

## Discourse Roles of Particles in Chiyao<sup>1</sup>

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### Abstract

*This paper seeks to investigate the discourse roles of particles in Chiyao along with their environment of occurrence and scope of interpretation. The analysis is based on the data collected through audio-recording of traditional narratives which were later transcribed to identify utterances with particles. The findings establish that particles in Chiyao can occur in three major types of environment, namely within the NP as is the case with question particles, demonstrative particles, and exclusive particles; within the VP as is the case with question particles, exclusive particles, and negative particles; and in pre-sentential position (e.g. emotional particles, additive particles, and contrast particles). Concerning the scope of interpretation, the analysis indicates that particles that occur within the NP have their scope of interpretation limited to the NP, while the meaning of those that occur as part of the VP or in pre-sentential position applies to the entire sentence. As for the discourse roles, it is shown that the Chiyao particle performs different significant roles, including emphatic roles, such as emphasising negation; and exclusive roles, that is, to single out some elements within a clause from the rest of a clause in order to show focus. It is further shown that particles are used to signal interrogation, and for anaphoric purposes. Moreover, particles in Chiyao indicate deixis as well as emotions such as surprise, anger, disapproval and shock. Finally, particles indicate contrast and addition. These findings lead to a conclusion that the use of particles represents an important communicative strategy in Chiyao.*

**Keywords:** Bantu, Chiyao, Particle, Discourse, Role

### Introduction

The existence of particles in language has been acknowledged in quite a number of cross-linguistic and language specific studies although with some opposing views as to whether they are words, clitics, affixes (Zwicky, 1985) or simply holophrases (Christidis, 1990). Regardless of their categorization (whether they are words or not) it is generally acknowledged that particles are multifunctional and heterogeneous, encompassing various categories of word functions such as conjunctions, adverbs, interjections, and prepositions and they perform interactional, referential, and structural functions (Tzartanos, 1991).

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<sup>1</sup>This study/project was made possible by the Partnership for Africa's Next Generation of Academics (PANGeA) Early Career Fellowship programme, which is funded by the Robert Bosch Stiftung.

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Particles may occur as either bound morphemes or free morphemes, and their interpretation may either be limited to the elements that they are affixed to or to the entire clause. The Swahili interrogative particle *je* provides a good example of this multiple occurrence and role of particles. Nicolle (2000) observes that the Swahili interrogative particle *je* occurs both as a bound morpheme and as a free morpheme. When it occurs as a bound morpheme, it is attached to verbs giving a pragmatic interpretation as a *wh*-question (how) (1a) and when it occurs as a free morpheme its scope stretches to the entire clause giving the interpretation of a yes/no question (1b).

(1) a. M-dudu            a-me-ingia-**je**?  
 1-insect            1SM-PERF-enter-PART  
 'How did the insect enter?'

b. **Je!**    Huu    ni        uungwana?  
 PART this    is        right  
 'Is this right?'

(Swahili, Nicolle, 2000)

Within their scope, particles have been associated with various grammatical and communicative roles in different languages of the world. For example, in Modern Greek, the particles *na*, *tha* and *in* are used to indicate modality (Roussou & Tsangalidis, 2010). Moreover, in Awiing, a Grassfields Bantu language, the particle *lə* marks exhaustive focus while the particles *tsoə* 'only' and *kə* 'also' mark exclusiveness (Fominyam & Simik, 2017). In Kinande, the particle *na/naye* 'also/too' indicates addition (Schneider-Zioga, 2015). Additionally, in other languages, such as Kikisi, Kindendeule and Chingoni particles function to indicate negation (Ngonyani, 2003). Although some of these examples are not from Bantu languages (e.g. Greek), they are important in the analysis of a Bantu language since they seem to perform similar functions.

Given these roles, it is evident that particles are important grammatical and communicative elements in language. As such, further investigation into their linguistic behaviours and roles is called for. This paper offers an investigation of particles in Chiyao, a Bantu language of southern Tanzania<sup>3</sup>, with the purpose of accounting for their environment of occurrence, scope of interpretation, and communicative role. The analysis is based on coherence approach as presented in Schiffrin (1987) who built on the ideas of Halliday and Hasan (1976). The approach focuses on the role of discourse markers (which in the present work are referred to as particles) in coherence, looking into "how speakers and hearers jointly integrate forms, meanings and actions to make overall sense out of what is said" (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 49). In this approach, particles are viewed as verbal devices that function to establish connections between discourse units and parts of their context, encompassing items from different word classes, such as conjunctions and adverbs (Bonifazi et al., 2016). They are also viewed as signals of structural organization of a discourse and indicators of some aspects of language use (Maschler, 1998 as cited in Bonifazi et al., 2016). This approach is relevant to the current discussion of particles in Chiyao as it provides a framework for accounting for their contexts of occurrence and meaning. In this paper, the focus is on the environment of occurrence, scope of interpretation, and communicative role of particles in Chiyao.

