PRONOMINAL AND ADPOSITIONALCLITICS IN KABIYƐ VERBS

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ABSTRACT

The internal structure of Kabɪyɛ verb becomes complex when it comes to realize its time-aspect-mood (TAM) morphology which bestows a wide range of affixes on the verb. It becomes much more complicated at the level of morphosyntax where the verb appears in larger lingistic units (phrases, clauses or sentences) and interacts with some particular lexical units (clitics) which attach to it and thus depend on it. It comes out that both the affixes and clitics depend on verbs and are therefore open to misinterpretation. To clear away that confusion, this study has been carried out on the basis of two theories: dependency grammar and clitic movement theory. The data are gathered from documentary sources as well as from native Kabɪyɛ speakers, and analyzed in the perspectives of descriptive and segmentation methods. The results show that affixes and clitics are different because the former are intrinsically linked to the verb whereas the latter just lean to it but with well-defined semantic functions. They play different roles too. Another finding is that there are three positional clitics in the language, that is, proclitics, mesoclitics and enclitics, whose climbing and doubling phenomena have an important semantic influence.

Key words:cliticization, proclitic, enclitic, concatenation, clitic climbing

RESUME

La structure interne du verbe kabɪyɛ devient complexe lorsqu'il s'agit d'effectuer sa morphologie de temps-aspect-mode (TAM) qui confère au verbe une grand variété d'affixes. Elle devient beaucoup plus complexe quand le verbe apparait dans deplus grandes unités linguistiques (syntagmes, propositions et phrases) et interagit avec certaines unités lexicales particulières (les clitiques) dont il constitue un appui. Il s'avère donc que les affixes et les clitiques prêtent à confusion puisque tous les deux dépendent des verbes. Pour dissiper cette confusion, cette étude est réalisée sur la base de deux cadres théoriques qui sont la théorie de la grammaire de la dépendance et celle du mouvement des clitiques. Les données recueillies à partir des sources documentaires ainsi que des locuteurs natifs dukabɪyɛ sont analysées dans les perspectives des méthodes descriptives et de segmentation. Les résultats montrent que les affixes et les clitics sont différents car les premiers sont intrinsèquement liés au verbe alors que les seconds ne font que s'y adosser mais avec des fonctions sémantiques bien déterminées. Ils jouent aussi des rôles différents. L'autre découverte est qu'il y a trois types de clitiques dans la langue selon leur positionnement, à savoir les proclitiques, les mésoclitiques et les enclitiques dont les phénomènes d'escalade et de réduplication ont une influence sémantique importante.

Mots clés:cliticisation, proclitique, enclitique, concaténation, ascension clitique

For an easy reading and a better understanding of this paper, the different abbreviations and symbols used throughout the work are defined below.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED

Acc	accomplished	1Sg	first person singular
AccNeg	accomplished negative	2Sg	second person singular
Ant	anteriority	3Sg	third person singular
Imp	imperative	1Pl	first person plural
Imperf	imperfective	2Pl	second person plural
Inf:	infinitive	3Pl	third person plural
Neg	negative	>	leads to/becomes
Neg Imp	negative imperative	<	derives from
Obj	Object	*	ungrammatical or unacceptable
Sbj	Subject	^	links two glosses representing a
Unacc	unaccomplished		complex but non segmentable grammatical form

INTRODUCTION

Kabıyɛ is an Eastern Gur language spoken in northern Tog**o**. Various linguistic studies have been carried out by many scholars on this language, providing a large and rich literature on many of its aspects. Scholars such as Kassan (1996), Lébikaza (1999), etc., who have carried out researches on the Kabıyɛ verb have agreed on the complexity of the morphology of the verb in that language. Of course, their position about the complexity of Kabıyɛ verb morphology is tenable and can be accounted for by the fact that in its various forms (infinitive, accomplished, unaccomplished, affirmative, negative, etc.), the verb in that language is proven to be highly inflected with a large range of affixes, namely suffixes. That complexity is even more accentuated when the verb receives clitics in addition to affixes. This process of attaching these components to verbs is known as cliticization. It is an important morphological process which, to the best of the explored documentation, seems not to have been approached by any former scholar in Kabıyɛ. This study is thus a groundbreaking piece of research whose aim is to exploreand highlight the cliticizing mechanism of the Kabıyɛ language and to dispel the confusion between its clitical and affixal morphemes. To reach that objective, the following question is worth askingand deserves to be granted a particular attention: "Do Kabıyɛ affixes and clitics belong to the same class of units?" This research question helps to put forward the following hypotheses: "Kabıyɛaffixal and clitical morphemes are the same"; "Kabıyɛ affixes and clitics are different ". The data analysis will help confirm or reject these hypotheses, and decide whether Kabıyɛ is a cliticizing language.

This work is divided in sections as follows. The first section develops the theoretical framework and the methodological approach on which the study is grounded. The second section is devoted to Kabıyɛ verbs and their classification, as they are the elements targeted by cliticization.In the third section,some Kabıyɛ affixes and the clitics attaching to verbs are approached to show the difference

between the two classes of morphemes. Clitic movement determined by the new position ofcliticswith regard to the verb, on the one hand, and their concatenation on the other hand, are also discussed in this section. The fourth section addresses the semantic implications of some phenomena and some of the clitics under study. The fifth section presents the results of the research and the sixth section which is discussion focuses on the interpretation of the findings yielded by the analysis. This makes way for future perspectives that are subsumed in the conclusion.

