Research Article

The Prohibitive Injunction In Kabiyè
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Abstract:
Research on the Kabiyè language has already explored, to some extent, the injunction in the chapters that deal with the verb. Nevertheless, it remains relative to postulate that the ambiguity of the intercurrent amalgam between the expression of the negation and that of prohibition is clearly removed since the terminology used in French language ("négation à l'impératif ", "formes négatives de l'impératif et du jussif", Etc.) still bears clues to the survival of this vagueness. However, in Kabiyè, the enunciative operation of injunction is carried by the imperative and jussive modes with a conative scope which results from the injunctive behavior of the speaker. Prohibition is not, in that language, an avatar of the expression of an inadequacy, but a result of the injunction when it becomes deterrent or suspensive. It is introduced by the morpheme taa- /BB/ and can be nuanced or even reinforced with absolutive adverbs depending on the intention to act on the co-announcer that the speaker has assigned to himself.

Keywords: Prohibition, Injunction, Negation, Gur, Kabiyè

Introduction
In any communication, the speaker aims, among other things, to affect the physical, moral or psychological integrity of the recipient. In order to act through the content of the message on the interlocutor, modalities such as order,
questioning, "imperative operation". Indeed, in the injunction, as in the case of other enunciative operations such as assertion, which may be positive or negative depending on whether it expresses an adequacy or an inadequacy, there is an alternative of a "stimulating" expression in the form of an incitement to take action and an expression, for its part, which is repulsive in the form of a more or less formal prohibition. This second facet of the injunctive operation, the purpose of which is to prohibit, prevent, defend or interrupt the carrying out of a trial, the very face that has a deterrent purpose, is prohibition. Our interest in the problem of prohibition stems, on the one hand, from the amalgam which is often made between denial and prohibition and, on the other hand, from the need to systematically identify and describe the mechanisms for implementing the prohibitive enunciation in Kabiyè. The following questions will be of particular interest as we move forward in the analysis: (1) what properties make it possible to characterize prohibition in the context of the enunciative operation of the injunction? What typology can be established of prohibition in Kabiyè? (3) Is prohibition always explicitly expressed in discourse? This study is carried out in a descriptive approach that uses field data to highlight the mechanisms of implementation of prohibition in Kabiyè from the general framework of the injunction. It draws inspiration from Creissels (2006a) in the conceptualization of the injunctive sentence and Searle (1972) for the determination of prohibitive undertones. The data on which this study is based are collected from native speakers of Kabiyè in Kara, Togo.

1. The İnjunction: Some Properties İn Kabiyè:
The injunction is used in the expression of the intimation. It is presented as an incitement by the speaker to the interlocutor to perform an action, to act according to the content of the message. In previous studies by Searle (1979, 1990: 358-360), the injunction is an independent category in the list of its (five) illocutionary acts. Its properties are defined by its illocutionary purpose, which consists inpushing the interlocutor to carry out a future action. The speaker tries to get things done. The essential defining element is this illocutionary aim of the injunctive act: to try to make the world conform to the propositional content. The injunctive act expresses the speaker's desires, will and intention. The conditions of sincerity are therefore the wishes, desires and will of the speaker (Minh, 2015). To achieve its illocutionary goal, the injunctive utterance necessarily carries the will of the speaker, whose desires and wishes it expresses in the form of various orders in terms of constraints: the order may be of a more modest (invitation, proposal or suggestion), ... vigorous (insistence or prayer) or peremptory (order, authorization or command). The different degrees of injunctive expression correspond to illocutionary acts that Searle (1990: 359-360) associates with the verbs to order, command, ask, require, pray, solicit, beg, as well as to permit, advise, invite, etc. (Minh, 2015). In the present study, the injunction is perceived through the injunctive statement, the prohibitive type of which is circumscribed by the preaching in Kabiyè as a particularity to be explained. In order to do so, we first present an overview of the injunctive relief statement in Kabiyè.

1.1. The İnjunctive Relief Statement:
It concerns all language production in a situation of communication and corresponds to "an enunciative modality by which the speaker expresses his will to obtain a certain behavior from the addressee, and tends to make him realize the propositional content of his utterance" (Bréüs 2002: 51). It always appears, on the part of the speaker, what Charaudeau (1983: 60) calls "injunctive behaviour", which implies modalities such as ordering, prohibiting, suggesting, warning, etc., as giving the speaker the status of absolute authority and the co-enunciator the status of submission (Desnica, 2016: 260-261) or an obligation to

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1This is my own translation of the author's words: "une modalité énonciative par laquelle le locuteur exprime sa volonté d'obtenir du destinataire un certain comportement, et tend à lui faire réaliser le contenu propositionnel de son énoncé" (Bréüs, 2002 : 51).

2« le comportement injonctif » (Charaued, 1983 : 60)
perform. Thus, among the statements below, (1a) and (2a) are injunctive in the strict sense of the term since the order is directly respondent to the imperative. The same applies to statements (3a) and (4a) which, loaded with prohibitive content introduced by the morphemes -taa- (3a) and -ŋ- (4a) in the pre-verbal environment, are injunctive, because of the implicitly injunctive scope of their predicates. Furthermore, in (5a) the nonverbal statement míniwó caɗaŋ which is an explicit order for a gourd whose content (the drink) is worth a hundred francs is also injunctive, as is the volitional use of the adverb ŋasam "quick (done)!" (6) and the pronoun ŋe "you! " (7). These are directive acts. In contrast, statements (1b), (2b), (3b), (4b) and (5b) are mere assertions, which are the most important evidentiary acts.

