The Enclitic in Tiv Associative Constructions and Prepositional Phrases

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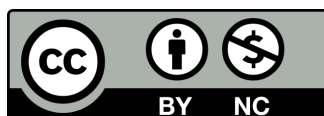*senseimyk@gmail.com*

Abstract

Tiv associative constructions and prepositional phrases are characterized by what was originally a noun class agreement enclitic that has degenerated in some morphosyntactic contexts to a grammatical tone that remains invariant in noun class agreement. The enclitic interacts closely with an interesting property of Tiv relating to the contrast between the so-called A- vs. B-forms, in that the enclitic only manifests on B-forms. The paper also outlines a number of morphosyntactic functions of the enclitic, including marking the boundary of the tighter morphosyntactic unit or bracket that head nouns form with dependent elements such as another noun, as well as headship indexing. In certain cases the enclitic conflates the semantic functions of noun class agreement marking with the pragmatic value of topicalization. The enclitic started out in associative constructions as pragmatically motivated, but has gradually faded out in prepositional phrases originating from the associative constructions, with only syntactic conditions remaining. Despite its language-specific behaviour, the Tiv enclitic fits into the profile of the enclitics found in other Bantoid languages like Aghem (Hyman 2010, 1979), Isu (Kießling 2010), and Babanki (Akumbu and Kießling forthcoming), where the pragmatic values encoded by enclitics range between defocalization and focalization.

Keywords: Tiv, enclitic, information structure, noun phrase, prepositional phrases

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1 Introduction

Tiv associative constructions and prepositional phrases are characterized by what was originally a noun class agreement enclitic that has degenerated in some morphosyntactic contexts to a grammatical tone (henceforth, GT) that remains invariant in noun class agreement. This paper explores and describes the morphosyntactic and pragmatic conditions which determine the presence or absence of the noun phrase level enclitic class marker in Tiv. On a macro level, the most interesting finding of this paper is that there seems to be an emerging profile of information structure encoding at the noun phrase level among Bantoid languages into which Tiv might fit. At the noun phrase level in these languages, information structure is encoded via the use of dedicated enclitics that show noun class agreement with the head noun, e.g. in Aghem (Hyman 2010, 1979), Isu (Kießling 2010), and Babanki (Akumbu and Kießling forthcoming). The information structure values encoded by these enclitics range from defocalization in Isu, Aghem and Babanki, to topicalization in Tiv, as this study will show.. The results of this study have the potential to place Tiv at the advanced end of a morphosyntactico-pragmatic spectrum of information structure marking at the noun phrase level in Bantoid languages, where the enclitics set out as fully-fledged noun class agreement markers and gradually reduce to (non-noun class agreeing) GTs that are disappearing in some contexts and languages.

Since the Tiv enclitic partly manifests as a GT in some contexts, it is pertinent to provide some general background information on GTs. Almost every Niger-Congo language, if not all tonal African languages (Hyman et al. 2020), show some instances of GTs, where tone is the only exponent of some morphosyntactic feature or grammatical meaning. To Rolle (2018, 33–34), GTs express grammatical meaning in three main ways: (i) by serving as the sole overt marker of a grammatical meaning, (ii) by marking a grammatical meaning alongside segmental units, and (iii) by triggering the application of (reverse) tone rules, rather than manifesting themselves. Typologically, Rolle further distinguishes two types of GTs: the dominant GTs that systemically delete the underlying tone(s) of the target, and the non-dominant GTs that do not systemically delete the underlying tone(s). Hyman et al. (2020) identify three GT types that reflect the two typological categories in Rolle (2018). The first is the morphological GT, which operates at the word level by replacing lexical tones, e.g., for the purpose of converting a transitive verb into an intransitive verb. The second is the syntactic type, which operates at the phrase level, e.g., in the replacement of a lexical tone on an item due to its structural proximity to another. The third type of GTs also operates at the phrase level, but is not replacive; rather, this type co-occurs with the underlying tones. GTs may occur in any morphosyntactic context in any language.

Countless Niger-Congo languages exhibit instances where a GT functions as the associative marker or connector between the head noun and the dependent element, as attested in languages like Igbo (Igboid: Nigeria) (Hyman and Schuh 1974, 98–99) and Ugare (Tivoid: Cameroon/Nigeria) (Angitso and Kießling forthcoming). Tiv presents an(other) interesting scenario where associative constructions and prepositional phrases sometimes end in an enclitic GT. As far as I know, apart from the observation in Angitso (2020, 80–85) that a GT enclitic marks the end of Tiv associative constructions, there is neither any mention of nor any dedicated research on such tones and enclitics in the literature on Tiv (see e.g. Abraham 1940a, 1940b, 1940c, 1933; Arnott 1967; Jockers 1991; Judd 1916; Lukas 1952; Malherbe 1933; Sibomana 1980; Terpstra 1968; and Willemsen 2014). This paper will fill this gap by describing the variant morphosyntactic and discourse-pragmatic properties of the enclitic in Tiv associative constructions and prepositional phrases, using data collected on the Jengbagh Tiv variety

(see §2), often considered as the 'standard' Tiv by Tiv speakers despite the absence of actual language standardization processes. The data originates from fifteen hours of audio recordings of Tiv folktales and narrated texts by seven native speakers of the Jengbagh Tiv variety. The database is supplemented by examples from Angitso (2020), as well as from the author's own native speaker competence.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 introduces the Tiv language: the speakers' population, locale, genealogy, and basic sociolinguistic situation. Section 3 describes some basic tonal facts of the language, such as the number of contrastive tones and their interaction in different affixation, intonational, and grammatical contexts. Section 4 provides an overview of the Tiv noun forms, while Section 5 is dedicated to discussing the enclitic in the associative construction and in prepositional phrase contexts. Section 6 walks through the proposed analysis in detail, while ruling out certain alternative analyses. Section 7 concludes the paper.

2 Background on the language

Tiv, also known by xenonyms such as Mitshi, Munchi, or Munshi in some (early) literature (e.g. Judd 1916), belongs to the Tivoid subgroup of Southern Bantoid, within the Benue-Congo branch of the Niger-Congo phylum (Williamson and Blench 2000, 31). Within the Tivoid subgroup, Blench (2016, 15) classifies Tiv as a central Tivoid language, alongside Iyive, Otange, Evand, Olitic-Ceve, Caka, and Olulu-Ipulo. Geographically, Tiv is spoken in Nigeria and Cameroon. The exact population of Tiv speakers in Nigeria is unknown, but ranges from 4 million (Eberhard et al. 2021) through 4,288,000 (Joshua Project 2022) to over 5.6 million (Angitso 2020, 4–5). The Nigerian Tiv speakers are found in Benue, Nassarawa, Plateau, Taraba, and Cross-River states of Nigeria, with the highest concentration in Benue State, where they occupy 14 of the 23 Local Government Areas (henceforth, LGAs) of the state. Other languages found in Benue State include Idoma, Igede, Etulo, and Wannu. In Cameroon, there are 1,600 Tiv speakers (Joshua Project 2022) in the southwest region of the country, specifically in the Manyu division, Njobo, and northeast of Akwaya along the Nigerian border. The Tiv speakers in Cameroon are also known by the xenonym *Njobo* [ńdʒɔ̀bō].