1. Theoretical framework and methodological approach

1.1. Theoretical framework

The work is situated within the general theory of dependency grammar as developed in morphosyntacticanalyses of clitics by Somesfalean (2007: 25) who provided the definitional clarification of the term clitic as follows: "The etymology of the word itself (from the Greek *klinein*'to lean') is indicative of the fact that before all other characteristics, what identifies a cliticis its dependency on other elements (related semantically or not)". In the same thought, Crystal (2008), another advocate of the theory, defines clitic as "a term used in grammar to refer to a form which resembles a word, but which cannot stand on its own as a normal utterance, being phonologically dependent upon a neighbouring word (its host) in a construction." Trask (1996), Crystal (ibid) and Din (2013) identify different types of clitics according to their positioning with regard to their host. The first two scholars, Trask and Crystal, distinguish between proclitics which are clitics placed before their host, and enclitics that are positioned after their host. For Din (ibid), there are two more classes of clitics: mesoclitics which appear between the stem of the host word and other affixes, then endoclitics whichare inserted inside the host rootstem by splitting the root stem into semantically deficient parts. In the same thought, Ourso (2012) argues that such clitics behave exactly like infixes by dividing the base of the host word in two parts, and then inserting between those parts.

We can say that the dependency theory, ás displayed is an appropriate framework for this study because most of theabove definitions that give information about its foundations fit properly Kabıyɛclitics. It is nevertheless worth pointing out that if some languages like Pashto allow all the four types of clitics (Din, ibid), endoclicization does not operate in Kabıyɛ.

Based also on the copy theory of movement of clitics, this study is inspired by the works of Villa-García (2019),Fiéis, Madeira, and Xavier (2013), Din (ibid) and Szczegielniak (1995) which broadly discussedclitics mechanisms in different labguages like Spanish, Arabic, Portuguese, etc. In this theory, as developed by the aforementioned researchers, clitic movement is a phenomenon dubbed clitic

climbing or clitic rising, and the overarching argument is that this phenomenon occurswhen a clitic happens to change position in a sentence. Another phenomenon is clitic doubling or reduolication which occurs when a clitic is used despite the existence of an element which has the same meaning and function in the same clause. The two phenomena occur also in Kabɪyɛ. But when syntactically, Spanish prohibits contiguous identical clitics (Villa-García, ibid), that structure is allowed in Kabɪyɛ such as in *ma᷄ ma᷄ lában* 'me, I have done'. Furthermore, there is no different semantic meaning in sentences after pronominal clitics climbing in Spanish, but in Kabɪyɛ, there is profound semantic implication when a pronominal clitic moves from its initial position to another.

This theoretical framework cannot be concluded without making reference to morphology and syntax which are the core linguistic braches within which the cliticization phenomenon is more rooted. Whether in dependency approach or clitic movement approach, semantics is much influential and actively brought into play in the analysis.

1.2. Methodological approach

The data that have served as raw material for this study are gathered from documentary sources as well as from native Kabɪyɛ speakers. The technique of analysis is the descriptive method. This consists in finding out what the different clitics in Kabɪyɛ look likeand how they behave. The approach is thus concerned with presenting facts as they are.Another analytical method is segmentation of larger units (words, phrases, clauses and sentences) into different smaller components (morphemes) separated by hyphens which show clearly the boundaries betweenstems and dependent morphemes (clitics in particular). Now, it should be known thatKabɪyɛ is a tonal language; so, for an easy reading of this work, the high tone is marked by an acute (´) placed over vowels and some nasals. The low tone is unmarked. So the vowels and nasals which do not have any symbol over them carry a low tone. Furthermore, to make readers understand this study, the analyzed data undergo interlinear translation or interlinear gloss before the gloss itself is provided underneath.

2. Kabɪyɛ verbs

Contrarily tolanguages and particularly in Indo-European languages where verbs may begin with either a vowel or a consonant, all Kabɪyɛ verbstems, as it is the case with Pashto, one of the Afghan languages (Din, 2013), begin with consonants. Moreover, Kabɪyɛ verbs are classified in different groups as can be seen in the following sub-section.

2.1. Classification of Kabıyɛ verbs

In different languages, verbs are classified according to different criteria. For example, in German, as Richter and van Hout (2016) point out, and in Kiswahili, as shown byLusekelo (2015), semantic properties of verbs are a criterion for their classification. In English, the classification of verbs as regular or irregular is based on the inflectional markers implying the addition of the morphemes -d or -ed for regular verbs, and on the verb morphophonemic change for the irregular ones (Arief,2016). The classification of French verbs is based on the morphology of their infinitive even though the verbs ending in -ir pose some difficulties to non-native speakers (Nouveau, 2017). In Kabıyɛ too verbs can be classified in three groups according to the morphology of their infinitive forms. We have verbs ending in -u, those ending in -ʋ and the last group whose ending is -m. The three endings are suffixal morphemes marking the infinitive forms of verbs in Kabıyɛ.

