

Ideophones and interjections: Workshop introduction

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Outline

- Context: increasing interest in what have traditionally be seen as marginal categories, as they are useful in redefining the boundaries of what is language
- Ideophones: state of the start, research questions, a couple of examples from Nepal
- Interjections: state of the start, a couple of examples from Ethiopia, research questions
- Why bring these two categories together?

Ideophones

Ideophones

- State of the art

- intense increase in recent activity surrounding ideophone research
- Some bibliographical milestones in the typology of ideophones:
 - Hinton, Nichols & Ohala eds (1994) on sound symbolism
 - Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz eds (2001) on ideophones

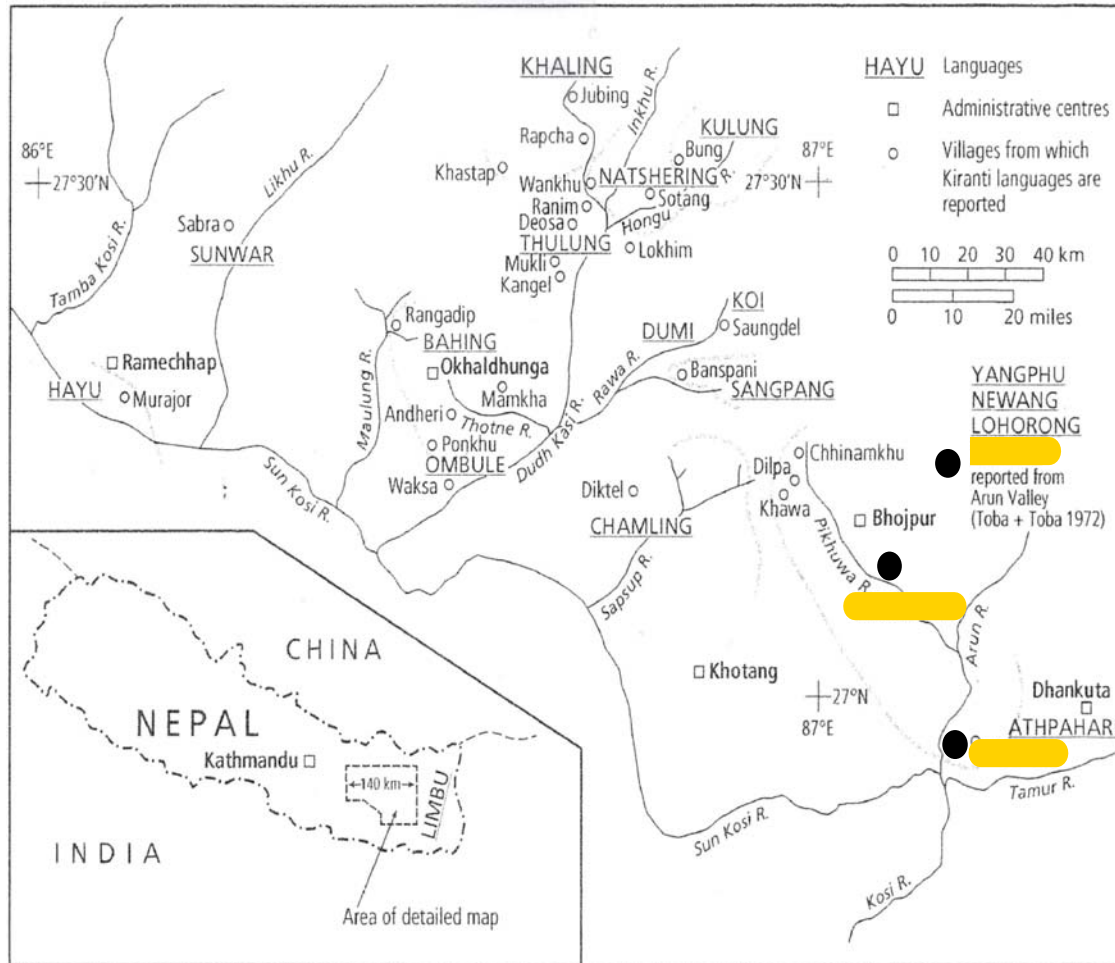
- Dingemanse (2012): implicational hierarchy

sound < movement < visual patterns < other sensory perceptions < inner feelings and cognitive states