To some Tiv scholars (e.g. Bohannan and Bohannan 1953, 5; Dzurgba 2007, 64, 66, 76; and Karshima 2013, xv), the Tiv language has no dialects. The fact is that Tiv does have dialects. Without any concrete description or demonstration, Jockers (1992, 163) notes that "there are at least five distinct dialects which differ from each other in lexical items, use of suffixes in the noun class system, apocopy, tonal progressive and regressive assimilation etc." Using variations in vocabulary, phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics, Angitso (2020, 6–11) identifies and demonstrates the existence of four distinct Tiv dialects: Ihyarev, Masev-Kwande, Sankara, and Jengbagh. The Jengbagh Tiv variety, spoken in the Buruku, Gboko, Tarka, Konshisha, Vandeikya, and Ushongo LGAs, is used in this study (see Angitso 2020 for the geographical distribution of the other dialects in Benue State).

3 Tonal behaviour in Tiv

This section describes the basic tonal facts of Tiv. The description is, however, biased towards nouns, since the focus of the paper is on them.

Basically, Tiv has two register tones, high [́] and low [̀] tones, abbreviated in the running text as H and L respectively. These two tones are lexically contrastive. Using the segmental base *sule* in (1), for example, a LL tone sequence yields the verb *sùlè* 'to be deceased/cold' and

distinguishes it from other words, including words of other classes: *sùlè* 'to be deceased/cold' (LL) contrasts with the noun *súlé* 'farm' (HH), the noun *súlè* 'coin' (HL), and the verb *sùlé* 'to cool' (LH).

(1)   **Word   Gloss   Word Class**
       súlé   'farm'   Noun
       súlè   'coin'   Noun
       sùlè   'to be deceased/cold'   Verb
       sùlé   'to cool'   Verb

Beyond lexical meaning and word class distinctions, variations in tone express morphological and grammatical contrasts such as noun class, as well as Tense, Aspect, and Mood (TAM) distinctions. The L tone noun class 2 affixes in 'coins' (2a) vs. the H tone noun class 3 affixes in 'farm' (2b) indicate the affiliation of these two nouns to different classes. Similarly, the L vs. H tone of the subject markers in (2c) and (2d) encodes a subjunctive vs. non-subjunctive mood contrast.

(2)   a.   *ù-sūlè*[1]
          2-coin:2
          'coins'

    b.   *ú-súlé*
          3-farm:3
          'farm'

    c.   *sésùɣ*   *à*   *yām*   *ú-kőn*
          Sesugh   1.SM.SUB   buy.PST   3-stick/tree:3
          'Sesugh should buy a stick/tree'

    d.   *sésùɣ*   *á*   *yám*   *ú-kőn*
          Sesugh   1.SM   buy.PST   3-stick/tree:3
          'Sesugh bought a stick/tree'

The register tones interact transparently with prefixation and suffixation via the spreading and downdrift processes. The H tones in noun class prefixes spread onto the root nouns, elevating the pitch of lexical L tones to phonetic mid (henceforth, M), as in (3a), and sometimes elevating lexical H tones to extra H pitch levels, as in (3b). For reasons that are presently obscure, spreading does not occur in all expected contexts, as is the case in the nouns in (3c) where the lexical L following the H tone prefixes remain L. L tone spreading lowers L lexical tones to an extra low pitch level as in (3d), and conditions the downdrift of H lexical tones to a phonetic M pitch level as in (3e). Downstep situations, where an unseen L tone lowers the pitch of a H tone, occurs in various categories, e.g., in nouns like 'leaf' in (3f), where it is marked with '!', vs. 'bathroom' in (3g). In nominal roots, e.g., 'leaf', downstep might be analysed as resulting

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[1] **Abbreviations:** ACM = accompaniment, ADD = additional, AM = associative marker, AUX = auxiliary, ENC = enclitic, FOC = focus marker, NEG = negation marker, POSS = possessive, PROG = progressive marker, PST = past tense marker, PTCP = participial marker, SG = singular, SM = subject marker, SUB = subjunctive.

from the reallocation of nouns to H tone classes with the retention of the downdrift effect of their erstwhile L tone class prefixes.

(3) a. *í-lɔ̀ɔ̀-ɣ´*   [ílɔ̀ɔ̀ɣ]   'broken brick'
        á-ɲìɲà-´   [áɲīɲā]   'horses'
        ḿ-kààné-ḿ   [ḿkā:nèḿ]   'sayings'

     b. *á-gbándè-´*   [ágbǎndé]   'plates'
        á-tíndì-´   [átǐndí]   'laws'
        á-ʃódʒà   [áʃődʒà]   'soldiers'

     c. *í-ɲòhólù-ɣ´*   [íɲòhólǔɣ]   'pimple'
        ḿ-ɲòhólù-ḿ   [ḿɲòhólùḿ]   'pimples'
        í-tùúlú-ɣ´   [ítʸǔ:lǔɣ]   'okra'

     d. *ì-òr*   [iòr]   'people'
        ù-gàmbé   [ùgàmbē]   'beds'
        ì-gìlè   [igìlè]   'shawl'

     e. *ù-sólózó*   [ùsōlózó]   'hacksaw (blade)'
        ì-méŋgé   [ìmyēŋgé]   'lamp'
        ì-ʧómbù   [iʧõmbù]   'navel'

     f. *ú-kwá*   [úꞌkwá]   'leaf'
        á-méŋgè-´   [áꞌméŋgé]   'lamps'
        á-bávé:-´   [áꞌbávě:]   'news'

     g. *ú-kwá*   [úkwá]   'bathroom'

In addition to this, adjacent free morphemes also trigger downdrift or downstep in neighbouring morphemes, e.g. in the noun 'grass' in (4b) (with downstep) vs. (4a) (without downstep). Arnott (1964) and McCawley (1970) propose that the downstep in (4b) must be analysed as resulting from an underlying HL contour on the focus marker, *ká*.

(4) From Arnott (1964, 37–39) and McCawley (1970, 124)
     a. *í*   *lú*   *ú-tóhó*   *gá*
        3.SM   AUX.PST   3-grass:3   NEG
        'it was not a grass'

     b. *ká*   *ꞌú-tóhó*   *gá*
        FOC   3-grass:3   NEG
        'it is not a grass'

Floating H tone prefixes and suffixes such as those in (5a, b), are grounded on the following and preceding syllables respectively, where they sometimes form HL or LH contours, elevate a neighbouring H tone to an extra H, lower a neighbouring L to an extra L, or completely replace a neighbouring L tone, as in 'horses' in (5b). Prior to grounding, if a(nother) neighbouring H

raises the pitch of a lexical L to M, or a neighbouring L downdrifts a H to M, the resulting contour would be MH and ML, as in (5c), as well as LM and HM contours.

(5) a.   `-tér   [tĕr]   'father'
         ´-ɔ́n-ùv´   [ɔ̌núv]   'children'
         `-gbɔ̀   [gbö]   'belly'

     b.   gbá-`   [gbâ]   'branch'
         á-mùnàn-´   [ámūnăn]   'mosquitoes'
         í-tùúlú-ɣ´   [ítyǔ:lǔɣ]   'okra'
         á-ɲìɲà-´   [áɲíɲá]   'horses'

     c.   í-ʤémbè-´   [íʤémbē]   'axe'
         ì-yɔ̀ɔ́n-`   [ìyɔ̀ɔ̄n]   'breath'

Furthermore, the tones of grammatical morphemes, e.g., noun class prefixes, can change systematically in relation to syntactic contexts. When a noun bearing a H tone prefix like 'chair' occurs as the N2 in an 'N1 of N2' associative construction as in (6a), or as the complement for certain prepositions as in (6b), the H tone changes to L. The affixes that the nouns take in both contexts are presented in Table 1 as B-forms, and are further discussed in §4. The final H of the LH contour in the N2 of the associative construction and the complement of the preposition is an allomorph of the enclitic discussed in §5. Hence, I take the liberty of glossing the tone as an enclitic already, prior to the justification for this label given in §5.

