A STUDY OF WH-QUESTIONS IN ỊẸDÀ

by

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DECLARATION

I, KAFILAT OYINLOLA LIADI, hereby declare that this work is the product of my research efforts undertaken under the supervision of Prof. MUKHTAR ABDULKADIR YUSUF and has not been presented anywhere for the award of a degree or certificate. All sources have been duly acknowledged.

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CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that the research work for this thesis ‘A study of Wh-Questions in Ẹ̀dà’ and the subsequent write-up was carried out by KAFILAT OYINLOLA LIADI, SPS/15/PLG/00007 under my supervision.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my family for their unconditional love, supports and encouragements.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND TECHNICAL NOTATIONS ADOPTED

Ø	Zero Segment or Null Segment
( )	Parentheses-'any unit enclosed within these is optional'
1sg	First Person Singular
2sg	Second Person Singular
3sg	Third Person Singular
1Pl	First Person Plural Pronoun
2Pl	Second Person Plural Pronoun
3Pl	Third Person Plural Pronoun
AOAC	A-over-A- Constraint
AUX	Auxiliary Verb
C/COMP	Complementizer
COP	Copular Verb
CP	Complementizer Phrase
EC	Empty Category
EPP	Extended Projection Principle
F	Focus
FM	Focus Marker
FP	Focus Phrase
FUT	Future Tense
Hab	Habitual
I	Inflection
IP	Inflectional Phrase

LF	Logical Form
N	Noun
Neg	Negation
NP	Noun Phrase
Pl	Plural
Poss	Possessive
PP	Preposition Phrase
Prog	Progressive/Continous
PREP	Preposition
QM	Question Marker
Rel	Relative Marker
RP	Resumptive Pronoun
Sng	Singular
SPEC	Specifier
TNS	Tense
TM	Tense Marker
t^i	Intermediate Trace
t_i	Trace
V	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase
X	The Minimal Projection of a Specific Constituent
X^I, C^I, F^I, N^I, V^I	Intermediate Projection
X^{II}	The Maximal Projection of a Specific Constituent

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to explore wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà language. Its objectives are: to examine the strategies which the grammar of Ẹ̀dà employs to form wh-questions; to study some aspects of Ẹ̀dà grammar which have remarkable influence on the formation of wh-questions; to account for the possible parameters of wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà and to establish whether Ẹ̀dà is a wh-movement, wh-in situ or optional wh-movement language. To account for other aspects of Ẹ̀dà grammar which have influence on the formation of wh-questions, the study presents focus constructions and yes-no questions in the language. Using snowball sampling, data for the study were drawn from primary source and the methods employed were ethnography observation and oral interview. To account for the parameters of wh-questions and movement operation in Ẹ̀dà, the study employs the Principles and Parameters theory. The findings reveal that Ẹ̀dà is mainly a wh-in-situ language whereby wh-phrases are assigned scope in their base generated positions. For argument wh-questions which employ the focus marker in their derivation, the study claims that the focus marker which is base generated within FP projection triggers the movement of wh-phrases to the Spec, FP projection other than CP projection which normally hosts wh-phrases in the wh-movement languages. The study argues that the fronting of [+human] wh-phrases in Ẹ̀dà is as a result of focus movement rather than cleft while the movement of [-human] subject wh-phrases is the result of vacous movement and the covert movement of the wh-phrases to Spec, CP position. Thus, wh-phrases in-situ are assigned scope via LF movement of the wh-phrases to the Spec, CP projection. The study equally shows that while wh-arguments are questioned in-situ, wh-in-situ is optional in the formation of adjunct wh-questions as the grammar of Ẹ̀dà gives the speakers options to choose between the wh-fronting and the wh-in-situ strategies. The study also discovers that agreement holds between the wh-phrases and the constituent that co-occur with them at S-structure as the language is very sensitive to +human/-human features with respect to selection of constituent each wh-phrase co-occurs with. However, the study claims that selectional restrictions in Ẹ̀dà wh-questions is language-specific and therefore remains one of the syntactic parameters which differentiate Ẹ̀dà from other Niger-congo languages. Further more, the study reveals that Yes/No questions require sentence final particle. Similarly, wh-adjunct questions which position their wh-word in-situ also require sentence final particle. However, we refute the claim that availability of question particle correlates with lack of syntactic wh-movement. Some other aspects of Ẹ̀dà grammar were shown to have influence in the formation of wh-questions. Our findings equally show that movement in Ẹ̀dà shows sensitivity to syntactic island, obeys subjacency condition as well as superiority condition. Though, the study proves the existence of wh-movement in Ẹ̀dà, however, wh-movement is resricted to [-human] object argument wh-questions. The idea of wider distribution in linguistic analysis was therefore employed to classify Ẹ̀dà as a wh-in-situ language.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This research studies the formation of wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà, a Niger-Congo language spoken in Paikoro, Lapai, Muyan and Gurara Local Government Areas of Niger as well as Kachia, Kajuru and Lere Local Government Areas in Kaduna States. The research is aimed at describing the syntactic possibilities through which wh-questions are formed in Ẹ̀dà, the strategies the grammar of Ẹ̀dà employs in their formation as well as movement operations in wh-questions in the language. The study equally examines other grammatical aspects of Ẹ̀dà which have remarkable influence on the formation of wh-questions.

Ẹ̀dà belongs to the Niger-Congo language family; a Northwest Plateau Language under the Volta-Congo branch of the Benue-Congo sub-family (Williamson and Blench, 2000; Lewis et al 2016). This language has been referred to as Kàdàrà, Àdàrà or Kàdáráwá in literature (for details, see Smith, 1973; Williamson & Blench, 2000:11; Hon et al, 2012; Busa, 2014:65 and Yusuf, 2014:188). The speakers are sometimes referred to as Kàdàrà by Hausas and Asha by Ajure. This study, however, identifies the language as Ẹ̀dà while the speakers are Àdà (plural) or Àǹdà (Singular).

Àdà people are mainly found in some communities/villages in Kachia, Kajuru and Lere Local Government Areas of Kaduna State as well as Muyan, Gurara, Lapai, and Paikoro Local Government Areas of Niger State. Ẹ̀dà is also spoken in Suleja. Among all these Local Government Areas, Àdùnù, Barakwe, Kushiri, Tunganbarao, Tanda, Amali, Gotorishi, Gotosheriki, Dakalao, Dúrù, Kazei, Kamachi, Ìwá, Kàpó, and Beji in Niger State are the communities where the language is actively in use as the people in these

areas hardly speak any other language apart from Ẹ̀dà. Ẹ̀dà was also spoken in Tudun-wada and Dogwa Local Government Areas of Kano State but due to religious crisis in the area, Àdà people migrated to Kaduna State.

Ẹ̀dà has a number of versions/varieties such as Àjèghà, Àjùwwà, Àdàrà and Ẹ̀dà which are mutually intelligible. The Ẹ̀dà dialect is the only dialect spoken in Niger State. It is also spoken across Ẹ̀dà speaking communities in Kaduna State. However, Ẹ̀dà dialect is used for writing the language. Therefore, Ẹ̀dà is the variety described in this study. It is worthy of mention that while there is mutual intelligibility among Ẹ̀dà, Àdàrà, Àjùwwà and Àjèghà, Àǹkwà and Eneje which were reported to be dialects of Ẹ̀dà (Hon et al. (2012) are so different that they deserve to be considered a separate language as the level of mutual intelligibility among them is very low.

It should be noted that Ẹ̀dà community generally has a positive attitude towards the language and the community interest in the language continues to grow most importantly amongst the youth, who generally take pride in the knowledge they have in this language. In fact, the young native speakers of Ẹ̀dà speak the language as there is no Ẹ̀dà speaking community (among the above-mentioned) where the children ceased acquiring the language as a native language. This is contrary to Yusuf (2014:188) classification of Ẹ̀dà as one of the minority endangered languages in Nigeria as the young speakers of Ẹ̀dà are quite content with speaking the language. As at the time of this report, Ẹ̀dà is neither used in the school nor media houses as the school children in Ẹ̀dà speaking communities are taught in Hausa and English. The Ẹ̀dà language is only used for personal, domestic, commercial, cultural, church, mosque and traditional religious activities. However, with a well-organized and well-supported revitalization movement,

Ẹ̀dà language will not go extinct. Thanks in part to the activity of protecting the language from endangerment as some young adults (a few still in their 20s) have acquired a significant degree of interest in using the orthography to write Ẹ̀dà and have made efforts to introduce the writing system into family and public life, including regular exposure of their children to the Ẹ̀dà writing system.

The historical origin of Ẹ̀dà is not yet documented, but it was confirmed that Àdà people migrated from the area around Plateau hills to Southern Kaduna of Kaduna State. Continuing slave raiding, war and social crises led to massive migration of the people to Niger State. Accurate figure of the speakers of Ẹ̀dà cannot be ascertained since it has been long the National Population Commission recorded ethno-linguistic affiliation. Islam, Christianity and traditional belief practices exist in Àdà community.

Phonologically, Ẹ̀dà is a tone language, a common trait of most African languages as shown in (1):

1. (a) Ofúwó 'blind person'
   Ofuwo 'enemy/rival
   (b) Ẹ́ná 'Scorpion'
   Ẹ̀nà 'lake'
   (c) Ava 'dog'
   Àva 'dogs'

Syntactically, Ẹ̀dà is an SVO language considering its sentence structure as illustrated in (2a):

2. (a) Arranzọ Ø wán a yá ẹsàm̀bá kẹ̀ idóo.
   Arranzo Agr Aux Pst eat rice conj beans
   'Arranzo ate rice and beans'.

In the Ẹ̀dà language, there is no overt inflection for case on the NPs as the grammatical roles of NPs are deduced from their positions relative to the verb. There is also a kind of phi-agreement between the functional head and the specifier in the language under study as the language is sensitive to [+human/-human features]. Though, agreement is not morphologically realized, however, it is evident that there is underlying element of volition on the nominals which determines whether a noun is +human or otherwise. In fact, only wh-phrases which have human features [Wh-, +Human, +Countable, ±Plural] undergo focus movement. It is important to note that Ẹ̀dà does not have any formal [+plural] marking on the verb. Aspectual, auxiliaries and other tense informations such as past tense are marked by independent morphemes preceding the main verb. However, modal auxiliary verb preceeds other tense markers as shown in (2a) above. Consider the progressive marker *kon* in (2b) and habitual marker *ọ́ka* in (2c) for further illustration:

(2b) Ìmí Ø kon ọta.
1sg Agr Prog dance
'I am dancing'

(2c) Ọmatiu Ø ọ́ka ọba lẹ̀ hwo ulubon.
Mathew Agr Hab come Prep often day
'Mathew comes everyday'

Ẹ̀dà can also be classified as head initial language (head first) and the head could be followed by as many as possible satellites. Thus, determiners, adjectives, possessors, relative clauses and other nominal modifiers in the Noun phrase occur to the right of the noun just as all the modifiers, auxiliary verbs preceed the main verb, complements/objects of the verb occur to the right of the verb within the VP and

complement of the preposition occurs to the right of the head word "the preposition". Ẹ̀dà is just like Yoruba with respect to headedness since the head in Yoruba is the left-hand member (Taiwo 2009:6). Koopman (1983:3) describes head position parameter as 'a word order parameter which shows the position of the head in a phrase and its complement'. Consider the following examples for illustration:

3. (a) Únko m.
Room my
'My room'

(b) Kẹ̀ Umusa ọnhwọ.
Prep Musa place
'At Musa's place'

In the NP (a) above, the noun *únko* 'room', being the head of the phrase precedes its modifier *m* 'my'. Also, in the PP *kẹ̀ Umusa ọnhwọ* 'at Musa place', the preposition *kẹ̀* precedes its NP complement *Umusa ọnhwọ* 'Musa's place'.

1.1 Background of the Study

A review of existing literature in Ẹ̀dà language reveals that there is no single known comprehensive study on the syntax of Ẹ̀dà viz-à-viz wh- questions of the language. Previous scholars that have studied the Ẹ̀dà language focus on its sociolinguistic aspect (see for details, Smith, 1973; Blench, 2006 & 2009; Hon et al, 2012; Yusuf, 2014 and Busa, 2014). Blench (2009:9) asserts that '….northwest plateau languages remain a high priority for further research'. This statement is in line with Busa (2014:68) recommendation that linguists should pick interest in the study of little known languages. This language therefore requires research attention from scholars as its

extinction means that the contributions it would have rendered to global linguistic theories and concepts would be lost.

Interrogative via wh-questions remains one of the principles that cut across all human languages of the universe as Universal Grammar (UG) claims (Chomsky, 1981; Radford, 1988, 1997, 2009; Haegeman, 1991). However, the modality of its operation differs from one language to the other considering the position the wh-word occupies (lands) in the phrase (i.e CP). While languages like English, Hausa and some Niger-congo languages like Yorùbá, Urhobo, Ọ̀kọ̀, Ebira and Fulfude show overt syntactic wh-movement at S-structure (see for details Awobuluyi, 1978; Tuller, 1986; Yalwa, 1995; Yusuf, 1998; Aziza, 2011; Rasheed, 2013; Dauda, 2014), languages like Mandarin Chinese and Japanese do not allow overt syntactic wh-movement at S-structure (Cheng, 1991; Hagstrom; 1998).

The study of wh-questions via wh-movement has received considerable attention in linguistic literature and has been a controversial topic among transformational grammarians. Among the significant issues in the analysis of wh-questions is binary choice in wh-parameter. The concept of wh-parameter, according to Radford (2009:24) hypothesizes that "a language either does or does not allow wh-movement". The generalization in wh-parameter is binary in nature as it is limited to just two possibilities. To defend this view, Radford argues that many other possibilities (different from two options in wh-parameter) for wh-movement don't seem to occur in natural language. He points out that "there is no language in which the counterpart of 'who' undergoes wh-fronting but not the counterpart of 'what' ". Similarly, the Principle of Economy of Derivation predicts that no language has the option of alternating between the two

methods and thus, there are no languages with optional movement of wh-words (Chomsky, 1989). However, Ẹ̀dà wh-words behave differently as only nonhuman object wh-arguments [WH-, -Human, ±Countable, ±Plural, +Object] allow obligatory syntactic wh-movement at S-structure while wh-phrases which have human features [Wh-, +Human, +Countable, ±Plural] do not as they undergo focus movement at S-structure. However, subject wh-phrases which have nonhuman features [Wh-, -Human, ±Countable, ±Plural, +Subject] undergo vacous movement at S-structure. Wh-adjunts allow the two possibilities as the movement of wh-adjuncts may either be realized at the LF or PF level at S-structure.

The generalizations in wh-parameter hold for languages like English-language which allow syntactic wh-movement at S-structure and Chinese-like languages which do not allow syntactic wh-movement at S-structure. It is quite interesting that the hypothesis in wh-parameter have been challenged as some languages like French, Paluan, Bahasa Indonesian, Babine language, Iraqi Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, Persian etc allow the two possibilities (see Boskovic, 2000; Boeckx, 1999; Lassadi, 2003; Denham, 2000; Al-Momani and Al-Saiat (2010) and references contained therein). These languages have been technically referred to as optional wh-movement languages. In these languages, all kind of wh-words may be moved or remain in their base generated positions at S-structures. However, the behavior of wh-words in these languages is different from Ẹ̀dà in that not all kind of wh-words undergo optional wh-movement at S-structure; only wh-adjuncts allow optional wh-movement.

Related to the issues in the syntax of wh-questions in linguistic analysis is the argument that there is a close relationship between the positions of yes-no question

particles and the positions of wh-words. Specifically, it is assumed that only languages that position their particles for yes-no questions at the clause-initial position permit a movement rule for wh-words (Greenberg, 1966; Baker, 1970; Cheng, 1991). Cheng (1991) asserts that "availability of question particles correlates with lack of syntactic wh-movement". Contrary to the above claim, Ẹ̀dà, like Hausa, appears to have sentence-final yes-no question particles and permits syntactic wh-movement (i.e wh-fronting).

It has been established that content questions involve focusing and that sentence-initial wh-phrase is as a result of focus movement rather than wh-movement (see for instance; Horvath, 1986; Rizzi, 1997; Kiss, 1987, 1998; Brody, 1990; Hoh & Chiang, 1990; Tsimpli, 1990; Cinque, 1993; Ouhalla, 1999; Bisang and Sonaiya 2000; Chang, 2000; Kadmon, 2001; Grewendorf, 2001, Abor, 2003; Lassadi, 2003; Postdam, 2006; Al-Momami & Al-Saiat, 2010 and Gad, 2010). Another important and popular argument is that wh-movement must obey island restriction (Chomsky, 1964; Ross, 1967; Postal, 1971; Schwartz, 1972 & Kayne, 1981).

Yusuf (1989:56) asserts that "…economic and elegant as the GB theory that gave rise to the move-α construct appears to be, some facts of sentence derivation in Yorùbá and possibly other languages pose a big challenge to the theory". This observation is in line with Ndimele (1991)'s assertion that most of Chomsky's proposals on UG do not incorporate African linguistic phenomenon. By implication, the more African languages (are) studied, the more interesting questions arise that tend to challenge some principles in linguistic theories. Since parameter setting is one of the main focuses of any universal linguistic theory, the theory must, therefore, be broad enough to account for the diversity of human languages to attain universality.

In the field of linguistics, it has been argued that the central goal of any linguistic theory is that the theory must be broad enough to account for the diversity of human languages and narrow enough to distil off irrelevant hypotheses about specific languages. Radford (1988: 29) asserts that "the theory should attain universality and the theory should provide a powerful theoretically apparatus to enable us to describe the grammar of any natural languge adequately".

It is against the information given above that the present research emerged. The study, therefore, extends the typology of wh-questions by making the formation of wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà its thrust. The study, not only affords us the opportunity of subjecting wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà to syntactic theory in order to test universality of binary choice in wh-parameter, but equally establishes the syntactic parameters specific to Ẹ̀dà which differentiate it from other Niger-congo languages.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

One of the parameters by which languages differ (according to the proponents of GB theory) is wh-parameter which is based on binary choice in that it allows for only two possibilities. Radford (2009:24) states that "a language either does or doesn't allow wh-movement". It was equally shown in the Principle of Economy of Derivation that no language has the option of alternating between the two methods. Thus, there are no languages with optional wh-movement of wh-words (Chomsky, 1989). However, a close examination of the operation of wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà shows that the language allows the two possibilities. Baker (1970:207) asserts that "only languages that position their particles for yes-no questions at the clause-initial position permit a movement rule for wh-words". This implies that a language cannot position its yes-no particles at the clause-

final position and permits a movement rule for wh-words. Despite the presence of researched and documented works on Ẹ̀dà, there is no available research work that attempts to produce a comprehensive account of syntax of Ẹ̀dà language.

1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to explore the formation of wh- questions in Ẹ̀dà, a Niger-congo language in Nigeria. The following objectives were set to be achieved at the end of the research:

i. To establish an in-depth description of wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà via strategies employed in their formation.
ii. To study some aspects of grammar of Ẹ̀dà which have remarkable influence on the formation of wh-questions.
iii. To account for the possible parameters of wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà.
iv. To subject wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà to syntactic theory so as to confirm its conformity to the claim of Universal Grammar.
v. To establish whether Ẹ̀dà is a wh-movement, wh-in situ or optional wh-movement language.

1.4 Research Questions

This study presents an exploration of wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà. The following research questions were formulated:

i. What are the strategies employed in the formation of wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà?
ii. Do some other aspects of grammar of Ẹ̀dà have influence on the formation of wh-questions?
iii. What are the possible parameters of wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà?

iv. Does formation of wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà conform to the claim of Universal Grammar?

v. Is Ẹ̀dà a wh-movement, wh-in situ or optional wh-movement language?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study is significant in many respects as it serves as a pioneering work in the study of syntax of the Ẹ̀dà language. The following are the basic significance of this study:

i. This study will help to determine and study how wh-questions are formed in Ẹ̀dà and the set of possible parameters of variations across languages.

ii. It is hoped that this study will serve as an important tool for language documentation and development.

iii. This research would be of great assistance in the development of the Ẹ̀dà language teaching materials, dictionary etc.

iv. The description and analysis of Ẹ̀dà data as well as the extent of applicability of the theory adopted do not only serve as a good basis for the future researchers on the syntax of Ẹ̀dà but also provides future researchers direction on language research undertaking.

v. The description and analysis of the data in this study will no doubt contribute to the existing body of knowledge on wh-questions as a syntactic process as it confirms the extent to which the claim of the universality of wh-parameter and the Principle of Economy of Derivation holds.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study

This study is mainly concerned with formation of wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà. However, in quest to analyse the grammatical structures of wh-questions, we noticed that certain phonosyntactic and morphosyntactic facts need to be made clear. The first fact concerns the role of sentence-final vowel lengthening and sentence-final high pitch in the formation of some wh-questions. The second fact concerns the role of sentence-final question morpheme in the formation of some wh-questions in the language under study. We also observed that some syntactic processes such as focus constructions and yes-no questions need to be explored. With regard to this, some grammatical aspects of Ẹ̀dà were presented in order to confirm or otherwise some assumptions in literature. Specifically, the formation of yes-no questions was presented to confirm whether the position of yes-no question marker determines the position of wh-words. The formation of focus constructions was also presented in other to confirm whether the sentence-initial wh-words are as a result of focus movement or wh-movement.

Data for this study were drawn from primary source. The methods used in gathering primary data were ethnographic observation and oral interview (face-to-face). The primary data was elicited directly from eight (8) native speakers of the language from Muyan, Paikoro, Gurara and Lapai Local Government Areas in Niger State. Two informants were selected from each of the above-mentioned Local Government Areas. The data were then transfered into written using orthographic symbols. It was with the help of an informant who is familiar with Ẹ̀dà orthography that the proper glossing was done. This study does not deal with other phonological, morphological and syntactic processes in any depth because they are outside the purview of this study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature that is related to the present study. The chapter is divided into a number of sections. The first section presents works done by previous researchers on Ẹ̀dà language. The second section handles research works on wh-questions and some related concepts both in Niger-congo languages and other language families.

2.1 Previous Works on Ẹ̀dà Language

Various studies have been conducted in the aspect of the sociolinguistics of Ẹ̀dà. No research, to our knowledge, has focused on the syntax of the language. The following related literature covers previous studies into the language without any focusing on the syntax of the language. The aim of this study is to establish the syntax of Ẹ̀dà. Of particular interest here is validity or otherwise of binary choice in wh-parameter.

The first researcher in Ẹ̀dà language and its people is Temple (1965). The work investigates tribes, emirates and states of the Northern Province of Nigeria and identifies Kàdàrà (Àdà) as one of the tribes in Northern Nigeria. Though, the work creates awareness about the Àdà people, the language and their geographical distribution, however, our research shows that Ẹ̀dà is not limited to Kaduna State as the highest number of the speakers is now in Niger state.

Another important work worthy of review is Smith (1973). This work is on cultural and historical studies. As a historical and cultural study, it touches historical background of Kàdàrà, (Àdà) and the areas covered by Àdà people, the administration, economy, systems of kinship, marriage, associations, rituals and social structure. The

present study, however, does not aim to show either the geographical distribution of Àdà or its culture but to explore an aspect of syntactic processes in the language.

Maikarfi (2004) documents what he refers to as a preliminary alphabet book of Ẹ̀dà language. As an alphabet book, he identifies twenty-seven (27) consonants and twenty-one (21) vowels. Though, a preliminary, it has so far been the first to reduce Ẹ̀dà to writing. As the name implies, it is just a preliminary work that needs further developments. Our first observation is that there was no single phonemic analysis of the language before the said alphabet/orthograhy was designed. It is believed that the phonemic analysis of a language is still the foundation to orthography design. The issue of one symbol per phoneme and one phoneme per symbol could have solved a lot of problems in the said orthography. We observed that the said orthography uses different graphemes for a single phoneme in the representation of consonantal sounds. For instance, the language has twenty two (22) consonants contrary to twenty seven (27) Maikarfi claimed. Some consonants which are allophones of the same phoneme (a case of homo-organic assimilation) were considered as different phonemes.

We also confirmed the existence of seven (7) phonemic nasal vowels in the language. The so-called nasalized vowels are actually nasal vowels because their appearance bring about semantic distinction. Many works on nasality, notably Paradis and Prunet (2000) discuss a case of nasal vowel as biphonemic (i.e. vowel consisting of two nodes-an oral vowel followed by a nasal consonant)- a process called “unpacking”. However, existence of contrastive nasal vowels has been proved, long time ago, as a common pattern in Kwa (and Benue congo) languages which Ẹ̀dà belongs (see Hyman, 1972; Williamson, 1973 and the references contained therein). Ẹ̀dà orthography

designers' represent nasal vowel an VN in order to distinguish oral vowel from nasal vowel as shown in the examples (4) below. It is important to note that the phonemic representation of nasal vowels in the examples falsify the hypothesis that contrastive nasal vowels are represented as two roots. On the phonemic status of nasal vowels compared to their oral counterparts in Ẹ̀dà, Maikarfi is probably claiming that there are no nasal vowels or that they are not phonemic; rather, they are allophonic. However, contrary to Maikarfi's claim, nasal vowels, like the oral counterparts are phonemic in status, as the underlined vowels in the following minimal pair/words account for the change in meaning between each pair:

4.

	Phonemic Representation	**Orthographic Representation**	**Gloss**
(a)	/kɔ /	kọ	'to wait'
	/kɔ̃ /	kọn	'to listen
(b)	/atɛ/	atẹ	'appease to gods/worship'
	/atɛ̃/	atẹn	'sheep'
(c)	/ ɔpa/	ọpa	'bag'
	/ɔpã/	ọpan	'rock'
(d)	/itrí/	itrí	'yam'
	/itr ĩ/	itrín	'sunrise'
(e)	/igru/	igru	'elbow'
	/igrũ/	igrún	'lizard'
(f)	/tro/	tro	'to make a hole'
	/trõ/	tron	'to take advantage of'

In each set of the minimal pairs illustrated above, one observes that the substitution of oral vowel with nasal vowel results in a change in meaning. For instance, the substitution of /ũ/ for /u/ in /*igru/* and /*igr*ũ/ results in two totally different words, */igru/* 'elbow'and /*igr*ũ/ 'a lizard'. Similarly, the substitution of /i/ for /ĩ/ in /*itri/* and /*itr*ĩ/ effects a change in meaning. It is important to note that the determining factor in the identification of phonemes according to Fromkin and Rodman (1973:105) is "whether there is change in form and a change in meaning". As Hyman (1975:170) notes, "nasalisation is said to be phonologized if a rule is required in the language that nasalizes vowels in the context of nasal consonants". According to Hyman, "nasalized vowels are phonemicized when they cannot be predicted by rule, but rather must appear in the lexicon". In the light of the above, nasal vowels are phonemic in Ẹ̀dà but not nasalized vowels as each of these vowels does not occur in the environment of nasal consonants and therefore cannot be claimed to become nasalized as a result of nasal spreading. It was equally observed that the said orthography considered only consonants and vowels as sounds to be symbolized. However, suprasegmental such as tone needs to be taken into consideration as tonal contrast can sufficietly distinguish the meaning of two pairs of word.

