní</b>	<b>kulí</b>
striped.mouse	SM-get.up	just	CONJ	3SG-take	fufu	DEF	CONJ
<b>yí</b>	<b>é-tsobúno</b>	<b>ki-yó</b>		<b>ní</b>			
3SG.IND	SM-draw.near	CM-whetstone		DEF			
<b>kplaxlá</b>			<b>kplaxlá</b>				
IDEO.sound.of.whetting.cutlass			IDEO.sound.of.whetting.cutlass				
<b>kplaxlá</b>			<b>atǎ</b>				
IDEO.sound.of.whetting.cutlass			IDEO.sound.of.putting.food.in.the.mouth				
<b>gǎĩ</b>							
IDEO.sound.of.swallowing.food							

‘Striped mouse just got up and took the fufu then he went near the whetstone. While he was whetting his cutlass, he cuts the fufu, he drops it into his mouth and swallows it.’

Ideophones are marked words. In Tafi, they are marked phonologically, morphologically, syntactically and stylistically. They are an important ingredient of the rhetorical style of the language. However, as the glosses and translations show, they are very difficult, though not impossible, to characterise semantically. Future research should apply the methods deployed by Dingemanse (2011) for the study of Siwu ideophones to Tafi ideophones to get a richer picture.

## 12.2 Interjections

Interjections are defined as words which conventionally constitute non-elliptical utterances by themselves and express a speaker’s current mental state or reaction towards an element in the linguistic or extralinguistic context (Ameka 1992). Interjections are tied to particular situations hence their meanings relate to the situational, discourse and social context in which they are produced. Interjections have an intimate relationship with gestures and may be accompanied by them or a gesture can be used in place of some of them.

Interjections, like ideophones, may also be marked phonologically, morphologically and syntactically. In Tafi, some interjections have syllable structures that are extra systematic such as a VV syllable where it can be a long vowel as in **ee**

‘yes’, **ãã** ‘something bad has happened, one cannot do anything about it’; or a diphthong as in **áo** ‘I feel pain’. Some interjections also have a CVV syllable structure, like ideophones, for example **xee** ‘yes’ and **wuú** ‘shame’. In addition, some interjections in Tafi are made up of only consonants, for instance, **shhh** ‘silence’ and **rm̩m̩** ‘disapproval’ and **rm̩hm̩** ‘I feel pain’. Some interjections also use sounds that are otherwise extra systematic. For example the bilabial click, as an interjection, is used as a call to fowls. Moreover, interjections like ideophones, can have extra lengthening as in **shhhhhhhhh** ‘sileeeence!’ or **eeeeeeeeee** ‘yeeessss’.

Interjections also manifest expressive morphological features: some have an inherent repetitive structure such as **kl̩kl̩kl̩kl̩kl̩** ‘a call to fowls’. The repetitive structure can also be partial, as in **dzyalélé** ‘I am shocked’. Some interjections can also be iterated for expressivity. Thus the bilabial click interjection for calling fowls can be repeated several times.

Syntactically, interjections in Tafi can occur as free standing non-elliptical utterances. For instance, a speaker on seeing a child cross the road without paying attention to traffic exclaims **ei!** ‘I am shocked!’. In such a context the interjection stands for a whole proposition or turn in conversation. Interjections are also used as co-text where they are part of a turn with other propositions in discourse. When they occur as co-text they constitute prosodic units and fall within the utterance intonation.

In Tafi when interjections occur as co-text they occur either utterance initially or utterance medially and can occur with different utterance types. Thus in (21a) the interjection **ô** ‘I feel sympathy’ occurs utterance initially and as co-text of a routine expression. In (21b), the interjection **oo** ‘well’ occurs as a co-text to an imperative, and in (21c) the interjection **ehẽ** ‘INTJ’ occurs utterance initially and as co-text to a question.

- 21a. **Ô**, káfra!  
**ô**      **káfra**  
 INTJ   excuse  
 ‘Oh, sorry!’
- 21b. Oo, kɔ y’átsɔ̃.  
**oo**    **kɔ yí**    **á-tsɔ̃**  
 INTJ   let 3SG   SM-be.quick  
 ‘Oh, go ahead.’ (Lit.: ‘Let it go quickly.’)
- 21c. Ehẽ, kásãlã wɔ tsyí óbɔgbano adzaní dza?