- Dingemanse (2018). Redrawing the margins of language (retraces history of work on ideophones)
- Haiman (2018). Ideophones and the evolution of languages
- Akita & Pardeshi eds (2019). Ideophones, mimetics and expressives

- Research questions
 - Definitional issues and tension between language-specific and comparative concept:
 - “marked words that depict sensory imagery” (Dingemanse 2012: 655)
 - revised in 2019 to “member of an open lexical class of marked words that depict sensory imagery” (Dingemanse 2019: 16)
 - Question of reduplication as definitional characteristic ? (Haiman suggests so; Dingemanse provides evidence to the contrary)
 - Semantic categories: Dingemanse hierarchy is not language specific; how useful for individual languages?
 - Areal distribution and spread of ideophones
 - Questions of description: Accounting for the absence of ideophones in grammatical descriptions
 - Language-internal variability affects presence of ideophones
 - Role of grammaticographical model on what is omitted from description
 - Methodological questions
 - Collecting data that takes into account gesture/other modalities

Distribution of descriptions of ideophones in languages of Eastern Nepal



Ideophones in Thulung

-Work on ideophones in neighbouring Khaling (Lahaussais 2017)

-In Thulung, very similar types of ideophones

3 types

Type 1

CV, CVŋ, CVp, CVr ,CVCV (*puli, piri, səle, tshoko, khotse*)

Associated with a single verb: set collocations of IDEO + V

Cannot occur with negated verbs

Meaning always +/- 'suddenly', 'forcefully'

No derivation possible

No obvious lexical sources

Source: A. Lahaussais's Thulung field data

Type 2

CV_1-CV_1 ; $CV_1CV_1- CV_1CV_1$

Involves total reduplication

Can take derivational suffix *-ja* (>ADV) or *-m* (>NMLZ)

Have specific meanings

(Color terms are of this type)

Source: A. Lahaussois's Thulung field data

khurukhuru	mi-dzəpa	lapdi	mi-lʌk-tsi	dzəpa	lapdi	lʌk-tsi
continuously	NEG-good	road	NEG-go-2DU	good	road	go-2DU
khrekhre-ja	be-pa	lapdi	mi-lʌk-tsi			
bumpy-ADV	do-PTCP	road	NEG-go-2DU			
plʌplʌ-ja	be-pa	lapdi	lʌk-tsi			
smooth-ADV	do-PTCP	road	go-2DU			

'Do not go **continuously** on the bad road, go on the good road, do not go on the **bumpy** road, go on the **smooth** road'

Source: A. Lahaussois's Thulung field data

Type 3

$C_1V_1C_2V_1C_2V_1(C_2V_1)\dots$

Involves partial reduplication (and can be lengthened for dramatic effect)

Can take derivational suffix *-maks* (>ADV)

Have specific meanings

Source: A. Lahaussois's Thulung field data

tsiri-maksi	khreṭ-d̥-lo	ne	mertsip-ka	me	se:r
biting.by.small.insect-ADV	bite-3SG>3SG.PST-SEQ	TOP	3DU-ERG	DEM	louse
tsəm-tsi					
crush-3DU>3SG.PST					

When [**the louse**] **bit**, they crushed that louse

Earlier in text, found as *tsiriririri-maksi* (referring to a flea's bite): extra reduplicated syllables for dramatic effect; also possible that difference is related to smaller size of flea vs louse

Source: A. Lahaussois's Thulung field data

u-sem	ne	telelelele	thɯs-tɯ
3SG.POSS-hair	TOP	so.long	pull-3SG>3SG.PST
He pulled his hair so, so long.			