2.1.1. Verbs ending in -u

(1) a- lúbu < /lib-u/   "to forge"   e- téú < /té-ú/   "to sing"
    b- tolúu < /toli-u/ "to get lost"   f- ʈuúu < /ʈuú-u/ "to swear"
    c- kóú < /kó-ú/ "to shout"   g- kizíu <   /kizí-u/"to refuse"
    d- sókuu< /sóku-u "to meddle"

In this category of verbs, the morpheme -u marking the infinitive is a +ATR vowel and harmonizes with the vowel of the verbal base which is also +ATR.

2.1.2. Verbs ending in -ʋ

(2) a- lʋ́bʋ   <   /lʋ́b-ʋ/   "to struggle "   e- ʈɛ́ʋ́ < /ʈɛ́-ʋ́/   "to leave"
    b- mʋ́-ʋ́ < /mʋ́-ʋ́/   "to suck"   f- nɪʋ́ < /nɪ́-ʋ́   "to understand"
    c- tɛyʋ́ʋ< /tɛyʋ́-ʋ/   "to share"   g- hɪʋ́ < /hɪ́-ʋ́/   "to urinate"
    d- kpáʋ < /kpá-ʋ/   "to go up/climb"

In this category too, the infinitive morpheme -ʋ is a vowel carrying –ATR feature and falls in harmony with the vowels of the verb root.

2.1.3. Verbs ending in -m

(3) a- kɔ́m < /kɔ́-m/ "to come"   e- kpém < /kpé-m/ "to go home"
    b- tím   < /tí-m/   "to fell"   f- kʋ́m   <   /kʋ́-m/   "to cut (straw)"
    c- ním< /ní-m/   "to scorn"   g- sú-m < /sú-m/ "to shut up"
    d- sám< /sá-m/   "to praise"

Here, the morpheme -m, being a consonant, does not need any harmony but it rather goes naturally with the two harmonic groups of vowels.

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In the above list of verbs, the dash (-) represents the morphemic limit between the verb root and the infinitive marker which is *u*, *v* or *m*. This means that in surface structure (phonetically), the infinitive verbs in (1), (2) and (3) above are the forms written without slashes.

3. Affixation and cliticization in Kabıyɛ verbs

Kabıyɛ is an affixing language because it largely expresses grammatical relations through the use of affixes. It is also a cliticizing language in that it uses clitics in many constructions as well.

3.1. Affixation in Kabıyɛ verbs

The affixation process is so productive in Kabıyɛ verbs. To see clearly some of the many affixes that attach to verbs, we consider the verb paradigms in (4) below.

(4)	**Verbroot**	ná-	se-	lı-	kɔ-
a-	**Inf**	ná-ʋ	sé-u	lí-ʋ́	kɔ́-m
b-	**Unacc**	ná-ɣ	sé-ɣ	lí-ʋ	kɔ́-ŋ
c-	**Acc**	na-á	se-wá lı-wá		kɔ-m-á
d-	**Imperf**	ná-waɣ sé-waɣ	lı-waɣ́		kɔ-ŋ-gaɣ́
e-	**Ant**	ka-na-á	ki-se-wá	kı-lı-wá	kɔ-kɔ-m-á
f-	**AccNeg**	ta-ná	ti-sé	tı-lí-ı	tɔ-kɔ́-ɔ
g-	**NegImp**	taa-ná	taa-sé taa-lí-ı	taa-kɔ́-ɔ	
	Gloss	"see"	"run"	"go out"	"come"

The above data display four examples of verbs in which the morphemes that attach to them from the infinitive to the imperfective (4a - 4d), are suffixes. In the anteriority (4e), accomplished negative (4f) and negative imperative (4g), both prefixes and suffixes attach to the verb root. None of those morphemes from (4a) to (4g) can appear in isolation as lexical units with semantic meaning.

3.2. Cliticization in Kabıyɛ verbs

To approach efficiently this subsection, it would be necessary to enlighten first what a clitic is, then talk of the different types of clitics before seeing which ones apply to verbs in Kabıyɛ. Therefore, a clitic is a morpheme which is neither an independent word, but looks like it nor a morphological affix, but which depends phonologically on a neighboring word, its host (Crystal, 2008; Din, 2013). In that sense, Din (ibid) distinguishes four types of clitics (Cf. 1.1).As stated previously, Kabıyɛ makes use of clitics in the construction of some grammatical categories and syntactic structures. The present study is inspired by the work of Schiering (2006, p. 22) who talks about the attachment properties of Romance pronominal clitics,

and particularly of the Catalan pronominal object clitics which are enclitic to infinitives, gerunds and positive imperatives, and proclitic to other forms of verbs. So, in this study, the grammatical category to which clitics attach is the category of verbs.Two types of clitics are going to be addressed: the pronominal clitics and the adpositionalclitics.Now an important point to raise is hat among the four processes that are described above, endocliticization or endoclisis does not occur in Kabıyɛ, let alone in the verbs of that language. Therefore the remaining three processes, proclisis, mesoclisis and enclisis, are going to be discussed.But before approaching them, it is worth listing out the pronouns and adpositions that are susceptible to be clitics in Kabıyɛ.