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<sup>3</sup>In Guthrie's (1948) classification of Bantu languages, Chiyao is classified as P.21 and is also spoken in Mozambique and Malawi.

The paper proceeds by providing some terminological accounts, and then it presents the communicative roles of particles and their contexts of occurrence. Finally, it offers a conclusion and summary.

### Terminological accounts

Particles exist in every language but there are variations in their labelling and treatment among scholars. As such, they have been referred to by different terms by different scholars. Kusevska (2019) uses the term pragmatic markers and defines them as expressions that speakers use to achieve a smooth flow of speech and help their interlocutors decode the meaning of their utterances appropriately. He includes examples of English utterances such as *yeah, right, well, I mean, like, and you know*. Similarly, Beeching (2016) used the term pragmatic markers, placing more emphasis on their sociolinguistic and interactional quality. On the other hand, Crible (2018), and Schiffrin (1987) use the term discourse markers to refer to the same. Other common terms in the literature include discourse particles, pragmatic particles, pragmatic expressions, and connectives (Kusevska, 2019). However, despite these terminological differences, it is generally agreed that particles or pragmatic markers facilitate spontaneous speech production and interaction and prevent the speaker from being seen as impolite or awkward (Crystal, 1998; Muller, 2005; Kusevska, 2019). Particles in Chiyao, as it will be established in the subsequent sections, seem to reflect this general observation. The following section discusses different discourse roles of particles and their environment of occurrence in Chiyao.

### Discourse roles of particles and their context of occurrence

As pointed out in the preceding section, the literature indicates that particles serve different grammatical and communicative purposes across languages. It is these grammatical and communicative roles that warrant further investigation in languages in which particles have not been thoroughly described. The following sections explore different communicative purposes that particles serve in Chiyao. The analysis of the roles also takes into account their environment of occurrence and scope of interpretation.

#### Interrogation

Interrogative constructions in Chiyao are indicated prosodically by raising intonation, leaving the word order in situ. In addition to the raising intonation, a new element, an interrogative particle, may be introduced to the beginning of a construction or may be inserted in the interrogative construction. There are three elements in Chiyao which frequently occur as interrogative particles, namely *ana*, *ngati* and *ambano*. Below are extracts from traditional narratives illustrating the context of use of these particles. Each extract is followed by a free translation in English.

(2) **Aná** a-mbusánga mmwé **ngáti** m-kúwóná sálâ?  
 PART 1a-friend you PART 1SM-feel 9.hunger  
 ‘Hey my friend, **do you see** that you are starving?’

(3) Akulu vao ni va-janga-aga, ‘**ambáno** tu-tende uli?’  
 Elder his then 2SM-answer-PST PART 2SM-do what  
 ‘Their elders then asked, ‘**so** what should we do?’

The sentences above demonstrate three communicative roles performed by the three interrogative particles in Chiyao. They indicate that although the particles are generally used for interrogation, each of them has a specific communicative context and effect. Example (2) contains two particles: *ana* and *ngati*. In this utterance, the speaker uses the particle *ana* at the beginning of a clause to get the addressee’s attention to the question he/she is about to pose. In this case, it roughly translates to the English interjection *hey* which is used in similar contexts in English. It

is therefore convincing to establish that the particle *ana* functions to get the addressee pay attention to the question being asked by the speaker. As for the particle *ngati*, it precedes the verb in example (2). The speaker uses it to introduce a question but with two additional conditions: the question triggers a yes/no answer, and that answer is obvious; it is therefore a rhetorical question. The particle *ngati* is therefore used to introduce questions in contexts where both the speaker and the addressee have enough clues about the answer. Unlike the interrogative particle *ngati* which triggers a yes/no answer, the particle *ambano*, which is exemplified in (3) above, is used in open questions, particularly, opinion seeking questions. In example (3), the speaker uses it to introduce a question whose answer requires an explanation to solve the existing problem. Therefore, although the particles *ana*, *ngati* and *ambano* are all used in question contexts, the communicative purposes for which speakers use them are not the same.