| (1a) | cɛlɩ- | m | kalhonoó |   |
|------|-------|---|----------|---|
| hand over.IMPER.2Sg | 1Sg | pen |   |   |
| Put the feather back in my hand! |

| (1b) | η- | cɛl- | m | kalhonoó |   |
|------|---|-------|---|----------|---|
| 2Sg | put back.Prft | 1Sg | pen |   |   |
| You handed me the feather. |

| (2a) | yaa |   |   |   |   |
|-----|-----|---|---|---|---|
| ring.IMPER.2Sg |   |   |   |   |   |
| Sound the horn! |

| (2b) | pa- | yá |   |   |   |
|-----|-----|---|---|---|---|
| 3Pl | put back.Prft |   |   |   |   |
| They have blown the horn / The horn has been blown. |

| (3a) | máń- | taa- | na | mi- | i | máŋgʊ | yɔ |   |
|------|------|------|----|----|---|--------|---|---|
| 1Sg | PRHB | see.Implf | 2Pl | DMC | mango tree | on |   |   |
| Don’t let me see you on the mango tree! |

| (3b) | man- | ta- | na | mi- | i | máŋgʊ | yɔ |   |
|------|------|----|----|----|---|--------|---|---|
| 1Sg | NEG | see.Implf | 2Pl | DMC | mango tree | on |   |   |
| I don’t see you on the mango tree! |

| (4a) | η- | η- | tìktɪ́ | kɔye | ńdʒi | yʊʊo | ti- | kʊʊ |   |
|------|---|---|------|------|------|------|---|---|---|
| 2Sg | PRHB | snack.Implf | medicin e | 2sg.cl5 | Interj | 3sg.cl | kill.Implf |   |   |
| You won’t taste this product, will you! It kills. |

| (4b) | η- | tìktɪ́ | kɔye | ńdʒi | yɛ́ | ti- | kʊʊ |   |   |
|------|---|------|------|------|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2Sg | snack.Implf | medicin e | 2sg.cl5 | Interj | 3sg.cl | kill.Implf |   |   |   |

| (5a) | míniwó | caɗaŋ |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|------|------|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| one hundred | gourd |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| The gourd of a hundred francs! |

| (5b) | míniwó | caɗaŋ | yʊʊkáa |   |   |   |   |   |
|------|------|------|--------|---|---|---|---|---|
| one hundred | gourd | break.Prft |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| The hundred franc gourd is broken. |
1. ‹tasamquick. Interj Quickly
   (done)!
2. ñëyou. Interj You!

Of the above statements, the injunctive scope is direct in (1a), (2a), (3a), and (4a) and some extent, especially because of their appellative (Bühler, 1934) or conative (Jakobson, 1963) function, in (6) and (7)). Smith (2007) considers that the expeditious field, which involves interjections, and the deictic field (or deictic procedures) are "directly" involved in language activity, to varying degrees, but in such a concrete way that it is possible to see in their use an intention on the part of the enunciator to act on the enunciate. The interjections thus establish a direct link ("direktendraht", [...]) between the enunciator and the enunciatee by relying on an expeditious procedure whose appellative character recalls the appellate function in Bühler (1934) and the conative function in Jakobson (1963). The link between form and function is close in the sense that expedited procedures are self-sufficient, that is to say that their implementation dispenses with recourse to other linguistic means and syntactic integration (Smith, 2007: 79). In contrast, the injunctive nature of the utterance (5a) is a derivation of the underlying direct act of language generated by the context. Moreover, it should be noted that the injunction is usually accompanied by an imperative. This is at least what emerges, for example, from Dubois (2007: 250), who observes that the imperative is one of the forms of injunctive relief, from Fontaine (2012: 417), who speaks of the "injunctive imperative" as if there were an imperative mode that differs from the injunctive type, or from Nicole (2018: 139), who reserves the description of the injunction only to an exclusive interest in the imperative. Dufeu’s (2000) comment on the semantic vagueness of the imperative signifier in the linguistic tradition should also not be overlooked:

D’autres, sans nier la diversité des réalisations formelles de l’injonction, maintiennent malgré tout l’équivalence sémantique commode que semble livrer l’étymologie, en parlant de l’impératif comme de l’expression « privilégiée » de l’injonction : on peut comprendre ainsi l’étude particulière de L. Wainstein sur L’expression du commandement dans le français actuel2, ou encore l’article d’H. Lewicka sur « La modalité de la phrase et l’emploi des modes en français »4, qui évoque l’expression de la modalité volitive comme la « fonction primaire » de l’impératif (Dufeu, 2000 : 12)5. In the present study, any statement of a directive nature is considered injunctive, representing, as Oyharçabal (2000) states, "informally the act of speech corresponding to the expression of an order, regardless of the person supposed to carry it out: the speaker or a group including the speaker but not the enunciator (imperative), one or more third parties (jussive), or even the enunciator possibly associated with the speaker and/or one or more third parties." Thus, the injunctive utterance subjects the verb to the TAM6 constraints of imperative and jussive.

1.2 Imperative Mode In Kabiyê
In Kabiyê, the imperative mode is characterized as being able to present a perfective or imperfect

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1 Wainstein, 1950. The note is from the author himself (Dufeu, 2000, note 11). I translate the words of the author whose original utterance as follows: "de manière informelle l'acte de discours correspondant à l'expression d'un ordre quelle que soit la personne supposée accomplir celui-ci : l'allocutaire ou un groupe incluant celui-ci mais pas l'énonciateur (impératif), un ou des tiers (jussif), voire l'énonciateur associé éventuellement à l'allocutaire et/ou à un ou des tiers."