(6) a.   í-kɔ̄n-ǔɣ[2]   →   ú-wĕ-ɣ   kú   ì-kɔ̌n
         7-chair-7   15-hand-15   15.AM   7-chair:ENC
         'chair'   'arm of a chair'

     b.   í-kɔ̄n-ǔɣ   →   ʃá   ì-kɔ̌n
         7-chair-7   on   7-chair:ENC
         'chair'   'on a chair'

Another productive tone process in Tiv is dissimilation, where a morpheme takes an opposite tone to that of an adjacent morpheme. Tone dissimilation is common in demonstratives and associative markers. There is, for concordial prefixes, an option to be absent or present in demonstrative targets in non-identificational vs. identificational contexts, respectively (Angitso 2021). When a noun (7a) or a demonstrative noun class agreement prefix (7b) ending in L precedes a demonstrative root like 'that', the demonstrative takes a H tone. As expected, the demonstrative takes a L or phonetic M tone when a preceding noun (7c) or a demonstrative noun class agreement prefix (7d) ends in a H.

(7) a.   gbándè   lá
         1.plate   that
         'that plate'

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[2] Throughout this paper, processes like palatalisation, labialisation and glide formation, which are triggered by noun class prefixes, will be ignored and consequently excluded from the presented data transcription.

b. *gbándè*　　*ŋgù-lá*
　　1.plate　　1-that
　　'that plate'

c. *á-gbándé*　　*là*
　　6-plate.6　　that
　　'those plates'

d. *á-gbándè*　　*ā*　　*ŋgá-lā*
　　6.plate.6　　6.AM　　6-that
　　'those plates'

In summary, Tiv has very productive and interacting local tonal rules of spreading, grounding, raising, lowering, and dissimilation, as well as grounding, which is triggered by vowel loss/ elision.

4 Noun forms

On the basis of concord, Angitso (2020, 132–133) establishes twelve noun classes in Tiv, presented in Table 1, and numbered in column 1 according to the Bantu canon, where singular noun classes are assigned odd numbers while plural classes are assigned even numbers (Katamba 2003). Apart from class 6a, which is an independent class, the classes numbered with cardinal numerals and letters are all sub-classes. Column 2 contains the Bantu parallels associated with the classes, followed by the synchronic citation noun forms, i.e., the A-forms, in column 3. Column 4 presents the B-forms, i.e. the context-dependent forms, which nouns take when occurring as N2 in associative constructions, and complements of certain prepositions, as already observed in §3 and as will be further discussed following Table 1. Tiv noun forms generally consist of prefixes and suffixes, as well as infixes, which originate from the phonological effects triggered by erstwhile noun class prefixes (Angitso 2020, 135). These affixes may be null, i.e., ø-, a vowel or consonant segment with(out) tone, or just a tone. When a noun root ends in a consonant, an epenthetic vowel is added before adding a segmental class suffix.

Table 1: Table 1: Tiv noun classes (Angitso 2020, 132–133, 228)

Noun classes	Proto-Bantu (Meeussen 1967, 97)	Noun Affixes	
		A-forms	**B-forms**
1	*mʊ-	ø-; -´, -`, à-, á-, m̀-, w-, (w)án-, ò:-, ø-<sup>\<w\></sup>, ø-<sup>\<w\></sup> -ɣ`	ø-; -´, -`, à-, á-, m̀-, w-, (w)án-, ò:-, ø-^{\<w\>}
1a		ø- -pé, ø- -pè	ø- -pé, ø- -pè

2	*ba-	´- -v̀, m̀bà- -v̀, m̀bá- -v̋, -v̋; ú- -v̀	´-, m̀bà-, m̀bá-, m̀bà-, ú-, ù-, -ḿ
2a		m̀bà-, m̀bá-, m̀bà- -´, ù-, ù- -`, -ḿ	
2b		í- -´, ì- -`	ì-
3	*mʊ-	ú- -´	ù-
5	*ɪ-	í- -´	ì-
6	*ma-	á- -´	à-
6a		ḿ- -ḿ	m̀-
7	*kɪ-	í- -ɣ´	ì-
8	*bi-	í- -v´	ì-, ù-
9	*n-	ì- -`, ì- -ø	ì- -`, ì- -ø
10	*n-	í- -´	ì-
14	*bʊ-	ú- -v´	ù-
14a		í- -v´	
14b		ú- -ɣ´	
15	*kʊ-	ú- -ɣ´	ù-
15a		í- -ɣ´	ì-

Apart from class 1 nouns bearing the affixes ø- <w> -ɣ̀, e.g., *k<w>àɣ* 'thing', the changes in noun forms do not affect nouns of classes 1, 1a, and 9 in the identified contexts. In prepositional phrases, B-forms are only found in the complements of the prepositions *ʃá* 'on, onto' in (6b), *ʃĭn* 'inside (vertically)', *ké* 'inside (horizontally)', and *hí* 'by, besides, from, at', to the exclusion of the comitative prepositions3 *véá* in (8a), *kúà* in (8b), and *ā:* in (8c), after which changes do not occur in noun forms; otherwise, the constructions presented in (8d-f) are deemed unacceptable (Angitso 2020, 230–231). In associative constructions, the occurrence of B-forms in dependent nouns depends neither on the morphosyntactic and semantic properties of the head noun, nor on the associative marker it triggers. Syntactically, B-forms signal a dependent syntactic relation, i.e. marking when a noun occurs as a dependent element in an associative construction or a prepositional phrase (Angitso 2022a).

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3 The three Tiv comitative prepositions, namely *véā*, *kúà*, and *ā:*, are also distinct in semantic contexts and effects. Commonly, *véá* encodes 'accompanied', abbreviated as ACM, e.g., *sésùɣ ŋ̀gù véá k<w>āsē* 'Sesugh is accompanied by a woman'; *kúà* encodes 'in addition to', abbreviated as ADD, e.g., *sésùɣ ŋ̀gù kúà k<w>āsē* 'Sesugh exists in addition to a woman'; *á:* encodes 'having' or 'possessing', abbreviated as POSS, e.g., *sésùɣ ŋ̀gù á k<w>āsē* 'Sesugh has a woman'.

(8) 8a. *ḿ-ŋgér-èḿ* → *véā* *ḿ-ŋgér-èḿ*
6a-water-6a with.ACM 6a-water-6a
'water' 'with water'

b. *ḿ-ŋgér-èḿ* → *kúà* *ḿ-ŋgér-èḿ*
6a-water-6a with.ADD 6a-water-6a
'water' 'with water'

c. *ḿ-ŋgér-èḿ* → *ā:* *ḿ-ŋgér-èḿ*
6a-water-6a with.POSS 6a-water-6a
'water' 'with water'

d. *ḿ-ŋgér-èḿ* → **véā* *m̀-ŋgěr*
6a-water-6a with.ACM 6a-water:ENC
'water' Intended: 'with water'

e. *ḿ-ŋgér-èḿ* → **kúà* *m̀-ŋgěr*
6a-water-6a with.ADD 6a-water:ENC
'water' Intended: 'with water'

f. *ḿ-ŋgér-èḿ* → **ā:* *m̀-ŋgěr*
6a-water-6a with.POSS 6a-water:ENC
'water' Intended: 'with water'

B-forms are derived from A-forms via two broad processes. Firstly, via morphological reduction from circumfixes (plus infixes) to prefixes (plus infixes): noun class suffixes are obligatorily deleted in nouns occurring in both contexts, leaving behind only prefixes and infixes, where they occur, as the sole noun class markers, as in (9). The suffix deletion e.g., in 'water' (9a, b) and 'belly' (9c), paves the way for the addition of the enclitic, as this study goes on to show. Secondly, B-forms are derived via phonological alternation: the prefixes retained after suffix deletion undergo phonological changes, which include: (i) tonal changes in vowel prefixes from H to L, as illustrated in (9a, b), where *ḿ-* becomes *m̀-* after the associative marker *kí* and the preposition *ʃá* 'on'; (ii) segmental alternation, particularly in class 14 nouns like 'belly' in (9c, d) and some class 8 nouns like 'diseases' in (9e), whose high front vowel prefixes become high back vowels in these positions; and (iii) the phonetic realization of otherwise null prefixes.