The foremost researcher in Ẹ̀dà language is an American linguist, Roger Blench. He is credited with some of the important studies on the Ẹ̀dà language, namely, Blench (2006), Blench (2009) and Williamson and Blench (2000). His first study, collaborating with Williamson, is just an identification via classification of Ẹ̀dà as a distinct language, a Niger-congo language. Blench (2006) is a sociolinguistic survey of Ẹ̀dà dialects. The purpose of the study was to determine language variations in the Ẹ̀dà geographical region and to determine and propose a reference dialect that would be used in Ẹ̀dà literature. To

achieve the above objectives, he carried out a linguistic survey and lexicostatistical studies involving villages and towns within the Ẹ̀dà geographical areas. His results revealed that there were four (4) distinct dialects, namely, Ẹ̀jẹ̀ghà, Ẹhwa, Ẹ̀dà and Ẹ̀dra. Based on Blench's result, it was concluded that there is one standard variety understood by 75% of the population. In this regard, Ẹ̀dà dialect was considered as the standard variety-being the dialect which is spoken in Niger state and some other areas in Kaduna state. Blench (2006) is very important to the present study in that it defines the standard Ẹ̀dà language on which the present study is based.

In Blench (2009), Ẹ̀dà alphabet chart via orthography was launched. The launching of the alphabet chart marks a great development in the standardization of Ẹ̀dà language. To prove the claim that the highest number of speakers are located in Niger state, he titled the work " The Ẹ̀dà (Kàdàrà) Language of Central Nigeria" to which Niger state belongs. He also presents the phonology of Ẹ̀dà where he identifies twenty three (23) phonemic consonants and seven (7) phonemic vowels. According to him, palatalisation and labialisation are relatively rare in the language. He also identifies three (3) level tones and six (6) contour tones. Though, the work is sketcy, it touches some major components of the phonology of Ẹ̀dà language. However, our investigation does not concur with some of Blench arguments concerning existence of some consonantal sounds in the language as our data yield opposite results. Our findings differ from his in that we confirm the existence of voiced-velar fricative /ɣ/ as a phoneme and one would wonder why enclosing it in bracket in Blench (2009); whether it exists as an allophonic variant of the voiced-velar stop /g/ as its existence claimed or that its existence is doubted.

The voiced velar nasal [ŋ] accounted for in Blench (2009) as a phoneme is accounted as an allophonic variant of alveolar nasal /n/ which only occurs in the environment of velar as confirmed by our data. In fact, the voiced alveolar nasal /n/ is realised as [m] when it occurs before bilabials, [ŋ] "ng" before velar plosive,[ɲ] "ny" before palatal and [n] before all others. These are instances of homorganic assimilations in Ẹ̀dà.

In addition to the above, Blench documents wordlist in the language and classifies Ẹ̀dà as a Northwest Plateau language in the study. He further emphasizes that "Northwest Plateau languages remain high priority for further research" (p. 9). The last point by Blench strengthens our determination to explore the syntax of the language, specifically the study of wh-questions which has been one of the interesting areas of research enquiries within generative syntax. It would be interesting to determine whether the formation of wh-questions in this language yield different results concerning binary choice in wh-parameter.

In addition to four dialects identified by Blench (2006), Hon et al (2012) present sociolinguistic survey of Àdàrà (Ẹ̀dà) of Kaduna and Niger states, add one more dialect: Eneje. However, our investigation revealed that there is very low mutual intelligibility among Eneje and Àṅkwa and other dialects of the language. These two varieties seem to be different languages spoken around Ẹ̀dà speaking communities in Kaduna State as these two varieties share less than 15 percent with others. The fact that the neighboring communities (people) refer to the speakers of these two varieties as Eneje and Àṅkwa people respectively, while the speakers of Ẹ̀dà, Àdàrà, Àjùwwà, and Àjèghà are referred

to as Kàdàrà/Àdàrà people makes one to suspect that the similarities could be as a result of their contact with Ẹ̀dà.

Busa (2014), in his survey of languages in Niger State, also confirms Kàdàrà (Ẹ̀dà) to be one of the languages spoken in Niger State, specifically in Paikoro and Shiroro Local Government Areas. Contrary to Busa, Ẹ̀dà is not restricted to Shiroro Local Government Area. Busa also recommends that linguists should pick an interest in the study of little known languages (p.68). For this reason, the researcher opted to establish the syntax of the language by describing, in detail, the formation of wh-questions in the language.

Yusuf (2014), in his study of endangered minority languages in Nigeria, identifies Àdàrà (Ẹ̀dà) to be among them. He states further that the language is spoken in Kaduna State. Following Fishman (1991) Graded Inter-generational Disruption Scale (GIDS) as quoted from Yusuf, Ẹ̀dà belongs to grade 5 (safe) as the inter-generational transmission of the language seems uninterrupted and there is no sign of linguistic threat from any other language. However, contrary to Yusuf, this language is not limited to Kaduna State as the largest numbers of the speakers are located in Niger State. The language is spoken in four (4) Local Government Areas in Niger State, meanwhile; it is spoken in some communities in three Local Government Areas of Kaduna State. The language is also spoken in Suleja (FCT). Yusuf, confirming Blench and Busa statements, also acknowledge that this language requires research attention.

The above mentioned literature primarily focused on understanding of culture of Àdà and sociolinguistic aspect of the language (Ẹ̀dà). Of all the works cited above, only Blench (2009) "The Ẹ̀dà=Kadara Language of Central Nigeria" focuses on the area of

core linguistics. Blench's work leaves so many questions unanswered as he claims that the language has no nasal vowels. However, there are many cases of nasal vowels in his Ẹ̀dà wordlist (even in the environment of oral consonant). The question that arised from this is that how does the nasal vowels in the wordlist come up. Equally surprising was the fact that even as it shows in his examples that glide formation is very productive in the language, he still claims that palatalization and labialization are very rare in the language.

Also worthy to note is that attention was not given to the establishment of the syntax of Ẹ̀da. The current research is thus informed by the recommendation and suggestions by Blench, Busa and Yusuf. However, as no research known to the researcher, has ever been done to explore wh-questions formation in this language, this study, therefore, deviates from previous studies as it hopes to explore an aspect of Ẹ̀dà syntax. Keeping an open mind to the research objectives with regard to the strategies employed in the formation of wh-questions, every possible syntactic structures of wh-questions were described. The arguments of Baker and Cheng, with regard to whether the position of yes-no question particles determines the position of wh-word, necessitates description of yes-no questions in this study. The formation of focus constructions was also discussed to confirm or otherwise, whether the formation of wh-questions involves focusing as claimed by some scholars.

2.2 An overview of Wh- Questions and Wh-Movement

This section reviews literature on the concept of wh-questions. The section is divided into a number of sub-sections. The first section presents the definitions of wh-questions and the defining characteristics of wh-questions. The second section reviews the transfomational generation of wh-questions. Section 2.2.3 handles the typology of

wh-questions while section 2.2.4 takes care of multiple wh-questions. Section 2.2.5 reviews the syntactic constraints on movements.

2.2.1 Definition of WH-Question and Its Defining Characteristics

The term 'content questions' (open-ended-questions) has been technically referred to as wh-questions in the literature. They are at times reffered to as constituent questions as they require a missing constituent of a proposition as their answers. According to Radford (1988:463), "wh-questions are so called because (in English), they typically involve the use of the letters wh-. For instance: who, what, why, when, which and how". He goes further by distinguishing wh-questions from yes-no questions, echo from non-echo and direct from indirect questions. According to Radford (1988:464), "direct questions are questions in which the interrogative structure is an independent sentence". Indirect questions, by contrast, "are questions in which the interrogative structure is a dependent (i.e embedded or subordinate) clause which is the complement of a verb". Radford states that, "non-echo questions are questions which do not echo the speech of another" (p. 464). Non-echo question means a question which is asked to request new information and not to ascertain the already known information.

In another way, Saah (1988:22) describes content questions as "sentences that demand full answers such as a phrase, clause or sentence and not just 'yes' or 'no' ….". To Haegeman (1991:279), "ordinary wh-questions are freely used when a speaker needs some information". Leech and Svartvik (2002:131) state that "Wh-questions are unlimited because any number of answers can be given, as long as they give information required by the wh-word". Kroeger (2005:203) opines that "content questions (wh-questions) are open questions because the set of possible answers is open with

(theoretically) no limit to the number of potential responses". Boadi (2005:25) perceives content question as "a pronominal question to which the answer yes or no would be inappropriate in a discourse". Obeng (2008:91) establishes that "the use of the question word delimits the scope of the question sentence". The implication of the above statement is that the answer to a content question is explicit. Dixon (2012:37) states that content questions are questions seeking information. He explains further that "a content question includes an interrogative word and this is its defining feature" (p. 400). He stresses that a content question is structurally dissimilar to statement because "an interrogative word replaces a regular constituent in a particular functional slot (p. 405).

All the definitions given above are generally information seeking wh-questions; nevertheless, there are definitions given to echo questions as well. For instance, Carnie (2006:340) describes echo questions as "questions that do not request for new information; instead, they are requests for confirmation of something someone has heard". Escandell (1999) regards wh-echo questions as "backward citations" while Ginsburg & Sag (2000) refer to echo wh-questions as "reprise questions since these questions repeat or quote a sentence originally pronounced by a different speaker".

From various definitions given to wh-question, it is clear that wh-question is not the matter of positivity or negativity of the answer but mainly concerns with the supply of some information. This kind of question allows the hearer to express him/herself with an unlimited number of words as it may be required so as to do justice to the question asked.

2.2.2 Movement and Wh-Questions

The general claim in literature is that wh-transformation is an instance of the rule move-α. There appears to be a consensus on the opinion that the constructions which

have sentence-initial wh-words can best be explained in terms of wh-movement. The most detailed and pioneering account of wh-movement is "On Wh-movement" (Chomsky, 1977:82) where he states the rule for wh-movement. Chomsky establishes that wh-movement is into COMP and COMP is outside the S. Chomsky points out that when a wh-phrase moves, it leaves a trace behind. He asserts that "wh-movement leaves a non-terminal trace". That is, the position from which the wh-phrase moved remains in the derived constituent structure with its index, identical to the index of the wh-phrase, now in the COMP". Furthermore, in the Extended Standard Theory, Chomsky (1980:3) revises his earlier analysis of wh-movement and points out that these rules are restrictive to the single rule-move α, where α is a variable. In view of the given situation governing wh-movement, an alternative analysis was derived in "On Binding" and slightly modified in "Lectures on Government and Binding" (LGB). Chomsky (1981:173) proposes "C-adjunction" analysis for the preposed wh-phrase. He asserts that "wh-movement is an adjunction rule which adjoins wh-phrase to COMP" (i.e wh-in-situ moves to Pre-IP position) at the LF. The detailed structure for COMP, as stated in Chomsky (1981) is as follows:

5.

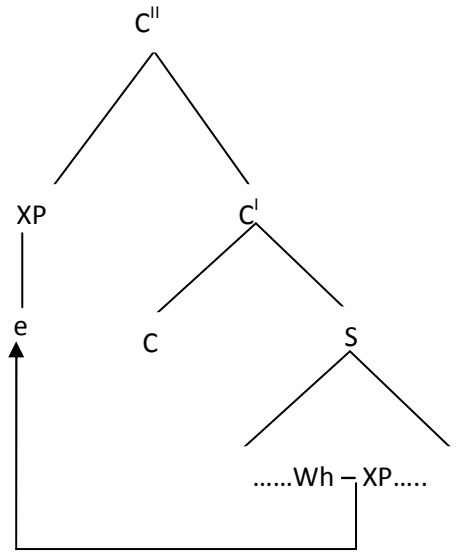
$$\left[\text{COMP X} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\pm \text{WH}] \\ \text{for} \end{array} \right\} \right]$$

(Adapted from Chomsky, 1981:153).

The C-adjunction hypothesis has however been criticized by some scholars and even Chomsky himself. For instance, A critic of C-adjunction hypothesis, Radford (1988:503) states that "more recent research have questioned the empirical validity of the fundamental assumption on which the C-adjunction analysis was based, namely, that only

languages with clause-initial complementizer have wh-movement". Based on the feedback and criticisms from some linguists, Chomsky (1986) revises the C-adjunction analysis and adopts the stand that wh-movement is to the left of COMP (i.e. the specifier of CP). In a more clear term, Radford therefore, suggests the configuration involving the movement of the wh-phrases thus:

6.



(Adapted from Radford, 1988:504).

The configuration above has a clear description of wh-movement analysis. In the above tree diagram, XP is the base-generated empty specifier node for complementizer projection (C^{II}/CP) and Wh-XP is the wh-phrase generated internally within the minimal S (represented by Chomsky as I^{II} or IP). Radford and many other linguists support the idea that wh-movement is into the specifier of COMP.

There have been a number of works which have attempted to offer alternative analysis to the landing sites of the wh-structures (cf. Teke, 1986; Ndimele, 1991). Teke (1986) modifies Chomsky's view about the landing site for the preposed wh-phrase. The movement of a wh-phrase into a Θ-bar position, according to him, is an instance of

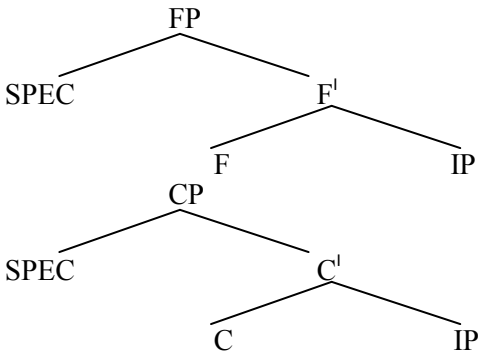
topicalization. Nevertheless, there is a general belief that the landing site for a wh-word is SPEC, CP position corresponding to the position of the quantifier. Although, Teke's claim differs from that of Chomsky and his associates as regards the node which a fronted wh-phrases moves into, there appears to be a convergence of opinions that any wh word in sentence initial position occurs there as a result of wh-movement. This is aptly demonstrated in Radford (1988:466) that "...clause-initial wh-phrases cannot originate in their superficial position as the leftmost constituent of s-bar but rather must originate inside S".

However, despite so many argument that any sentence containing sentence-initial wh-phrase is as a result of wh-movement, some scholars have questioned the authenticity of this argument as Saah (1986:1) states categorically that "…there is no rule of wh-movement in Akan and that the questions which have their wh-words in clause-initial positions are the result of focus marking in the language". He probably claims so due to the presence of focus marker in wh-questions in Akan. However, even if the formation of wh-questions in Akan involves focusing as the wh-words in the language first land at the specifier of FP to satisfy subjacency condition, the wh-word can still move to the specifier of CP. Though the present study is on wh-questions too, the research is on another distinct language, a language that has already been classified as a minority endangered language. Besides, the present study, as a pioneering work on the wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà is an attempt to make a general description of wh-questions. However, Chomsky and Radford's works are useful to the current study as they provide researcher with insight into appropriate data analysis on the area of research and also provide guides on the description of wh-questions phenomena in Ẹ̀dà.

On the issue of wh-phrases and case assignment, Radford (1988:561), Haegeman (1991:360) and Ndimele (1991:47) argue that the wh-phrase at the (SPEC-CP) position can only inherit case from its trace at the extraction site. Their analysis echoed that of Freiden & Lasnik (1981) argument that it is wh-trace that requires case and not the wh-word itself. In defence of their argument, Freiden & Lasnik opine that only lexical NPs require case. Contrary to Freiden & Lasnik claim that only lexically NPs require case, if wh-phrases at their base-generated positions can receive case despite not being lexically NPs, then, the wh-word at the SPEC,CP position should also receive case. Also, they all argue that it is wh-trace that requires case and not wh-word itself. This is contrary to case-filter requirement which states that "*NP if NP has phonetic content and has no case" (Chomsky, 1981:49). Chomsky (1981:38) also states that "case filter should be at PF level". This means that ability to have case or not to have case depends on the phonological content of an NP. If wh-traces which lack phonetic content require case as argued by Freiden & Lasnik, then, case filter needs to be redefined. Besides, case theory recommends strict adjacency between case-assigner and its assignee. Therefore, wh-phrase at the SPEC,CP position cannot maintain case it receives before the movement since case is assigned at the S-structure level and based on position of NPs.

Awóyalé (1995:119) identifies complementizer as (-case) carrier using a relative marker *ti* in Yorùbá for illustration while the moved wh-phrase at (SPEC, CP) position was overlooked. Contrary to the above mentioned literature, the structure of CP is similar to FP where the functional head 'the focus marker' assigns emphatic case to the fronted NP at the (SPEC,FP) position as shown in (7a-b) below:

7a.



7b.

The wh-phrase at (SPEC,CP) position as well is supposed to receive case from the complementizer-being the head of the phrase by virtue of X^{I}-theory in order to satisfy case filter requirement. Whatever case a wh-phrase receives before movement cannot be retained since it is no more governed by the case assigner at the extraction site. Besides, case theory recommends a strict adjacency of occurrence between a case assigner and its assignee.

2.2.3 Typology of Wh-Questions

Languages differ in the way or position the wh-words occupy in interrogative constructions. Comparative research has, however, established a three-way distinction between languages with overt wh-movement, wh-in-situ languages and languages with optional wh-movement. Each of these strategies is discussed in the following sections.

2.2.3.1 On Wh-in-Situ Languages

Wh-in-situ languages are so called because the question word remains in-situ (i.e base-generated position) without showing any evidence of overt syntactic movement. Chinese and Japanese are typical examples of languages which do not allow overt syntactic wh-movement as shown in the following examples of Mandarin Chinese and Japanese:

8. Hufei mai-le yi-ben-shu. (Mandarin Chinese)
Hufei buy ASP One-CL-book
'Hufei bought a book'

9. **She**i mai-le yi-ben-shu?
Who buy-ASP one –CL-book
'Who bought a book?'

10. Hufei mai-le **sheme**?
Hufei buy ASP what
'What did Hufei buy?'

11. Qiaofong Xiang-Zhidao Hufei mai-le **sheme**?
Qiaofong want know Hufei buy ASP what
'Qiaofong wonders what Hufei bought'
(Adapted from Cheng, 1991:10-11).

12. John-ga **nani**-o kaima sita ka? (Japanese)
John-NOM what-ACC bought polite Q
'What did John buy?'

13. ***Nani**-o John-ga kaima sita ka?
what-ACC John-NOM bought polite Q
(Adapted from Hagstrom, 1998:36).

The above sentences (9-13) are typical examples showing that wh-words in Mandarin Chinese and Japanese remain in-situ at S-structure. In other words, wh-words in Mandarin Chinese are in-situ in both matrix and embedded questions.

In quest to providing analysis to buttress why some languages do not allow syntactic wh-movement, Fukui (1986), in his Theory of Categorial Projection, argues that languages such as Japanese and Chinese do not have syntactic wh-movement because the

category C in these languages does not project a specifier position. Thus, there is no landing site for wh-words at S-structure.

On the other hand, Kim (1990) in his Theory of the Classification of Wh-words claims that languages such as Japanese and Mandarin Chinese lack syntactic wh-movement because they do not actually have wh-words. Instead, the equivalents of wh-words are quantifiers. Thus, the question words in these languages undergo Quantifier Raising (QR) which takes place at the Logical Form (LF) level. The approach taken by Fukui explores the difference between languages with respect to the C-projection while the approach taken by Kim explores the difference between languages with respect to the inherent properties of wh-words.

Richards (2010), in his own contribution argues that the differences between wh-movement languages and wh-in-situ languages fall out from how prosodic wh-domains in a language are created. In particular, if a language is capable of creating a single wh-domain (i.e a prosodic domain) that captures both the wh-phrase and the associated complementizer, then, the language allows the wh-phrase to remain in-situ. But if the wh-domain in a language is such that the wh-phrase is separated by Minor Phrases from the associated (C), then, wh-element undergoes movement to be closest to C. He states the condition on wh-prosody as in (14) below:

14. **Condition on Wh-Prosody**

Given a wh-phrase α and a Complementizer C where α takes scope,
α and C must be separated by as few P-Phrase (Prosodic Phrase)
boundaries as possible, for some level of P-Phrasing

(Richard, 2010:151).

Richards, therefore, proposes that there are two parameters which condition placement (in-situ or moved) of wh-phrases as thus:

15. **Parameters**

a. Final VS Initial C

b. Left or right edge of XP maps to corresponding edge of [Prosodic phrase] boundary.

There seems to be divergence of opinions concerning whether languages that have wh-words in-situ actually undergo movement or not. While scholars like Aoun et al (1981), Munaro, Polletto and Pollock (2001), believe that wh-in-situ should be treated as normal wh-movement with the sole difference that the movement is delayed and the effect of movement is only visible as soon as the level of LF is reached, others oppose it.

Seeking to clarify the notion of treating languages like Mandarin Chinese, as wh-movement languages but yet yielding wh-in-situ, Munaro et al (2001) based their analysis on the Copy Theory of Movement (Chomsky, 1995). Munaro et al (2001) argue that with the Copy Theory of Movement, movement in overt syntax creates a chain with two copies (or more) which is then subsequently interpreted by both the PF and LF interfaces. To Munaro, Polletto and Pollock, in a movement scenario, the copy that is being pronounced and the copy that is being interpreted are the same. Consider the example (10) repeated in (16) for illustration:

16. ~~**Shénme**~~ Hufei mai-le **shenme**?
What Hufei buy-ASP what
'What did Hufei buy?'

17. Dare-ga ki- mas-u **ka**?
Who-NOM come-POL-PRES Q
'Who will come?'

18. Bill-wa [**dare**-ga ku-ru ka] ki ita?
Bill-TOP Who-NOM come-PRES Q ask-PST
'Bill asked who will come'

(Adapted from Miyagawa, 2012:87).

In the construction (16) above, it is assumed that *shénme* 'what' undergoes movement to SPEC, CP leaving a copy in its original position (base-generated position). Following Huang (1982) analysis of wh-in situ but adopting a copy theory of movement, Bolbajik (2002) argues that in the construction like (10) repeated in (16) and (17-18) above, PF chooses to pronounce the lower copy while the LF chooses to interpret the higher copy, creating a scenario in which if we look at the PF, it is as if the wh-word has not moved. Bolbajik, therefore, proposes that the PF and LF interfaces can determine which copy is privileged to be interpreted and that they do not have to act in syntax. That is, the interfaces can choose to interprete either the upper copy or lower copy.

The problematic point for the proponents of LF movement of wh-word is subjacency condition which could not be explained. In reaction to this, Huang (1982) argues that LF derivations are constrained by the Empty Category Principle (ECP) and not Subjacency Condition.

In contrast to an overt movement approach to wh-in-situ, there are proposals which go for 'no movement' approach, suggesting that there is neither overt nor covert movement of in-situ wh-phrase. Reinhart (1998), a critic of the above concept, (while working with minimalist assumptions), however, argues that there is no LF movement involved in wh-in-situ questions. She bases her argument on economy of derivation point of view (Chomsky, 1995) and posits that one does not expect the wh-words to be copied before movement can actually take place. Reinhart attempts to address the fact that since

the copy that is being interpreted at the LF level does not have any semantic implication on the movement, then, there is no need for copying the wh-words.

Pesetsky (1987) analyses wh-words in situ as indefinites which do not need to move. He argues that they are interpreted in their in situ position. Pesetsky develops Baker's (1970) proposal (illustrated in 19) and offered an interpretative mechanism refered to as unselective binding:

19. **Baker Representation**

[comp $Q_{i.\ j}$[who$_i$] e_i read what$_j$]

(Adapted from Pesetsky, 1987:99).

Pesetsky (1987) argues that the Q-operator in example (19) above unselectively binds the wh-words 'who' and 'what'.

2.2.3.2 On Wh-Movement Languages

Wh-movement languages are those languages that allow obligatory syntactic wh-movement at s-structure i.e a question word (wh-phrase) obligatorily moves to the leftmost edge of the sentence in overt syntax. In GB, the movement transformation is applied onto D-structure and therefore moves the wh-word to the higher position (SPEC, CP) leaving behind a trace (wh-trace) in accordance with Trace Movement Principle which Radford (1988) defines as thus:

20. **Trace Movement Principle**

> Any moved constituent X leaves behind at its extraction site an identical empty category ($X^n e$). This empty category is known as a trace, and the moved Constituent is said to be the antecedent of the trace.
>
> (Radford, 1988:555).

English is a typical language which shows overt syntactic wh-movement in that wh-phrase occurs at the sentence initial position. Thus, any sentence in English in which the wh-phrase remains in-situ is ungrammatical unless the interrogative sentence is intended to be echoic as shown in the followig examples:

21. (a) Who$_i$ t$_i$ saw me?
    (b) Who$_i$ did you marry t$_i$?

In the above examples, the wh-words are assumed to have moved from their original positions to the specifier of complementizer projection leaving behind at the extraction site an empty category 't$_i$' (wh-trace). Wh-movement is not peculiar to only the English language as some Niger-congo languages and other language families spoken in Nigeria have also been analysed as wh-movement languages. Examples of Nigerian languages that exhibit obligatory overt syntactic wh-movement are as follows:

22. Ta$_i$ ni [ó$_i$ pa ewúrẹ́]? (Yorùbá)
    Who be 3sg Kill goat
    'Who killed the goat?'

23. Ta$_i$ ni [Ajé pa ewúrẹ́ rẹ̀$_i$]? (Yorùbá)
    Who be Aje kill goat his
    'Who did Aje kill his goat?'
    (Adapted from Yusuf, 1998:181)

24. (a) Ónò (ọ́yén) dẹ amwa? (Urhobo)
    Who bought cloth
    'Who bought a cloth?'
    (Adapted from Aziza, 2011:327)

The example (24a) above is re-presented in the structure (24b) for clear representation of traces of the extracted wh-phrase:

(b) [CP Ónò$_i$ (ọ́yén) [IP t_i dẹ amwa]]?
Who bought cloth
'Who bought a cloth?'

25. (a) Díé (ọ́yén) Ésé dẹ́rè? (Urhobo)
What Ese buy
'What did Ese buy?'
(Adapted from Aziza, 2011:327)

The example (25a) above is re-presented in the structure (25b) for clarity of traces of the extracted wh-phrase:

(b) [CP Díé$_i$ (ọ́yén) [IP Ésé dẹ́rè t_i]]?
What Ese buy
'What did Ese buy?'