2 Lewicka (1973: 381). The note is from the author himself (Dufeu, 2000, note 12).

3 My own translation of this point of view is as follows: "Others, without denying the diversity of the formal realizations of the injunction, nevertheless maintain the convenient semantic equivalence that the etymology seems to deliver, by speaking of the imperative as the "privileged" expression of the injunction: this is how one can understand the particular study of L. Wainstein's particular study on "L'expression du commandement dans le français actuel", or H. Lewicka's article on "La modalité de la phrase et l'emploi des modes en français", which evokes the expression of the volitive modality as the "primary function" of the imperative."

4 Tens, Aspect and Mode (TAM).
form (Kassan, 1987: 59-64) and described in relation to the jussive (Lébikaza, 1999: 345-347). Even if the definitions proposed (id. 345) as a prelude to their descriptions seem more or less confused, Lébikaza establishes details on the expression of the two modes: "L’impératif est le mode de l’injonction, de l’ordreformel. Les formes de l’impératif n’existent qu’à la deuxième personne du singulier…Le jussif est le mode de l’injonction et du souhait. La marque du jussif est un ton haut sans support segmental..." Lébikaza's confusion in the definition of the imperative and the jussive results on the one hand from the vagueness created (inadvertently (?)) through the expressive imprecision he shows, in particular when he indicates that with the jussive mode, one can give an order or make a wish to the first, 2nd or 3rd person in the singular or plural, including persons not participating in the communication or when it is not decisive from a descriptive point of view with expressions such as "...mode of the injunction, of the formal order" and "...mode of the injunction and of the wish", the difference in terms of content being non-existent. Nevertheless, the fact of considering the imperative and the jussive as modes of expression of the injunction is very remarkable in linguistic description when we know that most authors neither venture to define it nor to adapt it to the specificity of the language described. On the other hand, it also remains to be understood why Lébikaza (1999) chose to consider as strictly imperative only injunctive statements in the second person singular, whereas Kassan (1996: 299) implies the first person plural. It is not a trivial question why the second person singular and not the plural, especially since the latter also expresses the formal order ((8b)-(9b)) in the same way as the first ((8a)-(9a)).

Moreover, as it can be seen in statements (8b) and (9b), the high tone of the second person pronoun is not only in the jussive mode, if at least it is accepted that both statements are imperative. And we can take our curiosity a step further to show that even in the indicative, in an assertive ((10a), (10b)) or interrogative ((11a), (11b)) operation, whether it expresses an adequacy ((10a), (11a)) or an inadequacy ((10b), (11b)) with a second person plural pronoun as its subject, the second person pronoun always has a high tone that is characteristic of it and not in the jussive mode.

| (8a) | mà |  |
| (8b) | è- | mà |
| 2pl | write.IMPE R |  |

| (9a) | só | lim |  |
| (9b) | è- | só | lim |
| 2pl | wash.IMPE R | water |  |

(8b) Write!
(9b) Wash up!

Other works, (Kpézou, 2019), following Ernst (1994), and especially Lébikaza (1999) for

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My own translation of this point of view is as follows: "Imperative is the mode of the injunction, of the formal order. The forms of the imperative exist only in the second person singular...Jussive is the mode of injunction and wish. The mark of the jussive is a high tone with no segmental support".

In this study, it is shown that he first person plural is only attested to in the jussive mode (see Section 1.3., infra).
Kabiye, have favored the direct order addressed to a single person, the second person singular, as a mark of the imperative in Kabiye. Ernst (1994), for the Kakɔ, indicates in fact that "the forms of other persons, namely the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person plural, as well as the 1st and 3rd person singular, belong to a second category which we call injunctive" (Ernst, 1994: 4). To avoid falling into dead-end speculation, it is indeed essential, in order to define the imperative object, to characterize what distinguishes it from nearby signifying objects. Therefore, the present study is based on linguistic data from the productions of native speakers, as it aims at theorization of a satisfactory level of descriptive adequacy. To this end, we fully endorse the characterization of the imperative made by Dufeu (2000): Le mode impératif n’a pas vocation à fournir une indication à propos d’un sujet (implicite). Sa fonction propre est d’instituer l’interlocuteur comme agent nécessaire du procès. Dans cette opération linguistique d’imposition du procès, et d’institution de l’interlocuteur comme sujet, le verbe impératif, qui n’est pas un prédicat, n’indique pas de programme chronologique. La nécessité d’obtempérer est immédiate, orientée vers un avenir indéfini. Elle apparaît avec l’énoncé même, sans représentation construite du temps. A la modalité de prédicacion, de laquelle relèvent les modes subjonctif et indicatif, nous avons donc opposé une autre modalité, de laquelle relève le mode impératif, et que nous avons proposé de baptiser « institution » (Dufeu, 2000 : 466). It follows that the imperative mode is operative only insofar as the trial is imposed on the interlocutor, whether singular or plural, instituted as a subject who must comply immediately. It therefore becomes possible to adopt the logic that distinguishes the imperative form (as is the case with Oyharçabal (2000), among others), that which corresponds to the second person, as is the case in Basque11, from other forms. Thus, the forms of the imperative vary according to whether the verb is actualized in the utterance with the modality "institution" (Dufeu, 2000: 466) or with other values in addition.

### The Institution Modality:

The trial intimates a direct order to a third party to the second person without any additional indication whose semantic value would nuance its realization or interpretation.

| 1sg | tãkay ayan | paper |
|-----|------------|-------|
| Read.2sg.IMPER | paper |
| Follow.2sg.IMPER | 1sg behind.Postp |
| Follow me! / Come after me! |
| 2pl | introduce.IMPER | 2pl.O | hands | hole s | in | post | p

Put your hands in the holes!

| 1sg | nɛ | paper |
|-----|----|-------|
| read.1sg.IMPER | paper |
| ñe | m |
| 2sg | switchon.IMPER | fire | and | 1 S |

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9 This is my own translation of the author’s words: “Les formes des autres personnes, à savoir la 1ère, la 2ème et la 3ème personne du pluriel, ainsi que la 1ère et la 3ème personne du singulier font partie d’une deuxième catégorie que nous appelons injonctif” (Ernst, 1994 : 4).