(9) a. *ḿ-ŋgér-èḿ* → *í-dzɔ́ndŭ-ɣ* *kí* *m̀-ŋgě=ɣ*
6a-water-6a 7-calabash-7 7.AM 6a-water:7.ENC
'water' 'calabash of water'

b. *ḿ-ŋgér-èḿ* → *ʃá* *m̀-ŋgěr*
6a-water-6a on 6a-water:ENC
'water' 'on water'

c. *í-yǎ-v* → *í-kɔ́v-úɣ* *kí* *ù-yǎ=ɣ*
14-belly-14 7-skin-7 7.AM 14-belly:7.ENC
'belly' 'skin of the belly'

d.	*í-yǎ-v*	→	*ʃá*	*ù-yà*	
	14-belly-14		on	14-belly	
	'belly'		'on a belly'		

e.	*í-áŋgé-v*	→	*tò*	*ù*	*ù-āŋgē*
	8-disease-8		1.king	1.AM	8-disease:ENC
	'diseases'		'king of diseases'		

When a preceding associative marker or preposition bears a H tone, its H tone occasionally spreads onto the following noun, causing the L tone in B-form s to raise to either M or H. Consider example (10):

(10)	a.	*í-wěn*	→	*í-tɔ́*	*í*	*ī-wěn*
		5-stone:5		5-buttock	5.AM	5-stone:ENC
		'stone'		'under a stone'		

	b.	*í-wěn*	→	*ʃá*	*í-wěn*
		5-stone:5		on	5-stone:ENC
		'stone'		'on a stone'	

	c.	*í-wěn*	→	*ì-ʤìmē*	*ì*	*ì-wěn*
		5-stone:5		9-back	9.AM	5-stone:ENC
		'stone'		'back of a stone' OR 'top (surface) of a stone'		

The class 5 associative marker *í* in (10a) and the preposition *ʃá* in (10b) cause the tone in 'stone' to be realized as M or H respectively, in contrast to the L prefix tone in 'stone' after the class 9 associative marker ì in (10c).

5 The enclitic

The enclitic occurs in associative constructions and prepositional phrases but behaves differently in the two contexts. In addition to the noun class numbers (column 1), A-forms (column 2) and B-forms (column 3), Table 2 presents the variant enclitic forms in their respective contexts in columns 5 and 4. The enclitic forms in column 4 are the forms that nouns of the respective classes trigger as head nouns in associative constructions. Since nouns do not head prepositional phrases, the enclitic forms in column 5 are the forms that nouns of the respective classes bear in the phrase. All the enclitics occurring in the prepositional phrase, as well as the tonal enclitics in the associative construction, are relics or reduced forms of the general enclitic, whose forms have been preserved in the associative construction context; this is the case in classes 1a, 2a-b, 6a, 7, 8, and 15. In classes 1, 2b, 3, 5, 6, 5, 9, and 10, the enclitic forms have also been reduced to tones in the associative construction. Class 1a nouns neither trigger nor bear an enclitic in either context.

Table 2: Table 2: The enclitic forms in Tiv

Noun classes	Noun affixes		Enclitic forms	
	A-forms	**B-forms**	**Associative constructions**	**Prepositional phrases**
1	ø-; `-, à-; á-; m̀ -; w-; (w)án-; òr-; ø- <w>, ø- <w> -ɣ`	ø-; `-, à-; á-; m̀ -; w-; (w)án-; òr-; ø- <w>	´	ø
1a	ø- -pé, ø- -pè	ø- -pé, ø- -pè	ø	ø
2	´ -v̀; m̀bà- -v̀; m̀bá- -v̀; -v̀; ú- -v́	´ -; m̀bà-; m̀bá-; m̀bà-ú-; ù-;-ḿ	v́	´, ø
2a	m̀bà-; m̀bá-; m̀bà- -`; ù-; ù- -`; -ḿ			´, ø
2b	í- -´, ì- -`	ì-	´	ø
3	ú- -´	ú-, ù-	´	ø
5	í- -´	í-, ì-	´	´, ø
6	á- -´	á-, à-	´	ø
6a	ḿ- -ḿ	m̀ -	ḿ	´
7	í- -ɣ´	ì-	ɣ	´
8	í- -v́	ì-, ù-	v́	ø
9	ì- -`, ì- -ø	ì- -`, ì- -ø	´	ø
10	í- -´	í-, ì-	´	ø
14	ú- -v́	ù-	-v́	ø
14a	í- -v́			
14b	ú- -ɣ´			
15	ú- -ɣ´	ù-	ɣ´	´
15a	í- -ɣ´	ì-		

The forms in the last two columns of Table 2 are described as enclitics rather than nominal suffixes because they are less picky about the elements to which they attach, particularly in associative constructions. They do not exclusively attach to nouns like 'king', as in (11a), but also to adjectives like 'new', as in (11b), and verbs denoting properties or attributes like 'break' in (11c), which occur in a clause such as (11d) without the enclitic ɣ ´. In prepositional phrases, the enclitic only occurs with nouns because adjectives and verbs denoting properties do not function as complements of prepositions.

(11) a.   *tòr*   →   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kí*   *tòr=ŭɣ*
            1.king   7-chair-7   7.AM   1.king=7.ENC
            'king'   'chair of a king'

      b.   *hé*   →   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kì*   *hé=ɣ*
            'new'   7-chair-7   7.AM   new=7.ENC
                                'new chair'

      c.   *kévè:*   →   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kì*   *kēvé=ɣ*
            'to break'   7-chair-7   7.AM   break=7.ENC
                                'a broken chair'

      d.   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kí*   *kévè*   *ūn*
            7-chair-7   7.SM   break   3SG
            'a chair broke him'

The H tone enclitics on nouns of classes 1, 6a, and 9 are in contrast with the L tone know to characterize these classes in Bantu noun class studies, which suggests that the H tone might be a relic of the enclitic root. With evidence from classes 2, 6a, 7, 8, 14, and 15, the original enclitic form can be traced to a noun class agreement (consonant) prefix plus an invariant (floating H tone) root. While the noun class agreement (consonant) prefix alternates in agreement with the class of the head noun, as in (12a, b), the invariant floating H tone root always docks onto the immediately preceding TBU, where it either forms a LH contour, as in (12a, b), or a MH contour, as in (12c), or simply merges with an immediately preceding lexical H to form a single H tone according to the Tiv identical tones merging formula of H + H = H (McCawley 1970). The uniformity of the H tone enclitic in classes 1, 2b, 3, 5, 6, 9, and 10 excludes the possibility of acknowledging class-distinct enclitic forms for the respective classes in associative constructions. In the prepositional phrase, this possibility is excluded for all classes. Therefore, where there is an alternating noun class consonant preceding it, the H tone enclitic is simply glossed as enc, without the class number that corresponds to the class of the enclitic trigger, i.e., the head noun.