**ehē ká-sālā wó tsyí ɔ-bo-gbano a-dzi**  
 INTJ CM-tortoise 2SG.IND too 2SG-FUT-marry CM-woman  
**a-ní dza**  
 AM-PROX UFP  
 ‘So, tortoise do you also want to marry this woman?’ (Kásālā)

Interjections also occur intra-sententially. In my corpus there are two positions where they occur within the sentence. One position is after a topic constituent as in (22a) and (22b). The other position is after the verb or complementiser **sí** as illustrated in (23).

- 22a. Tɪ kásālā abáló ní áo wó gɪ ɔtɔ́ga tsyí, bátishĩ álóé.  
**ti ká-sālā a-bá-ló ní áo wó gɪ**  
 COMP CM-tortoise SM-VENT-get.up TOP INTJ 2SG.IND REL  
**ɔ-tɔ́-ga tsyí bá-tí-shĩ bá-lo**  
 2SG.DEP-NEG:PRSPROG-walk too 3PL-PERF-leave 3PL-??  
**yí**  
 3SG.IND  
 ‘By the time he woke up, oh, you who cannot even walk, they had already left him behind.’ (Kásālā)
- 22b. Yɪ tsyí ekusi edzeyí ní ní ɛɛ ekusi eyiadz' ebitén, kééku yɪ tsyí 'úlí sí tɪ agbano.  
**yí tsyí e-kusi e-dzeyí ní ní ɛɛ e-kusi**  
 3SG.IND too CM-king CM-daughter DEF TOP INTJ CM-king  
**e-yiadzi ke-bité ní ké-é-ku<sup>74</sup> yí**  
 CM-daughter CM-young.woman DEF SM-PRSPROG-V 3SG.IND  
**tsyí bu-lí sí ti a-gbano**  
 too CM-N COMP COMP 3SG-marry  
 ‘Er, he too is desirous of marrying the princess.’ (Kásālā)
- 23a. kulí y'abaká 'sí ahā kídɔ tili lɪ y'áhɔ.  
**kulí yí a-baká a-sí ahā kí-dɔ**  
 CONJ 3SG.IND SM-remember SM-COMP INTJ CM-thing  
**ti-lí lí yí a-hɔ**  
 AM-INDEF be.at 3SG.IND CM-hand  
 ‘and he remembered that, ah, he had got something.’ (Kásālā)
- 23b. Así óo kivuní láádɔ lo?  
**a-sí óo ki-vu ní lá-á-dɔ lo**  
 3SG-say INTJ CM-drum DEF 3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-say ADD  
 ‘He said, oh, were they talking of the drumming?’ (Kásālā)

<sup>74</sup> The phrase **kú X bulí** means ‘to lust, feel, or have appetite (for something)’.

From a semantic and pragmatic point of view, interjections can be classified along various dimensions. One of these is in terms of the functions they serve in discourse (see Ameka 1992). From this perspective there are expressive interjections which signal the current mental state of a speaker. They are of two kinds: emotive interjections express the feelings of a speaker, for example, **áo** 'I feel pain', **ei** 'I am shocked'; and cognitive interjections which express the thoughts of the speaker, for example, **ehě** 'now I know' **ahă** 'I remember'. Another functional type is conative interjections. They are directed at an interlocutor to get them to do something. In Tafi, such interjections include **shhh** 'I want you to be silent!', **he** 'hey' and **kái** 'I want you (goat) to move from here'. Phatic interjections are those used for interactional purposes and for maintaining contact, for example **ago** 'I want you to say I can do what I want to do', **thě** 'I am paying attention'.

Another dimension for the classification of interjections proposed by Ameka and Wilkins (2006) relates to whether the interjection is directed at an interlocutor or whether it requires a response. In the rest of this section, Tafi interjections are classified according to these parameters.

First, there are the interjections that are not directed at any interlocutor or require any response from an interlocutor. Expressive interjections that signal the speaker's current mental state and actions belong to this category. Interjections of this type in Tafi include those listed in (24).