10 My own translation of this point of view is as follows: “The imperative mode is not intended to provide an (implicit) indication about a subject. Its proper function is to establish the interlocutor as the necessary agent of the trial. In this linguistic operation of imposition of the process, and of institution of the interlocutor as subject, the imperative verb, which is not a predicate, does not indicate a chronological program. The need to obey is immediate, oriented towards an indefinite future. It appears with the statement itself, without a constructed representation of time. To the preaching modality, which includes the subjunctive and indicative modes, we have therefore opposed another modality, which includes the imperative mode, and which we have proposed to call “institution”.” (Dufeu, 2000: 466).

11 Some examples: egizu ‘do it’. cf. Oyharçabal (2000:2); EramanNazak ‘Take me away’ or EramanNazu ‘Take us away’. cf. Oyharçabal (2000:7).

12 A priori, the imperative mode has the function of instituting the enunciatee as the necessary agent of the trial. The “institution” mode is therefore intrinsic to it. And these are the forms in which verbs are presented with the institution modality that Lébikaza (1999;347ff) calls "Les forms simples de l’impératif".
When another value (cumulative, expectative, adversative (Lébikaza, 1999)) is associated with the 'institution' modality, the process remains in imperative mode, but with an additional semantic nuance.

1. Continuing value

The trial must continue.

| (16)y podrá-y melá yemb break.2Sg.IMPER-CONT | (17)monkey.loavesfor.no.reasoncarefree |
|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Continue to break the monkey loaves carelessly! | |

Expected value

The order is directed to the addressee to act pending an explicitly expressed hypothetical action ((18b)-(19b)) or not ((18a)-(19a)). The expectant imperative is assumed by the morpheme tɩ tɩ- of tonal scheme HH.

| (18a) tɩ- háyíyí | Expec cultivate.2Sg.IMPER |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| Harvest the sorghum all the same! | |

| (18b) tɩ- háyíyí né haláa | Expec cultivate.2Sg.IMPER and women bring.meal |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Harvest the sorghum all the same! | |

Adversarial value

The adversarial modality of the imperative expresses an unconditionality: the enunciatee must perform whatever condition prevails or opposes the action envisaged. It is introduced by the morpheme tu- /BB/.

| (20a) tu- | lenh |
|-----------|------|
| Adv dry.2Sg.IMPER | Dries all the same! |

| (20b) tu- | dúu |
|-----------|------|
| Adv sow.2Sg.IMPER | Sow all the same! |

| (21a) e tɩ- kʊ mɩlá | 2P harvest.2Sg.IMPER sorghum |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| Harvest the sorghum all the same! | |

| (21b) e tɩ- pɩ sı | 2P back.2Sg.IMPER |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| Come back anyway! | |

1.3. The jussif

The previous section has tried to show how difficult it is to distinguish, in many descriptions, between the imperative and the jussive. Of course, variations in content may depend on contexts or language types since, as Italia (2005: 197), for example, shows, depending on the age and educational level of Gabonese pupils, jussive is confused with imperative in their reported discourse because, she says, the internal jussive modality is translated into the imperative mode. It is also normal to take into consideration the fact that situations do not present themselves in the same light from one language to another. Bentolila (1998) examines the issue with the case of Amharic, a very illustrative example: Jussif et impératif sont très proches l’un de l’autre, au point qu’on a pu parler de “jussif-impératif”. Tous deux servent à exprimer l’injonction ; l’impératif pour la 2è personne […] le jussif pour les autres personnes […] Malgré cette proximité formelle et sémantique du jussif
et de l’impératif en amharique, nous préférons poser deux unités car le jussif est susceptible d’apparaître en énoncé interrogatif alors que l’impératif y est exclu.\(^\text{13}\) (Bentolila, 1998: 173). Moreover, both the jussive and the imperative express the injunction in Kabiyè. In the context of this description, it is retained that the jussive is characteristic of prescriptions, requirements and wishes. But what are its intrinsic properties? Lébikaza (1999: 347) highlights the boundaries of this mode, but says no more beyond that: "Le jussifestasseproche du subjonctif, sans luiêtreidentique. Nous avons évité le terme 'subjunctif' parce qu’il recouvre des formes qui ne s’emploient pas seulement dans les énoncés exprimant une injonction ou un souhait."\(^\text{14}\). For my part, I consider the jussive to be governed by syntactic and semantic properties. Indeed, the jussive utterance is basically a verbal utterance with a left-selected argument which is a pronoun whose presence is obligatory even in the presence of a nominal phrase to which it refers \((22a)-(25a)\). It is therefore updated, as in \((22b)-(25b)\), with the system of substitute pronouns (Pali, 2015b: 296-297).

\[\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{growers} & \text{3Sg.cl3} & \text{bark.Aor} \\
\hline
\text{Farmers, let them come!} \\
\hline
\text{pó-} & \text{köo} \\
\hline
\text{3Pl.cl2} & \text{come.A or} \\
\hline
\text{Let them come!} \\
\hline
\text{tőŋ} & \text{é-} & \text{nő} & \text{e-} & \text{nú} & \text{m} \\
\hline
\text{bees} & \text{3Sg.cl1} & \text{drink.Go ld} & \text{3Pl.Poss} & \text{oil} \\
\hline
\text{Bees, let them drink their honey} \\
\hline
\text{pʊ-wɛɛ́ së́ mán- siŋ} \\
\hline
\text{I have to stand.} \\
\hline
\text{piya} & \text{si-} & \text{wéléśí} \\
\hline
\text{children} & \text{3Sg.cl7} & \text{listen.A or} \\
\hline
\text{Children, let them listen!} \\
\hline
\text{sí-} & \text{wéléśí} \\
\hline
\text{3Sg.cl7} & \text{listen.A or} \\
\hline
\text{Let them listen!} \\
\hline
\end{array}\]