26. (a) Ẹra a wán nọ́ umu nà? (Ọ̀kọ̀)
Who 3sg kill ? Goat QM
'Who killed the goat?'
(Adapted from Yusuf, 1998:182)

The example (26) above is re-presented in the structure (26b) for clear representation of traces of the extracted wh-phrase:

(b) [CP Ẹra$_i$ [IP a_i wán nọ́ umu nà]]?
Who 3sg kill ? Goat QM
'Who killed the goat?'

27. (a) Ẹna Aje wàn na? (Ọ̀kọ̀)
What Aje kill QM
'What did Aje kill?'
(Adapted from Yusuf, 1998:179)

The example (27a) above is re-presented in the structure (27b) for clear representation of traces of the extracted wh-phrase:

(b) [CP Ẹna$_i$ [Aje wàn t$_i$ na]]?

What Aje kill QM

'What did Aje kill?'

28. [CP [NP wa (ne ne)]i [Pro ya càncanta [IP t$_i$ yà zama---

Who cop 3ms-perf. Be suitable 3ms.-subj. Become

Sarki-n-mu]]]? (Hausa)

Emir-of-us

'Who is it appropriate for him to become our Emir?'

(Adapted from Yalwa, 1995:306-307)

29. [CP [PP (à) yàushe (ne)]$_i$ [IP Pro ya fi kyau ---

at when cop 3ms-rel-perf exceed/good/nice

[CP t^{i}i (wai) [IP Pro sù yi aiki-n t$_i$]]]]? (Hausa)

that 3pl-subj do work-ref

'When is it appropriate for them to do the work?'

(Adapted from Yalwa, 1995:349)

30. (a) Toye Musa yah –i? Fulfulde

Where Musa go VAP

'Where did Musa go?'

(Adapted from Daudu, 2014:76)

The example (30a) above is re-presented in the structure (30b) for clear representation of traces of the extracted wh-phrase:

(b) [CP Toye$_i$ [IP Musa yah –i t$_i$]]? Fulfulde

where Musa go VAP

'Where did Musa go?'

31. (a) Erúmonú yinnì ìrènù? (Ebira)

when wash mouth

'When did you wash?'

(Adapted from Rasheed, 2013:43)

The example (31a) above is re-presented in the structure (31b) for clear representation of traces of the extracted wh-phrase:

(b) [CP Erúmonú$_i$ [IP Ø yinnì ìrènù t_i? (Ebira)
wh wash mouth
'When did you wash?'

32. (a) Su ka?
WH say
'What did you say?'

(Adapted from Rasheed, 2013:43)

The example (32a) above is re-presented in the structure (32b) for clear representation of traces of the extracted wh-phrase:

(b) [CP Su [IP Ø ka t_i?
wh say
'What did you say?'

In each of the examples above, the Wh-phrase occurs at the sentence initial position i.e the wh-phrases have been moved to the specifier of CPs. This shows that overt syntactic wh-movement is obligatory in these languages. It should be noted that while the extraction sites of the Wh-phrases are vacant in (21, 24, 25, 27-32), the extraction sites in (22, 23 & 26) leave a visible trace (i.e. resumptive pronoun). These visible traces co-indexed with the wh-phrases at the SPEC, CP. Though, Adeyemo (1981) quoted from Yusuf (1998:61) claims that no movement takes place in a construction like 22, 23 & 26, however, it has been established that movement may leave a visible or invisible trace at the extraction site depending on the language (Yusuf, 1998:181).

Cheng (1991:18 & 37) asserts in her Clausal Typing Hypothesis, that languages which do not have syntactic wh-movement form interrogative by the use of question

particles. In fact, Cheng claims that no language uses both ways to form wh-questions. However, given languages like Ọ̀kọ (as shown in the examples (26 & 27 above) which employs both syntactic wh-movement as well as question particle to form a wh-question, renders Cheng hypothesis untenable and shows that the availability of question particle does not determine whether or not a language has syntactic wh-movement.

Baker also notes the relationship that exists between the positions of yes-no question particles and wh-movement. He argues that only languages which position their particles for yes-no questions in clause initial position permit a movement rule for questioned constituents (Baker, 1970:207). However, given languages like Urhobo and Ẹ̀dà (language under study), which position their yes-no question particle at the sentence final position and yet employ syntactic wh-movement, this means that the position of yes-no question particles does not predict whether or not a language has syntactic wh-movement as languages like Hopi (Jeanne, 1978), Bahasa Indonesia (Saddy, 1991) and Hindi (Mahajan, 1990) which have initial yes-no particles but no syntactic wh-movement. All the studies mentioned above serve as a general background to the analysis of wh-questions in this study.

2.2.3.3 On Optional Wh-Movement Languages

Optional wh-movement languages are languages which allow possibilities of fronting of wh-words as well as typical wh-in-situ. Languages like Egyptian Arabic (Wahba, 1984), Bahasa Indonesia, Paluan and French have been classified as optional wh-movement languages given the examples below:

33. **Eeh**$_i$ illi Mona? Arit-uh$_i$? (Egyptian Arabic)
what that Mona read it
'What did Mona read?'
(Adapted from Cheng, 1991:54)

34. Fariid hawil yi mil **eeh**?
Fariid tried to do what
'What did fariid try to do?'
(Adapted from Cheng, 1991:57)

35. (a) **Siapa** yang Sally cintai? (Bahasa Indonesia)
Who that sally loves
'Who does sally love?'
(Adapted from Cheng, 1991:54).

(b) Sally men-cintai **siapa**?
Sally pref- loves who
'Who does sally love?'
(Adapted from Cheng, 1991:58).

36. (a) **Gini**$_i$ ka Emeka riri?
What that Emeka eat-past
'What did Emeka eat?'

(b) Emeka riri **gini**? (Igbo)
Emeka eat-past what
'What did Emeka eat?'
(Adapted from Nwankwegu, 2016:84).

37. **Ng**-te'a a killed-li a sub? (Paluan)
CL who Nom R-PF heat 3sg Nom-soup
'Who heated up the soup?'
(Adapted from Cheng, 1991:55)

38. K-osiik er a te'a**ng**?
2sg-look for P who)
'Who are you looking for'
(Adapted from Cheng, 1991:58)

The examples (33, 35a, 36a & 37) above are instances of syntactic wh-movement where the wh-phrase occupies the specifier of CP in the four languages. The examples (34, 35b, 36b & 38) on the other hand show that the wh-phrases occupy their base generated positions (in-situ). Acceptability of both strategies in these languages show that those languages exhibit syntactic wh-movement (which is similar to English) as well as typical wh-in-situ which is similar to Japanese and Mandarin Chinese which are known to be wh-in-situ languages. These languages have been technically classified as optional wh-movement languages.

There have been divergences of opinions as whether optional wh-movement language actually exists as Wh-parameter gives room for only one option out of the two possibilities. Wh-parameter is binary in nature in the sense that a language either allows or disallows wh-movements at S-structure. Chomsky (1989), based on his Principle of Economy of Derivation, argues that no language has the option of alternating between the two options. Thus, no language can claim to be an optional wh-movement language.

Cheng (1991), another critic of the concept of optional wh-movement, argues in her Clausal Typing Hypothesis that the so-called optional wh-movement languages do not have syntactic wh-movement of wh-word. Cheng claims that fronted wh-word in the above languages have striking resemblance with clefts. She proposes a wh-cleft analysis of the wh-fronting of arguments which involves a base-generated wh-NP as the subject of a cleft construction. The fronting of adjuncts was argued to be parallel to topicalization. She states that the above mentioned languages (Egyptian Arabic, Paluan, Igbo and Bahasa Indonesian) are not optional wh-movement languages with respect to wh-movement. She concludes that the above mentioned languages are simply wh-in-situ

languages. Contrary to Cheng's assumption, the sentences 33-38 are acceptable by the speakers of the languages as new information seeking questions. The examples (34, 35b, 36b & 38) should have been ruled out, ungrammatical or echoic if these languages do not allow both strategies of wh-movement as well as wh-in situ. But the acceptability of both wh-in-situ as well as syntactic wh-movement by the speakers proved the possibilities of alternating between the two options. She argues further that 'languages with wh-particles are in-situ languages' (p. 27). Contrary to this, none of the languages mentioned above uses wh-particles in the wh-question formation, how could she then, classify these languages as wh-in-situ languages. Cheng's argument that those languages should rather be classified as wh-in-situ languages is therefore untenable.

Cheng, in defense of her claim that the languages mentioned above should be classified as wh-in-situ languages, argues that the same marker used as focus marker in Egyptian Arabic is still used as complementizer in wh-question. It should be noted that using a word for different function is not new in linguistic analysis. A single word can perform as many functions as possible and such word will be labelled based on the function it performs in different syntactic realisations. Therefore, the argument that the same marker used as focus marker in Egyptian Arabic is still used as complementizer in wh-question is not relevant in this analysis.

From the information given above, it becomes increasingly obvious that certain principles of a certain degree of explanatory power of syntactic theories are at stake; hence, there arose the need for further modification of the system. Studies in the wh-questions in Egyptian Arabic, Bahasa Indonesia, Paluan, Igbo and Ẹ̀dà (as shall be shown in chapter four of this study) show the urgent need to narrow down the range of possible

alternative rules in wh-parameter in linguistic theory and also to shift emphasis from the study of rule limitation to that of systems of possibilities so that young scholars will not be modifying languages while trying to validate the theoretical relevance in the study of African languages.

2.2.4 Multiple Wh-Questions

Multiple wh-questions are questions with two or more wh-words. Bolinger (1978:115) posits that "a question with two or more unknowns is a heavily loaded question". Hiz (1978) as quoted from Ndimele (1992:118) observes that "multiple questions are a hard topic for a grammarian and some formulations of the rules for them have been inaccurate". Following Karttunen (1978), there is nothing peculiar about the structure of multiple questions that can actually make them a hard topic for a grammarian as Karttunen (1978:172) notes:

39. The syntactic distribution of multiple Wh-questions
is the same as that of a single wh-question. There is
no justification for creating a special syntactic category
for them.

(Karttunen, 1978:172).

The implication of the above statement is that there is no limit to the number of Wh-words that can occur in a sentence.

Ndimele (1992:119) classifies multiple Wh-questions as "repetitive" to which echo-questions belong. He explains further that multiple wh-questions are repetitive that are encoded in the form of questions. He states that each of them seems to re-echo a previous discourse and calls for the previous speakers to repeat some information (either because the hearer failed to hear or understand it, or he could not believe what he heard).

Chomsky (1973) and Lasnik and Uriagereka (1988), while analyzing movements in multiple wh-questions, favour an obligatory movement of a wh-phrase into COMP. They impose some constraints on such possible movements into COMP. One of these constraints is that COMP cannot be doubly filled. So, if there is more than one instance of a wh-phrase in a sentence, only one wh-phrase can move into COMP, as specified by Wh-Complementizer Constraint as:

40. **Wh-Complementizer Constraint**

No constituent can be adjoined to a COMP which already contains a Wh-constituent (i.e. wh-complementizer like whether, a Wh-NP like who, what, which, a Wh-adverb like how, etc)

(Radford, 1981:235).

Though, Wh-Complementizer Constraint holds for English-type languages as shown in examples (44-45) below, it does not hold for Bulgarian-type languages which have been proved to allow multiple fronting of Wh-word as shown in the examples (48-52) below. In support of wh-complementizer constraint, Cheng (1991:2), in her Clausal Typing Hypothesis, argues that movement of one wh-word is sufficient to form a wh-question.

Another important constraint that was conceived and explored by Chomsky (1973) is the 'Superiority Condition' which he defines as follows:

41. **Superiority Condition**

The category A is superior to the category B in the Phrase marker if every major category dominating A Dominates B as well but not conversely.

(Chomsky, 1973:246).

According to him, if a Wh-construction has two instances of a non-coreferential interrogative operator, and one of them is superior to the other (in the sense of being

higher in the Phrase marker), then, the rule of Wh-fronting must extract the superior. In other words, the more deeply Wh-word is immune to Wh-fronting.

Lasnik and Uriagereka (1988) express the notion of superiority condition in terms of c-command as below:

42. If α and β are potential sources of the same movement
on the same cycle, and α asymmetrically c-commands β,
α rather than β moves.

(Lasnik and Uriagereka, 1988:101).

Languages differ in the way multiple wh-questions are formed. Considering the literature given so far, we, therefore, classify languages based on the position wh-phrases occupy in the multiple wh-questions as follows:

43. **On Multiple Wh-Questions**

(i) Languages that front one and only one wh-word at S-structure while other wh-words remain in-situ e.g. English

(ii) Languages that have all wh-words in-situ at S-structure e.g Mandarin Chinese and Japanese.

(iii) Languages that front all wh-words at S-structure (Multiple fronting of Wh-words) e.g Russian, Polish, Serbo-croatia, Czech, Bulgarian and Romanian.

(iv) Languages that have option of either behave like (i) or (ii) e.g. Egyptian Arabic

Examples of multiple Wh-questions are as follows:

44. (a) Who bought what for whom?

(b) [CP Who_i [IP t_i bought what for whom]]?

(c).*[CP $What_i$ did [IP who bought t_i for whom]]?

Following Superiority Condition, examples (44c) is ungrammatical because 'who' asymmetrically c-commands 'what' in (44a) which is the D-Structure representation.

Ndimele (1992:121) calls this a case of subject-object asymmetry. In some cases, Superiority Condition may not account for the ungrammaticality of some structures. For instance, Superiority Condition will wrongly predict that (45b) is well-formed while (45a) is not, since 'what' is the complement of 'count' and not 'why'.

45. (a) Why$_i$ did you count what t_i ?
    (b) *What$_i$ did you count t_i why?

Following Huang (1982), Lasnik and Uriagereka (1988) argue that the ungrammaticality of structure like (45b) does not necessarily follow from subject-object asymmetry, but from a wider generalization which they refer to as complement-non-complement asymmetry. Following complement-non-complement asymmetry, if a wh-construction has two instances of a non-coreferential interrogative operator and one of them is a complement while the other is a non-complement/adjunct, then, the rule of wh-fronting must extract the non-complement one while the complement of the verb is left in-situ, being the sister node to the head word (i.e the verb). It is this complement-non-complement asymmetry that explains why (45b) and not (45a) is ill-formed. The example (46), in contrast, shows that the wh-phrases occur in their base-generated positions without showing any overt syntactic movement.

46. Shei mai-le sheme? (Mandarin Chinese)
    Who bought what
    'Who bought what?'
47. Koj kogo vizda? (Bulgarian)
    Who whom sees
    'Who sees whom?'
48. Cinc cu ce merge? (Romanian)
    Who with what goes
    'Who goes by what?'

49. Ko koga vidi? (Serbo-croatian)
Who whom sees
'Who sees whom'

50. Kdo koho videl? (Czech)
Who whom saw
'Who saw whom?'

51. Kto co robit? (Polish)
Who what did
'Who did what?'

It should be noted that examples (46) is copied from Cheng (1991) while examples (47-51) are copied from Rudin (1988:449). Examples (43-45) show that only one wh-phrase moved to the Specifier of CP while other wh-words remain in their base generated positions. Example (46), on the other hand, shows that the wh-words remain in their base generated positions.The examples (47-51) show multiple fronting of the wh-words at S-structure. Languages that behave like (47-51) are technically refered to as "Multiple Wh-Fronting Languages". Rudin (1988:448) calls them "Multiply Filled Spec, CP (MFS) languages. In these languages i.e MFS languages, if the second wh-word is not fronted, the sentence is interpreted as echo question.

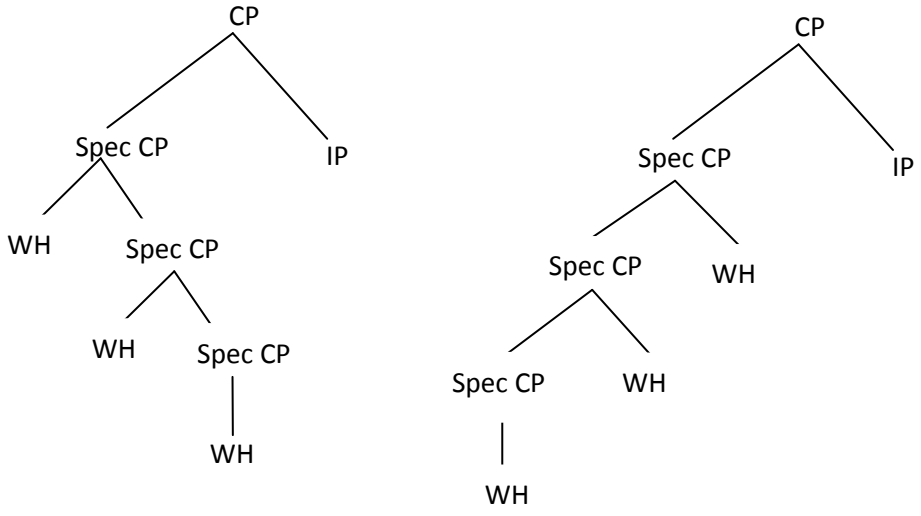
Regarding the landing sites of multiple fronted wh-phrases, Rudin (1988) argues that the fronted wh-words in multiple fronting languages do not necessarily land in the same place. She classified multiple fronting languages into two types, namely: [+Multiply Filled Spec, CP] (i.e +MFS) languages and [-Multiply Filled Spec, CP] (i.e -MFS) languages. Cheng (1991), following Rudin analysis, summarizes the difference between [+MFS] languages and [-MFS] languages as follows:

52. i. [+MFS] languages can extract multiple wh-words from a clause.
ii. [+MFS] languages can violate wh-islands.
iii. Fronted wh-words in [+MFS] languages cannot be separated.
iv. Fronted wh-words in [+MFS] languages appear in fixed order.

(Cheng, 1991:88).

Based on these four differences, Rudin posits that the [+MFS] languages adjoin all the wh-words in specifier of CP while the [-MFS] languages involve fronting one wh-word to specifier of CP while adjoining the other wh-words to IP. She, therefore, proposes the configuration in (53a) for [+MFS] languages and (53b) for [-MFS] languages.

53. (a) (b)



(Adapted from Rudin, 1988:480).

To buttress her point, Rudin argues that fronted wh-words in [+MFS] languages cannot be separated by clitics and parentheticals while [-MFS] languages can. In fact, Cihocki (1983), opines that in Polish, parenthetical can be between the first wh-word and the second one, or follow the whole sequence. However, parenthetical cannot occur between the second wh-word and the third one. The implication of this is that in [+MFS]

languages where multiple adjunction to spec of CP is allowed, Wh-complementizer does not hold.

Cheng, a critic of [multiply filled Spec,CP], argues that since multiple adjunction to specifier of CP is not allowed at S-Structure in [-MFS] languages, and the wh-words which are adjoined to specifier of IP positions move to specifier of CP at LF, then, [-MFS] languages should not be regarded as [Multiply Filled Spec, CP] (Cheng, 1991:103). We disagree with Cheng's observation in that what the [-Multiply Filled Spec, CP] implies is that not all the wh-words that occupy the spec, CP position; only one wh-word occupies this position. Though, Rudin's study is on entirely different language family, however, her analysis is a useful tool and provides a strong basis for the analysis of multiple wh-questions in the present study.

On the order of movement in [+multiply filled spec, CP] languages, Rudin argues that since the structure of spec of CP involves adjunction to the right (considering the configuration in 54a above), the most embedded wh-word moves to the specifier of CP first and the subsequent wh-words adjoin to it. Rudin assumes the split ECP theory proposed in Aoun et al (1987) among others; an empty category must be governed by a lexical head at PF and an A´-Anaphor (e.g a trace of a wh-word) must be A´-bound in its domain at LF. This adjunction pattern in (54a), according to Rudin, can account for the fixed ordering of wh-words as follows: the one which moves into specifier of CP first triggers spec-head agreement and thus, C^{o} will have the index as the first wh-word can act as a head governor. This predicts that a subject has to move to specifier of CP before an object so that the former can be head-governed by the C^{O} co-indexed with the subject wh-word and thereby satisfying the ECP.

Cheng (1991), however, argues against Rudin analysis that though, multiple adjunction structure in (53a) above can account for multiple extraction as well as wh-island violations, it cannot fully account for the ordering of multiply fronted wh-words. The problem, as stated by Cheng, is the order between an argument and adjunct. She argues that the kind of derivation above cannot explain the order [subject+ adjunct], since adjuncts need to be head-governed as well. She then, argues that why not move the adjunct into specifier of CP first. She therefore concludes that the order [subject+ adjunct] will be ruled out under Rudin analysis and the order [adjunct+ object] will be predicted contrary to facts in Bulgarian (Cheng, 1991:97). Cheng, adopting Principle of Economy of Derivation (Chomsky, 1989, 1991), therefore, proposes that the movement of subject and object to take place before the movement of adjunct. Thus, the [argument+ adjunct] ordering is derived (Cheng, 1991:99). All the studies mentioned above serve as a springboard for the analysis of wh-questions in the present study.

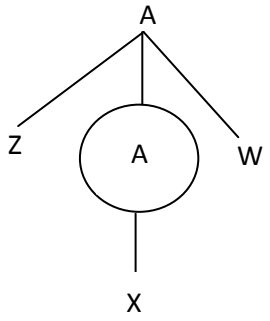
2.2.5 Syntactic Constraints on Movements

One of the fundamental ideas in generative grammar is that the expressive power of transformational rule move-α is too strong and therefore, there is need to constrain the power of transformational rules so that they do not generate ill-formed constructions. In fact, most generative linguists have argued that most of the ill-formed constructions traceable to the effects of movement rules result from island violations. Radford (1981:216) defines an island as "a construction out of which no subpart can be extracted by any movement rule (though, the whole island may be moved as one unit)". Ndimele (1992:130) states that "a syntactic island is a construction into which no movement rule can penetrate to extract any of its constituents, unless the whole construction must pied-

pipe (i.e moved as a unit)". To this end, a number of universal restrictions on syntactic rule have been proposed.

The first and pioneering attempt that offer an insight into the nature of universal constraint is Chomsky (1964). He proposes that all rules follow the A-over-A constraint (henceforth AOAC) such that if a constituent of type A is dominated by another, also of type A, then, no rule concerning an unspecified A can be applied to the dominated A without also being applied to the dominating A. He explains further that "if the phrase X of category A is embedded within a larger phrase ZXW which is also of category A, then, no rule applying to the category A applies to X (but only to ZXW)" (p. 931). Ross (1967:13) demonstrates how the principle of A-over-A operates in the following tree diagram:

54.



(Adapted from Ross, 1967:13).

Ross argues that all transformations which refer to **A** must apply to the topmost instance of **A**, and not the circled **A**. Consider the following English Examples for illustration:

55. (a) The team will emerge [PP out [P´ of [NP this competition]]]

(b) [Out of this competition]$_i$ the team will emerge t_i.

(c) *[Of this competition]$_i$ the team will emerge out of t_i.

In (55a), it could be observe that P^I is contained within PP, hence, the extraction of P^I by any movement rule is blocked by A-over-A constraint. This explains why (55c) is ill-

formed. In (55b), the whole PP is moved to the beginning of the sentence; hence, the structure is well-formed. What this implies is that PP in English must be pied-pipe. Let us examine Ẹ̀dà position on the A-over-A constraint phenomenon:

56. (a) [IP Ọkrẹm Ø wán a lọ àyàbàn [PP kẹ̀ [P^{I} ọmẹ [NP ize]]]].
Ọkrẹm Agr Aux pst buy banana prep inside market
'Ọkrẹm bought banana in the market'

(b) [Ọmẹ ize]$_i$ wọ̀ Ọkrẹm Ø Ø a lọ àyàbàn t_i.
inside market FM Ọkrẹm Agr Aux pst buy banana
'It was in the market that Ọkrẹm bought the banana'

(c) *ize$_i$ wọ̀ Ọkrẹm Ø Ø a lọ àyàbàn kẹ̀ ọmẹ t_i.
market FM Ọkrẹm Agr Aux pst buy banana Prep inside
'It was the market that Ọkrẹm bought the banana in'

(d) *[Kẹ̀ ọmẹ ize]$_i$ wọ̀ Ọkrẹm Ø Ø a lọ àyàbàn t_i.
Prep inside market FM Ọkrẹm Agr Aux pst buy banana
'It was inside in the market that Ọkrem bought the banana'

It could be observed from the example (56) above that the auxiliary *wán* which is overtly realized at the D-structure as shown in example (56a) is covertly realized in (56b-d), hence, it is represented by a null element Ø. The reason is that auxiliary verb cannot co-occur with the focus marker in the language under study. Therefore, whenever a focus marker occurs in a sentence, an auxiliary verb is deleted. In the structure (56b) above, the movement of *ọmẹ ize* 'inside market' to the focus position necessitates covert realization of the auxiliary *wán*. However, if the focused constituent is non-human NP [i.e. -human NP], and such NP is questioned, the auxiliary *wán* is overtly realized at S-structure, as it heads the CP projection. This is because the language under study is sensitive to human/non-human features as only [+human, +wh-phrase] requires focusing in the

formation of wh-questions. This remains a parameter which is specific to Ẹ̀dà which differentiate it from other Niger-congo families.

In (56a), we observe that the P^I *ọmẹ ize* 'inside market' is contained within PP *kẹ̀ ọmẹ ize* 'in the market', yet, P^I *ọmẹ ize* 'inside market' is extracted and well-formed as shown in (56b). This implies that the extraction of P^I is not blocked by A-over-A constraint in Ẹ̀dà, hence, well-formedness of (56b). The sentence (56c), on the other hand, is ill-formed because the NP *ize* 'market' is contained within P^I, hence, the extraction of NP out of P^I is blocked by AOAC. The implication of this is that the preposition *ọmẹ* 'inside' must be piedpiped with the NP *ize* 'market'. From (56d), we notice that the whole PP *kẹ̀ ọmẹ ize* 'in the market' is extracted and the sentence is ill-formed. This means that the extraction of the whole PP is blocked by AOAC. The implication of this is that while extraction of intermediate category (P^I) is possible as in the case of (56b), reverse is the case of the maximal projection PP as shown in (56d).

The discovery of A-over-A constraint could not instigate rapid research towards the elaboration of a generalized constraint systems, probably bacause A-over-A constraint concentrates on a small domain of rules and constructions. Apart from Chomsky's A-over-A constraint, there was hardly any serious investigation into specific properties of transformations in terms of universal constraint. Ross dissertation was a major contribution to syntactic analysis as the work was devoted to the discovery of constraints on the scope of the application of transformational rules in general and formulation of a general explanatory system of conditions on transformations in particular. To Ross, many features of individual transformations apply to larger groups of transformations and thus making them parts of UG.