- |     |                  |   |
|-----|------------------|---|
| 24. | <b>éi</b>        | 'I am pleasantly surprised'                       |
|     | <b>dzyalélée</b> | 'I am shocked'                                    |
|     | <b>mhm</b>       | 'I feel a lot of pain'                            |
|     | <b>ái</b>        | 'I feel pain'                                     |
|     | <b>ádzýéi</b>    | 'I feel pain'                                     |
|     | <b>áo</b>        | 'I feel pain'                                     |
|     | <b>ó</b>         | 'I am surprised'                                  |
|     | <b>ô</b>         | 'I feel something bad because of what I now know' |
|     | <b>kô</b>        | 'I am surprised'                                  |
|     | <b>â</b>         | 'I remember something bad'                        |
|     | <b>thě</b>       | 'I now remember'                                  |

Second, there are interjections directed at an interlocutor requiring a behavioural response. These are largely conative interjections. Some of the Tafi interjections that belong to this group are listed in (25).

- |     |              |   |
|-----|--------------|---|
| 25. | <b>wuú</b>   | 'shame on you'  |
|     | <b>hê/hê</b> | impolite way of calling people<br>(e.g. <b>hê bá!</b> 'hey come!'; <b>hê dí mǎ</b> 'hey, be careful') |
|     | <b>shhh</b>  | 'I want you to be quiet!'   |
|     | <b>súi</b>   | 'I want you (fowl) to go away from here'  |

<b>kái</b>	‘I want you (goat) to go away from here’
<b>pûús</b>	‘I want you (cat) to come here’
⊙ (bilabial click)	‘I want you (fowl) to come here’
<b>klükklükklük</b>	‘I want you (fowl) to come here’

The third group of interjections is those that are used by a speaker in an addressee role to signal that they are paying attention and to ask for clarification. Some examples are given in (26).

26. **ehê/thê** ‘I agree and I want you to say more’  
**ahã** appreciation or approval  
**mhrń** ‘I am paying attention’

A fourth class of interjections is those that are standardly used by an addressee to respond to something an interactional participant has said. Tafi response signals listed in (27) belong to this category. In (28) a conversational fragment is given to illustrate the use of one of these response words.

27. **ee** ‘yes, I agree’  
**xee** ‘yes, I agree’  
**ńmń** ‘no’  
**óo** ‘no’  
**hówō** ‘no’

28. A: Tsytámĩ alí lo?  
**tsytámĩ** **a-lí** **lo**  
 spokesperson SM-be.at ADD  
 ‘Is the spokesperson there?’

- B. Ee, tsytámĩ alí.  
**ee** **tsytámĩ** **a-lí**  
 yes spokesperson SM-be.at  
 ‘Yes, the spokesperson is (here).’

Another class of interjections is those that belong to a ritual pair from which speakers may select. This class comprises one word conversational routines such as those given in (29).

29. **atúu** ‘I embrace you.’  
**agoo!** ‘call for attention’

Some of the interjections discussed for Tafi are also used in Ewe and other surrounding languages. These include:

30. **atúu** ‘I embrace you.’

<b>agoo!</b>	‘call for attention’
<b>ee</b>	‘yes, I agree’
<b>ńm</b>	‘no’
<b>óo</b>	‘no’
<b>wuú</b>	‘shame on you’
<b>hê</b>	impolite way of calling people
<b>shhh</b>	‘I want you to be quiet!’
<b>súi</b>	‘I want you (fowl) to go away from here’
<b>kái</b>	‘I want you (goat) to go away from here’
<b>pûús</b>	‘I want you (cat) to come here’
<b>éi</b>	‘I am pleasantly surprised’
<b>dzyalélé</b>	‘I am shocked’
<b>ńhm</b>	‘I feel a lot of pain’
<b>át</b>	‘I feel pain’
<b>ádyéi</b>	‘I feel pain’
<b>áo</b>	‘I feel pain’

This shows that interjections spread across language boundaries and can also be borrowed. Some of these interjections can be thought of as areal interjections.

### 12.3 Particles

Particles are little words used in everyday talk to achieve different discourse goals. They cannot stand on their own as utterances without being elliptical. This is one feature in which they differ from interjections. They also differ from interjections in being more integrated in the syntax of the clause. The Tafi particles mainly occur on the right edge of clauses and sentences and are of two functional types: (i) those that are used in discourse information structuring and which occur at the end of phrases or clauses (see (31a)), and (ii) those that are used to modify illocutionary forces of utterances and which occur utterance finally (utterance final particles, see (31b)).