3.2.1. Pronominal clitics

The pronouns that are concerned in this study are the subject and object personal pronouns that are enclosed in Chart I, the reflexive pronouns which derive from the pronouns *tı*"oneself", as well as the reciprocity pronoun *ţama*́ "each other/one another.

Chart I: Subject and object personal pronouns

	Subject		Object	
1Sg	ma	"I"	má > m	"me"
2Sg	ɲá/ɲɛ́	"you" (Sg)	ɲá/ɲɛ́ > ŋ	"you"
3Sg	ɛ	"he/she"	ɛnʊ́ > í	"him/her"
1Pl	ţá	"we"	ţʊ́	"us"
2Pl	ɛ́	"you"	mí	"you"
3Pl	ḿbá/pa	"they"	wɛ́	"them"

The reflexive pronouns and the process of their derivation from the pronoun tı "oneself" can be seen in Chart II below.

Chart II: Reflexive pronouns[1] and their derivation process

	Process	Reflexives	Gloss
1Sg	ma + tı my + self	ma-tı>mandı	myself
2Sg	ɲá + tı your + self	ɲá-tı>ɲádı	yourself
3Sg	ɛ + tı his/her+ self	ɛ-tı>ɛdı	him/herself
1Pl	ţá + tı our + self	ţá-tı>ţádı	ourselves
2Pl	mí + tı your (pl) +tı	mí-tı>mídı	yourselves
3Pl	pa + tı their + tı	pa- tı>padı	themselves

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The other pronoun concerned with this study is the pronoun *ţamá* "each other/one another" which marks the reciprocity in the action of the verb to which it attaches. Now that the different pronominal clitics attaching to verbs in Kabɪyɛ are identified, we see below how the cliticization with the different pronouns operates.

a- Cliticization of personal pronouns
(5) a- /ma-há caá líídiye/ >mahá caá líídiyé   (5b) /caá há-má líídiye/ >caá háḿ   1Sg-
give^acc dad money   líídiyé
        "I gave money to dad   dad give^Acc-1Sg money
                                        "Dad gave me money"
(6a) /ɲá-tá-há caá líídiyé / >ŋtahacaá líídiyé
        2Sg-Neg-give^Acc dad money
          "You didn't give money to dad"
(6b) /caá ta-ha-ɲá líídiye/ >caá tahaŋ́ líídiyé
        dad Neg-give^Acc-2Sg money
        "Dad didn't give you money"
(7a) /ɛ́nʋ́-sínaɛyáa/ >ɛzsínaɛyáa   (7b) /ɛyáasíná-ɛ́nʋ́/ >ɛyáasíná-í
        3Sg-help^Acc people   people help^Acc-3Sg
        "He/She helped people"   "People helped him/her"
(8a) /pa-há-ɣ píɣá lím/ >pa-háɣpíɣá lím   (8b)/píɣá há-ɣ-wɛlím/>píɣá háɣ-wɛlím
        3Pl-give-unacc child water   child give-unacc-3Pl water
        "They give water to the child"   "The child gives them water"

From the examples above, all the personal pronouns depend on the verbs that they either immediately precede as proclitics (5a) – (8a), or thatthey immediately follow as enclitics (5b) – (8b). So the subject personal pronouns are proclitics while the object personal pronouns are enclitics whatever be the form of the verb.What is important to notice about the position of the subject personal pronouns is that it is strictly the same even in interrogative form which fundamentally requires subject and verbinversion in most European languages, and allows certain flexibility in Gana, a Khoesan language (Letsholor, 2016, p. 81). So the sentence in (9a) below is grammatical and acceptable in Kabɪyɛ whereas the one in (9b) is ungrammatical and therefore unacceptable in the language.
(9a) /pa-nɪ-wá-a/ >paniwáa?   (9b) * nɪ-wá-a-pa >nɪwáapa
    3Pl-understand-acc-Int
    "Have they understood?"

However, the object personal pronouns canperform a movement (clitic climbing), a process which will be discussed in the subsection 4.3.
b- Cliticization of the reflexives and the pronounţamá
The following structures show the occurrence of those different pronouns.

(10) /tɪ-kʊ́-ʋ/   >tɪkʊ́ʋ
    oneself-kill-Inf
    "to kill oneself/to commit suicide"

(11) /ɛgbámkʊ́ ɛ́nʊ́-tɪ/ > ɛgbámkʊ́ ɛdɪ
    hunter kill^Acc 3Sg-self
    "The hunter killed himself/the hunter committed suicide"

(12) /pa-kʊ́ pa-tɪ/   > pagʊ́ padɪ
    3Pl-kill^Acc 3Pl-self
    "They killed themselves/they committed suicide"

(13) /taa-kʊ́ ɲá-tɪ/   > taakʊɲádɪ
Neg Imp-kill 2Sg-self
    "Don't kill yourself/don't commit suicide"

(14) /ʈamá-sína-ʋ/   > ʈamá sínaʋ
    one another-help-Inf
    "to help each other/one another"