Ross (1967) shows that the A-over-A principle was both too strong and too weak since it excludes good grammatical sentences and permits ungrammatical ones. In reaction to this, Ross proposes some constraints on variables that occur in syntactic rules. In essence, the idea behind formulation of syntactic islands by Ross was to provide a generalized view of constraints since no single constraint can cater for all constructions. Ross constraints mainly concerned movement rules and were named after the syntactic constructions out of which they prevented movements. These constraints are complex NPs constraint, the coordinate structure constraint, the sentential subject constraint, the left branching condition and pied piping convention (Prepositional phrases in NPs). These constraints are presented below:

2.2.5.1 Complex Noun Phrase Constraint (CNPC)

The idea behind complex NP constraint is that noun complement clauses and relative clauses are islands from which no movement rule can extract any element. The sentences below instantiate complex noun phrase constraint in Ẹ̀dà:

57. (a) [IP Ìmí Ø wán a ṣìn [NP èǹkyí$_i$ anuṣin eǹgá$_i$ udú ọ̀twán na]].
1sg Agr Aux pst see man Rel 3sg did work Det
'I saw the man that did the work'

(b) *[FP Ọ̀twán na$_i$ yọ [IP ìmí Ø Ø a ṣìn [NP èǹkyí$_k$ anuṣin eǹgá$_k$ udù t$_i$]]].
Work Det FM 1sg Agr Aux pst see man Rel 3sg did
'It was the work I saw the man that did'

(c) *[FP Èǹkyí$_i$ ghalẹ̀ [IP ìmí Ø Ø a ṣìn [NP t$_i$ anuṣin eǹgá$_i$ udù ọ̀twán na]]].
man FM 1sg Agr Aux pst see Rel 3sg did work Det
'It was the man I saw that he did the work'

(d) [FP [NP Èǹkyí anuṣin eǹgá udú ọ̀twán na]$_i$ ghalẹ̀ [IP ìmí Ø Ø a ṣìn [NPt$_i$]]].
man Rel 3sg did work DET FM 1sg Agr Aux pst see
'It was the man who did the work that I saw'

The sentence (57a) is an example of noun complement clause which consists the so-called Complex Noun Phrase (i.e an NP with a lexical head) and a complement (i.e an embedded sentence = CP) dependent upon the lexical head of the Complex NP). The lexical head in (57a) is the *èǹkyí* 'man'. Since CP, which contains *eǹgá* 'you' and *ọ̀twán na* 'the work', is dominated by an NP with a lexical head *èǹkyí* 'man', neither *eǹgá* nor *ọ̀twàn na* can be extracted by any movement rule. This accounts for the ill-formedness of (57b&c). The analysis given above shows that Complex NP Constraint is applicable to Ẹ̀dà.

2.2.5.2. Coordinate Structure Constraint

Coordinate structure constraint stipulates that no movement rule can extract a constituent out of structures that are joined with coordinate conjunctions. In essence, no constituent that forms part of a coordinate structure can be extracted by any movement rule. Consider the example (58) from Ẹ̀dà to illustrate Coordinates Structure Constraint:

58. (a) [IP Alẹs Ø wán a ya [NP ẹ́sàmba kẹ̀ ido]].
Alex Agr Aux pst eat rice Conj beans
'Alex ate rice and beans'

(b) [Ẹ́sàmba kẹ̀ ido]$_i$ yọ Alẹs Ø Ø a ya [NPt$_i$].
Rice Conj beans FM Alex Agr Aux pst eat
'It was rice and beans that Alex ate'

(c) * Ẹ́sàmba$_i$ yọ Alẹs Ø Ø a ya [NPt$_i$ kẹ̀ ido].
Rice FM Alex Agr Aux pst eat Conj beans
'It was rice that Alex ate and beans'

(d) *Ido$_i$ yọ Alẹs Ø Ø a ya [NP ẹ́sàmba kẹ̀ t_i].
beans FM Alex Agr Aux pst eat rice Conj
'It was beans that Alex ate rice and'

The bracketed construction in (58a) is an example of coordinate structure and therefore, constitutes a syntactic island which no element can be moved out of the structure except the whole structure is moved as a unit. This accounts for the ungrammaticality of (58c&d).

2.2.5.3 Sentential Subject Constraint

The sentential subject constraint, according to Ross (1967:243), states "that no constituent dominated by a sentence can be extracted out of that sentence if the sentence in question is dominated by an NP which is immediately dominated by a higher sentence". Consider the following examples for illustration of sentential subject constraint:

59. (a) [That (Bola stole the money)] surprised me.
(b) *Bola$_i$ [that t_i stole the money] surprised me.
(c) *(The money)$_i$ [that Bola stole t_i] surprised me.

From the above examples, it could be observed that no constituent that forms part of the construction 'Bola stole the money' can be extracted by movement rules. This is because construction in question is a sentential subject of the sentence.

There have been various criticisms against Ross that his constraints are not systematic from theoretical point of view. Among the arguments against Ross's constraints is that the ill-formedness of constructions in which there are island violations result from some principles that lie outside the domain of formal grammar. Ndimele (1991:131) also argues that island violations in Echie do not present processing

difficulties and deviant constructions that result from island violations can be handled within the domain of formal grammar. Among the linguists that make attempts to replace some of Ross's constraints are Grosu (1972; 1973), Kuno (1973), Chomsky (1973) and Horn (1974). Grosu (1972) formulates a restriction on what he calls "nucleus and satellite constructions". It appears that his intention was to replace Ross's restrictions on complex Noun Phrase and Coordinate Structures and at the same time to give an account of some data concerning movement out of Adverbial phrases and sentences. But then, his proposal could not provide data from different languages to support his idea.

Kuno (1973), another critic of Ross constrains, taking as his point of departure, suggests a restriction on non-complete constituents in non-final S position, which he intends to replace Ross's constraint on sentential subject. Chomsky (1973) tries to replace all Ross's constraints with "Superiority Conditions" on the application of syntactic rules. Superiority Condition has already been handled in chapter 2.1.2.4 of this thesis.

Other notable constraints (apart from Ross's constraint) are Comp-Island-Constraint, Unit Movement Constraint (proposed by Schwartz 1972), Leftness Condition, Tensed S-condition, Specified Subject Condition, Nominative Island Condition, Residue of Nominative Island Condition, COMP-overcrowding Filter, Upward Boundedness Condition, The Strong Crossover Effect, proposed by Postal (1971) and the Path Containment Condition proposed by Kayne (1981).

2.2.5.4 Comp-Island Constraint

This constraint states that movement can extract a constituent out of an embedded indirect question introduced by a complementizer (e.g whether, where, why etc). Consider the following examples to illustrate (CIC):

60. (a) Daddy asked me [CP whether [IP Ade ate the rice]].

(b) *[The rice]$_i$ daddy asked me [CP whether [IP Ade ate t_i]].

(c) *Ade$_i$ Daddy asked me [CP whether [IP t_i ate the rice]].

From the examples above, it could be observed that movement out of the embedded clause introduced by whether creates ill-formedness of (60b &c).

2.2.5.5 Unit Movement Constraint

This constraint was proposed by Schwartz (1972). The constraint states that no single movement rule can extract two or more elements (at the same time) if these elements do not form part of a continuous constituent. Consider the following examples for illustration:

61. (a) Bimpe took off from where?

(b) [From where]$_i$ did Bimple take off t_i?

(c) *[Off from where]$_i$ did Bimple take t_i?

From the examples above, the example (61b) is well formed while (61c) is not. Example (61b) is grammatical because 'from where' forms a natural sequence while 'off & from where' do not form a natural sequence.

2.2.5.6 Strong Crossover Effect

This constraint was proposed by Postal (1971). The constraint states that no constituent can be moved across its co-indexed pronoun. In other words, no rule can move a constituent across a pronoun, if this pronoun and the moved constituent share the same semantic identity. Consider the following examples from English:

62. (a) He thinks snake bites who?

(b) Who$_i$ does he$_k$ think snake bites t_i?

(c) *Who$_i$ does he$_i$ thinks snake bites t_i?

The example (62c) is a case of strong crossover, since the wh-phrase, who, is co indexed with the pronoun 'he' that was crossed during the movement of the wh-phrase into SPEC, CP position. This means that anaphoric relation is barred between an operator or its variable and a crossed over pronoun.

2.2.5.7 Leftness Condition

The Leftness Condition states that a pronoun cannot be coindexed with a variable that is to its right. Let us consider the following Ẹ̀dà examples:

63. (a) Ekyé ghan$_k$ Ø wán a la Ọkrẹ̀m$_i$.
father his Agr Aux pst beat Ọkrẹ̀m
'His father beat Ọkrẹ̀m'

(b) Ẹ̀ngha$_i$ gha ekye ghan$_k$ Ø Ø a la t$_i$?
who FM father his Agr Aux pst beat
'Who did his father beat?'

(c) *Ẹ̀ngha$_i$ gha ekye ghan$_k$ Ø Ø a la t$_k$?
who FM father his Agr Aux pst beat

The sentence (63b) is well-formed because the variable coindexed with its operator (i.e *ẹngha* 'who') and not with the pronoun that precedes it. Sentence (63c), on the other hand, is ill-formed because the pronoun coindexed with the variable it precede.

There seems to be a consensus of opinion in the literature about the existence of constraints in all natural languages as shown in the examples given in Ẹ̀dà, the language under study. Though, the number and nature of islands vary from one language to the other, nevertheless, there has never been a language reported to be free of some of these constraints if not all.

In this literature review, we considered previous works on Ẹ̀dà language, typology of wh-questions in English, Niger-congo languages and other language families. We

equally considered literature on constraints on movements. The essence of this is to understand the variations in the typology of wh-questions across languages so that we can make fresh headway where little or nothing has been said with regards to the behaviour of wh phrases and the features that influence wh-movement in a language. An area that the researcher neglected is that of comparative analysis whereby the syntax of wh-questions in one language is compared with that of another to determine areas of divergence and convergence.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology employed in the study as well as theoretical framework adopted for the study. The chapter is divided into a number of sections. The first section presents research methodology employed in the study while the second section presents the theoretical framework adopted for the study.

3.1 Research Methodology

This section presents research methodology employed in the study with particular interest on the sampling technique, sources of data, data collection procedure, population as well as data presentation procedure adopted in the study

3.1.1 Sampling Technique

The sample for this study was generated through the snowball sampling method. The snowball sampling is a strategy whereby referrals from earlier participants are used to gather the required number of participants, considering their knowledge on the language under study. In this study, the main informant was purposely selected, not only because he is a native speaker of the language or he resides in Àdùnù (a community where the language is actively spoken) but because he is part of the team that designed the first orthography for the language. Besides, he has good knowledge/understanding of the language. He thereafter refered us to other potential speakers of the language and these informants in turn introduced other informants based on their knowledge in the language under study. The accuracy and consistency of the data generated were

confirmed by more elderly speakers of the language in question who have been living in the speech communities all through their life.

3.1.2 Sources of Data

Data for this study were drawn from primary source while a few others were got from written records. The methods used in gathering primary data were ethnographic observation and oral interview (face-to-face). Culicover (1997:1) states that 'the methodology that has proven most productive in the development of linguistic theory has been to closely examine selected sentences and phrases that native speakers of a language judge to be possible, impossible and marginal'. For the purpose of this study, Culicover (1997)'s methodology was adopted. These methods were considered appropriate with regard to the nature of this research being purely qualitative and descriptive. Besides, information and ideas were followed up and the reactions were investigated further. The primary data was elicited directly from the native speakers of the language. In total, eight (8) participants, four (4) male and four (4) female were interviewed for extensive data collection. The informants are from Muyan, Paikoro, Gurara and Lapai Local Government Areas in Niger State. From each of the above-mentioned Local Government Areas, two informants (a male and a female) were selected. Most of the speakers (participants) were bilingual in Ẹ̀dà and Hausa. The details of the informants and the contents of the interviews appear in the Appendix. To complement the primary data, words were also extracted from Ẹ̀dà-English Wordlist (Blench, 2009). However, four (4) Ẹ̀dà native speakers among the informants were made to pronounce the list of words and wh-words in isolation and equally used them in sentences to confirm the pronounciation and to test their ability to make grammaticality judgements for wh-questions.

3.1.3 Data Collection Procedure

The data for this study were drawn mainly through ethnographic observation and oral interview (face-to-face). Data collected during the ethnographic fieldwork include conversations, proverbs as well as narratives (folktales) to elicit phonological, morphological and syntactic structures. Oral interviews were conducted to get enough information for the purpose of validity of the issue of apparent optionality in wh-questions and to seek the native speakers judgement on the selected sentences and phrases (wh-questions). Each interview lasted for two to three hours. The participants used for this study were interviewed while their conversations were recorded with an audio voice-recorder. Data were recorded with a Sony Portable voice recorder and interviews typically took place at common places such as homes, markets, churches and mosques. The informants were made to pronounce the list of wh-words in isolation and equally read out sentences containing them. Apart from differences in the voice quality, there were no differences between the pronounciation and the position of wh-words in the sentences made by all the informants. In addition to seeking grammaticality judgements for wh-questions, a small group of Ẹ̀dà speakers was consulted for their intuitions regarding the presuppositions which the optionality in wh-adjuncts may be associated with. In pursuit of this concern, the speakers were asked to make inferences about the selected sentences and phrases they consider to be plausible or otherwise, rather than the presuppositions associated with each syntactic structure. After the interview, the data were transcribed into written form using orthographic symbols and translated with an interlinear glossing. It was with the help of the main informant (Alex Maikarfi) who is familiar with Ẹ̀dà orthography that the proper glossing was done.

At the beginning of each interview, the informants were asked to provide brief background information (e.g. age, educational qualifications, number of languages spoken and profession). This was considered necessary in order to investigate whether or not different aspects influenced the informants' daily use of wh-questions. It was anticipated that those who had lived in some Hausa-speaking communities other than Niger State (e.g. Kano, Kaduna and Sokoto) were likely to have been influenced by Hausa. A particular reference was made to Hausa because Hausa is the most widely spoken language in Northern part of Nigeria, especially among the speakers of minority languages. It was equally anticipated that those who are educated were likely to have been influenced by the English language which is a wh-movement langauge.

The main informant, Alex Maikarfi, who is not only a native speaker of Ẹ̀dà, but also, familiar with the orthography of Ẹ̀dà, accompanied throughout the researcher's stay in Niger State as a translator. He is a graduate of Language and Communication Arts and has been trained in Linguistics. Henry (2005:1599) points out that "speakers trained in linguistics suggest more efficient responses since they are aware of what a grammaticality judgement means". Henry's idea was therefore embraced. Alex Maikarfi has been instrumental to this research by facilitating communication with the community leaders. Those leaders and some participants were determined based on the community recommendation.

In this study, data from the fieldwork were used to provide basic description of grammatical sketch as well as phenomenon of wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà. Alex Maikarfi and Faith Maikasa were valuable post fieldwork consultants. While Alex and I regularly communicated via phone calls and skype where he provided more information required

for more clarification, Faith Maikasa provided new words and sentences that I directly elicited from her. All grammatical and ungrammatical examples that appear in this study were checked and verified by the native speakers as being grammatical or ungrammatical structures of Ẹ̀dà. For grammaticality judgement, four areas were taken into consideration: the types of wh-question (direct or indirect, simple or embedded, echoing or non-echoing, single or multiple), the position of wh-words (ex-situ or in-situ), especially where the ex-situ strategy is the most common, the category of wh-word (argument or adjunct), comparing and contrasting the distribution of wh-words (wh-argument and wh-adjunct) in simple/matrix and embedded questions. Alex provided crucial confirmation of the data used as well as guidance for understanding of contextual information.

Though, there has been a scholarly debate regarding the precise definitions of terms like acceptability, grammaticality and preference, however, the terms grammaticality, acceptability and well-formedness were used for possible structures while ungrammatical, ill-formed, unacceptable and illicit were used for impossible structures as the working terminology for the purpose of this study.

3.1.4 Population

The population for this study consists of eight (8) native speakers of Ẹ̀dà from Mùyàn, Gúràrà, Lapaí and Paikoro Local Government Areas of Niger State. From each of the above-mentioned Local Government Areas, one Ẹ̀dà speaking town/village was selected while two informants (a male and a female) were selected from each town/village to avoid gender bias. Specifically, the informants were from Adunu, Tunganbarao, Gotoshiri and Barakwe. The reason for selecting the above-mentioned

areas for this study was that Àdà people in these areas speak Ẹ̀dà dialect which is the standard variety used for writing this language. Besides, Ẹ̀dà is actively in use in these areas. The background information of the informants (e.g age, educational qualifications, number of languages spoken and profession) appear in the appendix.

3.1.5 Data Presentation Procedure

Data for the study were presented in prose using orthographic symbols and table while both the glossing and translation were presented on the lines directly below Ẹ̀dà correspondents. Two reasons account for this position. First, there is generally accepted orthography for the language. Secondly, using orthographic symbols will afford both linguistic audience and the speakers of the language accessing the work for reading. Some semantic features were also employed to present some data (where necessary). Each data was set off from the text and assigned a number. A single numbering scheme was used for data in prose while data presented in table were numbered using separate numbering scheme. Most of the data used for this study came directly from primary source and the method of gathering the data was oral interview while their conversations were recorded with audio voice-recorder. After the interview, the data were extracted from the recorded information and transcribed into text using orthographic symbols and translated with an interlinear glossing. Even though, the researcher is not a native speaker of Ẹ̀dà, but has been in Ẹ̀dà speaking communities for few years and she's familiar with its orthography. However, the researcher employed a native speaker's guidance in transcribing the data into text using orthographic symbols. It was with the help of the main informant (Alex Maikarfi) who is familiar with Ẹ̀dà orthography that the proper glossing was done.

3.1.6 Method of Data Analysis

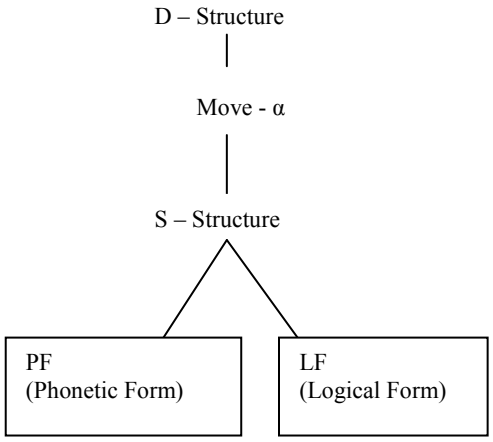
The analysis of data in this study was both descriptive and theoretical. The descriptive method helps to describe the strategies employed in the formation of wh-questions in the Ẹ̀dà language using prose explanations. The theoretical aspect of the analysis was done using tables, space-saving labeled bracketing and some semantic features. The theoretical aspect of the analysis helps to confirm basic assumptions of the Universal Grammar in general and GB theory in particular in order to show the potential contribution of Ẹ̀dà to the concept of typology of wh-questions in particular to linguistic analysis (parametric variation across languages) in general.

3.2 Theoretical Framework: Government and Binding Theory

One of the goals of syntactic study is to describe and analyse how sentence structures of a language are represented and computed in the mind of the speaker and hearer of that language. To achieve this goal, every piece of syntactic analysis needs atleast a theory/model/approach to give it a solid basis and a sense of direction. The theoretical framework adopted for this research is Principles and Parameters Theory (also called Government and Binding Theory (henceforth GB) as presented by Chomsky (1981; 1982; 1986) and subsequently elaborated by Radford (1988), Haegeman (1991) and many others. The choice of adopting GB theory was informed by two important reasons. First, the theory is not too abstract compared to Minimalist Program which makes it suitable for a pioneering work on the syntax of the Ẹ̀dà language. Also, the fact that its modules and sub-theories are effective for accounting for the structure of wh-questions in the language.

Principles and Parameters Theory assumes that all human languages have the same grammatical structures differing only in lexical compositions. Hence, the grammatical properties which are universal will not have to be learned by the child, since they are wired into the language faculty and hence part of the child's genetic endowment. The following structure is a schematic representation of the way grammar is organized in the theory:

64. **Levels of representation in GB**



(Adapted from Haegeman, 1991:586).

According to Chomsky (1981:5), the theory of of Universal Grammar consists of interacting subsystems which can be studied from two different perspectives. These are the rule systems of grammar and the subsystems of principles.The sub-components of rule system are:

65. (i) Lexicon
    (ii) Syntax
        (a) Categorial Component
        (b) Transformational Component
    (iii) PF-component
    (iv) LF-component

The lexicon specifies the peculiar features of a word. These subsume its morphological, syntactic, categorial and contextual features. The categorial and syntactic components are said to constitute the basic component. Guided by the base rules, lexical items are combined at the D-Structure and the D-Structure is mapped onto S-Structure by the application of transformational rule: Move- α. At the S-structure, there may be traces of movement (e.g wh-trace) as well as co-indexing of anaphors with their antecedents. This rule is called transformational component. The rule can also appear at the phonetic form (PF) and logical form (LF). The PF is a level where the physical structures are represented phonetically. The LF on the other hand is the level where meaning is represented. The transformation to S-Structure underlies several constraints such as subjacency condition, binding principles etc. The subsystems of principles are the following:

66. (i) Bounding Theory

(ii) Government Theory

(iii) Theta Theory

(iv) Binding Theory

(v) Case Theory

(vi) Control Theory

(vii) X-bar Theory

Bounding Theory imposes restrictions on the movement of phrases within a sentence. Government Theory specifies that adjacency relations should hold between the head and elements that are dependent on it while Theta Theory deals with the assignment of thematic roles to argument. Binding Theory accounts for the relations holding between

NPs or wh-phrases and their antecedents while Control Theory specifies the referential possibility of the abstract pronominal element (PRO) in infinitive and/embedded clauses. Case Theory deals with assignment of abstract case and its morphological realizations. Finally, X-bar Theory deals with the relationship between the head of a phrase and its complement.

Each of the subsystem of principles discussed above, deals with some central areas of grammatical enquiries which are subjected to parametric variations. The theory is modular in the sense that each of these sub-components and sub-theories is a module, with both its internal system and its external relations with others. Therefore, a structure is grammatical/interpretable or ungrammatical/un-interpretable if its processing is or is not hitch-free under any of the sub-components guided by the principles and parameters. Thus, interpretivism forms the core of the conceptions of this theory. In the analysis of wh-questions in this study, reference are made to some of the above-mentioned subsystem of principles particularly bounding theory as it holds of the rule move- α (i.e. antecedent-trace relations) while X′-Theory was employed in drawing all the necessary tree diagrams. Following X′-Theory, Complementizer Phrase (CP), like Inflectional Phrase (IP) and Focus Phrase (FP), is a functional projection which is headed by a functional head ‘the complementizer’.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses data that reveal the formation of wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà, the strategies employed in their formation, movement operation as well as the syntactic parameters specific to Ẹ̀dà wh-questions. In this respect, this chapter is divided into a number of sections, each section handles a specific aspect of the analysis. This chapter begins with the presentation of some grammatical aspects of Ẹ̀dà which have remarkable influence on the formation of wh-questions. The basic wh-phrases in Ẹ̀dà which are the centre of analysis of wh-questions formation are also presented to prepare the mind of the reader ahead of data. Section 4.2 explores the formation of direct non-echo wh-questions (arguments and adjuncts) while the formation of indirect non-echo wh-questions (subject and object, argument and adjunct) constitutes the thrust of section 4.3. Section 4.4 on the other hand is concerned with the formation of multiple wh-questions. Section 4.5 handles the formation of direct echo wh-questions while 4.6 examines the formation of indirect echo wh-questions.

4.1 Grammatical Aspects of Ẹ̀dà which have Influence on WH- Questions

This section describes grammatical aspects of Ẹ̀dà which have influence on the formation of wh-questions. The section is discussed under two broad sub-headings. These are focus constructions and Yes-no questions. An exploration of focus constructions in this study is to find out whether the sentence-initial wh-words in Ẹ̀dà are as a result of focus movement or wh-movement as claimed by some scholars.

4.1.1 Focus Constructions

Focus ordinarily means bringing something into prominence by concentration, emphasis, zooming in etc. From structural point of view, Radford (2004:453) describes focus as "a movement operation by which a constituent is moved into a focus position at the beginning of a clause in order to highlight it". The sentence initial position is what is referred to as SPEC, FP position. Following GB's accounts of D-structure and S-structure, it is assumed that in the derivation of focusing, the D-structure is mapped onto the S-structure by movement transformation.

Focus is realized in various ways across languages; prosodically (e.g. in the form of a strong pitch accent as illustrated in 67), morphologically (e.g. by appending a special affix to a focused element as shown in 68) or syntactically (by movement operation as demonstrated in 69):

67. [**BINGO**]$_F$ died.

68. Á Hàfsá bà pàn má-ì. (Gùrùntum)
    Foc Hafsa Tns(prog) carry water-DEF
    "Hafsa is carrying the water"
    (Adapted from Hartmann & Zimmermann, 2009:1340-1365)

69. [FP Ewúrẹ́$_i$ ni [IP ó$_i$ jẹ oúnjẹ Òjó]]. (Yorùbá)
    goat FM 3sg eat food Òjó
    'It was a goat that ate Ojo's food'

Focus phenomenon has received considerable attention in linguistic literature and has been a controversial topic to grammarians. For instance, Brown and Miller (1980:368) describe focusing as 'far from straight forward' while Radford (1988:493) regards its internal structure as 'far from clear'. Matic and Wengwood (2013:129) consider focus as an inherently problematic category. Yusuf (1989) describes the

derivation of focus constructions in Yoruba as a problem for Trace theory. Among the significant issues related to focus phenomenon in languages are the sentence-initial wh-words which have been argued to undergo focus movement rather than wh-movement. The status of focus constructions via focus marker 'ni' in Yoruba has also been an unresolved controversy among scholars (see for instance: Owolabi, 1976, 1983, 1987; Awobuluyi, 1987, 1992; Yusuf, 1990). Another important topic of debate is whether verb focusing involves movement (Koopman, 1983). All these arguments make the study of focus constructions an interesting area of research enquiry within generative syntax. The exploration of focus constructions in Ẹ̀dà constitutes the thrust of the present sub-section.