- 31a. **ńí** ‘topic marker’  
**e** ‘clause final marker’  
**a** ‘clause final marker’  
**éle** ‘clause final marker, reinforces topic marker on complementiser’
- 31b. **oo** ‘I want you to pay attention’  
**mɔ** ‘addressive particle’  
**lo** ‘I advise you’  
**dza** ‘insistive utterance final particle’  
**xãã** ‘insistive utterance final particle’  
**a** ‘reinforcer of propositional questions’  
**e** ‘illocutionary force modifier’

These particles are expressive in nature. Thus they can be lengthened, as illustrated in (32) for the topic marker and in (33) for the utterance final particle **oo**.

32. Madam ní ímɔ yí 'ishuin  
**Madam ní í-mɔ yí kishūi ní**  
 Madam TOP 1SG-see 3SG.IND Friday DEF  
 'Speaking of Madam, I saw her on Friday.'
33. "kibúí tilí 'h m'áhɔ", kibúí tilí 'h y'áhɔ t'etsiré 'únǎ ooooooooo.  
**ki-búí ti-li kɪ-lɪ mɪ a-hɔ ki-búí**  
 CM-word AM-INDEF SM-be.at 1SG.IND CM-hand CM-word  
**ti-lí kɪ-lɪ yí a-hɔ tɪ e-tsiré wǔnǎ**  
 AM-INDEF SM-be.at 3SG.IND CM-hand COMP 3SG-tell 2PL  
**oooooooo**  
 UFP  
 "I have something", he has something to tell you oooo.'

Another expressive feature, especially of the utterance final particles, is that they do not seem to have a constant tone. Rather their tones vary depending on the emotional and attitudinal meaning the speaker wants to convey. The tones marked on them, in this work, are tied to the tone produced in the particular context. One can thus find the particle **lo** 'ADD' represented as **ló**, **lō** and **lo**.

Additionally, the particles can be stacked as illustrated in (34).

- 34a. ɔdzɔdzɪ mɔ oo  
**ɔ-dzɔdzɪ mɔ oo**  
 CM-story ADD UFP  
 'Story story' or 'A tale to you'
- 34b. ... kulí así ní a ...  
**kulí a-sí ní a**  
 CONJ 3SG-say TOP CFM  
 '...and he spoke as follows: ...'

### 12.3.1 Clause final particles

As noted above the clause final particles occur at the end of phrases or clauses and contribute to the information packaging in the clause. The clause final particles, repeated from 31a above, occur sentence internally.

35. **ní** 'topic marker'  
**e** 'clause final marker'  
**a** 'clause final marker'

**éle** ‘clause final marker, reinforces topic marker on complementiser’

The uses of the topic marker have been discussed in §6.7.1 and its use in complex sentences has also been described in Chapter 9. As demonstrated immediately above, the topic marker can be lengthened, and it can co-occur with another clause final marker (see (34b)).

The clause final particles **e** and **a** are used to mark clause boundaries as is the case in (34b) above for **a**. The particle **a** tends to occur in narratives at the end of topic constituents marked by the topic marker as if to reinforce the topic marker and marking a break. Examples (36a) and (36b) contain several instances of the clause final marker **a**.

- 36a. ányínyáányí gí anyáápí ekus’edzeyín ekus’edzeyín ásí tì agbanò ko ní a...

**á-nyí-nyáá-á-nyí** **gí** **a-nyá-á-pí**  
 CM-man-DISTR-CM-man REL 3SG.DEP-CERT-PRSPROG-want  
**e-kusí e-dzeyí ní a-sí tì**  
 CM-king CM-female.child DEF 3SG-COMP COMP  
**a-gbánò ko ní a**  
 3SG.DEP-marry just TOP CFM  
 ‘whichever man desires the princess to marry...’ (Kásālā)

- 36b. Ádò sí ní a ɔtsɔ́ ní ébeklú ’ál’enyí klíso ní a ónúgí ázakp’ ódzíníésí ní a  
 baɔp sí ní ní a ...