(12) a.   *tòr*   →   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kí*   *tòr=ŭɣ*
            1.king   7-chair-7   7.AM   1.king=7.ENC
            'king'   'chair of a king'

      b.   *tòr*   →   *ḿ-kɔ́n-ùḿ*   *m̀má*   *tòr=ŭm*
            1.king   6a-chair-6a   6a.AM   1.king=6a.ENC
            'king'   'chairs of a king'

      c.   *hé*   →   *ḿ-kɔ́n-ùḿ*   *m̀mà*   *hé=m*
            'new'   6a-chair-6a   6a.AM   new=7.ENC
                                'new chairs'

      d.   *gbándè*→   *ì-ʤìmē*   *ì*   *gbándě*
            1.plate   9-back   9.AM   1.plate:ENC
            'plate'   'back of a plate'

e.	*ì-gò*	→	*ì-dʒìmē*	*ì*	*ì-gǒ*
	9-pig		9-back	9.AM	9.pig:ENC
	'pig'		'back of a pig'		

As presented in Table 2 and illustrated in (12d–e), classes 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 10 are more advanced in the reduction of the enclitic form. In these classes, the noun class agreement (consonant) prefixes have been lost, with only the floating H tone root remaining. In (12d–e), although 'plate' and 'pig' end in L tones in isolation, they bear a final LH contour in the N2 position of the associative construction. Such final rising contour tones, as well as mid tones, which can be reconstructed to a final lexical low tone plus a floating high tone in the dependent noun, show that the enclitic in Tiv falls into Rolle's (2018) second GT type, and Hyman et al.'s (2020) third GT type, described in §1. Adopting the tenets of both GT types, the enclitic is better described as a non-dominant syntactic type of GT that operates at the phrase level and co-occurs with the underlying tones in the target, i.e., nouns. The next subsections are dedicated to examining the behaviour of the enclitic in each context.

5.1 Associative construction

In associative constructions, the enclitic has a significant connection to the classes whose noun suffixes consist of a noun class agreement consonant plus a (floating) tone, i.e. classes 2, 6a, 7, 8, 14, and 15. These are exactly the classes whose nouns trigger noun class agreement consonant prefixes plus tone enclitic forms, as illustrated in (13a–b) where 'head/s' trigger the enclitics *ɣ´* and *m´* respectively with the class 9 noun 'pig'. All classes whose noun suffixes are only floating tones, i.e., classes 1, 3, 5, 6, 9, and 10, also seem to display a correlation with this, triggering floating H tone enclitic forms as illustrated in (13c–d), where the class 5 noun 'waist' and the class 9 noun 'pig' trigger H tone enclitics on 'pig' and 'person', respectively.

(13)	a.	*ì-gò*	→	*í-tó-ūɣ*	*kí*	*ì-gǒ=ɣ*
		9-pig		7-head-7	7.AM	9-pig=7.ENC
		'pig'		'a head of a pig'		
	b.	*ì-gò*	→	*ḿ-tó-ḿ*	*m̀mā*	*ì-gǒ=m*
		9-pig		6a-head-6a	6a.AM	9-pig=6a.ENC
		'pig'		'heads of a pig'		
	c.	*ì-gò*	→	*í-wéŋgé*	*í*	*ì-gǒ*
		9-pig		5-waist:5	5.AM	9-pig:ENC
		'pig'		'waist of a pig'		
	d.	*òr*	→	*ì-gò*	*ì*	*ǒr*
		1.person		9-pig	9.AM	1.person:ENC
		'person'		'pig of someone/a person'		

When a noun class agreement consonant prefix plus a H tone enclitic form is identical to the class suffix that an N2 bears in isolation, the noun class agreeing consonant prefix in the enclitic is dropped in the N2, leaving only the floating H tone enclitic root behind. This might be analysed as strategy for achieving a formal distinction between the citation form of the noun

and the form it takes in the N2 position. In (14a), the N2 'chair' only bears a H tone enclitic, instead of the noun class agreement consonant prefix plus a H tone enclitic form that class 15 head nouns usually trigger in dependent lexical elements, e.g., 'person' in (14b). The motivation for this dropping is the fact that the enclitic form that 'hand' usually triggers on dependent nouns like 'person' in (14b) is identical to the class suffix that 'chair' bears in isolation, as in (14a). Adding the full enclitic form would block the actual interpretation, thereby making the construction seem as though the noun retains its class suffix in N2 position, as in (14c), which is unacceptable in the Tiv morphosyntax. The noun class agreement consonant prefix is therefore omitted in (14a) to avoid this blocking effect.

(14)　a.　*í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*　　→　*ú-wē̆-ɣ*　　*kú*　*ì-kɔ́n*
　　　　7-chair-7　　　　15-hand-15　15.ᴀᴍ　7-chair:ᴇɴᴄ
　　　　'chair'　　　　　'arm of a chair'

　　　b.　*òr*　　　→　*ú-wē̆-ɣ*　　*kú*　*òr=ŭɣ*
　　　　1.person　　　　15-hand-15　15.ᴀᴍ　1-person=15.ᴇɴᴄ
　　　　'person'　　　　'arm of a person'

　　　c.　*í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*　　→　**ú-wē̆-ɣ*　　*kú*　*ì-kɔ̀n=ŭɣ*
　　　　7-chair-7　　　　15-hand-15　15.ᴀᴍ　7-chair:15.ᴇɴᴄ
　　　　'chair'　　　　　Intended: 'arm of a chair'

Promoted by morphosyntactic adjacency, the enclitic has acquired quite a number of morphosyntactic functions. In adjectives like 'new' in (15a) or verbs denoting properties or attributes like 'break' in (15b), the enclitic concurrently indexes the headship of the head noun and functions as noun class agreement suffix in the classes characterized by corresponding noun class suffixes. The noun class agreement interpretation is motivated by the fact that these elements are not nouns and are therefore devoid of class membership.

(15)　a.　*hé*　→　*í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*　　*kì*　*hé=ɣ*
　　　　'new'　　　7-chair-7　　　7.ᴀᴍ　new=7.ᴇɴᴄ
　　　　　　　　　'new chair'

　　　b.　*kévè:*　→　*í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*　　*kì*　*kē̆vé=ɣ*
　　　　'to break'　7-chair-7　　　7.ᴀᴍ　break=7.ᴇɴᴄ
　　　　　　　　　　'a broken chair'

In nouns, such as 'dog' in (16), the enclitic only functions as a formal headship index, because every noun automatically belongs to a class for which it bears markers, overt or covert, like the prefix *ì-*. They, i.e., the nouns, cannot be compelled to give up their class membership in agreeing with another noun. Hence, 'dog' retains its class 9 prefix despite the presence of the enclitic forms *ɣ́* and *ḿ* in (16a–b). The headship index formally indicates that the dependent nouns exist within the morphosyntactic scope or bracket of the head noun. The associative bracket of

a head noun, e.g., 'chain/s' in (16), opens with the noun's class prefix, null or overt, and closes with the enclitic it triggers after dependent nouns like 'dog'.