Focus phrase (FP) like inflectional phrase (IP) and complementizer phrase (CP) is a functional projection which is headed by a functional category 'the focus marker'. In Ẹ̀dà, the constituent or phrase to be focused is preposed, that is, moved to the specifier of FP and the focus marker which is base-generated within the FP projection is attached, being the head of the projection by virtue of X′-theory. Ẹ̀dà has a class of focus markers which are highly restricted in their distributions in that each of them generally occurs only with some specific NPs. These focus markers are sensitive to both the features of the NPs to which they assign emphatic case in human-non-human features and their syntactic positions. The restrictions of these focus markers appear to be semantic in an obvious sense. In fact, there is specifier-head-agreement between the head of the projection 'the focus marker' and its specifier (i.e. the preposed NP) in human-non-human feature. In actual sense, each of the focus markers in the Ẹ̀dà language carries agreement features which restrict the kind of NPs as well as the syntactic positions of the NPs to which they co-occur with. Below is a list of focus markers in Ẹ̀dà:

70. **Focus Markers in Ẹ̀dà**

(i) nga

(ii) kọ́

(iii) gha(lẹ̀)

(iv) yọ

(v) wọ

The above focus markers are presented in the table below:

Table 1 Focus Markers in Ẹ̀dà

S/N	Marker	Subject NP	Object NP	Human
1	nga	+	−	+
2	kọ́	+	−	−
3	gha(lẹ̀)	−	+	+
4	yọ	_	+ (Direct)	−
5	wọ	−	+ (Indirect)	_

4.1.1.1 The Focus Marker *Nga*

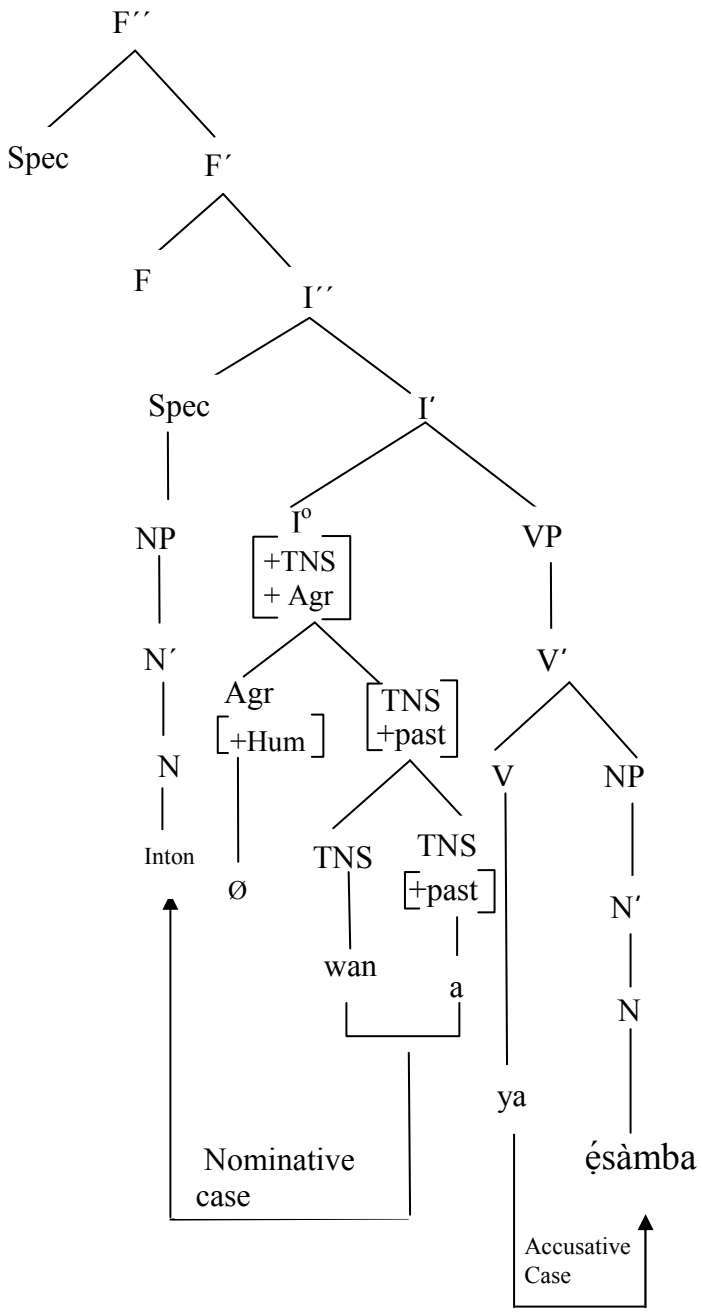
The focus marker *nga* is used with a subject NP that has human features in nature [+N, + Human, + Count, ± Plural, +Subject]. When a subject NP which has the above-mentioned feature is focused, it moves to the specifier of FP [Spec, FP] while the focus marker *nga* which is the head of the projection (FP) and base generated within FP

projection follows it. The movement leaves behind at the extraction site an empty category (NP-trace) in line with Trace Movement Principle while the moved NP is coindexed with the trace (t_i). The presence of the focus marker is mandatory in all syntactic contexts where the subject NP that has the above-mentioned feature is focused. Familiarity with 'nga' is important for the understanding of the formation of some content questions in this language. Recall that the grammar of Ẹ̀dà language is sensitive to human/nonhuman features. As stated earlier, focus markers in the Ẹ̀dà language are sensitive to the features of the NPs to which they assign emphatic case (in human-non-human features), we therefore propose agreement node under INFL. Though, the agreement is not morphologically realized as it is not represented by any overt marker, hence, agreement is represented by Ø. Consider the following examples for better illustration:

71. (a) Inton Ø wán a ya ẹ́sàmbá.
Inton Agr Aux pst eat rice
'Inton ate rice'

Example (71a) is the D-Structure (Base Structure) generated by the base component of the grammar of Ẹ̀dà. The sentence in (71a) is represented in the tree diagram (71b) in accordance with the X´ schema and subcategorization principle:

71b.



The arrow in the diagram above shows the the direction of case assignment.

It should be noted from the tree diagram above that FP is projected despite the fact that the sentence the diagram represents is a declarative sentence. This is necessary in order to satisfy Structure Preserving Principle which does not permit movement into a position

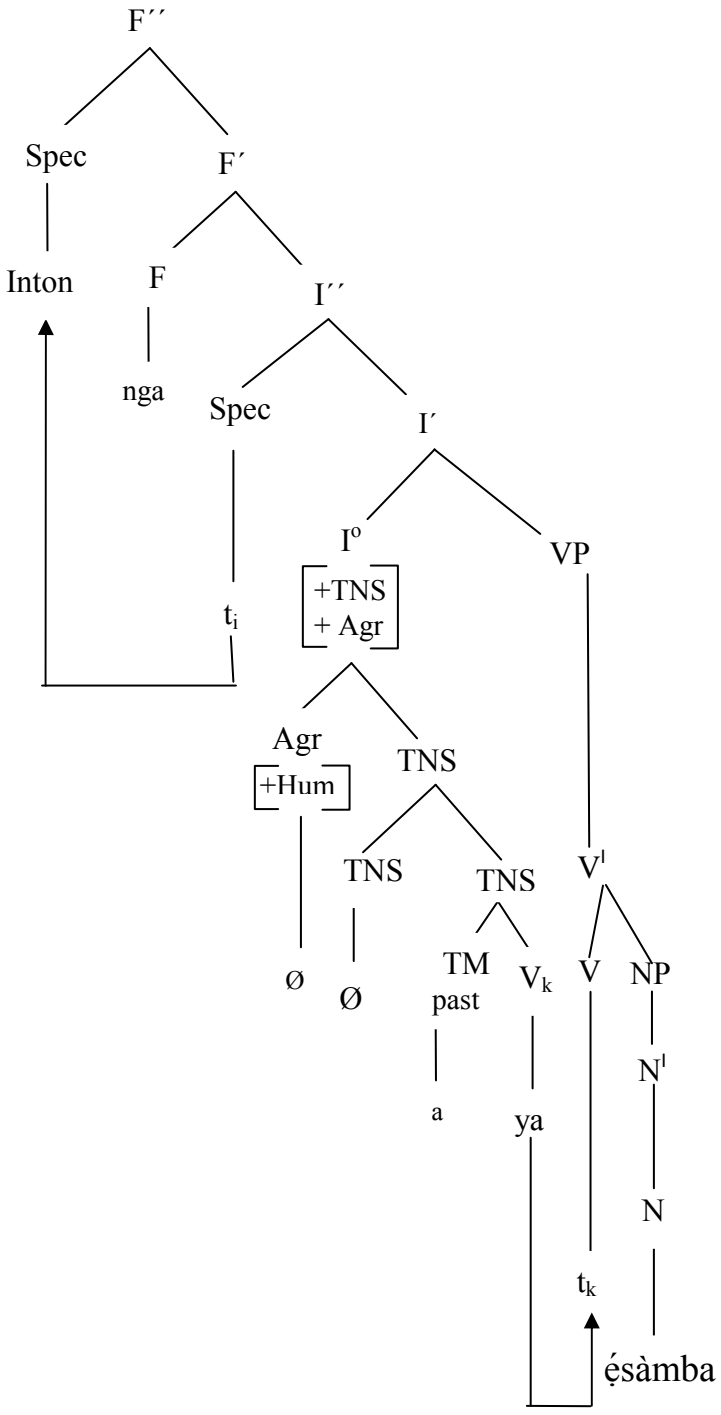
that is not projected from the D-structure. Application of NP movement to the D-Structure in (71a) by focusing on the subject NP *Inton* (which is the external argument of the verb *ya* 'eat') results in the derived structure (71c) below:

(c) [FP [NP Inton$_i$] [F nga] [IP [NP t_i] [I [Agr Ø] [Tns Ø a ya$_k$] ----
Inton FM Agr Aux pst eat
[VP [V t_k] [NP ẹ́sàmba]]]].
rice
'It was Inton that ate rice'

Notice that the verb *ya* 'eat' which occupies the head of VP at the D-structure as shown in (71b) has been moved (V-movement) to the head of I´´ in order to have tense features associated with it. It could be observed from the examples (71c) above that the auxiliary *wán* which is overtly realized at the D-structure as shown in the examples (71a) is covertly realized at S-structure as as demonstrated in (71c), hence, it is represented by a null element Ø. The reason is that the grammar of Ẹ̀dà does not allow a modal auxiliary verb to co-occur with the focus marker as they are in complementary distribution i.e. where a modal auxiliary occurs, a focus marker does not and vice-versa. The application of movement transformational rule (NP-movement) on the subject NP 'Inton' from [Spec, I´´] to [Spec, F´´] triggers an overt realization of the focus marker *nga* which is base-generated in F-position within F´´ projection. The overt realization of the focus marker *nga* in the sentence (71c) in turn necessitates covert realization of the auxiliary *wán* at S-structure, hence, represented by Ø. However, if the extracted constituent is nonhuman NP [+N, -Human, ± Count, ± Plural] and such NP is questioned, the auxiliary *wán* is overtly realized at S-structure as questioning of [-human NP] does not require focusing. This is because the language under study is sensitive to human/nonhuman

features. It is, however, important to emphasize that *wán* is not an agreement marker and cannot be linked to agreement marker but an auxiliary. The reason lies from the fact that even when nonhuman NP [-Human] is focused, an auxiliary wán is still covertly realized, contrary to what one would expects if it is assumed to be an agreement marker as shown in the examples (75, 79b & 80b). Recall that the focus markers in the Ẹ̀dà language are sensitive to both the features of the NPs to which they assign emphatic case as well as their syntactic positions. The example (71c) is schematized in (71d) for clarity and explicitness of the manner of movement:

71d.



The arrow in the diagram shows the direction of movement.

The [Spec, F´´] position in the example (71d) above contains an NP 'Inton' (+human), which actually originates at the D-Structure in the position marked by t_i [Spec, I´´] but

subsequently preposed by NP-movement for the purpose of focus and therefore occupies [Spec, F´´] position. The movement in (71d) is allowed because the focused NPs, 'Inton' crosses only one bounding node and lands at [Spec, F´´] position. This shows that the movement obeys Subjacency Condition. It could also be observed that the movement is from maximal projection to another maximal projection i.e. from [Spec, I´´] to [Spec, F´´]. This proves that the Structure Preserving Principle is taken into account as both extraction and landing sites have identical features.

Concerning Case Theory, the movement of the focused NP 'Inton' makes the subject position of the lower clause [Spec, I´´] empty. Therefore, the nominative case is absorbed at the S-structure since Case Filter requirement states categorically that 'any sentence containing an overt NP (i.e. an NP that has phonetic form/content) is ill-formed if the NP is not case-marked' (Chomsky, 1981:49). This implies that the ability of an NP to have or not to have case depends on the phonological content of an NP. The NP 'Inton', being an overt NP (which receives nominative case at the D-structure as in 71a) therefore receives emphatic case from the focus marker *nga* which is the head of the projection by virtue of X´-Theory. Case inheritance has been a topic of discussion in linguistic analysis among transformational generative grammarians. It has been argued that the extracted NP inherits case it receives at the D-structure from its trace (NP-trace). However, Case Theory recommends strict adjacency between case assigner and its assignee. Similarly, Awoyale (1995:119) clarifies focus marker as an abstract case assigner/carrier which assigns focus case. Therefore, the focused NP at the (Spec, F´´) cannot maintain the case it received before the movement since case is assigned at the S-Structure level and base on position of NPs.

Moreover, when movement transformational rule is applied, a phonetically null element (t_i) remains, marking the position from which movement took place in accordance with Trace Movement Principle. The phonetically null element (NP-trace) co-indexed with its antecedent. It should also be noted that the agentive role the focused NP-Inton, receives at the D-Structure is maintained at the S-Structure as the preposed NP has already been assigned Θ-role before the movement.

Base on government, the antecedent -Inton and its trace (t_i) operate based on a C-commanding relationship. The antecedent, *Inton*, does not dominate its trace, neither does the trace (t_i) dominates its antecedent. The trace in the example (71d) is properly governed; the preposed NP properly governs the trace 't_i'.

In a similar vein, the examples (72-73) below illustrate the focus marker *nga* in sentences:

72. (a) Arranzọn Ø wán a la Ẹnna.
Arranzọn Agr Aux pst beat Ẹnna
'Arranzọn beat Ẹnna'

(b) [FP [spec Arranzọn$_i$] [F nga] [IP [spec t_i] [I [Agr Ø] ----
Arranzọn FM Agr
[Tns Ø a la$_k$] [VP [V t_k] NP Ẹnna]]]]
Aux pst beat Ẹnna
'Arranzọn was the one that beat Ẹnna'

73. (a) [IP Ọkrẹm Ø wán a lọ ayàbán [PP kẹ ọmẹ ize]].
Okrem Agr Aux pst buy banana Prep inside market
'Okrem bought banana in the market'

(b) [FP [spec Ọkrẹm$_i$] [F nga] [IP [spec t_i] [I [Agr Ø] ---

Okrem FM Agr

[Tns Ø a lọ$_k$] [VP [V t_k][NP ayàbán] [PP [P kẹ̀] [NP ọmẹ ize]]].

Aux pst buy banana Prep inside market

'Okrem was the one that bought banana in the market'

Each of the examples (72a & 73a) above is the D-Structure (Base Structure) generated by the base component of the grammar of Ẹ̀dà. Application of NP movement to the D-Structures in (72a & 73a) by focusing on the subject NP (which is the external argument of the verb) results in the derived structures (72b & 73b) respectively. The [Spec, FP] position in each of the examples (b) above contains an NP (+human), which receives nominative case at D-structure now receives emphatic case from the focus marker *nga* as a result of application of movement transformation.

4.1.1.2 The Focus Marker *Kọ́*

The focus marker *kọ́* is used to focus on the subject NP which is not human [+N, -Human, ± Count, ± Plural, +Subject]. When subject NP is moved to the specifier of FP, the marker *kọ́* is placed immediately after it as shown in the examples below:

74. Avá Ø wán a nuwan Inkyé.

Dog Agr Aux pst bite Inkye

'The dog bit Inkye'

To focus on the subject NP *Avá* 'dog', it is moved from the Spec, IP position to the specifier of FP while the focus particle *kọ́* directly follows it as shown in (75):

75. [FP Ava$_i$ kọ́ [IP t_i Ø Ø a nuwan Inkyé]].

Dog FM Agr Aux pst bite Inkye

'It was the dog that bit Inkye'

76. *[FP Ava_i nga [IP t_i Ø Ø a nuwan Inkyé]].
Dog FM Agr Aux pst bite Inkye
'It was the dog that bit Inkye'

In the example (75), the NP- *Ava* 'dog' (an external argument to the verb *nuwan* 'bite') which originates at the D-structure in the position marked by t_i is preposed by NP-movement into the specifier of FP position (a focus position) while the focus marker *kọ́* directly follows it. Just like in examples (71c, 72b & 73b) above, the nominative case is absorbed at the S-structure as the subject position of the lower clause [Spec, IP] is empty. The structure (76) is ruled out (ungrammatical) because the preposed NP-Ava 'dog', being a [-human] noun, does not agree with the focus marker *nga* which can only occur with [+human NP]. It is important to add that the structure (76) can only be acceptable if *Ava* is the name of a person.

Unlike preposed NPs in (71c, 72b, & 73b), however, the preposed NP in (75) selects different focus marker. It could be observed that despite the fact that in the examples (71c, 72b, 73b and 75), the focused constituents are subject NPs (External arguments), each of the NPs selects different focus marker taking the unacceptability of (76) into account. The restrictions in the selection of focus markers in Ẹ̀dà (as shown in the examples above) cannot be claimed to be subcategorization restrictions since in each of the examples, the focused NP is the subject of the sentence as well as singular noun-*Inton*, *Ọkrẹ̀m, Arranzọn* and *Ava* and the constituent that followed each of the NPs is a focus marker. Rather, they are selectional restrictions i.e. There are semantic/pragmatic restrictions on the choice of NPs that can occur with the focus markers. This implies that it is a semantic property of the focus marker *nga* to select an NP which is a rational (mind-possessing) entity/being and *kọ́* to select irrational entity/being. Since selectional

restrictions are assumed to hold only between a predicate and the arguments, we might need to extend it to some functional categories like focusing by incorporating this information into the corresponding lexical entry along the following lines:

77. *Nga*: Categorial Features [+Foc, -N, -V]
Subcategorization Frame: [NP]
Selection Restrictions: [+Subject, +Human]
Kọ́: Categorial Features [+Foc, -N, -V]
Subcategorization Frame: [NP]
Selection Restrictions: [+Subject, -human]

The illustration in (77) above simply implies that the NP preceding *nga* denotes a human being while the NP preceding *kọ́* denotes non-human. Hence, when we come across a sentence containing *Ava* 'dog' used with a focus marker *nga* as in (76) renamed (78) below:

78. [IP Avá$_i$ nga [IP t$_i$ Ø Ø a nuwan Inkyé]].
Avá FM Agr Aux pst bite Inkye
'It was Avá that bit Inkye'

We infer that the NP-*Ava* is the name of a person (human being):this inference is based on our knowledge of selectional properties of *nga*. Also, the focus markers *nga* and *kọ́* cannot be said to be allomorphs of the same morpheme as they both occur in similar environments but are in complementary distribution.

Similarly, the examples in (79-80) below illustrate the focus marker *kọ́* in sentence*:*

79. (a) Ọ̀ǹkyọ́ rẹnrẹ́n Ø sòó kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù.
material writing Agr Cop Prep top table
'The pen is on the table'

(b) [FP[NP Ọ̀ǹkyọ́ rẹnrẹ́n]$_i$ kọ́ [IP t_i Ø sòó kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù]].
material writing FM Agr Cop Prep top table
'It is the pen that is on the table'

(c) *[FP[NP Ọ̀ǹkyọ́ rẹnrẹ́n]$_i$ nga [IP t_i Ø sòó kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù]]
material writing FM Agr Cop Prep top table
'It is the pen that is on the table'

80. (a) Untrínin èzíkyow Ø sòó ngrẹn.
Soup sorell Agr Cop sweet
'Sorell soup is delicious'

(b) [FP [Untrínin èzíkyow]$_i$ kọ́ [IP t_i Ø sòó ngrẹn]]
soup sorrel FM Agr Cop sweet
'It is sorell soup that is delicious'

(c) *[FP [Untrínin èzíkyow]$_i$ nga [IP t_i Ø sòó ngrẹn]]
soup sorrel FM Agr Cop sweet
'It is sorell soup that is delicious'

In the examples (79b & 80b) above, the subject NP in each case (*ọ̀ǹkyọ́ rẹnrẹ́n* 'pen' in 79b and untrínin èzíkyow 'sorrel soup' in 80b)has been moved to the specifier of FP leaving behind at the extraction site an empty category (t_i). The moved constituent therefore receives case from the focus marker *kọ́* being the head of the phrase by virtue of X′-Theory. Also, the structures (79c & 80c) is ill-formed because the preposed NP in each case: *Ọ̀ǹkyọ́ rẹnrẹ́n* 'pen' and untrínin èzíkyow 'sorrel soup', being a [-human NP] does not agree with the focus marker *nga*. It is important to emphasize that the selectional restriction in Ẹ̀dà focus constructions appears to be language-specific and therefore remains one of the syntactic parameters specific to Ẹ̀dà which differentiate it from other Niger-congo languages. While Ẹ̀dà does not allow a focus marker used to

focus on +human noun to occur with -human noun, Yorùbá, a related Niger-congo language family spoken in South-western Nigeria does tolerate such as demonstrated in examples (81 and 82) below:

81. [FP Ade$_i$ ni [IP ó$_i$ jí owó Òjó]].
Ade FM 3sg steal money Òjó
'It was Ade that stole Ojo's money'

82. [FP Ewúrẹ́$_i$ ni [IP ó$_i$ jẹ oúnjẹ Òjó]].
goat FM 3sg eat food Òjó
'It was goat that ate Ojo's food'

It could be observed from the examples above that the focus marker *ni* which is used to focus on the +human noun 'Ade' in (81) is also used to focus on -human noun *ewúrẹ́* 'goat' in (82) and both sentences are acceptable in the language.

4.1.1.3 The Focus Marker *Gha(lẹ̀)*

The focus marker *ghalẹ̀* is used with the object (internal argument) of the verb which has human features [+N, +Human, +Count, ± Plural, +Object]. The target NP is preposed while the focus marker *gha(lẹ̀)* directly follows it as illustrated in the examples below:

83. (a) Ava Ø wán a nuwan Inkyé.
Dog Agr Aux pst bite Inkye
'The dog bit Inkye'

(b) [FP Inkyé$_i$ gha(lẹ̀) [IP ava Ø Ø a nuwan t$_i$]]
Inkye FM dog Agr Aux pst bite
'It was Inkye that the dog bit'

84. (a) Ìmí Ø wán a ṣìn [NP enkyí Ø [CP anuṣin a je ọzaa----
1sg Agr Aux pst see man Agr Rel pst steal book
ghan Ọbẹnjamẹ]].
Poss Benjamen
'I saw the man that stole Benjamen's book'

(b) [FP [Enkyí Ø [CP anuṣin a je ọzaa ghan Ọbẹnjamẹ]]$_i$ gha(lẹ) ----
man Agr Rel pst steal book Poss Benjamen FM
[IP ìmí Ø Ø a ṣìn t_i]].
1sg Agr Aux pst see
'It was the man that stole Benjamen's book that I saw?'

(c) *[FP [Enkyí]$_i$ gha(lẹ) [IP ìmí Ø Ø a ṣìn ----
man FM 1sg Agr Aux Pst see
[NP t_i Ø [CP anuṣin a je ọzaa ghan Ọbẹnjamẹ]].
Agr Rel pst steal book Poss Benjamen
'It was the man I saw that that stole Benjamen's book?'

In the examples (83) above, the object NP '*Inkye*' which originates at the D-structure as the complement of the verb *nuwan* 'bit' (a position marked by t_i) where it is assigned accusative case has been preposed by NP-movement into the specifier of FP. Similarly, the object NP *Enkyí anuṣin a je ọzaa ghan Ọbẹnjamẹ* 'the man that stole Benjamen's book' which originates at the D-structure as the complement of the verb *ṣìn* 'see' (a position marked by t_i) where it is assigned accusative case has been preposed by NP-movement into the specifier of FP. The accusative case is therefore absorbed at the S-structure (83b & 84b) since the position is no more occupied by a phonetically realised NP but an empty category. Observe that the CP in (84a) is a syntactic island for the simple reason that it is dominated by an NP with a lexical head , *enkyí* 'man'. Since *enkyí* 'man' in (84a) is marooned in a syntactic island, it is stuck there, and cannot be extracted

out of the island by any movement rule. This accounts for the ill-formedness of (84c) as it violates Complex Noun Phrase Constraint (Ross, 1967).

The verb *nuwan* 'bite', in (83b) for instance, which governed the NP *Inkye* at the D-Structure (83a) can no more assign case to *Inkye* since it does not govern it anymore. *Inkye* therefore receives emphatic case from the focus marker *gha(lẹ̀)* being the head of the phrase. The complex NP *Enkyí anuṣin a je ọzaa ghan Ọbẹnjamẹ* also receives emphatic case from the verb *ṣìn* 'see' in (84b).

4.1.1.4 The Focus Marker *Yọ*

The focus marker *yọ* is used with direct object NP which is nonhuman [+N, -Human, ± Count, ± Plural, +Direct Object]. This marker directly follows the focused NP as shown in the following examples:

85. (a) Arranzọn Ø wán a ya ẹ́sàmbá.
Arranzọn Agr Aux pst eat rice
'Arranzọn ate rice'

(b) [FP Ẹ́sàmbá$_i$ yọ [IP Arranzọn Ø Ø a ya t$_i$]]?
rice FM Arranzọn Agr Aux pst eat
'It was rice that Arranzọn ate'

86. (a) Ọkrẹm Ø wán a lọ ayàbán kẹ̀ ọmẹ ize.
Okrem Agr Aux pst buy banana Prep inside market
'Okrem bought banana in the market'

(b) [FP Ayàbán$_i$ yọ [IP Ọkrẹm Ø Ø a lọ t$_i$ [PP kẹ̀ ọmẹ ize]]].
banana FM Okrem Agr Aux pst buy Prep inside market
'It was banana that Ọkrẹm bought in the market'

In (85b), the NP *ẹ́sàmbá,* the internal argument as well as the complement of the verb *ya* 'eat' moved to the beginning of the sentence (SPEC, FP) leaving behind at the extraction

site an empty category known as trace (t_i). The NP *ẹ́sàmbá* therefore receives emphatic case from the focus marker *yọ*. Similarly, In the example (86b), *ayàbán* 'banana' which originates as the direct object of the verb *lọ* 'buy' moved to the specifier of FP and therefore receives emphatic case fron the focus marker yọ.