### Exclusion

Particles which mark exclusion in Chiyao occur with different word categories to single them out from other members in a clause. The exclusion of an entity out of an utterance may be motivated by an expression of focus. Thus, the singled out entity is what the speaker focuses on. Two exclusive particles have been established from the data, namely *pe* and *tu*. These are illustrated in (4) below before giving an account of their communicative effects.

- (4) a.   chi-lambó   chi   chi-sigale   ní   va-náche   **pe.**  
           7-world    this   7OM-remain   with   2-child    PART  
           ‘This village should remain with children **only**.’
- b.   ku-sigála   va-chanda   **tú.**  
           INF-remain   2-boy           PART  
           ‘Only children remained’
- (c) li-jóká       lila   li-kopwésye   m-twé       **tú.**  
           5-snake       that   3SM-expose   3-head       PART  
           ‘That snake exposed **only** its head.’
- (d) m-ka-li-távé           **tú**  
           1SM-FUT-5OM-tie    PART  
           ‘**Just** go and tie it.’

From the preceding extracts, it seems that each of the two particles *pe* and *tu* has a different environment of occurrence and has a distinct communicative effect. In terms of occurrence, the particle *pe*, qualifies nouns only as is the case in (4a) where it occurs after a noun *vanáche* ‘children’. On the other hand, the particle *tú* qualifies both nouns (e.g. *vachanda* ‘boys’ in (4b) and *mtwé* ‘head’ in (4c)), and verbs (e.g. *mkalitávé* ‘go and tie it’ in (4d)). As for communicative effects, the two particles take different interpretations depending on the word class that they occur with. Thus, the particles *pe* and *tu* occurring with nouns have an adjectival reading ‘only’ with semantic scopes limited to the NPs in which they occur. On the other hand, the particle *tu* occurring with a verb has an adverbial reading ‘just’ and its semantic scope stretches to the entire sentence since the verb is the core unit of a sentence. It follows therefore that the particle *tu* carries different semantic interpretations depending on whether it modifies a noun or a verb. Apparently, the particle *pe* cannot be used to qualify verbs. Thus, when the exclusion particle *tu* in (4d) is replaced with *pe* the utterance becomes ungrammatical as in (5) below.

- (5)    \**m-ka-li-távé*           **pe**  
        1SM-FUT-5OM-tie    PART

Intended: 'Just go and tie it.'

Since exclusive particles change their semantic scope depending on the type of word they qualify as pointed out above, they have been regarded as one of the resources for focus marking in some languages. Thus, a speaker would place an exclusive particle near the element that he/she intends to assign more weight than others. In Makhuwa and Zulu, for example, focus is indicated by exclusive particles *paáhi* 'only' and *kuphela* 'only' respectively (van der Wal, 2014:6-7), as illustrated in the following examples.

- (6) a. O-lomw-e                      ehopa              paáhi  
1.SM-see-PERF.CJ              10.fish              only  
'He caught only fish.'                      (Makhuwa, van der Wal, 2014:7)
- b. Ngi-bon-e                      uSipho              kuphela.  
1SG.SM-see-PERF.CJ              1.Sipho              only  
'I saw only Sipho.'                      (Zulu, van der Wal, 2014:6)

In the Makhuwa example (6a) above, the exclusive particle *paáhi* 'only' has been used to indicate the speaker's focus on *ehopa* 'fish' to mean nothing else other than fish was bought. Similarly, the Zulu particle *kuphela* 'only' in (6b) places focus on seeing the person Sipho and not any other person, thus marking exclusive focus.

### Negation role

The canonical marker for negation in Chiyao is the morpheme *nga-* which is inserted in the verb initial position before the subject marker, as in the examples in (7) below where (7a) is an affirmative statement and (7b) is a negative statement.

- (7) a. a-ku-teleka                      nsele  
1SM-PRES-cook              9.rice  
'He/she is cooking rice.'
- b. **nga**-a-ku-teleka                      nsele  
NEG-1SM-PRES-cook              9.rice  
'He/she is not cooking rice.'

In addition to the use of the negative marker *nga-*, negation in Chiyao can further be achieved by adding the negation particle *ngu* to the end of a clause as in (8) below.

- (8) a. nga-ngw-aula  
NEG-1SG.PRES-go  
'I am not going.'
- b. nga-ngw-aula                      **ngu!**  
NEG-1SG.PRES-go              PART  
'I am not going (at all)'

The negative construction in (8a) appears without a negative particle while its counterpart in (8b) contains a particle *ngu*. Although both sentences have a negative reading, the negative sentence in (8b) is understood to be more emphatic than (8a) due to the addition of a negative particle *ngu* which yields an extra interpretation 'at all.' Therefore, communicatively, the negative particle adds emphasis to the negative sense of a construction, implying that the speaker is more categorical in what he/she is saying.