(15) /háráasí-ý-ná ʈamá   > hárá síýná ʈamá
    farmers help-Unacc-help each other
    "Farmers help each other"

(16) /háráatɪ-sɪná ʈamá/   > háráatɪsɪná ʈamá
    farmers Neg-help^Acc one another
    "Farmers didn't help one another"

(17) /háráakaa-sínaʈamá/   > háráakaasíná ʈamá
    farmers Ant-help^Acc one another
    "Farmers had helped one another"

In the above examples, we have different constructions with the same verb where the pronoun *tɪ*"oneself" occurs just before the verb and is thus proclitic to it only when it is in the infinitive form (10). As for the other reflexives, they are placed immediately after the verb and act as enclitics to the verb in its conjugated forms (11), (12) and (13). Some other verbs with the clitic*tɪ* are for example *tipozʊ́ʋ*"to ask or question oneself/to wonder", *tɪɲám* "to respect onself", *tɪluzúu* "to submit oneself/to bow down/to grovel", etc. toward which the clitic*tɪ*behaves the same way as in (11), (12), (13) above.

 Likewise, the pronoun *ʈamá* is placed before the verb and is thus proclitic to it when the latter is in its infinitive form (16). But when the verb is conjugated like in (15), (16), and (17), the pronoun*ʈamá* follows it and becomes thus enclitic to it. Examples of verbs with the clitic*ʈamá* are *ʈamáɲám* "to respect each other/one another", *ʈamá kpaɣ́ʋ*, "to look like each other or one another/to resemble", *ʈamá sɔɔlʊ́ʋ*"to love each other", etc. In these verbs, the clitic has exactly the same behavior as in (15), (16) and (17) above.

3.2.2. Adpositionalclitics

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Adpositions include prepositions and postpositions. Some of them are recorded in the chart below.

Chart III: Kabɩyɛadpositions

ADPOSITIONS	
Prepositions	**Postpositions**
na "with"	cɔ́lɔ "near"
taá "in/inside"	taá "in/inside"
tɛɛ́ "under"	tɛ́ "by somebody's"
wáyɩ́ "behind"	tɛɛ́ "under"
	wáyɩ́ "behind"
	yɔɔ́ "on/upon"

The ones concerned ın thıs study are*na*"wıth" whıch ıs absolutely a preposition, and *táá́* "in/inside" which is both a preposition and a postposition. The examples below show the mechanism of their cliticization.

(18)   /wʊ́-ʊ́/ >wʊ́ʊ́
        hurt-Inf
        "to hurt"

(18a)   /táá-wʊ́-ʊ́/   >   táá wʊ́ʊ́
        inside-hurt-Inf
        "to be hurt/to get angry"

(18b)   /ma-halʊ́ taawʊ́-ʊ lɛɛlɛɛ/ >   mahalʊ́ taawʊ́ʊlɛɛlɛɛ
        1Sg-wife inside pain-unacc quickly
        "My wife gets angry quickly"

(18c)   /ma-halʊ́ taaʊ-wʊ-ʊ lɛɛlɛɛ/ > ma-halʊ́ taaʊwʊʊlɛɛlɛɛ
        1Sg-wife inside Neg-pain-Unacc quickly
        "My wife doesn't get angry quicly"

(19)   kʊ́-ʊ >kʊ́ʊ   "to kill"

(19a)   kʊ́-na-ʊ   (19c)   kʊ́-ná síɣ́á > kʊ́ná síɣ́á
        kill-with-Inf   kill^Imp-with knife
        "to kill with"   "Kill with a knife"

(19b)   kʊ́-ná > kʊ́ná   (19d)   pa-a-kʊ́-ʊ nam̀ nasíɣ́á > paakʊ́ʊ́ nam̀ nɩsíɣ́á
        kill^Imp-with   3Pl-Neg-kill-Unacc deer with knife
        "kill with"   "They/we don't kill a deer with a knife"

(20)   ʈɛ́-ʊ́ >ʈɛ́ʊ́   (19c)   sɔ́ɔjanáaʈɛ́-namílʊ́
        leave-Inf   soldiers leave^Acc-with thief
        "to leave/to go away"   "Soldiers took the thief away"

(20a)   ʈɛ́-na-ʊ́   (21d)   sɔ́ɔjanáaʈɛ́-ɣ́-namílʊ́ > sɔ́ɔjanáaʈɛ́ɣ́ná   mílʊ́
        leave-with-Inf   soldiers leave-Unacc-with thief
        "to leave with/to take away" "Soldiers are taking the thief away"

(20b)   sɔ́ɔjanáaʈɛ́-na-a
        soldiers leave-with-Acc
        "Soldiers took away"

We can notice from the data (18a) – (18c) that the adposition*táá* is proclitic to its verbal host whatever the form of that verb. Other verbs with the adposition*táá* are for instance *táákpɛndʊ́ʋ* "to feel sick", *táá wénaʋ* "to bear grudge", *táá hʊ́ʋ* "to think deeply", etc.