Source: A. Lahaussois's Thulung field data

3 types found in Thulung and their semantics, morphology, phonotactics are very close to neighboring Khaling

Many fewer ideophones found in Thulung

Comparable corpus of Thulung, Khaling (and Koyi) reveals many more ideophones for Khaling than Thulung (about 2:1, consistently across different speakers); none found in Koyi

With Khaling, elicitation work on ideophones somehow triggered their use--perhaps community realized this was interesting to me and felt more comfortable using them.

No elicitation carried out yet in Thulung...

Source: A. Lahaussois's Thulung field data

Interjections

Interjections: Grammaticography (I)

- Interjections as “non-words”, marginal words
- See the summary on interjections in the history of linguistics in Ameka (1992); Ashdowne (2008) on the emergence of the category of interjection in ancient theories of grammar
- Case study descriptions of 12 languages of Nepal: Lahaussis (2016) ‘Where have all the interjections gone?’
 - Dedicated interjection section (2)
 - Interjection mentioned but no section (1)
 - Interjection only in list of abbreviations or glossary (6)
 - No interjection (3)

Interjections: Grammaticography (II)

- Case study descriptions of 8 Highland East Cushitic languages (7 with grammars or grammar sketches)
 - Dedicated section:
K'abeena (Crass 2005)
 - Brief dedicated section:
Sidaama [but: interjections in DIC]
Gedeo [but: interjections in DIC]
Kambaata
 - No info at all (no hit for INTJ, interjection, expressive, etc.):
Hadiyya, Alaaba, Burji

Interjections: Features associated with them

- Syntactic autonomy
 - > Usually means: constitute utterances by themselves, extraclausal, syntactically peripheral
 - > Often also means: do not have no arguments or other dependents, (Ameka 1992:) “do not normally enter into construction with other word classes” (but see e.g. Höder’s presentation)
- Context-boundedness, situational relevance, indexicality
- Interjections as “affect bursts” (Scherer 1994)
- Morphological invariance
 - Synchronically, but may of course have developed from inflected elements; see e.g. French *tiens!* (expression of surprise)
- Phonological marginality
 - E.g. German *psst!* ‘Hey you!’
- Phonosymbolism
 - E.g. *sssh* ‘Be quiet!’
- Separate intonation unit

Determining the boundaries of the category interjection

- Interjections vs. interjectional phrases vs. formulae/routines
 - Ameka's (1992) = distinction between primary and secondary interjections; secondary INTJ = forms belonging to other word classes, but conventionally occurring by themselves as one-word utterances expressing a mental attitude/state, e.g. *Heavens! Damn!*
 - Ameka's "interjectional phrases" = multi-word, e.g. *Dear me! My Goodness!*
 - Ameka's "formulae/routines" = conventionalized prepatterned utterances in standard communication situations, e.g. *thank you* [not clearly distinguishable from INTJ phrases]
- Interjections vs. "particles"
 - Difference in syntactic autonomy

Interjections: Proposed typologies

- Ameka (1992)'s typology of interjections: classification based on communicative function
 - Expressive (speaker's mental, emotional state)
 - Emotive, e.g. *Yuk!* (Disgust)
 - Cognitive, e.g. *aha!* (Understanding)
 - Conative (directive, speaker's wishes), e.g. *sh!* 'Be quiet!'
 - Phatic (establishment + maintenance of contact), e.g. *uh-huh* (backchanneling)
- Ponsonnet (2019 forthc.): Ameka's 3 + 2 new categories with relevance in Australian languages
 - Constative (speaker describing a situation that they face), e.g. 'there it comes'
 - Social (softening of interactions), e.g. for greetings, thanks, apologies

Interjections: Case study Kambaata (I)

- Interjections as a word class: morphosyntactic criteria
 - Morphologically invariant, can constitute a sentence on their own (unlike discourse particles), do not occur with light verbs (unlike ideophones)
 - Lexically determined stress (like other morphologically invariant word classes)
- Difficulties of categorization:
 - Where to draw the line between primary and secondary interjections, interjectional phrases, formulae?
 - Where do interjections end and where do verbs begin? See imperative-only verbs.
- Difficulties of fitting the data into existing typologies
- “Interjectional” constructions: govern arguments

Interjections: Case study Kambaata (II)