The double marking of negation illustrated above seems to evidence Devos and Van der Auwera's (2013:205) claim regarding the behaviour of negative markers in Bantu. They asserted that in some Bantu languages, negative markers take part in what is generally known as a Jespersen cycle whereby they initially reinforce the original negator and eventually become obligatory for the expression of negation resulting in a double negative construction. Apparently, the Chiyao negative particle *ngu* in (8b) above is at the initial stage of the Jespersen cycle as it reinforces the original negator, and may later develop into a full negator.

It is interesting to note that while the negation particle in Chiyao is optional, in several other Bantu languages in southern Tanzania, such as Kikisi, Kindendeule and Chingoni, the negative particle is an obligatory element for encoding negation and the absence of which makes the sentence affirmative. In Chingoni, for example, Ngonyani (2013) observes that the negative particle *lepa* is used to indicate sentential negation, as shown below:

- (9) a. m-geni            a-tol-ili            u-gimbi  
       1-guest            1SM-take-PF    14-beer  
       'The guest took beer.'
- b. m-geni            a-tol-i                    lepa    u-gimbi  
       1-guest            1SM-PT-take-PF    NEG    14-beer  
       'The guest did not take beer.'                    (Chingoni, Ngonyani, 2013:178)

A similar scenario holds in Kindendeule where the negative particle *jee* or *jeka* obligatorily appears after the verb to express negation, as shown in the examples below:

- (10) a. ηɛni                    a-ki-tɔl-a                    u-gembe  
       1-guest                    1SM-PT-take-IND            14-beer  
       'The guest took the beer.1
- b. ɛni a-ki-tɔl-a                                    je            u-yembe  
       1-guest 1SM-PT-take-IND            NEG 14-beer  
       'The guest did not take the beer.'                    (Kindendeule, Ngonyani, 2013:177-178)

The examples in (9) and (10) suggest that while in Chingoni and Kindendeule the negative particle marks negation and therefore it is obligatory in negative constructions, in Chiyao the particle emphasizes negation and therefore it is optional.

### **Anaphoric role**

Another use of particles in Chiyao is to indicate anaphoric reference. In anaphoric reference, a linguistic element is used to refer to an entity which has been mentioned earlier in the discourse (Lyons, 1999). Particles serving an anaphoric role are used to refer to an entity with which the hearer is familiar not from the physical situation but from the linguistic context. The hearer is familiar with the entity because of its earlier mention in the text or discourse. The anaphoric role of particles in Chiyao is performed by locative particles, which are shortened or cliticised forms of locative nouns. Locative particles occur after locative nouns to co-reference such nouns. They correspond with locative noun classes 16 (pa-), 17 (ku-), and 18 (mu-). Just like locative nouns, they are found in three deictic dimensions, namely proximal, non-proximal and distal. Table 1 below presents the Chiyao locative particles serving anaphoric role and their deictic dimensions.

Table 1

*Locative particles and their deictic dimensions*

Class	Particle		
	Proximal	Non-proximal	Distal
16	pa	po	pala
17	ku	ko	kula
18	mu	mo	mula

The extracts in (10) below provide contextual examples of some of the locative particles found in Table 1.

- (11) a. 1 Ché-liitúnu apángené uganja ní ché-sungúla.  
A hyena and a hare were friends.  
2 Vatemí temíí, vanyamá achínjáo ni vavávílasisyé likwáta.  
After sometime, their fellow animals organized a traditional dance.  
3 Nambó lyélila likwáta lila váátité vaangáli mavéngwa akaika, **pé palikwáta po**,  
mpaká ave ní mávéngwa.  
But they said animals that do not have horns will not be allowed to go **there**, they  
must have horns.  
4 Ché-litúnu na ambusánga vao ché-sungúla ní váátite ambáno ambusánga pélépa  
5 chitújile úli pakwaúla **kwé kulikwáta kula?**  
The hyena and his friend the hare thought, 'so my friend how can we go **there?**  
6 Basí ambusánga tujaule kwíikonde tukausóse mpíngó, nné chíisipe mávéngwa.  
7 **Kwé kulikwáta ko** tutújaule  
My friend, let us go to the forest to find an ebony tree, and I will make horns. We  
will go **there**.
- b. 1 Kiongósi jula atèémi ní uongósi wakwe, siku mója vagónile lugono lwá músi  
2 pannango, ajaséme, ní lyáiché lijóká kwinjíla **nkwang'wa múla**.  
The leader stayed in power for some time, one day when he was having a siesta  
at his door, a snake came and entered **there**.