As for the preposition *na*, it is either mesoclitic to the infinitive (19a), (20a) where it is inserted between the verbal stem and the infinitive suffix. It is also mesoclitic when the verb is accomplished but deprived of any object (20b); in this case the clitic*na* appears between the verb stem and the suffix marking the accomplished form. But it becomes enclitic to imperative verbs (19b), (18c), to negative verbs (19d), to unaccomplished verbs (20d), as well as to accomplished verbs having an object (20c).

One can conclude from all the preceding analyses that the clitics studied in this paper take, each, a certain position with regard to their host (the verb), and sometimes to other morphosyntactic components in such a way that the output complies with Kabıyɛmorphotactics or syntactics. Some of them also happen to change position and occur either pre-verbally or post-verbally, complying with word order constraints that act on the entire string of words in Kabıyɛ. They have thus freedom of movement, just like the preteritclitics in Polish, which can occur at different positions of the sentence (Szczegielniak, 1995).

The discussions in sections 2.1 and 2.2 confirm the difference between affixes and clitics that attach to verbs in Kabıyɛ. The difference between the two types of morphemes actually lies in the fact that affixes cannot dissociate from their verbal host and stand alone as lexical units but clitics can do so.

After discussing the different clitics that lean on the verb, I approach in the following subdivision how many of them can possibly cliticize with verbs in Kabıyɛ.

3.2.3. Clitic concatenation in Kabıyɛ verbs

Kabıyɛ makes a heavy use of clitics. As it is the case in Arabic where clitics concatenation is common (Alotaiby,Foda, and Alkharashi, 2010), that phenomenon of consecutive occurrence of clitics is highly attested in Kabıyɛ. So, it is neither startling nor superfluous to see a co-occurrence of such lexical units around a verb. Therefore, a verb can be surrounded by up to six concatenated proclitics on the one hand, and up to three concatenated enclitics on the other, which can interact simultaneously with that verbal host as can be seen in the following illustrations.

(21) má-nɪ-ɲá-nɪ-wɛ-ṭá ṭɛ́-ʋ kɪmáŋ> mánɪ'ŋnɪwɛṭɪdɛ́ʋkɪmáŋ
   1Sg-and-2Sg-and-3Pl-1Pl go-Unacc together (I and you and they we leave together)

"They, you and I leave together"
(22) ma-kɔ́-na-mí-wɛ́ >mɔŋgɔ́namʊwɛ́
    1Sg-come^Acc-with-2Pl-3Pl (I came with you them)
    "I brought them to you"

In the above illustrations, we can see that in (21), there are six clitics (four pronouns *maˊ* "I", *ɲaˊ* "you Sg", *wɛ́*"they", *ʈaˊ* "we″ and one conjunction *nɪ* "and" used twice) which have been concatenated on the left of the verb *ʈɛ́v* "leave" and are thus proclitics. In (22), we have three cliticcs (one preposition *na* "with" and two pronouns *mí* "you Pl", *wɛ́* "them") that are concatenated on the right of the verb *kɔ́* "come" and act as enclitics. The structure of cliticization process that has been described so far can be represented as in Figure 1 below.
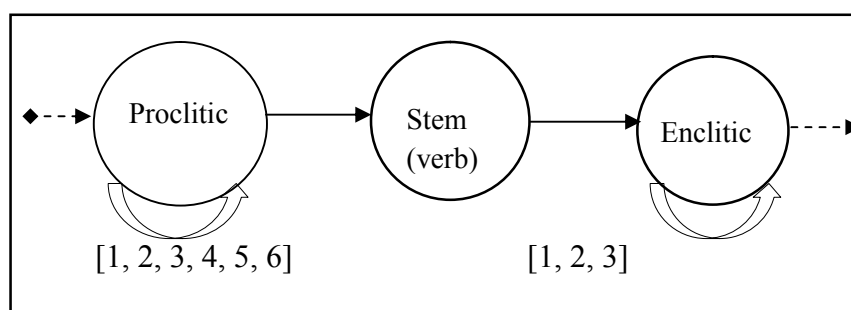

Figure 1. Representation of a cliticization model

In figure 1 above, the number under the link stands for the possible number of clitics that can interact with a verb in a Kabɪyɛ phrase, clause or sentence.

4. Semantic implications of some clitics and phenomena

Of the two types of clitics addressed in this work (pronominal and adpositional), the pronominal clitics are unambiguous in semantic perspective as they are understandable in only one way whether in isolation or in strings of words. But the adpositional ones, *taˊáˊ* "in/inside" and *na* "with", display a certain ambiguity in their combination with their verbal hosts and deserve being discussed in the following section to disambiguate them.

4.1. *Semantic implications of the cliicna*

The meaning of the morphemes *na*"with" does not pose any problem when taken in isolation. But once it attaches to its verbal host and plays the role of clitic, *na* has two meanings; it is comitative and instrumental as Lébikaza (1999: 284) argues, and the engendered phrase or phonological unit in which it finally appears becomes polysemic, and thus ambiguous. So, context and speakers' cognitive development are the key to understanding the verbs to whichthe clitic*na* is

attached. The use of *na* with the comitative value has the connotation of accompaniment in the action of the verb as displayed in the examples below.