4.1.1.5 The Focus Marker *Wọ*

The focus marker *wọ* is used to focus on object of preposition (an indirect object NP) which is nonhuman [+N, -Human, ± Count, ± Plural, +Indirect Object]. Object of preposition (NP-adjunct) is a sub-categorized complement of the preposition and is also subject to focus. In this case, the object of preposition is fronted (preposed) and occupies the specifier of FP while the focus marker *wọ* directly follows it. Consider example below for illustration:

87. Ọkrẹm wán a lọ ayàbán [PP [P' kẹ̀ [NP ọmẹ ize]]].
Ọkrẹm Aux pst buy banana Prep inside market
'Ọkrẹm bought banana in the market'

To focus on the indirect object, it results in the structure (88):

88. (a) [FP [Ọmẹ ize]$_i$ wọ [IP Ọkrẹm Ø Ø a lọ ayàbán [t_i]]
Inside market FM Okrem Agr Aux pst buy banana
'It was in the market that Okrem bought the banana'

(b) *[Ọmẹ ize]$_i$ wọ [IP Ọkrẹm Ø Ø a lọ ayàbán [PP kẹ̀ t_i]]
Inside market FM Okrem Agr Aux pst buy banana Prep
'It was in the market that Okrem bought the banana at'

(c) *Ize$_i$ wọ̀ [IP Ọkrẹm Ø Ø a lọ ayàbán [kẹ̀ ọmẹ t_i]]
Market FM Ọkrẹm Agr Aux pst buy banana Prep inside
'It was the market that Okrem bought the banana inside at'

(d) *[Kẹ̀ ọmẹ ize]$_i$ wọ̀ [IP Ọkrẹm Ø Ø a lọ ayàbán [t_i]]
Prep inside market FM Ọkrẹm Agr Aux pst buy banana
'It was inside the market that Okrem bought the banana'

In the example (88a) above, observe that when the NP complement of the preposition *kẹ̀* is focused and moved to the specifier of FP, the preposition *kẹ̀* which is the head of the PP *kẹ̀ ọmẹ ize* 'in the market' disappears and the sentence is acceptable. This is because the language under study does not allow preposition stranding. The preposed NP *ọmẹ ize* 'inside market' which receives oblique case at the D-Structure therefore receives emphatic case at the S-Structure. It is important to emphasize that in (87), the NP *ọmẹ ize* 'inside market' is contained within PP *kẹ̀ ọmẹ ize* 'in the market', yet, NP *ọmẹ ize* 'inside market' is extracted and well-formed as shown in (88a). This implies that the extraction of NP (complement of preposition k*ẹ̀*) is not blocked by A-over-A constraint (henceforth AOAC) in Ẹ̀dà, hence, well-formedness of (88a). It should be noted that in the structure (88b) above where the preposition *kẹ̀* is stranded, the structure is unacceptable. It therefore seems plausible to argue here that preposition cannot be stranded in focus constructions in Ẹ̀dà considering ungrammaticality of (88b).The structure (88c), on the other hand, is ill-formed because the noun *ize* 'market' is contained within NP, hence, the extraction of an element out of NP is blocked by AOAC. The implication of this is that the noun *ọmẹ* 'inside' must be pied piped with the noun *ize* 'market'. From (88d), we noticed that the whole PP *kẹ̀ ọmẹ ize* 'in the market' is extracted and the sentence is ill-formed. This means that the extraction of the whole PP is blocked by AOAC. The implication of this is that while extraction of the complement of the preposition is possible as in the case of (88a), reverse is the case of the maximal projection PP as shown in (88d).

We also discovered that only nominal elements can be focused in Ẹ̀dà. This means that neither verb nor the whole verb phrase can be focused in the language under study. This is in line with Jackendoff (1977:17) view that "only the elements that have (+ N, -V) can be focused". Structurally, focus markers in Ẹ̀dà are similar as each of them occupies F-position within FP projection at S-structure. None of them can be covertly realised in all syntactic contexts. Semantacally, focus markers in Ẹ̀dà differ considering the kind of NPs they occur with and the positions the NPs occupied. Therefore, focus markers in Ẹ̀dà can be classified into two: focus markers that are used with human nouns-arguments (i.e. *nga* and *ghalẹ̀*), focus markers that are used with non-human nouns-arguments (*kọ́* and *yọ*) and focus marker that is used with non-human nouns-adjuncts (wọ). It is important to add that the focus marker *wọ* is sensitive to syntactic position as it occurs with only NP-adjuncts.

4.1.2 Yes/No Questions

These are questions that when asked, they require yes/no answer. Ẹ̀dà is relatively easy and uncomplicated in the formation of Yes/No question when compared to English as they do not involve any movement transformaton at S-structure. The Yes/No questions in Ẹ̀dà is derived from the declarative sentence without any transformation. Yes/no questions are marked sentence-finally in the Ẹ̀dà language as the question marker occurs at the end of the sentence. However, there are three strategies employed in the formation of Yes-No questions in Ẹ̀dà. The first strategy involves lengthening the last vowel of the final syllable in the sentence. This is one of the differences between a declarative sentence and its interrogative counterpart. Examples of Yes/No question using this strategy are the following:

89. (a) Alẹsi Ø wán a má Usera àgàtọ̀.
Alex Agr Aux pst give Serah hat
"Alex gave Serah the hat".

(b) Alẹsi Ø wán a má Usera àgàtọ̀-ọ̀?
Alex Agr Aux pst give Serah hat-QM
"Did Alex give Serah the hat?"

90. (a) Inton Ø sòó kẹ̀ Ọbauchi.
Inton Agr Cop Prep Bauchi
"Inton is in Bauchi"

(b) Inton Ø sòó kẹ̀ Ọbauchi-i?
Inton Agr Cop Prep Bauchi-QM
"Is Inton in Bauchi?"

91. (a) Ọ̀bẹnjamẹ̀ Ø nìí dra eǹgá lẹ̀ anlẹ.
Benjamen Agr Fut call 3sg(+human) Prep evening
"Benjamen will call him/her in the evening"

(b) Ọ̀bẹnjamẹ̀ Ø nìí dra eǹgá lẹ̀ anlẹ-ẹ?
Benjamen Agr Fut call 3sg(+human) Prep evening-QM
"Will Benjamen call him/her in the evening"

In each of the examples above, it could be noticed that what differentiate the sentences (b) from (a) examples is the last vowel of the final syllable in the sentence which is lenghtened. This sentence-final vowel lenghtening contrasts the sentences in (b) from the declarative sentences in the examples (a). The vowel lenghtening in each of the (b) examples plays significant semantic role in the formation of yes-no questions in the Ẹ̀dà lannguage as it marks the sentence interrogative and not declarative. However, in situations where a verb or sentence has a consonant as its final sound segment, the

preceding vowel to the word-final consonant is lengthened in other to mark yes-no questions as shown in the following examples:

92. (a) Arranzọn Ø kon trám.
Arranzọn Agr prog bath
"Arranzọn is bathing"

(b) Arranzọn Ø kon tráám?
Arranzọn Agr Prog bath+QM
"Is Arranzọn bathing?"

93. (a) Ẹ̀ngá Ø wán a là Iyusuf.
3sp Agr Aux pst beat Yusuf
"He/she beat Yusuf"

(b) Ẹ̀ngá Ø wán a là Iyusuuf?
3sp Agr Aux pst beat Yusuf+QM
"Did He/she beat Yusuf?"

Yes-no questions in Ẹ̀dà can also be marked morphologically by appending a special affix 'w' which typically occurs at the end of the sentence. This strategy is employed if and only if the last vowel in the declarative sentence is oral, central, unrounded vowel /a/ or oral, half-closed, front, unrounded /e/ as shown in the following examples:

94. (a) Ẹ̀ngọ́ Ø sòó kẹ̀ ẹ̀ṣan [ẹ̀lẹ̀n ṣín ìmí Ø a ba].
2sg Agr Cop(Pst) Prep home time that 1sg Agr Pst come
"You were at home when I came".

(b) Ẹ̀ngọ́ Ø sòó kẹ̀ ẹ̀ṣan [ẹ̀lẹ̀n ṣín ìmí Ø a ba-w]?
2sg Agr Cop(Pst) Prep home time that 1sg Agr Pst come-QM
"Were you at home when I came?"

95. (a) Ọjọsẹf$_i$ Ø kyán eǹgá$_i$ má.
Ọjọsẹf Agr coming 3sg Neg
"Joseph is not coming"

(b) Ọjọsẹf$_i$ Ø kyán eǹgá$_i$ má-w?
Ọjọsẹf Agr coming 3sg Neg+QM
"Is Joseph not coming?"

96. (a) Ọkrẹm Ø wán a lọ ayàbán kẹ̀ ọmẹ ize.
Okrem Agr Aux pst buy banana Prep inside market
'Okrem bought banana in the market'

(b) Ọkrẹm Ø wán a lọ ayàbán kẹ̀ ọmẹ ize-w?
Okrem Agr Aux pst buy banana Prep inside market-QM
'Did Okrem buy banana in the market?'

97. (a) Avá Ø wán a nuwan Inkyé.
Dog Agr Aux pst bite Inkye
'Dog bit Inkye'

(b) Avá Ø wán a nuwan Inkyé-w?
Dog Agr Aux pst bite Inkye-QM
'Did the Dog bit Inkye?'

It could be observed from the examples above that it is the sentence final question marker 'w' that marks each of the (b) sentences an interrogative without the application of any movement transformational rule at S-structure.

The high tone question morpheme can also be attached to the final syllable of the sentence, making it to end with a high tone. However, if the sentence is originally high toned finally, the high tone in the question is perceived to be higher than in the declarative sentence. This is demonstrated in the following examples:

98. (a) Alẹs Ø avwa ghan.
Alẹs Agr teacher Emp
"Alex is a teacher"

(b) Alẹs Ø avwa ghán?
Alẹs Agr teacher Emp+QM
"Is Alex a teacher?"

99. (a) Ọpwa Ø sòó ùṣìí.
Two Agr Cop good
"It is good to be united"

(b) Ọpwa Ø sòó ùṣìí?
Two Agr Cop good+QM
"Is it good to be united?"

The examples (89-99) show the three strategies employed in the formation of Yes/No questions in Ẹ̀dà. These three strategies have the same semantic function. It should, however, be noted that Yes/No questions are marked sentence-finally in the Ẹ̀dà language as the question marker (be it sentence-final vowel lenghtening, sentence-final question morpheme or sentence-final high pitch) occurs at the end of the sentence. It is important to emphasize that these strategies are not limited to only polar questions but extend to some non-polar questions as discussed in the formation of adjunct wh-questions.

From the above data, it could be observed that Ẹ̀dà Yes/No questions is a matter of phonosyntactic via morphophonemics. This process shall not be discussed in details since it is not within the scope of this thesis, though, it is worthy of mentioning. This sets Ẹ̀dà apart from languages like English that involves issue like I-to-C movement (traditionally called subject-auxiliary inversion). The essence of the exploration of the Yes/No

questions in this study is to confirm or otherwise whether the position of Yes/No question morpheme determines the position of wh-phrases.

100. **Wh-Phrases in Ẹ̀dà**

(i). Ẹngha ‘Who’

(ii) Uńsé ‘What’

(iii) Ìlón ‘Which’

(iv) Amà “How Many’

(v) Lànyẹ/Kyẹ́ elemle “How’

(vi) Ìlón ẹlẹ̀n “When’

(vii) Ìlón ọ́ǹhwọ “Where”

(viii) Uńsé-ọ̀ǹsọ́/uńsé ṣábl̀ọ̀ ‘Why’

(ix) Ẹmà ‘How Much’

The above mentioned wh-words(phrases) are re-presented in (101) based on the features associated with them that make them interrogative words:

101. **Features of Wh-Phrases in Ẹ̀dà**

(i). Ẹngha ‘Who’ implies WH-, +Someone (Human), +Countable, ±Plural

(ii) Uńsé ‘What’ imlies WH-, +Something (-Human), ±Countable, ±Plural

(iii) Ìlón ‘Which’ implies WH-, ±Someone (±Human), ±Countable, ±Plural

(iv) Amà ‘How Many’ implies WH-, ±Someone (±Human), ±Countable, ±Plural

(v) Lànyẹ/Kyẹ́-elemle ‘How’ imlies WH-, +Manner (-Human), -Countable, -Plural

(vi) Ìlón-ẹlẹ̀n ‘When’ imlies WH-, +Time (-Human), -Countable, -Plural

(vii) Ìlón ọ́ǹhwọ ‘Where’ imlies WH-, +Place (-Human), +Countable, ±Plural

(viii) Uńsé-ọ̀ǹsọ́/uńsé-ṣábl̀ọ̀ ‘Why’ imlies WH-, +Reason (-Human), -Countable, -Plural

(ix) Ẹmà ‘How Much’ imlies WH-, +Quantity (-Human), +Countable, ±Plural

From (101) above, it shows that each wh-word (phrase) has features associated with it that make it an interrogative word. These features represent the target which requires clarification. In other word, the answer to the question where each of the wh-phrases is used must have identical features. The above mentioned wh-phrases exhibit different syntactic behaviors as different accounts are required in their analysis. In this regard, wh-phrases in Ẹ̀dà are classified into two: argument wh-phrases (subject and object) and non-argument wh-phrases. Each of the above-mentioned wh-phrases is examined in the subsequent sections.

4.2 Direct Non-Echo WH- Questions in Ẹ̀dà

This section describes the formation of direct non-echo wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà. The section is discussed under two broad sub-headings. These are questioning arguments and adjuncts.

4.2.1 Questioning Arguments in Direct Non–Echo WH-Questions

This section discusses the formation of arguments wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà. The section is classified into various sub-sections. This includes questioning of subjects and questioning of objects. Generally, arguments in Ẹ̀dà are questioned ex-situ, i.e. the argument wh-phrase must be extracted from its base generated position to the begining of the sentence which can be the [Spec,FP] or [Spec, CP] at S-structure. Below are the analysis of wh-argument in direct non-echo wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà.

4.2.1.1 Questioning Subject Arguments

When the subject of the sentence is questioned, the target nominal is substituted with a wh-phrase which has identical features and moves to the sentence-initial position at S-structure. However, the constituent that follows the wh-phrases differs as some wh-phrases select a focus marker while other wh-phrases select an auxiliary verb. As stated earlier, Ẹ̀dà is very sensitive to [human/-human] features when it come to the selection of the constituent that co-occur with each wh-phrases as the features of the target nominal to be questioned determines the kind of words the wh-word co-occur with. When the subject NP that has human features [+human, +countable, ±plural] is questioned, such NP is replaced by a wh-phrase which has identical features and move to the sentence initial [Spec, FP] position. The movement leaves behind at the extraction site an empty category known as trace in line with Trace Movement Principle. The subject wh-phrase which has human features is obligatorily followed by the focus marker *nga* (a focus marker used with [+human, +subject] as discussed in 4.1.1). Consider the following examples for illustration:

102. (a) Inton Ø wán a ya ẹ́sàmbá.
Inton Agr Aux pst eat rice
'Inton ate rice'

(b) [FP Inton$_i$ nga [IP t_i Ø Ø a ya ẹ́sàmba]]. Focus
Inton FM Agr Aux pst eat rice
'Inton was the one that ate rice'

(c) [FP Ẹngha$_i$ nga [IP t_i Ø Ø a ya ẹ́sàmba]]? (Wh-question)
who FM Agr Aux pst eat rice
'Who was the one that ate rice?'

(d) *[CP Ẹngha$_i$ wán$_k$ [IP t$_i$ Ø t$_k$ a ya ẹ́sàmba]]? (Wh-question)
who Aux Agr pst eat rice
'Who ate rice?'

(e) *[Ẹngha Ø wán a ya ẹsàmba]?
Who Agr Aux pst eat rice
'Who ate rice?'

103. (a) [IP Ọkrẹm Ø wán a lọ ayàbán [PP kẹ ọmẹ ize]].
Okrem Agr Aux pst buy banana Prep inside market
'Okrem bought banana in the market'

(b) [FP Ọkrẹm$_i$ nga [IP t$_i$ Ø Ø a lọ ayàbán [PP kẹ ọmẹ ize]]].
Okrem FM Agr Aux pst buy banana Prep inside market
'Ọkrẹm was the one that bought banana in the market'

(c) [FP Ẹngha$_i$ nga [IP t$_i$ Ø Ø a lọ ayàbán [PP kẹ ọmẹ ize]]]?
Who FM Agr Aux pst buy banana Prep inside market
'Who was the one that bought banana in the market?'

(d) *[CP Ẹngha$_i$ wán$_j$ [IP t$_i$ Ø t$_j$ a lọ ayàbán [PP kẹ ọmẹ ize]]]?
who Aux Agr pst buy banana Prep inside market
'Who bought banana in the market?'

(e) *[IP Ẹngha Ø wán a lọ ayàbán [PP kẹ ọmẹ ize]].
who Agr Aux pst buy banana Prep inside market
'Who bought banana in the market'

104. (a) Avwa Ẹ̀dà Ø wán a bá lẹ ọnhwẹ kẹ ọlẹ.
teacher Ẹ̀dà Agr Aux pst come Prep here Prep yesterday
'The Ẹ̀dà teacher came here yesterday'

(b) [FP [FP Avwa Ẹ̀dà]$_i$ nga [IP t$_i$ Ø a bá lẹ ọnhwẹ kẹ ọlẹ]]
teacher Ẹ̀dà FM Agr pst come Prep here Prep yesterday
'Ẹ̀dà teacher was the one that came here yesterday'

(c) [FP [Ilón Avwa]$_i$ nga [IP t_i Ø a bá lẹ ọnhwẹ kẹ ọlẹ]]?
which teacher FM Agr pst come Prep here Prep yesterday
'Which teacher was the one that came here yesterday?'

(d) * [CP [Avwa ìlón]$_i$ wán$_k$ [IP t_i Ø t_k a bá lẹ ọnhwẹ kẹ ọlẹ]]?
teacher which Aux Agr pst come Prep here Prep yesterday
'Which teacher came here yesterday?'

(e) Avwa ìlón Ø wán a bá lẹ ọnhwẹ kẹ ọlẹ?
teacher which Agr Aux pst come Prep here Prep yesterday
'Which teacher came here yesterday?'

105. (a) Àná ọkọ́ Ø ma a bá lẹ ọklán.
person ten Agr Aux pst come Prep gathering
'Ten people attended the meeting.'

(b) [FP [Àná ọkọ́]$_i$ nga [IP t_i Ø Ø a bá lẹ ọklán]]
person ten FM Agr Aux pst come Prep gathering
'There were ten people that attended the meeting'

(c) [FP [Àná amà]$_i$ nga [IP t_i Ø Ø a bá lẹ ọklán]]?
person how many FM Agr Aux pst come Prep gathering
'How many people were they that attended the meeting?'

(d) * [CP Ana amà]$_i$ wán$_k$ [IP t_i Ø t_k a bá lẹ ọklán]]?
person how many Aux Agr pst come Prep gathering
'How many people attended the meeting?'

(e) * [IP Àná amà Ø ma a bá lẹ ọklán]?
person how many Agr Aux pst come Prep gathering
'How many people attended the meeting?'

106. (a) Arẹ́n ẹmakaranta ìtunáa Ø ma a bá lẹ ọnhwẹ.
children school nine Agr Aux pst come Prep here
'Nine students came here'

(b) [FP Arẹ́n ẹmakaranta ìtunáa]$_i$ nga [IP t_i Ø Ø a bá lẹ̀ ọnhwẹ.
children school nine FM Agr Aux pst come Prep here
'There were nine students that came here.'

(c) [FP [Arẹ́n ẹmakaranta amà]$_i$ nga [IP t_i Ø Ø ----
children school how many FM Agr Aux
a bá lẹ ọnhwẹ]]?
pst come Prep here
'How many students were they that came here?'

(d) *[CP [Arẹ́n ẹmakaranta amà]$_i$ wán$_j$ [IP t_i Ø t_j a bá lẹ̀ ọnhwẹ]]?
children school how many Aux Agr pst come Prep here
'How many students came here?'

(e) * [IP Arẹ́n ẹmakaranta amà Ø ma a bá lẹ̀ ọnhwẹ]?
children school how many Agr Aux pst come Prep here'
'How many students came here?'

Recall that agreement is not morphologically realized in the Ẹ̀dà language, hence; represented by Ø. Each of the sentences in (a) above represents the D-structure where the focus constructions in the examples (b) and the interrogative counterparts in (c-e) were derived. Each of the examples in (c) shows an instance of Focus-movement at S-structure where the subject wh-phrase (external argument to the verb) syntactically moves to the specifier of FP position and followed by the focus marker *nga* which is base-generated at F-position within FP projection. In the example (102a), for instance, Inton, which serve as the subject of the verb (external argument), *ya* 'eat', is questioned and substituted with the wh-word *ẹngha* 'who' which has identical features, and is moved into the specifier of FP (an A-bar position), thereby creating a coindexed null trace at the extraction site in (102c). Observe that the movement of *ẹngha* 'who' does not cross more than one bounding node as there is no intervening maximal projection between the extraction site

and landing site [Spec, IP to Spec, FP]. This shows that subjacency condition is obeyed, hence grammaticality of (102c) and all other examples in (c) above.

Observe that the auxiliary verb which is overtly realized at D-structures as shown in the examples (102a), (103a), (104a), (105a) and (106a) is covertly realized at S-structures as demonstrated in the examples (102b, 103b, 104b, 105b & 106b) and (102c, (103c, 104c, 105c & 106c). As stated earlier that modal auxiliary verb does not co-occur with the focus marker in Ẹ̀dà as they are in complementary distribution. i.e. where a modal auxiliary occurs, a focus marker does not occur and vice-versa. The application of movement transformational rule on the subject of the sentence (Focus-movement) from [Spec, IP] to [Spec, FP] triggers an overt realization of the focus marker *nga* which is base-generated in F-position within FP projection. An overt realization of the focus marker *nga* in turn necessitates covert realization of the auxiliary *wán* at S-structure, hence, represented by Ø.

Similarly, in the example (104a), the NP *avwa Ẹ̀dà* 'Ẹ̀dà teacher' which serve as the subject of the verb *bá* 'come', is questioned and the modifier *Ẹ̀dà* is substituted with the wh-word *ìlón* 'which', being the target constituent to be questioned. The head word *avwa* 'teacher' with its modifier *ìlón* is therefore moved into the Spec, FP as shown in (104c). Observe that the constituent- *Ẹ̀dà* which the wh-phrase *ìlón* 'which' replaced followed the head word-*avwa* 'teacher' at the D-structure as shown in (104a) but preceeds *avwa* 'teacher' at the S-structure as shown in (104c). One way to account for this paradox (i.e. Swaping of position between the head and its modifier) is to consider the questioned constituent. Notice that the questioned constituent which requires new information is not the head noun *avwa* 'teacher' but the nominal qualifier 'Ẹ̀dà', hence,

the wh-phrase *ìlón* 'which' occurs before its head noun avwa 'teacher' in (104c). The same process applicable to the examples (105) and (106). However, there is no swapping of position between the head and its modifier in the case of examples (105) and (106).

It could be observed that both the head noun *avwa* 'teacher' and its modifier *ìlón* 'which' in (104c), the head noun *àná* 'person' and the modifier *amà* 'how many' in (105c), the head noun *arẹ́n-ẹmakaranta* 'students' and the modifier *amà* 'how many' in (106c), in each case pied piped and therefore move to the specifier of FP, hence; grammaticality of .

It could be observed that the questioned constituent (the wh-word/phrase) in each of the examples (c) above is followed by the focus marker *nga*. Recall that the focus marker *nga* is used with the subject NP which has human features [rational/mind processing being] as discussed in the first section of this chapter, hence, grammaticality of the examples (102c), (103c), (104c), (105c) and (106c).

Observe that the word order in the focus constructions in (102b, 103b, 104b, 105b & 106b) has resemblance with the wh-questions in (102c, 103c, 104c, 105c & 106c) respectively. Infact, the focus marker *nga*, which appears in focus constructions involving [+human +subject NP], makes the wh-questions in all the examples (c) above look superficially like focusing. The focus constructions in the examples (b) give the required information needed in the wh-questions in (c).

Examples (102d, 103d, 104d, 105d & 106d) show ungrammatical question formation derivations in Ẹ̀dà as each of the wh-words, which has human features, is followed by an auxiliary verb. The reason lies from the fact that there is no agreement between the wh-word at the specifier position and the head of the projection.

The structures in (102e), (103e), (104e), (105e) and (106e) are ungrammatical because in each case, the wh-phrase occupies its base generated positions. This implies that the movement of the subject wh-phrase which has human features must be realized at the PF level (the movement must be a syntactic one). This is different from a case of vacuous movement in languages like English as there is an intervening constituent between the landing site of the wh-phrase and the extraction site.

There are divergence opinions on the analysis of constructions like (102c), (103c), (104c), (105c) and (106c). Some of them are repeated and renamed (107, 108 & 109) for easy of reference:

107. [FP Ẹngha$_i$ nga [IP t$_i$ Ø Ø a ya ẹ́sàmba]]?
who FM Agr Aux pst eat rice
'Who was the one that ate rice?'

108. [FP [Ilón Avwa]$_i$ nga] [IP t$_i$ Ø a bá lẹ ọnhwẹ kẹ ọlẹ]]?
which teacher FM Agr pst come Prep here Prep yesterday
'Which teacher was the one that came here yesterday?'

109. [FP [Àná amà]$_i$ nga [IP t$_i$ Ø Ø a bá lẹ ọklán]]?
person how many FM Agr Aux pst come Prep gathering
'How many people were they that attended the meeting?'

Similar structures like above were analysed as a result of cleft or focus movement rather than wh-movement (see for examples Saah, 1986; Bergvall, 1987; Cheng, 1991; Cole & Hermon, 2000; Schwarz; 2003; Muriungi, 2005; Fanzelow, 2006; Gad, 2011). Saah (1986) states categorically that:

110. "…….there is no rule of wh-movement in Akan and the questions which have their wh-words in clause initial positions are the result of focus marking in the language".

(Saah, 1986:1)

Saah claim was based on the presence of focus marker in wh-questions in Akan. This is supported by Schwarz (2003), Muriungi (2005) and Fanzelow (2006) where they all argued that sentence-initial wh-phrases in Kikuyu are instances of focus movement process rather than wh-movement. These scholars argued that though, there is movement of the wh-word, but the landing site is not Spec, CP position but Spec, FP position. Going by their argument, this implies that the Spec, FP houses the wh-phrases in the above examples.

Cheng, (1991) and Gad (2011) on the other hand analyzed similar constructions in Egyptian Arabic as instances of cleft construction rather than wh-movement. Cheng and Gads' claim is similar to Cole & Hermon (2000) analysis of similar constructions in Dholuo as instances of clefting rather than wh-movement. Their claim was based on the fact that the morpheme used in the relative clauses and a number of other constructions that might be analyzed as reduced relatives also appear in wh-movement questions.