In extract (11a) above, three locative particles are evident, namely *po* (line 3), *kula* (line 5), and *ko* (line 7). They all occur immediately after their respective locative nouns, which are *palikwáta* 'at the traditional dance' (line 3), and *kulikwáta* 'to the traditional dance' (lines 5 and 7). Moreover, in extract (10b), one locative particle can be observed, the particle *múla* which co-references the locative noun *nkwang'wa* 'in the mouth' (line 2). Occasionally, the locative particle occurs twice (before and after a locative noun) to co-reference the same locative noun but in two different forms. This is evident in (11a) **pé palikwáta po** (line 3), **kwé kulikwáta kula** (line 5), and **kwé kulikwáta ko** (line 7). The form that occurs first includes the locative prefix in its appropriate deictic dimension while the form which occurs last includes the locative suffix. Thus, **pé** (line 3) is shortened from *pelepo* while **kwé** (lines 5 and 7) is shortened from *kwékula*.

All the locative particles in the above contexts function anaphorically to maintain the addressee's attention on the subject which has been earlier introduced in the text/discourse. In text (11a), the main subject is *likwáta* 'traditional dance'. This has been introduced in the second line of the text without a locative particle. After the first mention, all the subsequent references to it accompany the locative particle since the addressee is already aware of the existence of this entity or event as seen in line 3 **pé palikwáta po**, line 5 **kwé kulikwáta kula**, and line 7 **kwé kulikwáta ko**. Similarly, in text (11b), the locative particle *múla* is used for anaphoric reference purposes.

Although the locative noun that it co-references, *nkwang'wa* 'in the mouth', has not been overtly introduced earlier, its earlier mention is implied by the verb *ajaséme*<sup>4</sup> 'he/she has opened his/her mouth' whose meaning implies that one has a mouth.

### Deictic role

One of the important roles of particles in Chiyao is to indicate deixis. According to Lyons (1999, p. 18), "deixis is the property of certain expressions or categories of relating things talked about to the spatial temporal context and in particular to contextual distinctions like that between the moment or place of utterances and other moments or places or that between the speaker, the hearer and others." In Chiyao, the deictic role is performed by demonstrative particles which occur before and after their heads as split demonstratives. The deictic distinctions made by demonstrative particles may be spatial (referring to physical location), temporal (referring to an event in relation to time) or emotional (referring to something in the mind).

The demonstrative particles indicate deixis in three major dimensions, proximal (closer to the speaker) (12a), non-proximal (closer to the hearer) (12b) and distal (far from both the speaker and the hearer) (12c).

- (12) a. **Achi** chi-tengu      **chi**  
 DEM 7-chair              PART  
 'This chair'
- b. **Acho** chi-tengu      **cho**  
 DEM 7-chair              PART  
 'That chair'
- c. **Achila** chi-tengu      **chila**  
 DEM 7-chair              PART  
 'That chair (over there)'

As these examples illustrate, the final element of the demonstrative particle changes in response to deixis. Thus, the final vowel is *-i* in proximal, *-o* in non-proximal, and *-la* in distal. It is also important to note that the utterances in the examples above may be accompanied by gestures such as pointing to specific entities intended by the speaker. Table 2 further illustrates these changes in other noun classes.

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<sup>4</sup>Derived from the verb *jasama* 'open a mouth'



Table 2

*Chiyao demonstrative particles in relation to noun classes and spatial dimensions*