On the other hand, with personal pronouns, the jussive statement has some syntactic features. It is a dependent proposition which expresses the wish or the injunction (of the enunciator) whereas it carries the injunctive content which explicitly expresses the reaction expected from the addressee. The first proposition is the one that Lébikaza (1999: 346) called the introductory proposition, which he reduced to the following sentence: pʊ-wése "It is necessary that ". But the utterances \((26a)-(26c)\) show that Kabiyè attests to other introductory propositions, depending on the verb chosen to preach according to the injunction or wish of the enunciator.

\[\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{pʊ-} & \text{weč} & \text{se} & \text{mán-} & \text{siŋ} \\
\hline
\text{3sg} & \text{be} & \text{that} & \text{1Sg} & \text{be.standing.Aor} \\
\hline
\text{I have to stand.} \\
\hline
\text{haló} & \text{ñiŋaa} & \text{se} & \text{mán-} & \text{siŋ} \\
\hline
\end{array}\]

\(^{13}\)This is my own translation of the author's words: "Jussive and imperative are very close to each other, to the point that we could speak of 'jussive-imperial'. Both serve to express the injunction; the imperative for the second person [...] the jussive for the other persons [...] Despite this formal and semantic proximity of the jussive and the imperative in Amharic, we prefer to use two units because the jussive is likely to appear in an interrogative utterance whereas the imperative is excluded".

\(^{14}\)"The jussive is quite close to the subjunctive, without being identical to it. We have avoided the term 'subjunctive' because it covers forms that are not only used in statements expressing an injunction or a wish".
The woman demanded that I stay up.

It requires me to stand.

What the above statements have in common is that the proposals, po-weése "It is necessary that", haló niñaase "The woman demanded that" and po-pəzaáse "It demands that", play the same role in (26a), (26b) and (26c) to the extent that they can switch to the same position. Similarly, they all carry an injunction addressed to a third party, here máń- (1Sg), the enunciator himself. Moreover, the introductory proposal is not always mandatory. It is necessarily expressed when the subject is a first person pronoun, a second person pronoun in the singular or a second person pronoun in the plural.

From a pragmatic point of view, the ungrammaticality of (27d*) and (27e*) depends on the communication situation. Indeed, if these statements take the form of affirmative enunciative operations, their ungrammaticality would be recorded. On the other hand, in an interrogative operation, the said statements are not only attested as such as interrogative injunctions ((27g), (27h)), but they may also be formally marked by interrogatories such as yááwé ((27i), (27j)), na ((27k), (27l)). On the other hand, the statement (27f*) does not fit in isolation (without the introductory proposition) in an interrogative context and does not actualize itself as an injunction with the interrogative words. Does it depend on a particularity, a restriction (?), on the pronoun of the second person plural in the jussive? It is too early to provide a sufficiently well-equipped explanation. What can be said at this stage is that in the interrogative form of the jussive (see (27m), (27n)) of the statement (27f), the subject pronoun é- designates the third person singular (35g). The jussive interrogative form is not attested with the second person plural ((27o*)15, (27p*)).

15In (27o*) as in (27p*), ungrammaticality is created by the pronoun of the second person plural (2Pl) which does not fit with the interrogative operation of the jussive unlike the pronoun of the third person singular (see (27m) and (27n)).
| Do you have to wash your hands? | 3Sg leave cheating | (27k) máń- san na |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| 1Sg wash.hands Inter          | ú n                |
| Do I have to wash my hands?   |                     | (27l) ṭ- san na   |
| 2Sg wash.hands Inter          |                     |
| Do you have to wash your hands? |                     | (27m) ē- san yáaw é |
| 3Sg wash.hands Inter          |                     |
| Does he need to wash his hands? |                     | (27n) ē- san na   |
| 3Sg wash.hands Inter          |                     |
| Does he need to wash his hands? |                     | (27o * ē- san yáaw é |
| 2Pl wash your hands Inter     |                     |
| Ungrammatical construction    |                     |
| (27p *) ē- san na             |                     |
| 2Pl wash your hands Inter     |                     |

Apart from the above-mentioned pronouns (1Sg, 2Sg, 2Pl) which require the presence of the introductory proposal, this is optional with the third person singular, the first and the third person plural.

| Let him stop cheating!        |                     | (29 b) po- wée s e y e l e múl úm |
|                               |                     |                               |
|                               | 3sg be t hat 3Sg leav e A or cheating |
| He has to stop cheating.      |                     | (30 a) po- sá kpaml á mbó |
|                               | 3sg gr id nd Ao r t hat 3Sg |
| Grind the sprouted sorghum this way! |                     | (30 b) po- wée s e p só sá kpaml á mbó |
|                               | 3sg be t hat 3Sg gr id nd Ao r gr ind ed sprout ed sorgh um this way! |
|                               | It's time to grind the sprouted sorghum in this way! / It's time to grind the sprouted sorghum. |

Like the imperative, the jussive can express diverse values in the statement. To do this, the Kabiye language uses specific morphemes: tī- for the immediate (31), ṭu- for the adversative (32),
The aim of this article is not to repeat the work that already exists, especially that of Lébikaza (1999), who has a very remarkable level of satisfaction on the description of the verb. We do not repeat here the details of the results of this work. To find out more about the avatars of the verb kabiye in general, the ideal reference is therefore Lébikaza (1999: 275-b, 362).

| (34) | pa | háyę | hée | ne | p5 | tók-
|-----|----|------|-----|----|----|-----|
| 3P  | -  | cultivate.Juss-CONT | yam | and | 3P | CON T |

The population has to gather together while waiting for the guests to arrive.