In order to investigate the hypothesis that wh-movement word order in Ẹ̀dà is not clefting, there is need to clarify the three essential parts of clefts (it-clefts, pseudo-clefts i.e. wh-clefts and reverse pseudo-clefts. All clefts have three essential parts: a focused elements, a copular and something that looks like a relative clause (Lambrecht, 2001; Schwarz, 2000). However, in the wh-movement word order in the examples (102c, 104c & 105c) repeated and renamed (107, 108 & 109) respectively, there is no place to put a copular without generating an ungrammatical sentence. Instead, each of the moved wh-

phrases (ẹngha ‘who’, ìlón ‘which’ and amà ‘how many,) is accompanied by a focus marker *nga* that is absent in the declarative sentence. Thus, wh-movement word order in Ẹ̀dà is not clefting but focus movement.

As demonstrated in the previous examples, the subject wh-phrases which have human features [+Human, +Countable, ±Concrete, ±Plural] are followed by a focus marker *nga*. In contrast, the subject wh-phrase which has nonhuman features [-human, ±Countable, ±Concrete, ±Plural] is followed by an auxiliary verb if the sentence contains a lexical verb or a copular verb *sòó* if the sentence does not contain a lexical verb. When the subject NP that has -human features [-human, ±countable, ±plural] is questioned, such NP is replaced by a wh-phrase which has identical features and occupies the same position as there is no any change in the syntactic arrangement of the constituents in the sentence. In this regard, there is a case of vacous movement as demonstrated in the following examples:

111. (a) Ava Ø wán a nuwan Inkye.
Dog Agr Aux pst bite Inkye
‘Dog bite Inkye’

(b) [CP Uńsé$_i$ wán$_k$ [IP t$_i$ Ø t$_k$ a nuwan Inkye]]?
What Aux Agr pst bite Inkye)
‘What bit Inkye?’

(c) * [FP Uńsé$_i$ kọ́ [IP t$_i$ Ø a nuwan Inkye]]?
What FM Agr pst bite Inkye
‘What is it that bite Inkye?’

112. (a) Ọ̀nkyọ́ rẹnrẹ́n Ø sòó kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù.
material writing Agr Cop Prep top table
‘The pen is on the table’

(b) [CP Uńsé$_i$ [IP t_i Ø sòó kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù]]?
What Agr Cop Prep top table
'What is on the table?'

(c) * [FP Uńsé$_i$ kọ́ [IP t_i Ø sòó kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù]]?
What FM Agr Cop Prep top table
'What is it that is on the table?'

113. (a) Untrínin èzíkyow Ø sòó ngrẹn. (Declarative Sentence)
Soup sorell Agr Cop sweet
'Sorell soup is delicious'

(b) [CP [Ìlón untrínin]$_i$ [IP t_i Ø sòó ngrẹn]]? (Wh-question)
which soup Agr Cop sweet
'Which soup is delicious?'

(c) *[CP [Ìlón untrínin]$_i$ kọ́ [IP t_i Ø sòó ngrẹn]]?
which soup FM Agr Cop sweet
'Which soup is it that is delicious?'

114. (a) [IP Abọ́n ẹpwa Ø ma kon ùtón lẹ̀ ùklé abànán].
Goat two Agr Aux Prog run Prep round house
'Two goats are running around the house'

(b) [CP [Abọ́n amà]$_i$ ma$_k$ [IP t_i Ø t_k kon ùtón lẹ̀ ùklé abànán]]?
goat how many Aux Agr prog run Prep around house
'How many goats are running around the house?'

(c) * [FP [Abọ́n amà]$_i$ kọ́ [IP t_i Ø Ø kon ùtón lẹ̀ ùklé abànán]]?
goat how many FM Agr Aux prog run Prep round house
'How many goats are they that are running around the house?'

115. (a) Ọ̀nkyọ́ rẹnrẹ́n ìtúmpwá Ø sòó kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù.
material writing seven Agr Cop Prep top table
'Seven pens are on the table'

(b) [CP Ọ̀ǹkyọ́ rẹnrẹ́n amà]$_i$ [IP t_i Ø sòó kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù]]?
material writing how many Agr Cop Prep top table
'How many pens are on the table?'

(c) *[FP Ọ̀ǹkyọ́ rẹnrẹ́n amà]$_i$ kọ́ [IP t_i Ø sòó kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù]]?
material writing how many FM Agr Cop Prep top table
'How many pens are they that are on the table?'

Each of the sentences in (a) above represents the D-structure where the interrogative counterparts in (b-c) were derived. Each of the examples in (b) shows an instance of vacous movement at S-structure. In the example (111a), for instance, Ava 'dog', which serve as the subject of the verb (external argument), *nuwan* 'bite', is questioned and substituted with the wh-word *uńsé* 'what' which has identical features, and is moved into the specifier of CP (an A-bar position), thereby creating a coindexed null trace at the extraction site in (111b). Observe that the movement of *uńsé* 'what' does not affect any change in the syntactic arrangement of the constituents in the string as there is no intervening element between the extraction site and the landing site [Spec, IP to Spec, CP]. The structure in (111b) thus looks as if there is no movement of the questioned constituent from spec, IP to Spec, CP. This is an instance of vacous movement. The same process applicable to the examples (112b, 113b, 114b & 115b).

The difference in the structures (111b & 114b) and (112b, 113b & 115b) also shows that the type of verb in the sentence determines whether the subject wh-phrase which has –human features will be followed by an auxiliary verb or copular in an interrogative sentence especially if the constituent to be questioned is subject of the sentence. Also, the constituent which the wh-phrase *amà* 'how many' modifies

determines the head of the projection (i.e CP) as the language under study is very sensitive to +human/-human features.

Examples (111c, 112c, 1113c, 114c & 115c) show ungrammatical question formation derivations in Ẹ̀dà as each of the wh-phrases, which has -human features, is followed by a focus marker. The reason is that there is no agreement between the wh-phrase at the specifier position and the head of the projection.

Based on the above analysis, it shows that some variations exist among the subject wh-phrases which have human features [+human, +countable, ±plural] *ẹngha* 'who', *ìlón* 'which' and *amà* 'how many'and the subject wh-phrases which have nonhuman features [-human, ±countable, ±plural] *uńsé* 'what', *ìlón* 'which' and *amà* 'how many'. The +human subject wh-phrases can only be followed by the focus marker *nga*. It is important to emphasise that in all syntactic contexts, the +human subject wh-phrases cannot be followed by any of the auxiliary verb *wán/ma* or a copular *sòó* in dircct non-echo wh-questions. This implies that the +human subject wh-phrases occupy Spec, FP at S-structure and their movement can neither be attributed to wh-movement nor vacuous movement. So, the structures [WH- (+human) + nga] and [WH- (+human) + NP + nga] are both grammatical in the language.

Contrary to the +human subject wh-phrases, the nonhuman subject wh-phrases [-human, ±countable, ±plural] must be followed by an auxiliary verb *wán/ma* or copular verb *sòó*. In all syntactic contexts, the nonhuman subject wh-phrases cannot be followed by a focus marker. In this case, the movement of the -human wh-phrases is a case of vacuous movement. The structures [WH- (-human) + *wán/ma* + TNS +VP] or [WH- (-human) + *sòó* + PP] are the grammatical options for the nonhuman subject wh-phrases.

The implication of the above analysis is that only human nominals undergo focus movement in the formation of direct non-echo Wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà. Common property between the human subject Wh-phrases [WH-, +human, +countable, ±plural] and nonhuman subject Wh-phrases [WH-, -human, ±countable, ±plural] is that they all require syntactic movement at S-structure. However, they all require either focus movement or vacous movement. None of them requires wh-movement at S-structure.

It is equally worthy of mentioning that despite the fact that the subject of the sentence (i.e the external argument of the verb) is the questioned constituent in each of the examples (102c, 103c, 104c, 105c, 106c, 111b, 112b, 113b, 114b & 115b), yet, each of the +human and nonhuman wh-phrases is followed by different constituent at S-structure. The restrictions in the selection of constituent the +human wh-phrases and nonhuman wh-phrases select at S-structure in Ẹ̀dà cannot be claimed to be sub-categorization restriction since in each of the examples, the wh-phrase involved is the external argument of the verb. Rather, they are selectional restrictions on the choice of constituent that can co-occur with the wh-phrases. There appears to be semantic/pragmatic restrictions on the choice of constituents that can occur with the external argument wh-phrases at S-structure (i.e subject wh-phrases). This implies that it is a semantic property of the wh-phrase which is rational (mind possessing) entity/being to select a focus marker *nga* and the wh-phrase which is irrational entity/being [-human] to select an auxiliary verb *wán* or copular *sòó*. This is one of the syntactic constraints in the grammar of Ẹ̀dà language. It is hope, with time, that a non-native speaker learning the Ẹ̀dà language will get to know some of these constraints.

4.2.1.2 Questioning Object Aguments

This section describes how objects of the verb (i.e. the complement as well as the internal argument to the verb) are questioned in the Ẹ̀dà language. Objects in Ẹ̀dà are questioned ex-situ. That is, the object wh-phrase must be moved from its canonical position to the beginning of the sentence. However, the features of the questioned constituent (+human or -human) determine the type of movement allowed as the language is very sensitive to human/nonhuman features.

Contrary to vacous movement in the formation of non-human [-human] subject wh-argument questions, the non-human [-human] object wh-argument questions undergo Wh-movement at S-structure. When the object of the verb (direct and indirect) which carries [-human features] is questioned in the Ẹ̀dà language, such an NP is substituted by the wh-phrase which has identical features and fronted to the sentence-initial position (i.e Spec, CP) while the extraction site is marked by an empty category known as trace (t_i). These wh-phrases must be followed by an auxiliary verb *wán* or copular verb *sòó* as illustrated in the following examples:

116. (a) Ujem Ø wán a pré ẹwẹ kẹ̀ abàn.
James Agr Aux pst kill snake Prep stick
'James killed the snake with a stick'

(b) [FP Ẹwẹ$_i$ yọ$_k$ [IP Ujem Ø Ø a pré t_i kẹ̀ abàn]]?
snake FM James Agr Aux pst kill Prep stick
'It was a snake that James killed with a stick'

(c) [CP Uńsé$_i$ wán$_k$ [IP Ujem Ø t_k a pré t_i kẹ̀ abàn]]?
what Aux James Agr pst kill Prep stick
'What did James kill with a stick?'

(d) * [FP Uńsé$_i$ yọ$_k$ [IP Ujem Ø Ø a pré$_i$ kè abàn]]?
what FM James Agr Aux pst kill Prep stick
'What was it that James killed with a stick?'

(e) * Ujem Ø wán a pré uńsé kè abàn? Echo question
James Agr Aux pst kill what Prep stick
'James killed what with a stick?'

117. (a) Arranzọn Ø wán a yá ẹ́sàmba kè ìdó.
Arranzon Agr Aux pst eat rice Conj beans
'Arranzon ate rice and beans'.

(b) [FP[Ẹ́sàmba kè ìdó]$_i$ yọ [IP Arranzọn Ø Ø a yá t$_i$]].
rice Conj beans FM Arranzon Agr Aux pst eat
'It was rice and beans that Arranzon ate'

(c) [CP Uńsé$_i$ wán$_k$ [IP Arranzọn Ø t$_k$ a yá t$_i$]]?
what Aux Arranzon Agr pst eat
'What did Arranzon eat?'

(d) * [CP Uńsé$_i$ wán$_k$ [Arranzọn Ø t$_k$ a yá t$_i$ kè ìdó]]?
what Aux Arranzon Agr pst eat Conj beans
'What did Arranzon eat and beans?'

(e) *Arranzọn Ø wán a yá uńsé? (Echo Question)
Arranzon Agr Aux pst eat what
'Arranzọ ate what?'

118. (a) Ìmí Ø wán unìí untrínin èzíkyow.
1sg Agr Aux want soup sorrel
'I want a sorrel soup'

(b) [FP [untrínin èzíkyow]$_i$ yọ [IP Ìmí Ø Ø unìí t$_i$]]
soup sorrel FM 1sg Agr Aux want
'It is sorrel soup that I want.'

(c) [CP [Ìlón untrínin]$_i$ wán$_k$ [IP eǹgọ́ Ø t_k unìí t_i]]?
Which soup Aux 2sg Agr want
'Which soup do you want?'

(d) *[FP [Ìlón untrínin]$_i$ yọ [IP eǹgọ́ Ø Ø unìí t_i]]?
which soup FM 2sg Agr Aux want
'Which soup is it that you want?'

(e) Eǹgá Ø wán unìí untrínin ìlón?
1sg Agr Aux want soup which
'You want which soup?'

119. (a) Ẹmọs Ø ma akẹ otòó ẹ̀dà ẹnang.
Amos Agr Aux Hab speak language four
'Amos speaks four languages'

(b) [FP [Ẹ̀dà ẹnang]$_i$ yọ$_k$ [IP Ẹmọs Ø ma akẹ otòó t_i]]
language four FM Amos Agr Aux Hab speak
'It is four languages that Amos speak'

(c) [CP [Ẹ̀dà amà]$_i$ ma$_k$ [IP Ẹmọs Ø t_k akẹ otòó t_i]]?
Language how many Aux Amos Agr Hab speak
'How many languages does Amos speak?'

(d) *[FP[Ẹ̀dà amà]$_i$ yọ$_k$ [IP Ẹmọs Ø ma akẹ otòó t_i]]?
Language how many FM Amos Agr Aux Hab speak
'How many languages are they that Amos speak?'

(e)* Ẹmọs Ø ma akẹ otòó ẹ̀dà amà? Echo question
Amos Agr Aux Hab speaks language how many
'Amos speaks how many languages?'

120. (a) Ámẹ̀ná Ø kọ̀ a lọ untrí ànáirà atẹlẹ.
Amena Agr Aux Pst buy yam Naira hundred
'Amena bought hundred Naira yams.'

(b) [FP [Untrí ànáirà atẹlẹ]$_i$ yọ$_k$ [IP Ámẹ̀ná Ø Ø a lọ t$_i$]].
yam Naira hundred FM Amena Agr Aux Pst buy
'It was one hundred Naira yams that Amena buy?'

(c) [CP [Untrí ẹmà]$_i$ kọ̀$_k$ [IP Ámẹ̀ná Ø t$_k$ a lọ t$_i$]]?
yams how much Aux Amena Agr Pst buy
'How much yam did Amẹ̀na buy?'

(d)* [FP [Untrí ẹmà$_i$] yọ$_k$ [IP Ámẹ̀ná Ø Ø a lọ t$_i$]]?
yam How much FM Amena Agr Aux Pst buy
'How much yam was it that Amena buy?'

(e)* Ámẹ̀ná Ø kọ̀ a lọ untrí ẹmà? Echo question
Amena Agr Aux Pst buy yam how much
'Amena bought how much yam?'

The examples (116a, 117a, 118a, 119a & 120a) above represents the D-structure where the subsequent focus constructions in examples (116b, 117b, 118b, 119b & 120b) and wh-questions in (116c-e, 117c-e, 118c-e, 119c-e & 120c-e) were derived respectively. The examples (116c), (117c), (118c), (119c) and (120c) have their wh-phrases moved from their base generated positions (a position marked by t$_i$) into [Spec, CP] at clause initial position. The examples (116c), (117c), (118c), (119c) and (120c) also show that the movement of the wh-phrases do not cross more than one bounding node, hence, subjacency condition is obeyed. Observe that the wh-phrases in (116c), (117c), (118c), (119c) and (120c) are followed by the auxiliary which originates at INFL at the D-structure. The movement of the auxiliary from INFL to the the head of CP (their landing site) does not cross another head; hence, the examples (116c, 117c, 118c, 119c & 120c) are well-formed. This shows that there are two types of movement in each of the above wh-questions: Wh-movement as well as head movement (i.e I-C).

The structures (116d), (118d), (119d) and (120d) are ill-formed because in each case, the wh-phrase is followed by the focus marker. By implication, the fronted wh-phrases occupy the specifier of FP. Recall that agreement in Ẹ̀dá is dependent on the features of the specifier (NP/Wh-phrase). The head of CP is thus determined by the features on the wh-phrase at the specifier position. The wh-phrases in (116d), (118d), (119d) and (120d) which carry [-human] features do not agree with the head (focus marker) as only +human wh-phrases can co-occur with the focus marker.

Observe that the examples in each of the structures (b) above (focus constructions) cannot be the answer to the wh-questions in (c). A focused wh-question requires a focused constituent in a focus construction. Notice that none of the wh-phrases in the examples (116c, 117c, 118c, 119c & 120c) above is followed by a focus marker. This shows that the structures in (116b, 117b, 118b, 119b & 120b) 'focus constructions' cannot be said to be the immediate underlying structures from which the structures in (116c, 117c, 118c, 119c & 120c) were derived. Therefore, the movement of the wh-phrases in their derivations cannot be claimed to be as a result of focus movement. The nonhuman object wh-argument question formation in the Ẹ̀dà language is as a result of WH-movement.

The structure (117d) is ungrammatical because only a particular constituent that forms part of the coordinate structure is extracted. Coordinate structure constraint stipulates that no constituent that forms part of a coordinate structure can be extracted by any movement rule. The movement of a constituent that form a coordinate structure must be across the board. The structure (117b) on the other hand, is well formed because it involves the movement of the entire syntactic island (i.e the coordinate structure).

The structures (116e, 117e, 118e, 119e & 120e) are ungrammatical because in each case, the wh-phrase remains in-situ and therefore are instances of echo question which is not within the scope of this section. This means that the movement of the object wh-phrases which carry [-human feature] cannot be realised at the LF level.

Like questioning the external arguments of the verb which have human features, when the internal argument of the verb which has human features is questioned (i.e +N, + human, +count, ±plural, +object), such an NP is substituted by the wh-phrase which have identical features and moves to the sentence-initial position [Spec, FP]. Unlike +human subject wh-phrases which select the focus marker *nga*, +human object wh-phrases select the focus marker *gha* (*lẹ̀*) (i.e a focus marker used with + human, + object NP). Any wh-phrase which has the above mentioned features must be extracted from its base generated position to the sentence-initial [Spec, FP] position in all syntactic contexts where it functions as an internal argument of the verb while the extraction site remains empty in line with the Trace Movement Principle. Any wh-phrase which carries the above mentioned feature must be followed by the focus marker *gha(lẹ̀)* as it cannot co-occur with a focus marker *nga* nor an auxiliary verb *wán*. Each of the wh-phrases are examined in order to account for the differences in their syntactic behaviour as demonstrated in the following examples:

121. (a) Ẹnna Ø wán a là Umusa. (Declarative Sentence)
Enna Agr Aux pst beat Musa
'Enna beat Musa'

(b) [FP Umusa$_i$ gha(lẹ̀) [IP Ẹnna Ø Ø a là t$_i$]] Foc. Constr
Musa FM Enna Agr Aux pst beat
'Musa was the one that Enna beat'

(c) [FP Ẹngha$_i$ gha(lẹ̀) [IP Ẹnna Ø Ø a là t_i]]? (Wh-question)
Who FM Enna Agr Aux pst beat
'Who was the one that Enna beat?'

(d) * [CP Ẹngha$_i$ wán$_j$ [IP Ẹnna Ø t_j a la t_i]]?
Who Aux Enna Agr pst beat
'Who did Enna beat?'

(e) * Ẹnna Ø wán a là ẹngha? Echo question
Enna Agr Aux pst beat who
'Enna beat who?'

122. (a) Ava Ø wán a nuwan Inkyé.
dog Agr Aux pst bite Inkye
'Dog bite Inkye'

(b) [FP Inkye$_i$ gha(lẹ̀) [IP ava Ø Ø a nuwan t_i]]. Foc. Cons
Inkye FM dog Agr Aux pst bite
'Inkye was the one that the dog bit'

(c) [FP Ẹngha$_i$ gha(lẹ̀) [IP ava Ø Ø a nuwan t_i]]?
Who FM dog Agr Aux pst bite
'Who was the one that the dog bit?'

(d) * [CP Ẹngha$_i$ wán$_j$ [IP ava Ø t_j a nuwan t_i]]?
who Aux dog Agr pst bite
'Who did the dog bites?'

(e) *Ava Ø wán a nuwan ẹngha?
dog Agr Aux pst bite who
'Dog bit who?'

123. (a) Ìmí Ø wán a ṣìn [NP enkyí Ø anuṣin a je ọzaa----
1sg Agr Aux pst see man Agr Rel pst steal book
ghan Ọbẹnjame].
Poss Benjamen
'I saw the man that stole Benjamen's book'

(b) [FP [Enkyí Ø anuṣin a je ọzaa ghan Ọbẹnjame]$_i$ gha(lẹ) ----
man Agr Rel pst steal book Poss Benjamen FM
[IP ìmí Ø Ø a ṣìn t_i]].
1sg Agr Aux pst see
'The man that stole Benjamen's book was the one that I saw?'

(c) [FP [Ìlón enkyí]$_i$ gha(lẹ) [IP eǹgọ́ Ø Ø a ṣìn t_i]]?
which man FM 2sg Agr Aux pst see
'Which man was the one that you saw?'

(d) * [CP [Ìlón enkyí]$_i$ wán$_k$ [IP eǹgọ́ Ø t_k a ṣìn t_i]]?
which man Aux 2sg Agr pst see
'Which man did you see?'

(e) * Eǹgọ́ Ø wán a ṣìn enkyí ìlón? Echo question
2sg Agr Aux pst see man which
'You saw which man?'

124. (a) Ọtlán ẹ́ntran Ø ma a pré àdà ìtúmpwà kẹ ọlẹ.
weapons robber Agr Aux pst kill people seven Prep yesterday
'Armed robbers killed seven people yesterday'

(b) [FP [Àdà ìtùmpwà]$_i$ gha(lẹ) [IP ọtlan ẹ́ntran Ø Ø a pré t_i ----
people seven FM weapons robber Agr Aux pst kill
kẹ ọlẹ]].
Prep yesterday
'There were seven people that armed robbers killed yesterday'

(c) [FP [Àdà amà]$_i$ gha(lẹ̀) [IP ọtlan ẹ́ntran Ø Ø ----
people how many FM weapons robber Agr Aux
a prẹ́ t$_i$ kẹ̀ ọlẹ]]?
pst kill Prep yesterday
'How many people were they that armed robbers killed yesterday?'

(d)* [CP [Àdà amà]$_i$ ma$_k$ [IP ọtlan ẹ́ntran Ø Ø t$_k$ a prẹ́ t$_i$ --
people how many Aux weapons robber Agr Aux pst kill
kẹ̀ ọlẹ]]?
Prep yesterday
'How many people did armed robbers kill yesterday?'

(e)* Ọtlán ẹ́ntran Ø ma a prẹ́ àdà amà kẹ̀ ọlẹ?
weapons robber Agr Aux pst kill people how many Prep yesterday
'Armed robbers killed how many people yesterday?'

Each of the examples (a) above represents the D-structure where the subsequent derived structures in (b-e) were derived. Each of the examples (c), have their wh-phrases moved from their base generated positions (a position marked by t_i) into [Spec, FP] at clause initial position. The wh-phrases in (121c), (122c), (123c) and (124c) are followed by the focus marker *gha(lẹ̀)*. The examples (121c), (122c), (123c) and (124c) show that the wh-phrases move to the specifier of FP (their landing sites) in 'one fell swoop' because they do not cross more than one bounding node, hence, subjacency condition is obeyed.

The examples (121d), (122d), (123d) and (124d) are ungrammatical as the wh-phrases are followed by an auxiliary verb. In essence, there is no agreement between the wh-prase [+WH-, +Human] and the auxiliary verb which funtion as the head of the projection. This supports our earlier hypothesis that the wh-phrases which carry human features can co-occur with the focus marker only. The structures (121e), (122e), (123e) and (124e) are ill-formed because in each case, the wh-phrase remains in-situ and

therefore are instances of direct echo questions which is not within the scope of this section. This means that the movement of the direct object wh-phrases which carry human features cannot be realised at the LF level.

4.2.2 Questioning Adjuncts in Direct Non–Echo WH-Questions

This section discusses the formation of adjuncts wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà. Generally, Wh-adjuncts do not require obligatory syntactic wh-movement at S-structure as the overt movement of these wh-phrases is optional. That is, the wh-adjuncts may occupy their base generated positions (i.e in situ) or extracted from their base generated positions and move to the specifier of CP at S-structure. The grammar of the Ẹ̀dà language give options for the speakers to select any of the two strategies. The speakers of the language use the two strategies in their everyday communication. However, if the wh-phrase occurs in its base generated position, the sentence either ends with a question morpheme or the final segment of the sentence is lengthened to mark the sentence a new information seeking question (non-echoic). The wh-phrases which occur in their base generated positions sometimes end with high pitch to mark the sentence non-echoic. In other word wh-adjunct questions in exhibit a question particle at sentence-final position. The wh-phrases that fall under this category are at-times complements of prepositions or adverbials. Some of the wh-adjuncts have variants which occur in different syntactic environments. Consider the following examples for illustration:

125. (a) Ọkrẹ̀m Ø wán a ya ámràn kẹ̀ **uńséw**?
Okrem Agr Aux pst eat cocoyam Prep what+QM
'With what did Okrem eat the cocoyam?'

(b) [CP **Uńsé$_i$** wan$_k$ [IP Ọkrẹm Ø t_k a ya ámràn t_i]]?
what Aux Okrem Agr pst eat cocoyam
'With what did Okrem eat the cocoyam?'

126. (a) Ènġọ́ Ø wán a hywà ambrẹ́ lan sáblọ̀ **uńsé-w**?
2sg Agr Aux pst drink water Det because what QM
'Why did you drink the water?'

(b) [CP Uńsé$_i$ wán$_k$ ọ̀ǹsọ́ [IP ènġọ́ Ø t_k a hywà ambrẹ́ lan t_i]]?
what Aux reason 2sg Agr pst drink water Det
'Why did you drink the water?'

127. (a) Ọtarọ Ø sòó son **lànyẹ ẹ**?
Ọtarọ Agr Cop walk how QM
'How does Ọtarọ walk?'

(b) [CP **[Kyẹ́-elemle]$_i$** ṣín [IP Ọtarọ́ Ø sòó son t_i]]?
where way that Ọtarọ Agr Cop walk
'How does Ọtarọ walk?'

128. (a) Ukwaso Ø yá a ba lẹ̀ ọ́ǹhwẹ kẹ̀ **ìlón ẹlẹ̀n ẹn**?
Kwaso Agr Aux pst come Prep here Prep which time QM
'When/which time did Kwaso come here?'

(b) [CP [**Ìlón ẹlẹ̀n**]$_i$ yá$_k$ [IP Ukwaso Ø t_k a ba lẹ̀ ọ́ǹhwẹ t_i]]?
which time Aux Kwaso Agr pst come Prep here
'When (which time) did Kwaso come here?'

129. (a) Èkyíke Ø yá a vọ ọbrà lẹ̀ **ìlón ubwón?**
Èkyíke Agr Aux pst marry marriage Prep which day+QM
'When/which day did Ekyike get married?'