(23)   ma-wó-kí-ná píɣ́a ʈákʋ́ta >moókíná píɣ́a ʈákʋ́ta
        1Sg-go-Unacc-with child hospital = I go to the hospital with the child
        "I take the child to the hospital"

(24)   ma-pɩyalʋ́ kɔ́-na-ma líídiye >mambɩyalʋ́ kɔ́namlíídiye
        1Sg-son come^Acc-with-1Sg money (= My son came with me money)
        "My son came to me with some money" or "My son brought me some

money"

In (23), the idea is that the child has to go to hospital, but he does not go there alone or by himself; I have to go there with him, in other words, I have to take him there. In (24), the money that my son gave to me did not come by itself and it was not sent to me in any way either; my son came with that money, he brought it to me himself.

As for the instrumental value of the clitic *na*, it points out the means or instrument used to perform an action expressed by the verb as illustrated in the examples below.

(25)   /ma-caaʈɔ́-ŋ́-naʈáʋ́/ >maɲjaaʈɔ́ŋ́naʈáʋ́
        1Sg-father walk-Unacc-with cane
        "My father walks with a cane"

(26)   /hárʋ́ kéri-ɣtíŋ́ ná lárɩyɛ/ >hárʋ́ kériɣtíŋ́ nalárɩyɛ
        farmer fell-Unacc tree with axe
        "The farmer fells the tree with an axe"

In data (25) the instrumental aspects shows that my father uses a tool to walk and that tool is a cane. In (26), the instrumental value denotes that the farmer uses an axe to fell a tree. So the occurrence of the direct object *tíŋ́* "tree" in the sentence makes the clitic *na* shift from its initial position forward, immediately after that direct object *tíŋ́* and just before the noun designating the instrument *lárɩyɛ* "axe" by means of which the action of the verb is performed.

4.2. Semantic implications of the clitic *táá*

The adposition *táá*, which is proclitic to the infinitive verb, has two connotations: the active connotation and the stative one.

(27a) /táá-wí-ʋ́/ >táá wíʋ́   (27b) /ma-taá wí-wá/ >   mandaá wíwá
        inside-hurt-Inf   1Sg-inside hurt-Acc = my inside hurt
        "to be angry"   "I am angry"

(28a) táá-maɣzí-ʋ >táá maɣzíʋ   (28b) ma-máɣzɩ-ʋ ma-taá > mamáɣzʋʋmandaá
        inside-think-Inf   1Sg-think^Unacc1Sg-inside (= I think my   "to
        think deeply"   "I think deeply"   inside)

When the infinitive verb with its enclitic *taa* is a stative verb as in (27a), that proclitic still keeps the same position with regard to its host (the verb) even when

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the latter is conjugated as in (27b). But in case   the infinitive verb, with the same proclitic *taá*, is an action verb as in (28a), that proclitic becomes enclitic when the verb is conjugated as in (28b). In this very case, not only does the proclitic morpheme become enclitic, but it is also removed a step further from its verbal host and leans against the possessive which precedes that verb immediately.

4.3. *Clitic climbing and its semantic implications*

If we refer back to section 2.2.1 *a*, we can remember that in Kabıyɛ, subject personal pronouns are always positioned before their verbal host and stand thus proclitic to it, as opposed to object personal pronouns which are placed after their host and stand enclitic to it. However, those pronominal enclitics can perform a movement, namely clitic climbing, which places them rather proclitic to their host. This climbing is presented in (31a, b) below.

(29) a) pa-yá-ý-mí   (no climing)   b) míí-pá-yá-ý (climbing)
         3Pl-call-Unacc-2Pl^Obj   2Pl^obj-3Pl-call-Unacc
           "They are calling you   "It is you they are calling"

This phenomenon does not operate without semantic consequences which need to be shed light on. In (29a), the sentence simply means that 'they call you and they may also call some other person.' But in (29b) where climbing occurs, the sentence implies that 'it is you and not anybody else that they call'. The climbing lays emphasis on the fact that the person represented by the object pronoun mɩ is the only one concerned by the call. That emphasis is also strengthened by the lengthening of the vowel of the pronominal clitic(*mí* > *míí).*Cliticclimbing can also apply to reflexive pronouns with the same semantic influence.

4.4. *4.4 Clitic doubling and its semantic implications*

Clitic doubling can be exemplified as in the (30) below.
(30) a) ma-wó-ki >mowóki (No doubling)   b) máá má-wó-ki > má mówóki (doubling)
        1Sg^Sbj-go-Unacc   1Sg^Sbj 1Sg^Sbj-go-Unacc (I I go)
        "I go"   "Me, I go/As for me, I go"
(31) a) pa-há-ý líidiyé   b)- ná pa-há-ý líidiyé (doubling)
        3Pl-give^Acc-2Sg^Obj money   2Sg^Obj   3Pl-give^Acc-2Sg^Obj money
        "They gave you money"   "They gave you money, indeed"

In (30a) above, we have a single clitical subject pronoun *ma* "I", to mean that the sentence is simply in the affirmative form. But, in (30b), the double clitic*maá maá* implies a certain semantic connotation different from the one in (30a). In b), an emphasis is embodied in the sentence which really means that 'if some other

person(s) won't go, or whether they will go or not, I will go'.In (31a), the speaker simply asserts that they gave you money or you are given money. But in (31b), there is a certain insistence and emphasis in the affirmation. It is worth pointing out that clitic doubling also operates in negative and interrogative forms with the same emphatic connotation.