(16)   a.   *ì-wā*   →   *í-ʃílí-ɣ*   *kí*   *ī-wá=ɣ*
            9-dog   7-chain-7   7.AM 9-dog=7.ENC
            'dog'   'chain of a dog'

       b.   *ì-wā*   →   *ḿ-ʃílí-ḿ*   *m̀mā*   *ī-wá=m*
            9-dog   6a-chain-6a   6a.AM 9-dog=6a.ENC
            'dog'   'chains of a dog'

The enclitic can occur more than once in a complex associative construction that originates from a juxtaposition of two or more independent associative constructions headed by a single noun. In (17a), which originates from the juxtaposition of (17b) and (17c), the enclitic *ɣ´* occurs on 'king' and 'break' because both noun phrases are headed by 'chair'. This betrays the fact that Tiv associative constructions are built cyclically, and the end of each cycle is marked with an enclitic.

(17)   a.   *tòr*   →   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kí*   *tòr=ŭɣ*   *kì*   *kévé=ɣ*
            1.king   7-chair-7   7.AM   1.king=7.ENC 7.AM   break=7.ENC
            'king'   'broken chair of a king'

       b.   *tòr*   →   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kí*   *tòr=ŭɣ*
            1.king   7-chair-7   7.AM   1.king=7.ENC
            'king'   'chair of a king'

       c.   *kévè*   →   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kì*   *kévé=ɣ*
            break   7-chair-7   7.AM   break=7.ENC
            'to break'   'broken chair'

Complex associative constructions originating from a juxtaposition of two or more independent associative constructions only have one enclitic if the heads of the juxtaposed independent associative constructions differ. In such cases, the enclitic form used is the one which is triggered by the head of the (last) embedded associative construction. Example (18a), which originates from the juxtaposition of (18b) and (18c), only has one enclitic, namely the one triggered by 'car', which functions as the head of the embedded associative construction that generally acts as the dependent unit in the matrix associative construction headed by 'chair'. The noun 'king' cannot bear the enclitic triggered by 'chair', as in the unacceptable (18d), since 'chair' is not its direct head.

(18)   a.   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kì*   *mātò*   *ù*   *tŏr*
            7-chair-7   7.AM   1.car   1.AM   1.king:ENC
            'seat of a king's car'

       b.   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   →   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kì*   *mátŏ=ɣ*
            7-chair-7   7-chair-7   7.AM   1.car=7.ENC
            'chair'   'seat of a car'

c.   *tòr*   →   *mátò*   *ù*   *tŏr*
1.king   1.car   1.AM   1.king:ENC
'king'   'car of a king'

d.   **í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kì*   *mātò*   *ù*   *tòr=ŭɣ*
7-chair-7   7.AM   1.car   1.AM   1.king=7.ENC
Intended: 'seat of a king's car'

In one instance, which is worthy of mention, the absence vs. presence of the floating grammatical H tone is one of the diagnostics for distinguishing between a NN compound and an associative construction. The enclitic is absent in the compound construction for 'moped' in (19a), but present in a similar associative construction as in (19b). The enclitic (tone, segment, etc.) is surely the only diagnostic for an associative construction here, since an overt associative marker occurs in both the compound (19a) and in the associative construction (19b).

(19)   a.   *ì-kìkyé-ì-ùsù*
9-machine-9.AM-3.fire
'moped'

b.   *ì-kìkyé*   *ì*   *ù-ùsǔ*
9-machine   9.AM   3-fire:ENC
'machine of electricity'

Suffice it to say that head nouns, e.g., 'hand' in (20a), do not always trigger an enclitic in other nouns in associative constructions. One piece of counterevidence to the enclitic being triggered by head nouns is the presence of a terminal L tone in dependent nouns, e.g., 'spider' in (20b), in associative constructions. It might be that the noun 'spider' does not bear an enclitic because it originates in a compound consisting of the verb *kpérè*: 'entwine' plus *ké* 'in (horizontally)' plus *útáŋgé* 'line of something, e.g., 'heaps'. Other compound nouns, like diminutives, which are formed with *wán* 'child' plus another noun (Angitso 2022b), do not bear enclitics. In (20c), the diminutive 'small elephant/calf' occurs in the N2 position without an enclitic such as that triggered on 'elephant' in (20a) by the same head noun.

(20)   a.   *nòr*   →   *ú-wĕ-ɣ*   *kú*   *nŏ=ɣ*
1.elephant   15-hand-15   15.AM   1.elephant=7.ENC
'elephant'   'hand of an elephant'

b.   *kpèrèkètāŋgè*   →   *ú-wĕ-ɣ*   *kú*   *kpèrèkètāŋgè*
1.spider   15-hand-15   15.AM   1.spider
'spider'   'hand of a spider'

c.   *w-án-nòr*   →   *ú-wĕ-ɣ*   *kú*   *w-án-nò*
1child-1.elephant   15-hand-15   15.AM   1-child-1.elephant
'calf/small elephant'   'hand of a calf/small elephant'

In associative constructions, especially the 'N1 of N2' type, there is an option either to use the enclitic in the dependent element (as in (21a) or to drop it (21b). When the enclitic is used, it

requires one to provide additional information about the morphosyntactic head noun to complete the construction; otherwise, the construction is interpreted as open-ended. This is exactly what a topic marker does: it requires a comment, i.e., additional information. A topic is that constituent of an utterance about which a speaker chooses to provide further information, which is known as a comment (Krifka 2008). The enclitic identifies the head of the associative construction as the topic about which additional information such as that encoded by (noun class agreeing) demonstratives (21c), possessive pronouns (21d), numerals (21e), quantifiers, e.g., 'all' (21f), relative clauses (21g), a subject marker plus verb phrase (21h), or an auxiliary plus verb phrase (21i), must be provided. Apart from the universal quantifiers such as 'all' in (21f), which generally do not bear noun class agreement, all additional information units must at least begin with a noun class agreement form formally indicating their connection to the head noun.

(21) a.   *mátò*   →   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kì*   *mātŏ=ɣ*
          1.car   7-chair-7   7.AM   1.car=7.ENC
          'car'   'seat of a car'

     b.   *mátò*   →   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kì*   *mātò*
          1.car   7-chair-7   7.AM   1.car
          'car'   'seat of a car'

     c.   *mátò*   →   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kì*   *mātŏ=ɣ*   *kì-lā*
          1.car   7-chair-7   7.AM   1.car=7.ENC   7-that
          'car'   'that seat of a car'

     d.   *mátò*   →   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kì*   *mātŏ=ɣ*   *y-á-ɣ*
          1.car   7-chair-7   7.AM   1.car=7.ENC   7-my-7
          'car'   'my seat of a car'

     e.   *mátò*   →   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kì*   *mātŏ=ɣ*   *í-mɔ́m*
          1.car   7-chair-7   7.AM   1.car=7.ENC   7-one
          'car'   'one seat of a car'

     f.   *mátò*   →   *ḿ-kɔ́n-ùḿ*   *m̀mà*   *mātŏ=m*   *ʧì:*
          1.car   6a-chair-6a   6a.AM   1.car=6a.ENC all
          'car'   'all seats of a car'

     g.   *mátò*   →   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kì*   *mātŏ=ɣ*   *kì*   *ḿ*   *yăm*   *là*
          1.car   7-chair-7   7.AM   1.car=7.ENC   7.AM   1SG   buy   that
          'car'   'that seat of a car that I bought'

     h.   *mátò*   →   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kì*   *mātŏ=ɣ*   *kí*   *gbé*
          1.car   7-chair-7   7.AM   1.car=7.ENC   7.SM   fall.PST
          'car'   'a seat of a car fell'

     i.   *mátò*   →   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kì*   *mātŏ=ɣ*   *kí*   *gbâ-n*
          1.car   7-chair-7   7.AM   1.car=7.ENC   7.SM   PROG:fall-PTCP
          'car'   'a seat of a car is falling'

In the presence of the enclitic, the additional information must be about the head noun, and not the dependent noun or unit. To provide additional information about the N2 or dependent unit, the enclitic must be dropped, as in (22a); otherwise, the construction is judged unacceptable, as in (22b). This strengthens the fact that the enclitic is dedicated to the N1 which triggers it.