There is one aspect not specific to the jussive, but rather general to the injunction that deserves to be clarified. It is the high tone of the subject pronoun of the verb of the injunctive statement. In fact, previous works consider that this high tone specific to the jussive has no segmental support and, together with the verbal radical or the basis of the accomplishment it precedes, constitutes the form of the jussive. When there is no pronoun, it is an epenthesis vowel [ɛ]-[e] which serves as a segmental support for this tone (Lébikaza, id: 345-346). However, it is not logical to begin by postulating the inexistence of the pronoun in the jussive, since all personal pronouns (1st and 2nd person singular and plural) and all anaphoric pronouns are updated in the jussive (cf. (22)-(34) under 1.2.2). Moreover, what appears to be an "epenthesis vowel" is in reality only an anaphoric pronoun such as ɪ- in the illustration ((4) ɛ-cá-y se ṇépiya-t-pisi peéde "He wants your children to go back there") given by Lébikaza (id., 346)19. In this statement, ɪ- is not a vocal epenthesis. This is the anaphoric recovery of the NPnépiya "your children" and this is what justifies its high tone in the jussive. Secondly, the high tone of the subject pronoun of the verb in the jussive utterance is the same as the high tone of the subject pronoun of the verb of the imperative statement. To find out more about the avatars of the morpheme of the unfulfilled as well as about the verb kabiye in general, the ideal reference is therefore Lébikaza (1999: 275-b, 362).

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16The aim of this article is not to repeat the work that already exists, especially that of Lébikaza (1999), who has a very remarkable level of satisfaction on the description of the verb. We do not repeat here the details of the results of this work. To find out more about the avatars of the morpheme of the unfulfilled as well as about the verb kabiye in general, the ideal reference is therefore Lébikaza (1999: 275-b, 362).

17See the system of substitute pronouns den kabiyè: Pali (2015b).

18Kabiye is a language of Eastern Gurunsi with nominal classes and genders: cf. Delord (1976); Lébikaza (1999), Kassan (1996), Péré-Kéwelzima (2005), Pali (1999, 2012); among others.

19Here is the illustration given by the author: (4) ɛ-cá-y se ṇépiya-t-pisi peéde 3sG1-vouloir-Inac que 2S-enfants Juss-retourner là-bas. "Il veut que tes enfants y retournent"
of the second person plural of the imperative (see, for example, the high tone of the pronoun in utterances (19a), (19b), (21a), (21b) under 1.2.1, supra). We conclude that this high tone is not specific to the jussive, but it represents in Kabiyè a property of the second person plural in its generality. Moreover, another property of the injunction is that it can be combined with other enunciative operations, such as interrogation (rightly referred to in this section in (27g)-ss, supra). Indeed, interrogation can be incorporated in a statement in the 2nd person singular (35) or plural (36) imperative with the interrogative wordyááwé or yááwée as in the jussive as illustrated in the examples (27g-n), supra).

| (35) | tɔ- lɔŋ  yaáwée |
|-----|----------------|
| walk.2Sg- IMPER | fast | Inter |
| Walk fast, don't you? |

| (36) | ẹ- náŋ páná yaáwée |
|-----|----------------|
| 2PLIMPER | burn | effort | Inter |
| Outdo yourself, what else? |

But the injunction that uses persuasive incitement with the affirmative forms of the imperative and the jussive (Lébikaza, id: 347), also flirts with the expressive modality, not of inadequacy as negation does, but of prohibition whose incitement is dissuasive. In the expression of prohibition, properties appear that describe it as injunctive, whether its modality is imperative or jussive. Beyond this general perception, prohibition proceeds, in Kabiyè, from a diversity of means of expression whose characterization requires attention in a more or less independent section such as the following.

2. Prohibition:

Prohibition is a deterrent injunction as it aims to prohibit a trial that has not started or to interrupt a trial in progress (François, 2003:336-ss). In Kabiyè, prohibition is clearly distinguished from denial by its morphosyntactic and semantic properties. Indeed, for the enunciator, the modal subject of aim (the one from whom the prohibition emanates), prohibiting does not consist in denying a trial, i.e. in making a negative aim, but in doing everything possible to avoid it in the situation of communication:

Le Prohibitif neutralise les nuances que l'on trouve avec l'injonction positive ... En me plaçant dans la situation de référence SitR, je présente un événement P comme devant être évité. Cette visée modale est focale dans mon énoncé, i.e. n'est pas présupposée. Ce faisant, j'effectue un acte illocutoire d'interdiction20 (François, 2003:337). The morpheme of the prohibitive is taa- ((36a)-(36b)) distinct from the morpheme of negation which is ta- Beyond the use of distinct morphemes, negation does not occur in the enunciative operation of the injunction. It is only actualized in the assertion (37a) and in the interrogation (37b).

| (36a) | taa- kóo dón |
|-------|---------------|
| Proh | shout.Aor | strong |
| Don't shout loudly! |

| (36b) | taa- yɔɔdɩ |
|-------|---------------|
| Proh | talk.Aor |
| Don't talk! |

| (37a) | haláa ta- páá |
|-------|---------------|
| women | NEG | dance |
| The women did not dance. |

| (37b) | hásɩ te- kpezi kée |
|-------|----------------|
| dogs | NEG | bark | Inter |
| Didn't the dogs bark? |