5.   Results of the research

The analysis of the data reveals that Kabıyɛ verb roots can be preceded and followed not only by affixes but also by clitics. The clitics discussed in the present study are pronominal and adpositionalclitics. The findings reveal that unlike affixes whose position is predictable and fixed, the position of some Kabıyɛ pronominal and adpositionalclitics is not static; object personal pronouns, reflexive pronounsas well as adpositions can change position by moving either forward or backward with regard to their host (verb stem). It means that there is a certain flexibility which confers to them a freedom of movement. The reflexive pronoun tɩ "oneself" precedes the infinitive and is proclitic to it. But once the verb takes a perfective or an imperfective aspect, the derived forms of that pronoun (*mandɩ* "myself", *ɲádɩ* "yourself", *padɩ* "themselves", etc.) become enclitic to it. On the contrary, the object personal pronouns which logically follow the verb as their host, are placed before the latter when a certain emphasis is laid on them, leading to a change of the meaning of the derived sentence.

As for the adpositions*taá* and *na,* the former is always proclitic to infinitive verbs while the latter is mesoclitic to them. Both adpositionalclitics also change positions depending on some aspecto-temporal forms of the verb.

 Another important discovery is that the freedom of movement of the clitics does not concern solely the proclitics becoming mesoclitics or enclitics or the other way round, but it also concerns the shift in the position such that there may be some lexical units between the clitic and its initial host as can be seen in the following.

ciɣ́di-na-ʋ	cíɣ́diʈózinasúnóo	cíɣ́diʈózisʋzɔ́sɩnasúnóo
stir-with-Inf	stir^Imp sauce with spoon	stir sauce big with spoon
"to stir with"	"stir the sauce with a spoon"	"stir the big amount of sauce with a spoon"

And all this reordering is the result of syntactic constraints of Kabıyɛ imposed on the clitic so that it moves to other positions to respond to the grammaticality of the language.

Semantically speaking, the clitics*taá* and *na* are found to bepolysemous in that when they attach to some verbs which were initially endowed with only one semantic meaning, they triggerpolysemy in those verbs. Apart from the change of position (clitic climbing), there is also clitic doubling or clitic reduplication. The

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two phenomena occur along with semantic impact. The third important phenomenon discovered in the study is clitic concatenation or clitic cluster.

6. Discussion

From the above results, we can say that both affixation and cliticization are productive in Kabıyɛ. They are two processes which look alike but do not perform the same function, that is, they do not impact their verbal host the same way. Affixes which are here inflectional, add only grammatical information to the verb whereas clitics add new meaning to it. Of the three clisis, mesoclisis is the least productive and only Kabıyɛmorphosyntax can account for that fact. It means that the language has some restrictions which bar some clitics insertion between verbal host stems and their affixes. Unlike in Spanish, Arabic, etc. where clitics scarcely cluster together, we experience clitic concatenation in Kabıyɛ, which means that the syntax of the language is not so rigid toward clitic clusters. If in some languages, clitic climbing is optional and leads to free variation because it brings no change in the meaning of the clauses and sentences, that phenomenon occurs along with a semantic connotation in Kabıyɛ. Clitic doubling is allowed in languages like Spanish and Portuguese but not contiguous identical clitics. However, in Kabıyɛ, not only clitic doubling is allowed, but contiguous identical clitics also are factual. This means that there is nothing anomalous in Kabıyɛ syntax lining up consecutively two identical clitics.

To sum up, we can say that every language has its constraints and its flexibility, its dos and its don'ts. It is therefore up to learners to comply with them.

CONCLUSION

This study is grounded on both dependency and clitic movement theories and the analysis is performed in segmentation and descriptive approaches. It has first highlighted the classification of Kabıyɛ verbs, addressed verbal affixes before discussing cliticization, a process whereby the clitic element attaches to a verbal host. In this work, the host-clitic combination concerned subject and object personal pronouns, reflexive and reciprocity pronouns as well as some adpositionswhich function as clitics in relation to the verb that acts as their host. The results have revealed that there are up to three possible cliticization processes in Kabıyɛ: procliticization, encliticization and mesocliticization. Most of the clitic elements that have been discussed in this study are proven to havea freedom of movementmaterialized by clitic climbing. This explains why the clitic elements *tı*and *ţamaˊ* for example, which initially lean on the verb as proclitics can shift from that position to occupy another, owing to the fact that the host changes the form by being conjugated. This work, showing that Kabıyɛ makes a strong use of clitics in its grammatical constructions, permits to classify it among cliticizing languages

and to increase their typology. As perspectives, I would say that some subject and object personal pronouns treated as clitics in this work have a reduced or clipped form and become weak. That weak form is a result of some phonological processes that will be discussed in a further study along with phonological rules accounting for the process of mutation which affect the long underlying form of the pronouns to be realized in the shorter surface form.

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