- Imperativum tantum vs. interjection
- Animal-directed communication: morphologically invariant forms

Interjections: Case study Kambaata (II)

‘come’

- *lúk-lúk-lúk* (for hens)
- *hurrú / húrr / azúrr* (for cats)
- *tí-tí-tí* (for dogs)
- *chí-chí-chí* (for sheep and goats)
- *síbu-síbu* (for small goats)
- *kulúl-kulúl* (for donkeys)
- *émba-émba* (for calves)
- *mác* (for mule)
- *hóq* (for horse, mule)
- *míu* (for wild animal e.g. hyena, leopard)

other animal directed imperatives

- *sú* ‘catch’ (for dog)
- *háa* ‘stay calm’ (for cattle)
- *ushshá* ‘stop’ (for donkey)

‘go’

- *hág* (for donkeys)
- *ár ~ síb* (for sheep, goats)
- *síf ~ sík* (for small goat)
- *chif* (for cats)
- *kút* (for chicken)
- *tá* (for cows)
- *bórt* (for bulls)
- *tích* (for calves)
- *bót* (for young bulls)
- *ách* (for big cattle)
- *tulum* (for heifer)
- *hirká* ‘go into the cattle pen’ (for cattle)
- *fúl* (for dogs, out of the house), *píy* (away)
- *píy* (for wild animal)
- *zúr* (for horse, mule)
- *cháí* (for mule)

Interjections: Case study Kambaata (II)

- Imperativum tantum vs. interjection
- Animal-directed communication: morphologically invariant forms
- 5 imperatives only inflected for 2s and 2p:
immediate situational relevance, can govern DO, but cannot combine with anything else, e.g. not together with temporal adverbials
 - *ám-[i]* (s) – *ammé* (p), often *kabá ám-[i]* (s) – *ammé* (p) ‘Come here (for an instant)!’
 - *ī* (s) – *iyyé* (p) ‘Take (what I have in my hands)!’
 - *mée* (s) – *meeyé* (p) ‘Give (to me what you have in your hands, with you)!’
 - *ashshám-[i]* (s) – *ashshammé* (p) (Greeting to people working) ‘Keep up the spirit!’ (French: Bon courage!)
 - *kárag-[i]* (s) – *káragge* (p) ‘Listen up, pay attention!’

Interjections: Case study Kambaata (III)

Some Kambaata interjections can govern dative, accusative, vocative arguments [?].

Also note that some interjections allow pronominal objects (e.g. 2sO) that are otherwise found on verbs.

	Case of “argument”	
<i>áayye ~ aayyée</i>	+ VOC or DAT + <i>áayye áte</i> (2sVOC) ‘Poor you’	Pain, regret, sorrow, grief
<i>hashshú</i>	+ VOC <i>hashshú áne</i> (1sVOC) ‘I am happy (for you, for someone else)’	Congratulation
<i>háy</i>	+ VOC <i>háy áne</i> (1sVOC) ‘Poor me’	Regret
<i>hayyá</i>	+ ACC <i>hayyá baajaamíta</i> (fACC) ‘Bravo (to) the girl!’	Blessing, praise
<i>hechchó</i>	+ DAT <i>hechchó kesáa</i> (2sDAT) ~ <i>heechchó-he</i> (-2sO) ‘(I) bow to you’	Submission
<i>hoogé</i>	+ VOC <i>hoogé áne</i> (1sVOC) ‘I am sorry (for a loss of s.th/s.o.)’	Sorrow
<i>hóola</i>	+ DAT <i>hóola kesáa</i> (2sDAT) ~ <i>hóola-he</i> (-2sO) ‘You surprise me!’ <i>hóola Maganii</i> (mDAT) ‘God surprises me!’	Surprise
<i>shíinch</i>	ACC + <i>baxará</i> (mACC) <i>shíinsh!</i> ‘Let the smallpox stay away!’	Defense

Interjections: Open questions

- Research questions
 - Origin and areal spread of interjections
 - Semantic sub-categories
- Methodological questions
 - Corpora of naturalistic language
 - Which stimuli for research on interjections?
- Questions of description
 - Integrating interjections into grammar
- Bridging the gap: from descriptions of interjections in individual languages to cross-linguistic research

Characteristics of both ideophones and interjections

Why did we bring ideophones and interjections together in this workshop?