**á-ɔp sí ní a ɔtsɔ́ ní é-be-klú balí**  
 3SG-say COMP TOP CFM now TOP 3SG-FUT-call 3PL  
**e-nyí klíso ní a ónú.gí á-za-kpí**  
 CM.PL-name so TOP CFM COND 3SG.DEP-REP-put.in  
**ɔ-dzì ní ke.sí ní a ba-ɔp sí ní ní**  
 CM-song DEF under TOP CFM 3PL-say COMP TOP TOP  
**a**  
 CFM

‘He said that from now he will be calling the names, therefore whenever he starts the song again, they should say...’ (Sáhwi)

The particle **e** is used to optionally mark the end of sequential clauses introduced by **ká**. The examples in (37) are repeated from §9.1.3.9.

- 37a. Ónúg’ óféké kitukún štrò kíkúísí ní ká ɔp’uyíko é.

**ónú.gí ó-féké ki-tukú ní ɔ-trò kí-kuísí ní**  
 COND 2SG.DEP-lift CM-load DEF SM-put.on CM-knee DEF  
**[ká ɔ-pí bu-yíko é]**  
 then 2SG.DEP-be.good CM-take CFM

‘When you lift the load onto your knee it becomes easier to help you put it on your head.’ (Proverb #30)



- 37b. Óny' ósíbubíko ká ɔtsí'ólíé.

**ó-nyí**      **ó-sí**      **bu-bí**      **ko**  
 2SG-know    SM-COMP    3SG-cooked    just  
**[ká ɔ-tsí      bulí é]**  
 then 2SG.DEP-take.off 3SG CFM  
 'You get to know that it is well-cooked and then you take it off (the fire).'

(Palm oil)

The clause final particle **élē** is used to reinforce a topic marked phrase or clause as illustrated in (38a) - (38c). In (38a) and (38b), it is used to reinforce a topic marked complementiser. It looks like this particle is a combination of two particles, an **é** 'CFM' and another particle **lē**, but my database does not contain any instance of such a particle.

- 38a. Ítsire wó sí ní élē kídō ní gɛ edzi nɛ w'áhɔ ní adɔ́ ababuia.

**i-tsiré**    **wó**    **sí**      **ní**    **élē**    **kí-dō**    **ní**    **gɛ**  
 1SG-tell 2SG COMP TOP CFM CM-thing DEF REL  
**é-é-dzi**                      **ní**    **wó**      **a-hɔ**      **ní**  
 3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-buy LOC 2SG.IND CM-hand TOP  
**a-dɛ-sí**                      **á-ba-buia**  
 3SG-NEG2-say 3SG.DEP-FUT-pay  
 'I told you that the thing that he is buying from you he will not pay.'

- 38b. Alasí ní élē otroeleté ovutó ní ní bétítsú ɔlí 'ífú bupɔi lápɔi ɔlí?

**alasí**      **ní**      **élē**    **o-tro.eleté**      **o-vutó**    **ní**      **ní**  
 because TOP CFM CM-lie.owner CM-roof DEF TOP  
**bé-tí-tsú**                      **ɔlí**    **kí-fú**    **bu-pɔi**      **lá-pɔi**                      **ɔlí**  
 3PL-NEG1-set 3SG CM-fire CM-scatter 3PL.DEP-scatter 3SG  
 'The reason is that the roof of a dishonest man's hut is never burnt, it is dismantled piece by piece.' (Gbaxáíí)

- 38c. Isí, wó sáhwí ní élē, odikó lénú ní élē g'ínú...

**i-sí**      **wó**      **sáhwí**    **ní**      **élē**  
 1SG-say 2SG.IND spider TOP CFM  
**ɔ-dɛ-kó**                      **lé-nú**                      **ní**    **élē**    **gí**      **í-nú**  
 2SG-NEG2-let 3PL.DEP-hear TOP CFM REL 1SG.DEP-hear  
 'I say YOU spider, if you do not shut up over there and I hear you...'

### 12.3.2 Utterance final particles

In this section, the use and significance of the particles used at the end of utterances to modify the illocutionary force they have. The particles discussed are those listed in (31b) above, repeated in (39).