(22)   a.   *mátò*   →   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kì*   *mātò*   *ŋgù-lá*
             1.car   7-chair-7   7.AM   1.car   1-that
             'car'   'seat of that car'

       b.   *mátò*   →   **í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kì*   *mātŏ=ɣ*   *ŋgù-lá*
             1.car   7-chair-7   7.AM   1.car=7.ENC   1-that
             'car'   Intended: 'seat of that car'

The enclitic's requirement for additional information exclusively for the head noun suggests that it functions as a topic marker within the noun phrase, demarcating topic from comment.

5.2 Prepositional phrases

In prepositional phrases, the enclitic only manifests as an invariant floating H tone, reconstructed as the enclitic root in §5. The enclitic is devoid of any noun class agreement consonant prefixes in the prepositional phrase domain because prepositions, which head these phrases, lack the ability to trigger noun class agreement since they are not nouns.

   Not all nouns bear the enclitic in prepositional phrases. In the database used for this study, the enclitic is found in all class 6a, 7, and 15 nouns, as illustrated in (23a–c) respectively. While some class 2, 2a, and 5 nouns, such as those in (23d–e), bear the enclitic, the terminal L tone in other nouns of these classes in prepositional phrases, as in (23f–g), indicate that they do not bear the enclitic. Classes 1, 1a, 2b, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 14, 14a, and 14b nouns do not bear the enclitic, as the terminal L tone in the nouns in (23h–n) illustrate. These instances betray the fact that the enclitic is fast disappearing in the prepositional phrase domain.

(23)   a.   *ḿ-ndʒírì-ḿ*   →   *ʃá*   *m̀-ndʒìrĭ*
             6a-sandfly-6a   on   6a-sandfly:ENC
             'sandflies'   'on sandflies'

       b.   *í-kám-ĕɣ*   →   *ʃá*   *ì-kăm*
             7-brick-7   on   7-brick:ENC
             'brick'   'on brick'

       c.   *ú-kór-ŭɣ*   →   *ʃá*   *ù-kŏr*
             15-horn-15   on   15-horn:ENC
             'horn'   'on a horn'

       d.   *kásé-v*   →   *ʃá*   *ù-kāsé*
             2:woman-2   on   2-woman:ENC
             'women'   'on women'

e.   *í-wén*   →   *ʃá*   *ī-wěn*
        5-stone:5   on   5-stone:ENC
        'stone'   'on a stone'

f.   *m̀bà-àɲàm*   →   *ʃá*   *m̀bà-àɲàm*
        2-lion   on   2-lion
        'lions'   'on lions'

g.   *í-késí*   →   *ʃá*   *ī-kèsì*
        5-basket:5   on   5-basket
        'basket'   'on a basket'

h.   *k\<w\>ǎ:-ɣ*   →   *ʃá*   *k\<w\>à:*
        1a.thing-1a\<1a\>   on   1a.thing\<1a\>
        'thing'   'on something/a thing'

i.   *ú-kwéndé*   →   *ʃá*   *ū-kwéndè*
        3-shoulder:3   on   3-shoulder
        'shoulder'   'on a shoulder'

j.   *á-ɲīɲá*   →   *ʃá*   *ā-ɲīɲà*
        6-horse:6   on   6-horse
        'horses'   'on horses'

k   *í-éě-v*   →   *ʃá*   *ù-ē:*
        8-idol-8   on   8-idol
        'idols'   'on idols'

l.   *ì-ɲìɲà*   →   *ʃá*   *ì-ɲìɲà*
        9-horse   on   9-horse
        'horse'   'on a horse'

m.   *í-gó*   →   *ʃá*   *ī-gò*
        10-pig:10   on   10-pig
        'pigs'   'on pigs'

n.   *í-yǎ-v*   →   *ʃá*   *ù-yà*
        14-belly-14   on   14-belly
        'belly'   'on a belly'

The enclitic betrays the fact that the prepositions in whose complement it occurs originated from nouns. In other words, the prepositional phrases after which the enclitic occurs are erstwhile 'N1 of N2' associative constructions in which the head noun grammaticalized into a preposition. Nouns such as 'face' in (24a) and 'back' in (24b) are used as N1s in 'N1 of N2' associative constructions to encode locational properties. Depending on their classes, such nouns either trigger a noun class agreement consonant prefix plus a floating H tone enclitic root form, as in (24a), or just a floating H tone root enclitic form, as in (24b); the floating H tone devoid of noun

class agreement consonant prefix manifests in some complements of the prepositions *ʃá* 'on, onto' in (24c): *ʃĭn* 'inside (vertically)', *ké* 'inside (horizontally)', and *hĭ* 'by, besides, from, at'. The emergence of these prepositions from erstwhile nouns is directly reflected in their nominal decategorization, i.e., their loss of nominal properties which pertain to syntactic autonomy, noun class / gender cum number distinctions, and concordial agreement features, e.g., in the enclitic. The enclitic root is now the last trace of the erstwhile nominality of these prepositions.

(24)   a.   *í-ʃĭ-ɣ*   *kí*   *ū-kāsé=ɣ*
                7-face-7   7.AM   2-woman=7.ENC
                'before women'   ←   'face of women'

       b.   *ì-dʒìmē*   *ì*   *ū-kāsé*
                9-back   9.AM   2-woman:ENC
                'behind women'   ←   'back of women'

       c.   *ʃá*   *ù-kāsé*
                on   2-woman:ENC
                'on women'

The enclitic does not occur in any complement of the comitative prepositions *á:*, *véā*, and *kúà*, as shown in (25a), because these prepositions neither originate in nouns nor do they (consequently) trigger suffix deletion as in (25b), which is a prerequisite for adding the enclitic (see §4). Angitso (2020, 232–233) traces the origin of *kúà*, for example, to a verb 'fetch' or 'to take somebody from a place', as illustrated in (25c). Verbs neither trigger suffix deletion nor the addition of the enclitic to their complements, as shown in (25d), where 'chair' still retains its citation form after the verb 'to buy'. The enclitic is only manifested in the complement of the verb if the complement is an associative construction, as in (25e), in which case, the trigger for the enclitic is the head of the associative construction, and not the verb.

(25)   a.   *ḿ-ŋgér-èḿ*   →   **kúà*   *m̀-ŋgĕr*
                6a-water-6a   with.ADD   6a-water:ENC
                'water'   Intended: 'with water'

       b.   *ḿ-ŋgér-èḿ*   →   *kúà*   *ḿ-ŋgér-èḿ*
                6a-water-6a   with.ADD   6a-water-6a
                'water'   'with water'

       c.   *mímí*   *kúà*   *á:*   *tòr*   *w-èné*
                Mimi   fetch   with.POSS   1.king 1-your
                'Mimi fetched your king' (Angitso 2020, 233)

       d.   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   →   *séwúèsè*   *yàm*   *í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*
                7-chair-7   Sewuese   buy   7-chair-7
                'chair'   'Sewuese bought a chair/seat'

	e.	*séwúèsè*	*yàm*	*í-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*	*kì*	*mātǒ=ɣ*	*kì-lá*
		Sewuese	buy	7-chair-7	7.AM	1.car=7.ENC	7-that
		'Sewuese bought that seat of car'					

There is no option of dropping the enclitic in the prepositional phrases where it occurs, as reflected by the unacceptability of (26a). It must be present, as in (26b). Where it occurs in prepositional phrases, the enclitic does not create the feeling that one needs to provide additional information. This is promoted by the fact that the heads of prepositional phrases are prepositions and not nouns; therefore, additional information cannot be provided about them. Just as in associative constructions, to provide additional information about the complement of the preposition, the enclitic must be dropped, and the complement must be realized in its citation form, as in (26c); otherwise, the construction is judged unacceptable, as in (26d). This parallelism with the associative construction strengthens the proposal that prepositions whose complements occasionally bear enclitics originate from nouns.