Class	Prefix	Example	Gloss	demonstratives			particles		
				PROX	NON PROX	DIST	PROX	NON PROX	DIST
1	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mundu</i>	person	<i>aju</i>	<i>ajo</i>	<i>ajula</i>	<i>-ju</i>	<i>-jo</i>	<i>-jula</i>
2	<i>va-</i>	<i>vandu</i>	people	<i>ava</i>	<i>avo</i>	<i>avala</i>	<i>-va</i>	<i>-vo</i>	<i>-vala</i>
3	<i>m-</i>	<i>mteela</i>	tree	<i>awu</i>	<i>awo</i>	<i>awula</i>	<i>-wu</i>	<i>-wo</i>	<i>-wula</i>
4	<i>mi-</i>	<i>miteela</i>	trees	<i>aji</i>	<i>ajo</i>	<i>ajila</i>	<i>-ji</i>	<i>-jo</i>	<i>-jila</i>
5	<i>li-</i>	<i>lindanda</i>	egg	<i>ali</i>	<i>alyo</i>	<i>alila</i>	<i>-lo</i>	<i>-lyo</i>	<i>-lila</i>
6	<i>ma-</i>	<i>mandanda</i>	eggs	<i>aga</i>	<i>ago</i>	<i>agala</i>	<i>-ga</i>	<i>-go</i>	<i>-gala</i>
7	<i>chi-</i>	<i>chipuula</i>	knife	<i>achi</i>	<i>acho</i>	<i>achila</i>	<i>-chi</i>	<i>-cho</i>	<i>-chila</i>
8	<i>i-/y-</i>	<i>ipuula</i>	knives	<i>ayi</i>	<i>ayo</i>	<i>ayila</i>	<i>-yi</i>	<i>-yo</i>	<i>-yila</i>
9	<i>n</i>	<i>ndembo</i>	elephant	<i>aji</i>	<i>ajo</i>	<i>ajila</i>	<i>-ji</i>	<i>-jo</i>	<i>-jila</i>
10	<i>n</i>	<i>ndembo</i>	elephants	<i>asi</i>	<i>asyo</i>	<i>asila</i>	<i>-si</i>	<i>-syo</i>	<i>-sila</i>
11	<i>lu-</i>	<i>lusulo</i>	river	<i>alu</i>	<i>alo</i>	<i>alula</i>	<i>-lu</i>	<i>-lo</i>	<i>-lula</i>
12	<i>ka-</i>	<i>kajuni</i>	small bird	<i>aka</i>	<i>ako</i>	<i>akala</i>	<i>-ka</i>	<i>-ko</i>	<i>-kala</i>
13	<i>tu-</i>	<i>tujuni</i>	small birds	<i>atu</i>	<i>ato</i>	<i>atula</i>	<i>-tu</i>	<i>-to</i>	<i>-tula</i>
14	<i>u-</i>	<i>ukana</i>	liquor	<i>au</i>	<i>awo</i>	<i>awula</i>	<i>-wu</i>	<i>-wo</i>	<i>-wula</i>
15	<i>ku-</i>	<i>kulya</i>	eating	<i>aku</i>	<i>ako</i>	<i>akula</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>-ko</i>	<i>-kula</i>
16	<i>pa-</i>	<i>paasi</i>	down	<i>apa</i>	<i>apo</i>	<i>apala</i>	<i>-pa</i>	<i>-po</i>	<i>-pala</i>
17	<i>ku-</i>	<i>kumchiji</i>	left	<i>aku</i>	<i>ako</i>	<i>akula</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>-ko</i>	<i>-kula</i>
18	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mulisimbo</i>	inside the pit	<i>amu</i>	<i>amo</i>	<i>amula</i>	<i>-mu</i>	<i>-mo</i>	<i>-mula</i>

The extract in (13) below provides a contextual example of some of the demonstrative particles presented in Table 2 above.

- (13) . Ní kusigála kwaúsyá akalúnga avá avá, asungúla, “mmwé yéléyi mwaípatilé kwaapi?” Ni pâkuti “ngóógópa kúsáálá”,... Kwaakába pêpala ni pâkuti “nné, babá nganinaulâga. Ni vaatosile **au** ntéélá **au**, **aga** mâlifa **ga**, kutí **aju** mûndu **ju** ave jwánsíma.”

And they asked the hare, “where did you get these skills?” And he answered “I can’t tell you.” After persuading him for some time, he finally revealed, “I did not kill my father. He is the one who gave me **this** idea, **these** skills, so that **this** person should get healed.”

Three pairs of demonstrative particles are observable in the texts in (13) above: *au ... au*, *aga ... ga*, and *aju ... ju*. In all these examples, the demonstrate particles indicate a spatial relationship between the speaker, the hearer and the location of the event.

### Emotional role

Some particles in Chiyao function to express a speaker’s emotional response to a situation or event, such as surprise, anger and shock. Syntactically, they occur at the beginning of a clause and they are separated from the rest of a sentence by an intonation break. The table below presents common emotional particles in Chiyao and the feelings they convey.

**Table 3: Emotional particles and their feelings**

Particle	Feeling communicated
ku!	disapproval
ogwe!	surprise

maawo!	pain
ama!	shock
cha!	surprise or shock due to unusual size, shape, behaviour, etc.
ba!	reluctance
che!	despise
nyo!	anger

The extracts below illustrate the context of use of some of the emotional particles in Table 3 above.