39. **oo** 'I want you to pay attention'  
**mɔ** 'addressive particle'  
**lo(o)** 'I advise you'  
**dza** 'intensifying utterance final particle'  
**xãã** 'intensifying utterance final particle'

### 12.3.2.1 The particle **oo**

One common context for the occurrence of this particle is at the end of routine expressions addressed to an interlocutor inviting them to respond, as in (40a) and (40b). The example in (40b) shows that these particles are not obligatory elements. In (34b) above, the particle is used at the end of a formula that is used to introduce stories during story telling performances. It is used to draw attention to what one is saying.

- 40a. W'ótsirí 'ílábhā oo.  
**wɔ**        **o-tsirí**    **kɪ́**        **kábhā oo**  
 2SG.IND SM-be.on 3SG.IND top UFP  
 'You are on its top.' (i.e. 'You are on it.')
- 40b. Wɔ babaa (oo)!  
**wɔ**        **babaa**    **(oo)**  
 2SG.IND sorry UFP  
 'Sorry to you (sg)!'

It also occurs at the end of address terms and names like a vocative particle.

41. Ámā oo!  
**Ámā oo**  
 Ámā UFP  
 'Ama!'

The particle can also occur in a propositional question as in (42).

42. Óyi mɔ oo?  
**ó-yi**        **mɔ oo**  
 2SG-show.up ADD UFP  
 'Have you (pl) woken up?'

This example also shows that the particle **oo** can co-occur with other particles. It was already noted above that the particle **oo** can have extra lengthening for expressive purposes. An utterance final **o** particle is rather widespread in West African languages but the functions and significance vary from language to language (see Singler 1988 for an overview).

### 12.3.2.2 The particle **lo(o)**

The particle **lo** is an addressive particle in the sense that it is addressed to an interlocutor and occurs at the end of utterances. Its significance seems to be similar to that of the Ewe particle **lo(o)** ‘ADD’ which Ameka (1998) characterises as an advisory particle. The particle occurs at the end of routine expressions as in (43a) and (43b).

- 43a. Wɔ́ káfra lo, ɪdutsɔ́ wɔ́ ʔomɔ́?  
**wɔ́ káfra lo ɪ-di-tso wɔ́ bu-mɔ**  
 2SG.IND excuse ADD 1SG-NEG2-do.early 2SG CM-see  
 ‘Sorry (to you), I did not see you early.’
- 43b. Agoo ((mɔ) lɔ́)!  
**agoo (mɔ) (lɔ́)**  
 agoo ADD ADD  
 ‘Attention, please!’

The particle also occurs on statements as in (44a) and in propositional questions, as shown in (44b).

- 44a. Así óo kivuń lááɖɔ lo?  
**a-sí óo ki-vu ní lá-á-ɖɔ lo**  
 3SG-say INTJ CM-drum DEF 3PL.DEF-PRSPROG-say ADD  
 ‘He said, oh, were they talking of the drumming?’
- 44b. Tsytámī alí lo?  
**tsytámī a-lí lo**  
 spokesperson SM-be.at ADD  
 ‘Is the spokesperson there?’

As illustrated in (43b), the particle **lo** can co-occur with another addressive particle **mɔ** which is talked about in the next section.

### 12.3.2.3 The particle **mɔ**

In examples (42) and (43b) above, repeated as (45a) and (45b) respectively below, the particle **mɔ** ‘ADD’ occurs with other utterance final particles. The unique thing about the particle **mɔ** ‘ADD’ is that it is only used for plural addressees.

- 45a. Óyi mɔ oo?  
**ó-yi mɔ oo**  
 2SG-get.up ADD UFP  
 ‘Have you (pl) woken up?’

- 45b. Agoo ((mɔ) lɔ)!  
**agoo mɔ lɔ**  
 agoo ADD ADD  
 ‘Attention, please!’

When the particle occurs with other particles it is the one that occurs as the inner particle as is evident from the examples given.

#### 12.3.2.4 The particles **dza** and **xãã**

The particles **dza** and **xãã** are alternants as shown in (46a). As pointed out in Chapter 8 the particle **xãã** is probably borrowed from Ewe **hã**. Because of this the particle is also sometimes realised as **hãã** as shown in (46b).