(26) a. **hɨ*   *ì-kɔ̀n*
             by   7-chair
             Intended: 'by a chair'

      b. *hɨ*   *ì-kɔ̌n*
             by   7-chair:ENC
             'by a chair'

      c. *hɨ*   *ì-kɔ́n-ŭɣ*   *kì*   *m̄*   *yǎm*   *là*
             by   7-chair-7   7.AM   1SG   buy   that
             'by that chair that I bought'

      d. **hɨ*   *ì-kɔ̌n*   *kì*   *m̄*   *yǎm*   *là*
             by   7-chair:ENC   7.AM   1SG   buy   that
             Intended: 'by that chair that I bought'

From the foregoing, while the enclitic has the pragmatic function of a topic marker in the associative construction, it has lost this function in prepositional phrases, where the only condition for adding it is if the noun functioning as the complement of the preposition is not modified. Given the possibility that the prepositional phrases (occasionally) characterized by the enclitic originate in 'N1 of N2' associative constructions, it is the case that the enclitic started out in associative constructions as pragmatically motivated but has gradually faded out in prepositions originating from the associative construction, with only syntactic conditions remaining.

6 Analysis

This section evaluates alternative analyses of the enclitic. The first alternative to be evaluated is that which treats the H as being intonational. The H is tonal rather than intonational because it only affects the last tone bearing unit, to the exclusion of all preceding tones. Intonation usually affects a stretch of neighbouring tones, while tones do not (Rialland and Aborobongui 2017). In (27) for example, if the H is intonational, it would have gradually elevated the pitch of the L tone series in 'chair' in (27a–b) or the entire associative construction (27c), with the raising

being strongest at the very end of the phrases. However, the H tone enclitic only forms a contour with the final L in these contexts.

(27) a.   *í-kɔ́n-ǔɣ*   →   *hɨ́*   *ì-kɔ̌n*
           7-chair-7   by   7-chair:ENC
           'chair'   'by a chair'

      b.   *í-kɔ́n-ǔɣ*   →   *ú-wě-ɣ*   *kú*   *ì-kɔ̌n*
           7-chair-7   15-hand-15   15.am   7-chair:ENC
           'chair'   'arm of a chair'

      c.   *ì-hàndè*   →   *tò:*   *ù*   *ì-hàndě*
           9-field   1.king   1.AM   9-field
           'field'   'king of a field'

Another formal alternative analysis is that the enclitic marks the boundary of a tighter morphosyntactic unit that head nouns form with dependent nouns, verbs, or adjectives in an associative construction, as promoted by their syntactic adjacency. This unit acts as a domain of morphophonological, morphotonological, and morphosyntactic rules that directly link the head noun with the dependent lexical item, to the exclusion of a third item, e.g. a numeral or a demonstrative, as seen in (28), where the head noun 'skin/s' causes (i) the prefix of the dependent noun 'belly' to change from a high front vowel to a high back vowel; (ii) the tone of the class prefix of 'belly' to change from H to L; and (iii) the class suffix of 'belly' to be deleted. None of these processes affects the numerals 'one' or 'two' in (28a–b), nor the demonstrative 'that' in (28c).

(28) a.   *í-yǎ-v*   →   *í-kɔ́v-úɣ*   *kí*   *ù-yǎ=ɣ*   *í-mɔ́m*
           14-belly-14   7-skin-7   7.AM   14-belly=7.ENC   7-one
           'belly'   'one skin of a belly'

      b.   *í-yǎ-v*   →   *á-kɔ́v*   *á:*   *ù-yǎ*   *á-há:*
           14-belly-14   6-skin:6   6.AM   14-belly:ENC   6-two
           'belly'   'two skins of a belly'

      c.   *í-yǎ-v*   →   *í-kɔ́v-úɣ*   *kí*   *ù-yǎ=ɣ*   *kì-lá*
           14-belly-14   7-skin-7   7.AM   14-belly=7.ENC   7-that
           'belly'   'that skin of a belly'

The enclitic is not the lexical entry for an associative marker that attaches via regular phonological tonal associations to the noun. By implication, the enclitic is not a second or an extended exponent of the associative marker. Extended or multiple exponence is "the occurrence of multiple realizations of a single morphosemantic feature, bundle of features, or derivational category within a word" (Harris 2016, 9). For illustration, consider (29).

(29) a.   *nòr*   →   *ú-wě-ɣ*   *kú*   *nǒ=ɣ*
           1.elephant   15-hand-15   15.AM   1.elephant=7.ENC
           'elephant'   'hand of an elephant'

	b.	*kpèrèkètāŋgè* →	*ú-wĕ-ɣ*	*kú*	*kpèrèkètāŋgè*
		1.spider	15-hand-15	15.AM	1.spider
		'spider'	'hand of a spider'		

While the enclitic co-occurs with the class 15 associative marker *kú* in (29a), it does not co-occur with the (same) associative marker in (29b), indicating that the presence vs. absence of the enclitic does not depend on the associative marker.

7 Conclusion

Tiv associative constructions and prepositional phrases are characterized by an enclitic, whose historic noun class agreement (consonant) prefix plus root form has been reduced to either a floating H tone root or a null enclitic in certain noun classes and in the syntactic context of a prepositional phrase / of certain prepositional phrases. The addition of the enclitic entails that the nouns bearing it must occur in their B-forms, which are characterized by phonologically modified prefixes and deleted suffixes. The morphosyntactic functions of the enclitic include indexing the headship of the head noun on the dependent noun or unit, whereby it assumes the function of an agreement suffix on adjectives, marking the boundary of a noun plus noun, verb or adjective associative bracket which begins with the prefix of the head noun, overt or covert, and ends with the enclitic. This bracket can be further analysed as a tighter morphosyntactic unit that head nouns form with a dependent noun, verb, or adjective in an associative construction, as promoted by their syntactic adjacency. This unit acts as a domain of morphophonological, morphotonological, and morphosyntactic rules that directly link the head noun with the dependent noun, to the exclusion of a third item, e.g., a numeral or a demonstrative. Pragmatically, the enclitic functions as a topic marker at the noun phrase level, requiring that one must finish the construction by adding additional information about the morphosyntactic head noun, just like a topic marker in the clausal domain requires a comment, i.e., additional information. In prepositional phrases, this pragmatic value has been lost. In this feature of triggering information structure values, the enclitic in Tiv conforms with the profile of enclitics found in other Bantoid languages like Aghem (Hyman 2010, 1979), Isu (Kießling 2010), and Babanki (Akumbu and Kießling forthcoming), where the pragmatic values encoded by enclitics range between defocalization and focalization. While the enclitic has segment plus tone forms in all the attested noun classes in these languages, the segment plus tone forms are restricted to certain classes. The predominant enclitic form is the floating H tone, which has been lost in many contexts.

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