(14) a. Puváiche kwiikwáta atá inyama íjávó yátójiimé kuti **áma!** vé vandu vá kwâvájíla syésila mbémbe sila.

When they arrived at the party, other animals were all surprised, **wow!** Those horns have fitted him very well.

b. Achínyama achínjao kuti **áma!** ányaámwe, jwéléjo mbóná yélêyí?.

His fellow animals were all surprised, “**gosh!** what’s happening to him?”.

These two extracts are from a traditional story in which there was a party to be attended by animals with horns. The hyena decided to make wooden horns in order to attend the party. The horns fitted him very well to the extent that even other animals were surprised to see an animal with such beautiful horns. As seen in line 1 of extract (14a), the particle *áma!* has been used to express the way these other animals were surprised at the hyena’s appearance.

As the plot of the story unfolds, it is shown in extract (14b) that as the sun shone, the hyena’s horns fell (because the glue he had used to fix them melted). This event again surprises other animals as expressed by the particle *áma!* in extract (14b).

More examples of emotional particles are illustrated in (15-18) below.

(15) **Ku!** ana mmwe mkwete lunda?  
 PART PART you have brain  
 ‘Are you really of sound mind?’

(16) **Ogwe!** tabiya jachi jelejo!  
 PART behaviour what that  
 ‘What sort of behaviour is that!’

(17) **Cha!** i-latu naambo!  
 PART 8-shoes but  
 ‘Oh my gosh, what strange shoes!’

(18) **Ba!** kundenda nne li-velu?  
 PART INF-make me 5-stupid  
 ‘Do you consider me stupid?’

In examples (15-18) above, some particles presented in Table 3 above are put in sentential context. The particle *ku* in (15) expresses the speaker’s feeling of disapproval of an act or behaviour of the addressee. It therefore expresses a negative feeling. And so is the particle *Ogwe* in (16). In example (17) the particle *cha* is used by the speaker to express his/her surprise over the shoes probably due to their strange or funny looking. The particle *ba* in (18) indicates the speaker’s realisation that someone was going to do something unpleasant to him and thus the speaker is reluctant to offer any further cooperation.

### Additive role

Additive particles are used to add information to the already provided information. The already provided information may just be implied, that is, it may not be overtly expressed in the same sentence but it is recoverable in context by the addressee. Three additive particles are operational in Chiyao: *ambano* 'now (that)', *noombe* 'also/too/as well', and *ni* 'and/so'. The examples below are illustrative.

- (19) **Ní** vátite **ambáno** pélépa tusose lípula lyá kúkándichila gé mavéngwa go. **Ní** vasósile lípula **ní** vapátile, **ní** kwaakándichilaga ambusánga vao.

**So** they said **now** we have to find some glue for fixing these horns. **So** he looked for some glue **and** he got it, **and** he fixed the horns on his friend's head.

- (20) Asungúla, kwá Chiyáo akúvítánjikwa akalúnga, babá vao nganivaulága. Váájile kwaasísa pâmbúgu **ní** kuujágá kumusi. Achínjáo kulólá kuti bilá sháka **nombe** vévala, vaauléje.

The hare did not kill his father. He just went to hide him in a cave **and** came back home. When his fellows saw him, they believed that he **too** had killed his father.

Texts (19) and (20) have both been extracted from the same story, the story of the hyena that fitted himself with fake horns in order to attend a party which was meant for animals with horns only. Text (19) begins with an additive particle *ní* which roughly translates into English 'so'/'therefore' since it is the result of a preceding (covert) discussion between the two dominant characters in the story, the hyena and the hare. The same text (line 1) makes use of the additive particle *ambáno* which signals addition of information as a solution to the existing challenge that the two characters in the story are facing. The additive particle *ní* 'and/so' again opens the second sentence of line 1 in the sense of the English subordinate conjunction 'so', but appears again in line 2 of the same text in the contexts equivalent to the English conjunction 'and'. It appears that the additive particle *ní* triggers slightly different semantic interpretations depending on its placement in the sentence. When it occurs sentence initially, it introduces a result or a conclusion of some preceding events, and when it occurs in a compound sentence, it introduces more events performed by the same subject. On the other hand, the additive particle *ambáno* introduces a solution.

The additive particle *nombe* in line 2 of text (19) has an adverbial reading equivalent to the English adverb 'also/too/as well'. It also indicates addition.