It thus emerges that Kabiyè language distinguishes between prohibition and negation, and this allows us to question the expressions used until then in descriptions to designate prohibition in Kabiyè: “formes négatives de l’impératif et du jussif” (negative forms of the imperative and the jussive) Lébikaza (1999); “négation à l’impératif” (negation to the imperative) Kassan (1987), Pére-Kéwézima (2010), Roberts (2013). We would like to recall that what is called into question in these descriptions is the confusion in the designation of the phenomenon described by the use of the term ‘negation’ or the simultaneous use (in the same

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20 This is my own translation of the author's words: "The Prohibitive neutralizes the nuances found with the positive injunction ... By placing myself in the SitR reference situation, I present an event P as one that should be avoided. This modal aim is focal in my statement, i.e. it is not presupposed. In doing so, I perform an illocutionary act of prohibition".
study) of the terms 'negation' and 'prohibition' to designate the same phenomenon of prohibition when each is expressed in discourse by a distinct morpheme.

2.1. Formal Expression Of Prohibition:

The prohibitive injunction is expressed in one sentence by the prohibitive morpheme taa-/BB/"do not..." The purpose of the latter is to modify the modality of the simple intimation that corresponds to a request to do something in order to transform it into a request not to do something (Pali, 2011:448). Thus, the prohibitive turns out to be a propositional operator aimed exclusively at preventing or interrupting the carrying out of a trial. For this reason, it only relates to sentences whose aspect is supposed to be unfulfilled (already in the process of being fulfilled or whose fulfilment is considered hypothetical). The role of the prohibitive morpheme taa- is to annihilate the aspectual content of the unfulfilled by imposing that of the aorist whose role is to inhibit the visualization of the action he is reporting on:La fonction d'un aoriste est, en inhibant la visualisation mentale de l'action exprimée, d'accélérer la progression de la narration : les actions sont perçues comme réduites à leur mention, quel que soit par ailleurs le luxe de détails dont peut être entourée une forme verbale d'aoriste dans cette narration […]Le domaine exclusif de l’aoriste est celui de l’actuel, du temps déterminé à vif dans le vif du temps physique universel et continuant d’y adhérer complètement […]21(Durin, 1993 : 44).

In Kabiyè, the verb of the prohibitive proposition is therefore in principle an aorist verb (cf. (36a) and (36b) under 2, supra and ((38a)-(38b), infra) imposed by the presence of the prohibitive morpheme taa-, which is actualized in the pre-verbal environment according to the following structure proposed by Lébikaza (1999) and taken up by Kpezou (2019): (Topic-)PROH.taa/BB/-Verbe.Aor (-Object).

| (38 a) | taa- | tɔɔ | ná | mínŋ |
|--------|------|-----|----|------|
| Proh   | eat.Gold | with | fire |
| Don't eat hot! |

| (38 b) | taa- | héyi | wé- | ɛ́ | natøy |
|--------|------|-----|----|---|------|
| ɛ́ | Proh | tell.Aor | 3Pl.Ost | DMC | someting |
| 2P l |

| (39) | taa- | tɔɔ | wá | tɔɔ | yé | yé | mínŋ |
|------|------|-----|----|-----|----|----|------|
| ɛ́ | in | 3Sg | Pr | hur | free | charge |

| (39) | taa- | tɔɔ | wá | tɔɔ | yé | yé | mínŋ |
|------|------|-----|----|-----|----|----|------|
| ɛ́ | in | 3Sg | Pr | hur | free | charge |

The basic form of the prohibitive utterance described in this way may be subject to syntactic and semantic nuances driven by modalities that can accommodate the prohibitive morpheme taa-. This is part of the mechanisms of expression of the various modalities in the injunction as we have observed with the different values of the imperative (under 1.1., supra) and the jussive (under 1.2., supra).

2.1.1. Continuative Prohibition:

In Prohibition, the continuative is syntactically indicated by the unfulfilled aspect of the verb, unlike the aorist, which is actualized in the naked prohibitive form, i.e. that which excludes any other syntactic or semantic modality. The continuative prohibition, as illustrated below ((39)-(41)), prohibits the continuation of an action already observed in the addressee or warns him/her against a possible action that could be continuously realized.
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Don't even look for any problems!

Don't get into the habit of abandoning your children in flight!

Don't let them get into the habit of whistling at night!

2.1.2. Peremptory Prohibition:
It is opposed to the expectant modality of the imperative and jussive injunction. It is a radical prohibition. Peremptory prohibition uses the morpheme -taa- /HB/ which induces the semantics of a formal, firm and irrevocable prohibition. This morpheme is actualized between the prohibitive morpheme taa- and the verb whose formally accomplished aspect is semantically suspended by the prohibitive content (of the morpheme taa-) and the insistent semantics of the morpheme -tɩ-.

For the verbs caá (42), welesi (43) and há (44), it is possible to have a variation in the dialects of Yadê, Bohou, Tchitchao, etc. caw (42), welesi (43) and háw (44).

2.1.3. Cessative prohibition
The purpose of the injunction is to suspend the carrying out of a trial that is likely to be repeated. This is rendered in the statement by the association of the prohibitive taa- and the verb tasi-ɣ "to repeat" to the aorist. In this structure, taa-tăsi does not repeat! The verbal morpheme tasi is an adjunct that participates in the predicate with the verb carrying the action of the process covered by the prohibition.