- 46a. Ómɔ m'eyín dza/hãã?  
**ɔ-mɔ mí e-yí ní dza / hãã**  
 2SG-see 1SG.IND CM-child DEF UFP  
 ‘Did you see my child? (I want to know now)’
- 46b. Ányín ááshĩ xãã/ hãã?  
**á-nyí ní á-á-shĩ xãã/ hãã**  
 CM-man DEF SM-PRSPROG-leave UFP  
 ‘Is the man leaving?’
- 46c. Ô! kibúí qúwē n'în dza?  
**ô ki-búí qúwē nú uní dza**  
 INTJ CM-matter which COP AM-PROX UFP  
 ‘Oh! What is this?’

As the examples show, the particles are intensifying particles. They are used in propositional (46a, b) as well as content questions (46c) to signal the urgency and importance the speaker attaches to the question. They convey a kind of insistence on a response from the addressee.

#### 12.3.2.5 The utterance final particle **a**

This particle is used in propositional questions to reinforce its illocutionary force. In §8.2.1, it was noted that propositional questions end on a lower pitch than their counterpart statements. It was also stated that some particles are used to reinforce the illocutionary force of questions. One of these particles is **a** ‘UFP’. This particle seems to be added to disambiguate between a statement and a question. Some contexts in which the particle occurs are illustrated in (47) and (48).

- 47a. ... kliso nonú a?  
**kliso no-nú a**  
 so 2PL-hear CFM  
 ‘... therefore, do you hear?’
- 47b. Ee, natsy’ólíá?  
**ee w̃ñ́ tsyí no-lí á**  
 yes 2PL.IND too 2SG-be.at UFP  
 ‘Yes, how are you too?’
- 48a. Yoo, makalí nonú gbe ní á? Basí éébisi’ídzo oo.  
**yoo mí á-kā-álí no-nú i-gbe ní**  
 okay 1SG.IND CM-father-PL 2PL-hear CM.PL-message DEF  
**á**  
 UFP  
**ba-sí bé-é-bisi ki-dzó oo**  
 3PL-say SM-PRSPROG-ask CM-way UFP  
 ‘Okay, my elders, have you heard the message? They said they are asking for permission (to leave).’
- 48b. B: Ee, wɔ tsy’óyi á?  
**ee wɔ tsyí ó-yi á**  
 yes 2SG.IND too SM-get.up PTCL  
 ‘Yes, have you too woken up?’

### 12.3.2.6 The utterance final particle **e(e)**

The particle **e(e)** is used to, as it were, strengthen the illocutionary force of an utterance in which it occurs. It occurs on invitations as in (49). It also occurs on questions which ask about specific entities as in the examples in (50). In this usage, its function is similar to the topic only question particle **h̃́(3)** (see § 8.2.4).

49. Bɔkp’ahɔi odí ee.  
**bá ɔ-kpí a-hɔi o-dí ee**  
 come 2SG-put CM-hand 2SG-look UFP  
 ‘Come and join us.’ (Lit.: ‘Come and put your hand in and see.’)
- 50a. W’epí ní e?  
**wɔ́ ke-pí ní e**  
 2SG.IND CM-home DEF UFP  
 ‘How is your hometown?’

- 50b. ... w'ókó ní e?  
**wókó**      **ókó**      **ní**      **e**  
 2SG.IND place DEF UFP  
 '... how is your place?'

In the following adjacency pair of exchange of salutations between two people one who comes to meet another at home, the particle is used in the questions.

- 51a. A: W'ótúgba ní e?  
**wókó**      **ótúgba**      **ní**      **e**  
 2SG.IND CM-front DEF UFP  
 'How is the front?' (i.e., 'What things have happened before I arrived?')
- 51b. B: Kpasí, kide<sup>75</sup> ní e?  
**kpasí** **ki-de**      **ní**      **e**  
 be.in CM-back DEF UFP  
 'Fine, how's the back?' (i.e. how are things behind?)

This particle **e** co-occurs with other utterance final particles . For instance it co-occurs with the particle **a** as in (52a) and with the addressive particle **lō** as in (52b)

- 52a. A: Ótíyí á e?  
**ótí-yí**      **á**      **e**  
 2SG-PERF-get.up PTCL UFP  
 'Have you already woken up?'
- 52b. Kpáyā ágbání wó é lō.  
**Kpáyā á-gbání** **wó**      **e**      **lō**  
 God SM-lead 2SG UFP ADD  
 'May God lead you.'

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<sup>75</sup> It appears **kide** is derived from **kede** 'back'.