- Long-standing debates about whether they constitute word classes
- Phonological “marginality”
- Morphological invariance
- Affective/expressive functions
- Translation difficulties
- More commonly found in lower registers of language
- At boundary of arbitrary vs. iconic language
- Thought to be linked to language evolution
- Unclear diachronic connection with prosaic language

References

References of in-line citations above.

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Questionnaire from the workshop proposal

The workshop will address the following questions from the perspective of language-specific and cross-linguistic analysis.

- **TYPOLGY:** How can one proceed from language-specific to cross-linguistic definitions of “interjection” and “ideophone”? What formal, semantic and pragmatic criteria can be used to compare interjections and ideophones across languages?
- **CATEGORIZATION:** Where are the boundaries between ideophones and adverbs, interjections and ideophones, interjections and fixed expressions, interjections and “imperativa tanta” etc.?
- **MORPHOLOGY:** In which languages do we find productive processes for the formation of ideophones on the basis of elements from other word classes? What derivational processes can interjections and ideophones be the input for?
- **PROSODY:** What are characteristic features of the word prosody and the prosodic integration of ideophones and interjections in individual languages and cross-linguistically?
- **SEMANTICS:** What are the semantic domains expressed by interjections and ideophones? When interjections and ideophones occur in grammars, it is often in the form of lists, divided into semantic sub-classes: are other configurations for their description possible?
- **DIACHRONY:** What are the lexical or syntagmatic origins of interjections across languages? What are possible origins of ideophones (onomatopoeia, loans etc.)?
- **AREALITY:** How do interjections and ideophones spread across language boundaries or within a linguistic area? Are there phono-symbolic patterns that are characteristic of specific linguistic areas? In which linguistic areas do we find similarly elaborated systems of interjections (e.g. interjections for different types of work, domestic animals)?
- **MULTIMODALITY:** Which co-verbal gestures are associated with ideophones and interjections?
- **METHODOLOGY / TOOLS FOR DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS:** What types of linguistic data most frequently yield interjections and ideophones? Are there differences in frequency between certain linguistic genres (narratives, poetry, prayers, eulogies...) and everyday language? Which (non-)verbal stimuli can be used to trigger the use of interjections and ideophones and to help us capture their meaning?
- **HISTORIOGRAPHY:** How have interjections and ideophones typically been defined and described in research traditions of certain areas, language branches, families?
- [to be added to the list] **INTERSPEAKER VARIABILITY:** How conventionalized are interjections and ideophones? Do they display higher interspeaker variation than members of other word classes?

The full workshop proposal is available here: <http://sle2019.eu/downloads/workshops/WS%208%20Ideophones%20and%20Interjections.pdf>

Workshop programme

- 9h30-10h00: Steffen Höder – on Scandinavian interjections
 - [10-11h00 Plenary]
 - [11h00-11h30 Coffee break]
- 11h30-12h00 Paulette Roulon-Doko – on Gbaya (Ubangi) interjections
- 12h00-12h30 Amy Pei-Jung Lee – on ideophones and interjections in Paiwan + Seediq (Austronesian)
- 12h30-13h00 Martine Vanhove & Guillaume Segerer – on colour ideophones in Africa
 - [13h00-14h00 Lunch break]
- 14h00-14h30 Chiara Truppi & Patrícia Costa – on ideophones in Portuguese creoles
- 14h30-15h00 Ronny Meyer – on Amharic ideophones
- 15h00-15h30 Nicolas Quint & N.-B. Biagui – on ideophones in Portuguese creoles
 - [15h30-16h00 Coffee break]
- 16h00-16h30 F. Rose, M.-L. Fillon, J. Krzonowski & M.-L. Fillon – on Teko (Tupi-Guarani) ideophones
- 16h30-17h00 Mark Dingemanse – discussion
- 17h00-17h30 Closing discussion