2.1.4. Contextual prohibition

22 For the verbs caá (42), welesi (43) and há (44), it is possible to have a variation in the dialects of Yadê, Bohou, Tchitchao, etc. cawó (42), welesiɣ (43) and háwó (44).
It often happens that the process of a proposal remains so implicit that its deduction is only possible thanks to the communication situation. These are acts of indirect language, (Searle, 1972). In this case, the imperative, injunctive or deterrent characteristics and the prohibitive morpheme are of no use. The interlocutor has to explore the communicative situation, the co-text, the prosody, the syntax but also his intuitive knowledge of the language, "the speaker's intuition" (Chomsky, 1957) for the decoding of the intimative content implied. Thus, all forms of linguistic expression (positive or negative assertion, interrogation, imperative, etc.) can be used to express opposition to the carrying out of a trial. The statement may appear to be a simple assertion (48a), a mandatory injunction (49a), therefore not prohibitive at first sight, a non-verbal construction (an interjection (50a), an address term such as a proper noun (51a), a pronoun (51b), etc.), or a non-verbal construction (an interjection (50b), a pronoun (51c), etc.).

Similarly, the statement (49a), which appears to be an injunction combining the imperative and the jussive, is a prohibition addressed to the enunciatee to dissuade him from going to the place envisaged. It is therefore a peremptory prohibitive message (cf. 2.1.2., supra). The enunciator could just have produced, instead of (49a), the statement (49b) below. Moreover, (49c), which seems to be an imperative that grants a favor, an authorization to the speaker, is just as much as (49b) a prohibition to eat anything, hence a prohibition.

| (48a) | sɔn | ɔ́ | taa- | púziɣ | mì | ŋ |
|-------|-----|----|------|------|----|--|
| toda  | 2Pl | NE G | switch | on. | fire |
| y |   |    |    |    |    | |
| Today, you don't light the fire. |

In an irenic context, the statement (48a) can be interpreted as a simple negation of the intention to light the fire, probably also a challenge. On the other hand, in an agonizing relationship, for example as a result of misconduct by the enunciators, the content of the statement may prove to be a prohibition against lighting a fire. Such a connotation corresponds to the following direct prohibitive injunction:

| (48a) | sɔn | ɔ́ | taa- | púziɣ | mì | ŋ |
|-------|-----|----|------|------|----|--|
| toda  | 2Pl | Pro h | switch | on. | fire |
| y |   |    |    |    |    | |
| Today, don't light the fire. |

In certain discursive contexts where the interlocutors have the same awareness of the communication situation, an interjection is enough for a speaker to instigate a prohibitive injunction to the addressee. The injunctive modality is based on the incentive function of the interjection, whose prohibitive value results from the context that the speaker wishes to see modified. Interjections ((50a)-(50c)) are semantically equivalent to a cease-and-desist prohibition (see 2.1.3., supra).
A final aspect of contextual prohibition concerns the address, the evocation of which in an agonizing context can be prohibitive since it indicates to the designated enunciatee that his or her act (already performed, in progress or about to be performed) is prohibited. Pali (2015a:191) rightly shows that "Verbal interaction, whatever its relational dimension, is the framework in which the term address is actualized as the key to the pragmatic reinforcement of the utterance". Also, a simple pronoun, especially a second person pronoun in the singular (ñɛ́ 'you' (51a)) or plural (mɩ́ 'you' (51b)) or a person's proper noun (51c-d)) said in an interjunctive way (which is glossed here by an exclamation mark) can have a prohibitive contextual scope. In this context, even the proper name is addressed directly to a direct interlocutor.

(51a) -ngɛ
you!
(51b)  mɩ́
You!
(51c)  sāmá
Sama!
(51d)  kɔndɔ

2.2. The Strengthening Of Prohibition
The level of expression of the prohibition can be accentuated and the content of the prohibitive statement can be made firmer. The use of specific adverbs helps to clarify the extent to which the defense, the prohibition, is resolutely unconditional. The so-called absolute adverbs (or "morphemes that can be described as absolute" (Kpezou, 2019), notably káwʊ/HH/ (52a)-(53a), ða /B/ (52b)-(53b) and kpa/B/ (52c)-(53c), are updated in the prohibitive utterance in co-presence with the prohibition morpheme. Their semantic content is the same ("not at all" ("never") so that they are substitutable for each other in the same statement. Syntactically, the prohibitive morpheme precedes the verb, while the absolute adverb always appears at the beginning of the utterance.

(52a)  taa-
Pro
kōst
h
lif.t.Aor
káwʊ
(52b)  ta-
Pro
kōst
h
lif.t.Aor
káwʊ
(52c)  ta-
Pro
kōst
h
lif.t.Aor
kpa

Conclusion:
The objective of this study has been to describe the means of expression of the prohibitive injunction in Kabiyê. The aim has been to show that in Kabiyê, the prohibitive statement is strictly distinguished from the negative statement by the morphosyntactic means which participate in their implementation. In other words, prohibition is not a negative injunction. It has followed that prohibition is a priori an imperative or jussive injunctive modality. It is actualized by the insertion in the pre-verbal context of the prohibitive morpheme taa-/BB/. This morpheme is different from the negation morpheme ta-/B/. According to the different semantic nuances sought by the speaker, prohibition can be expectant, continuative, ceasing or peremptory. These ranges are expressed by the addition of other significant units to the prohibitive
morpheme, which are inserted between the prohibitive morpheme and the verb. At the morphosyntactic level, the mode of expression of prohibition is the aorist. Moreover, in addition to the explicit expression formally marked by the morpheme taa-, prohibition can be implicitly expressed, without the presence of the prohibitive morpheme, through an assertion, an address term, an exclamation, etc. The interpretation of such statements as prohibitive requires the context of their production to be taken into account.

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