Additive particles have also been studied in Kinande where they have been observed to exist in two types, namely *na* and *naye*, each occurring in a different syntactic slot (Schneider-Zioga, 2015). While *na* precedes the noun it occurs with, *naye* follows the noun, as shown in the examples below.

- (21) a. [**na** Kambale]                      mwahikere  
          and 1Kambale                      Aff.1.arrived  
          'Also KAMBALE arrived.'
- b. [Kambale]            [**na-ye**]                      mwahikere  
          1Kambale            and-3s                      Aff.1.arrived  
          'KAMBALE, too, arrived.'

(Kinande, Schneider-Zioga, 2015:254)

### Contrast role

Contrast particles perform the functions equivalent to the English contrast conjunctions ‘but’, ‘however’, and ‘although’. The findings establish that there is only one contrast particle in Chiyao, the particle *naambo* ‘but/however/although.’ This particle occurs clause initially, as illustrated in (22) below.

- (22) a. Kalibú na vélé amfálme wo, m-ka-li-kopósye li-koswé lyo,  
 near with that king that 1SM-FUT-5OM-remove 5-rat that
- naambó** m-gojí m-ka-kamúle.  
 PART 3-rope 1SM-FUT-hold.PERF  
 Near that King, you should release the rat, **however**, you should hold the rope.

- b. **Naambó** kú-musi asungúla a-á-tánjile alitúnu kuti  
 PART 17Loc-home hare SM-PST-tell.PERF hyena that  
 ambusânga, ali lí-púla.  
 friend this is 5-glue  
**But** at home, the hare had told the hyena that this is glue.

The texts in (22) are extracted from a traditional story in which animals agreed to kill all their elder siblings so that they (young animals) could live freely. The hare, who happened to be so clever, did not kill his father. When the young king who was appointed from among the young animals after all elders had been killed falls sick, it is the hare’s father who offers medication for the king. The text in (22a) captures some prescriptions that the hare’s father tells his son what to do to rescue the king. The particle *naambó* has been used to contrast the information said in the second part of the sentence from the first part. Similarly, in (22b) *naambó* has been used to introduce information that contrasts with the implied preceding information.

### Summary and Conclusion

The foregoing analysis has established three major issues in relation to particles in Chiyao, namely the environment of occurrence, scope of interpretation, and communicative role. Regarding the occurrence, the analysis has indicated that particles in Chiyao can occur in three major types of environment: within the NP (e.g. interrogative particles, demonstrative particles, and exclusion particles), within the VP (e.g. interrogative particles, exclusion particles, and negative particles), and in pre-sentential position (e.g. emotional particles, additive particles, and contrast particles). Concerning the scope of interpretation, the analysis has established that particles that occur within the NP have their scope of interpretation limited to the NP while those that occur as part of the VP have their meaning apply to the entire sentence. This is because a verb is the basic unit of a sentence. As for the communicative role, it has been shown that the Chiyao particles performs a number of significant roles, including emphatic roles, such as emphasising negation; and exclusive roles, that is, to single out some elements within a clause from the rest of a clause in order to show focus. The analysis has further indicated that particles are also used to signal interrogation - warning the hearer that what follows is a question, and for anaphoric purposes whereby the speaker maintains the addressee’s attention by referring him/her back to the earlier mentioned entity/subject. Moreover, particles in Chiyao indicate deixis as well as emotions such as surprise, anger, disapproval and shock. Finally, particles indicate contrast and addition, with the added information either being resulting or conclusive. Table 4 summarizes the environment of occurrence, scope of interpretation, and communicative role of particles in Chiyao.

Table 4

*Environment of occurrence, scope of interpretation and communicative role of particles in Chiyao*

	Type of particle	Environment of occurrence	Scope of interpretation	Communicative role
1	Interrogative particles	NP; VP	Sentence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attention calling</li> <li>• Introducing a question</li> </ul>
2	Exclusive particles	NP; VP	NP; VP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To single out some elements of a clause</li> </ul>
3	Negative particles	VP	Sentence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emphasising negation</li> </ul>
4	Locative particles	NP	NP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anaphoric reference</li> </ul>
5	Demonstrative particles	NP	NP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Deictic reference</li> </ul>
6	Emotional	Pre-sentential	Sentence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Evoke speaker's feelings</li> </ul>
7	Additive particle	Pre-sentential	Sentence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Addition of information</li> </ul>
8	Contrast particles	Pre-sentential	Sentence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marking contrast</li> </ul>

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