(b) [CP [**Ìlón ubwon**]$_i$ yá$_k$ [IP Èkyíke Ø t_k a vọ ọbrà t_i]]?
which day Aux Ekyike Agr pst marry marriage
'When/which day did Ekyike get married?'

130. (a) Ọkrẹm Ø wán a lọ ayàban kẹ̀ **ekyé?**
Okrem Agr Aux pst buy banana Prep where+QM
'Where/which place did Ọkrẹm buy banana?'

(b) [CP [**Ìlón ọ́nhwọ́**]$_i$ ṣín [IP Ọkrẹm Ø Ø a lọ ayàbán t_i]]?
which place that Ọkrem Agr Aux pst buy banana
'Where did Okrem buy the banana?'

Note that the final segment 'ẹn' in the wh-phrase *ìlón-ẹlẹ̀n* 'when' in (128a) which looks like two segments is a single segment which is phonetically represented as /ɛ̃/. Examples (125-130) show grammatical question formation derivations in Ẹ̀dà. In each of the examples (a) above, the wh-phrase occupies its base generated position. In line with GB theory, the movement of wh-phrases in the examples (125a, 126a, 127a, 128a, 129a &130a) is assumed to have taken place at the LF level. Observe that unlike their examples (125a, 126a, 127a, 128a, 129a &130a) counterparts, the wh-phrases in the examples (125b, 126b, 127b, 128b, 129b &130b) occur at the sentence initial position while the extraction site is empty (i.e a position marked by t_i) in line with Trace Movement Principle. These are cases of optional wh-movement. Notice that in the examples (b) above, none of the wh-phrases is followed by a focus marker, hence, their movement cannot be attributed to focus movement.

Observe that in the examples (125a & 126a) where the wh-phrase *ụ́nsé* 'what' occupies its base generated position, the question morpheme '*w*' is attached to mark the sentence new information seeking questions while the final segment of the final syllable in the examples (127a & 128a) is lengthened to mark the constructions non-echoic. In the examples (129a & 130a), however, the wh-phrases *ìlón-ubwon* 'when/which day' and ekyé 'where' occupy their base generated positions while the final syllable of the

sentence which ordinarily bears mid-tone bears high tone to mark the sentences non-echoic constructions. One peculiar feature of these three strategies is that each of the question markers occurs at the sentence final position.

It is important to emphasize that the sentence-final qustion morpheme 'w' in (125a & 126a), sentence-final vowel lengthening in (127a & 128a) and sentence-final high pitch in the examples (129a & 130a) are obligatory in this constructions and therefore play significant semantic role in the interrogative that has wh-word in its base-generated position in this language. It could be observed that the structures of examples (125a, 126a, 127a, 128a, 129a &130a) are similar to the structures of yes-no questions as stated in the first part of this chapter. It should be noted that though Ẹ̀dà employs three strategies to mark wh-in situ questions, however, these question markers (be it sentence-final vowel lenghtening, sentence-final question morpheme or sentence-final high pitch) occur at the end of the sentence.

It could also be observed that movement of the wh-phrases in each of the examples (b's) obey subjacency condition as the movement does not cross more than one branching node (a barrier). It could be observed that wh-phrases in the examples (a's) do not move to sentence initial position.

Despite the fact that the grammar of Ẹ̀dà give options for the speakers to select any of the two strategies of wh-movement and wh-in situ in the formation of adjunct wh-questions, it is important to emphasize that optionality does not hold for the wh-phrase *ẹ̀ngha* 'who'. The wh-phrase 'who' must be extracted from its base generated position to the sentence initial position (i.e Spec, FP) even when functioning as an adjunct. The wh-

phrase *ẹngha* 'who' must be followed by a focus marker *gha(lẹ̀)* as demonstrated in the following examples:

131. (a) Inkyeem Ø wán a lọ ayàbán kẹ̀ Inton.
Inkyeem Agr Aux pst buy banana Prep Inton
'Inkyeem bought banana for Inton'

(b) [FP Ẹngha$_i$ gha(lẹ̀)$_k$ [IP Inkyeem Ø Ø a lọ ayàbán t$_i$]]?
who FM Inkyeem Agr Aux pst buy banana
'Who was the one that Inkyeem bought banana for?'

(c) *Inkyeem Ø wán a lọ ayàbán kẹ̀ ẹngha-w?.
Inkyeem Agr Aux pst buy banana Prep who+QM
'Inkyeem bought banana for who?'

The structure (131a) represents the D-structure from which the S-structures (b-c) are formed. In (131b), *Inton* which originates as the complement of preposition *kẹ̀* 'for' is questioned and therefore replaced by wh-phrase *ẹngha* 'who' being a human noun which has identical features. Observe in the example (131b) that the wh-phrase *ẹngha* 'who' moved to the sentence initial position (i.e Spec, FP) as its base generated position remains empty and marked by t$_i$. Notice the wh-phrase *ẹngha* 'who' is followed by a focus marker *gha(lẹ̀)*. Recall that it is the semantic property of the focus marker *ghalẹ̀* to select an object NP which is rational (mind-processing) entity or being, hence, the grammaticality of (131b). The wh-phrase *ẹngha* 'who', unlike other wh-adjuncts, which can either remain in their base-generated positions or moved to sentence initial position, cannot occur in its base generated position, hence, ungrammaticality of structure (131c). The impossibility of the wh-phrase *ẹngha* 'who' to occur in-situ could be linked to the sensitivity of Ẹ̀dà language to [+human/ -human] feature of the NPs. Since the wh-phrase

ẹngha ‘who’ is [+human Wh-phrase] (i.e. it substitutes a rational or mind-processing NP), hence, ungrammaticality of the example (131c).

4.3 Indirect Non-Echo WH-Questions

This section presents the formation and analysis of indirect non-echo wh-questions in the Ẹ̀dà language. In this respect, the section explores questioning of arguments as well as adjuncts in indirect non-echo questions/embedded clauses in the Ẹ̀dà language.

Arguments in indirect non-echo wh-questions, like arguments in direct non-echo wh-questions, are questioned ex-situ. That is, they must be extracted from their base generated positions to the beginning of the embedded clauses (i.e Spec, FP/spec, CP). However, unlike subject arguments in direct non-echo wh-questions, the extraction site is always filled by an overt category ‘resumptive pronoun’ which coindexed with the moved constituent (antecedent). The antecedent therefore binds the resumptive pronoun as there is anaphoric link between the resuptive pronoun and its antecedent. The resumptive pronoun must, however, bear identical features with the antecedent (wh-phrase) as any mismatched features between the antecedent and the resumptive pronoun results to ill-formed sentence. The issue of resumptive pronoun is peculiar to the subject of the embedded clauses.

The behaviour of wh-words in indirect questions also differs as some of them are not represented by real wh-words. They are only interpreted as wh-words. In this regard, we assume the wh-words that fall under this category as ‘existential quantifiers’ because apart from accounting for question formation, they as well fix the scope of the wh-word as quantifiers. It is, however, important to emphasize that any other word functioning as

the wh-phrase must bear identical features with its antecedent. In essence, agreement holds between the anaphor and its antecedent. Argument wh-questions can have the following syntactic realisations in indirect non-echo wh-question.

132. (a) Ìmí Ø wán a byan za [CP ànáᵢ ṣín [IP eǹgáᵢ Ø a ----
1sg Agr Aux pst like know person that 3sg Agr pst
dù ọ̀twán na]].
do work Det
'I would like to know who did the work'

(b) *Ìmí Ø wán a byan za [CP ànáᵢ ṣín ----
1sg Agr Aux pst like know person that
[IP tᵢ Ø a dù ọ̀twán na]].
Agr pst do work Det
'I would like to know who did the work'

(c) *Ìmí Ø wán a byan za [CP ẹnghaᵢ nga ----
1sg Agr Aux pst like know who FM
[IP tᵢ Ø a dù ọ̀twán na]]?
Agr pst do work Det
'I would like to know who the person that did the work is'

(d) *Ìmí Ø wán a byan za ànáᵢ Ø a dù ọ̀twán na?
1sg Agr Aux pst like know person Agr pst do work Det
'I would like to know who did the work'

133. (a) Ọkrẹm Ø wán a lúwé mí [CP ọ̀ǹkyẹ́ᵢ ṣín ----
Okrem Agr Aux pst ask 1sg thing that
[IP eǹgóᵢ Ø a ọbà lẹ̀ otù]].
3sg Agr pst happen Prep night
'Okrem asked me what happened last night'

(b) *Ọkrẹm Ø wán a lúwé mí [CP ọ̀ǹkyẹ́$_i$ ṣín ----
Okrem Agr Aux pst ask 1sg thing that
[IP t$_i$ Ø a ọbà lẹ̀ otù]].
Agr pst happen Prep night
'Okrem asked me what happened last night'

(c) *Ọkrẹm Ø wán a lúwé mí [CP uńsé$_i$ ṣín ---
Okrem Agr Aux pst ask 1sg thing that
[IP eǹgó$_i$ Ø a ọbà lẹ̀ otù]].
3sg Agr pst happen Prep night
'Okrem asked me what happened last night'

(d)* Ọkrẹm Ø wán a lúwé mí [IP ọ̀ǹkyẹ́ Ø a ọbà lẹ̀ otù].
Okrem Agr Aux pst ask 1sg thing Agr pst happen Prep night
'Okrem asked me what happened last night'

In the examples (132a & 133a) above, observe that the subject of the embedded clause is questioned and therefore moved to the Specifier of the embedded CP. Notice that the questioned constituent in (132a) is realized as *àná* 'person' as against *ẹngha* 'who' in direct non-echo wh-questions discussed in 4.2. Observe that the features in *àná* 'person' (+noun, +human, +count, -plural) are identical to and neatly fit with the features on the wh-phrase *ẹngha* 'who'. In the example (132a), observe that the resumptive pronoun *eǹgá* '3sg' remains at the extraction site which is coindexed with the antecedent *àná* 'person' at the Specifier of the embedded CP. Observe that the features in the resumptive pronoun *eǹgá* '3sg' (+human, +count, -plural) in (132a) are identical to and fit with the features on the antecedent *àná* 'person' (+human, +count, -plural), hence, grammaticality of (132a). Similarly, the wh-word in (133a) is realized as *ọ̀ǹkyẹ́* 'thing' instead of *uńsé* 'what'. Note that the features in *ọ̀ǹkyẹ́* 'thing' [+noun, -human, -count, -plural] are identical with the features on the wh-phrase *uńsé* 'what'. In the example (133a), notice

that the resumptive pronoun *ẹ̀ngó* '3sg' [–human] remains at the extraction site coindexing with the antecedent *ọ̀nkyẹ́* 'thing' at the Specifier of the embedded CP. It could be noticed that the features in *ẹ̀ngó* '3sg' [-human, -count, -plural] in (133a) are identical with the features on the antecedent *ọ̀nkyẹ́* 'thing' (-human, -count, -plural).

It could also be observed that the embedded clause (CP) in each of the examples (132a & 133a) is headed by a complementizer *ṣín* 'that' and not a focus marker nor an auxiliary. This is contrary to what is found in direct non-echo wh-questions as discussed in 4.2. In direct non-echo wh-questions, the extraction site of the moved constituent is always empty and the position is occupied by empty category 't_i'. Besides, the subject wh-phrase *ẹngha* 'who' must be followed by a focus marker *nga* while the subject wh-phrase *uńsé* 'what' must be followed by an auxiliary verb or a copular.

The structures (132b & 133b) are ill-formed because in each case, the extraction site (subject of the embedded clause) of the moved questioned constituent remains empty as the position is marked by t_i. Similarly, the examples (132c & 133c) are ungrammatical because in each case, the specifier of the embedded CP is occupied by the wh-phrases (*ẹngha* 'who' in 132c & *uńsé* 'what' in 133c). Similarly, the structures (132d & 133d) are ungrammatical because in each case, the questioned constituent *àná* 'person' occupies its base generated position in(132d) and *ọ́nkyẹ́* 'thing' in (133d). By implication, the argument subject wh-phrase must be questioned ex-situ even in the embedded clause.

The following examples demonstrate syntactic realization of object wh-phrases in embedded clauses:

134. (a) Ekyi m Ø wán byan za [CP ànáᵢ ṣín ----
husband my Agr Aux like know person that
[IP ava Ø a nuwan tᵢ]]?
dog Agr pst bite
'My husband wants to know who the dog bite'

(b)* Ekyi m Ø wán byan za [CP ẹnghaᵢ ṣín ----
husband my Agr Aux like know who that
[IP ava Ø a nuwan tᵢ]]?
dog Agr pst bite
'My husband wants to know who the dog bite'

(c)* Ekyi m Ø wán byan za [CP ànáᵢ gha(lẹ̀) ----
husband my Agr Aux like know person FM
[IP ava Ø a nuwan tᵢ]]
dog Agr pst bite
'My husband wants to know who is it that the dog bite'

(d)* Ekyi m Ø wán byan za ava a nuwan ànáʔ
husband my Agr Aux like know dog pst bite person
'My husband wants to know the dog bite who'

135. (a) Ìmí Ø wán a byan za [CP ọ̀ǹkyẹ́ᵢ ṣín ---
1sg Agr Aux pst like know thing that
[IP Ọkrẹm Ø a lọ tᵢ]]?
Okrem Agr pst buy
'I would like to know what Okrem bought'

(b)* Ìmí Ø wán a byan za [CP uńséᵢ ṣín ---
1sg Agr Aux pst like know what that
[IP Ọkrẹm Ø a lọ tᵢ]]
Okrem Agr pst buy
'I would like to know what Okrem bought'

(c)* Ìmí Ø wán a byan za [CP ọ̀nkyẹ́$_i$ wán ----
1sg Agr Aux pst like know thing Aux
[IP Ọkrẹm Ø a lọ t_i.]]
Okrem Agr pst buy
'I would like to know what Okrem bought'

(d)* Ìmí Ø wán a byan za Ọkrẹm Ø a lọ uńsé.
1sg Agr Aux pst like know Okrem Agr pst buy what
'I would like to know Okrem bought what'

136. (a) Ọkrẹm Ø wán byan za [CP [ìlón enkyí]$_i$ ṣín ----
Okrem Agr Aux like know which man that
[IP eǹgọ́ Ø a ṣìn t_i]]
2sg Agr pst see
'Okrem wants to know which man you see'

(b)* Okrem Ø wán byan za ṣín [CP [ìlón enkyí]$_i$ gha(lẹ̀) wọ̀ ----
Okrem Agr Aux like know that which man FM do
[IP eǹgọ́ Ø a ṣìn t_i]]
2sg Agr pst see
'Okrem wants to know which man is it you saw'

(c)* Ọkrẹm Ø wán byan za [CP eǹgọ́ Ø a ṣìn ìlón enkyí].
Okrem Agr Aux like know 2sg Agr pst see which man
'Okrem wants to know which man you see'

137. (a) Ọjọsẹk Ø wán byan za [CP [àdà amà]$_i$ ṣín ----
Joseph Agr Aux like know people how many that
[IP àgọ̀n Ø a ṣìn t_i]]
king Agr pst see
'Joseph wants to know how many people the king met'

(b)* Ọjọsẹk Ø wán byan za [CP ṣín [àdà amà]$_i$ yọ ----
Joseph Agr Aux like know that people how many FM
[IP àgọ̀n Ø a ṣìn t$_i$]]
king Agr pst see
'Joseph wants to know how many people is it that the king met'

(c)* Ọjọsẹk Ø wán byan za [CP àgọ̀n Ø a ṣìn àdà amà].
Joseph Agr Aux like know king Agr pst see people how many
'Joseph wants to know the king met how many people'

138. (a) Ọkrẹm Ø wán a lúwé Ẹnna$_k$ [CP ṣín [akpa amà]$_i$ yọ ---
Okrem Agr Aux pst ask Enna that egg(Pl) how many FM
[IP eǹgá$_k$ Ø a kran t$_i$]]
3sg Agr pst fry
'Okrem asked Enna how many egg she fried'

(b)* Ọkrẹm Ø wán a lúwé Ẹnna$_k$ [CP [akpa amà]$_i$ ṣín ---
Okrem Agr Aux pst ask Enna egg(Pl) how many that
[IP eǹgá$_k$ Ø a kram t$_i$]]
3sg Agr pst fry
'Okrem asked Enna how many egg she fried'

(c)* Ọkrẹm Ø wán a lúwé Ẹnna$_k$ [CP enga$_i$ Ø a kram akpa amà]].
Okrem Agr Aux pst ask Enna 3sg Agr pst fry egg (plr) how many
'Okrem asked Enna that she fried how many egg'

Observe that the direct object of the verb in the embedded clause is questioned in each of the (a) examples above and the wh-phrase moved to the beginning of the embedded clauses. Notice that the embedded clause (i.e embedded CP) is headed by a complementizer *ṣín* 'that' in each of the (a) examples apart from (138a). Contrary to the extraction sites of the subject wh-phrases which is filled by resumptive pronoun (as shown in 132a & 133a), notice that the extraction site of the moved constituent is empty

as it is marked by an empty category 't_i'. Similar to questioning the subject of the embedded clause, the questioned constituent in the example (134a) is realized as *ana* 'person' while the questioned constituent in the example (135a) is replaced by *ọ̀nkyẹ́* 'thing'. Unlike the syntactic realization of the questioned word in the examples (134a) and (135a), the questioned constituents in the examples (136a), (137a) and (138a) is realized as the real wh-phrases (as used in direct non-echo questions).

Each of the structures (134b) and (135b) is ill-formed because in each case, the Spec, CP of the embedded clause is occupied by a wh-phrase (*ẹngha* 'who' in 134b while *uńsé* 'what' in 135). This implies that in indirect non-echo wh-questions, wh-phrase *ẹngha* 'who' must be realized as *ànná* 'person' and *uńsé* 'what' must be realized as *ọ̀nkyẹ́* 'thing' and not *uńsé* which is used in direct non-echo wh-questions.

The examples (134c), (136b) and (137b) are ungrammatical because in each case, the embedded clause (i.e CP) is headed by a focus marker. Similarly, the structure (135c) is ungrammatical because the embedded clause (i.e CP) is headed by an auxiliary verb. This suggests that the auxiliary *wán* cannot head an embedded CP in the Ẹ̀dà language. It can only head a CP in direct non-echo wh-questions. The contrast between the examples (134a, 135a, 136a, 137a & 138a) and (134d, 135d, 136c, 137c & 138c) implies that the object wh-phrase must be extracted from its base generated position to the specifier of the embedded CP, hence, ungrammaticality of (134d, 135d, 136c, 137c & 138c).

It could also be observed that the embedded CP in (137a) selects a complementizer *ṣín* 'that' as its head. The embedded CP in (138a), however, selects a focus marker *yọ* as its head. Observe that both of then feature the same wh-phrase *amà* 'how many'. We noticed that the nominal head which the wh-phrase *amà* 'how many'

modifies in (137a) is [+human NP] while the nominal head which the wh-phrase *amà* 'how many' modifies in (138a) is nonhuman NP (i.e - human NP). This confirms that Ẹ̀dà, the language under study, is sensitive to [+human/-human] features when it comes to selection of head of CP in indirect non-echo wh-questions. The ungrammaticality of the structures (137b) and (138b) support this fact.

Similar to questioning adjuncts in the direct non-echo wh-questions, adjuncts may be fronted to the beginning of the embedded clause or remain in situ. The wh-adjuncts may have the following realisations in indirect non-echo wh-questions.

139. (a) Àvwa m Ø wán a lúwé mí$_i$ [CP ìmí$_i$ Ø nìí uywrew lẹ̀ ---
teacher(sg) my Agr Aux pst ask me 1sg Agr Fut return Prep
ìlón **ẹlẹ̀n ẹn**].
which time QM
'My teacher asked me when I would return'

(b) Àvwa m Ø wán a lúwé mí$_x$ [CP **ẹlẹ̀n**$_i$ ṣín ----
teacher my Agr Aux pst ask me time that
[IP ìmí$_x$ Ø nìí uywrew t$_i$]]
1sg Agr Fut return
'My teaher asked me when I would return'

140. (a) Enkyí m Ø wán byan za [CP ìmí Ø a ywáw lẹ̀ ----
husband my Agr Aux like know 1sg Agr pst live Prep
ekyé kẹ̀ Adunnu].
where+QM Prep Adunnu
'My husband wants to know where I stayed in Adunnu'

(b) Enkyí m Ø wán byan za [CP **ọ̀nhwǫ́**$_i$ ṣín
husband my Agr Aux like know place that
[IP ìmí Ø a ywáw t_i kẹ́ Adunnu]].
1sg Agr pst live prep Adunnu
'My husband wants to know where I stayed in Adunnu'

141. (a) Ọkrẹm Ø wán a lúwé mí [CP eǹgǫ́ Ø a ----
Okrem Agr Aux pst ask me 2sg Agr pst
sòó son **lànyẹ** lẹ̀ ọklán án].
Cop walk how Prep gathering QM
'Okrem asked me how you got to the meeting'

(b) Ọkrẹm Ø wán a lúwé mí$_k$ ----
Okrem Agr Aux pst ask me
[CP **elemle**$_i$ ṣín [IP eǹgǫ́$_f$ Ø a sòó son t_i lẹ̀ ọklán]].
way that 2sg Agr pst Cop walk Prep gathering
'Okrem asked me how you got to the meeting'

142. (a) Àgọ̀n Ø wán byan za [CP eǹyí Ø a ba ----
king Agr Aux like know 3pp Agr pst come
lẹ̀ ọ̀nhwẹn sábl̀ọ̀ kẹ̀ **uńsé**-w].
Prep here because Prep what QM
'The king likes to know why we are here'

(b) Àgọ̀n Ø wán byan za [CP **ọ̀nkyǫ́**$_i$ ṣín a ----
king Agr Aux like know thing that pst
ọ́kpọn ǹyí ọba lẹ̀ ọ̀nhwẹn t_i]
bring us come Prep here
'The king likes to know why we are here.'

It could be observed from the examples above that each of the (a) sentences has the wh-phrase in its base generated position (i.e in-situ) while the sentences in (b) show the movement of the wh-phrases to the beginning of the embedded clauses as none of them

occur at the beginning of the matrix clause. This does not only show the operation of optional wh-movement in the language but also shows that Ẹ̀dà allows short distance movement in indirect non-echo wh-questions.

It could also be observed that in (b) examples, where overt movement of wh-phrases is applied at S-structure, none of the [Spec, CP] position of the embedded clause features true wh-phrase: *ẹlẹ̀n* 'time' as when in (139b), *ọ̀nhwọ́* 'place' as where in (140b), *elemle* 'way' as how in (141b), and *ọ̀nkyẹ́* 'thing' as what in (142b). The constituent occupying the [Spec, CP] of the embedded clause is only interpreted as wh-phrase. This implies that, in most cases, the true wh-phrase does not occupy the Spec, CP of the embedded clause in the Ẹ̀dà language. The questioned constituent can only be substituted by a word which has identical features.

It is important to add that the examples (138a, 139a, 140a, 141a & 142a) above are not echo questions as each of these questions seeks for new information which requires no familiarity or background information before the utterance. Infact, the sentence final question marker (vowel lengthening/the sentence final question morpheme 'w' and or high pitch) is obligatory in these constructions and therefore play significant semantic roles in the interrogative that has wh-phrase in its base generated position in this language. Besides, if the sentence-final question marker is not attached, all the (a) structures will be interpreted as echo-questions.

4.4 Multiple Wh-Questions

This section explores the formation of multiple wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà. The section presents and analyses multiple wh-phrases in Matrix wh-questions as well multiple wh-phrases in embedded/indirect wh-questions. Multiple wh-questions are questions with

two or more wh-phrases. In Ẹ̀dà, only one wh-phrase can be extracted at S-structure while the other wh-phrases remain in situ. However, all adjunct wh-phrases may remain in-situ or one of the adjunct wh-phrases is extracted while others remain in their base generated positions. The following examples demonstrate the behaviour of multiple wh-phrases in matrix wh-questions:

143. (a) Ẹngha Ø wán a ya uńsé? D-structure
who Agr Aux pst eat what
'Who ate what?'

(b) [FP Ẹngha$_i$ nga [IP t_i Ø Ø a ya uńsé-w]]]? S-structure
who FM Agr Aux pst eat what QM)
'Who was the one that ate what?'

(c)*[CP Uńsé$_i$ wán$_k$ [IP ẹngha Ø t_k a ya t_i]]?
what Aux who Agr pst eat
'What did who eat?'

(d)* [FP Ẹngha$_b$ nga Uńsé$_i$ wán$_j$ [IP t_b Ø t_j a ya t_i]]?
who FM what Aux Agr pst eat
'Who was the one that what did eat?'

144. (a) Ẹngha Ø wán a lọ ọkplà ìlón? D-structure
who Agr Aux pst buy shoe which
'Who bought which shoe?'

(b) [FP Ẹngha$_i$ nga [IP t_i Ø Ø a lọ ìlón ọkplà]]? S-structure
who FM Agr Aux pst buy which shoe
'Who was the one that bought which shoe?'

(c)* [CP [Ìlón ọkplà]$_i$ wán$_x$ [IP ẹngha Ø t_x a lọ t_i]]?
which shoe Aux who Agr pst buy
'Which shoe did who buy?'

(d)* [FP Ẹngha$_i$ nga [ìlón ọkplà]$_x$ wán$_j$ [IP t$_i$ Ø t$_j$ a ya t$_x$]]?
who FM which shoe Aux Agr pst eat
'Who was the one that which shoe did buy?'

145. (a) Ọ̀nkyọ́ rẹnrẹ́n amà Ø sòó kẹ̀ ekye? D-structure
material writing how many Agr Cop Prep where
'How many pens are where?'

(b) [CP [Ọ̀nkyọ́ rẹnrẹ́n amà]$_i$ [IP t$_i$ Ø sòó kẹ̀ ekyé]]? S-structure
material writing how many Agr Cop Prep where+QM
'How many pens are where?'

(c) * [CP [Ìlón ọ̀nhwọ́]$_i$ ṣín [IP ọ̀nkyọ́ rẹnrẹ́n amà Ø sòó t$_i$]]?
which place that material writing how many Agr Cop
'Where are how many pens?'

(d) *[CP [Ọ̀nkyọ́ rẹnrẹ́n amà]$_i$ [ìlón ọ̀nhwa]$_k$ ṣín [IP t$_i$ Ø sòó t$_k$]]?
material writing how many which place that Agr Cop
'How many pens where are?'

Each of the examples (a) above represents the underlying representation from which the subsequent derived structures (b-d) are formed. In each of the examples (b) above, it could be observed that the subject wh-phrase (external argument) which originated at the Spec, IP (i.e the external argument of the verb) is preposed to the sentece initial position (Spec, FP position in the case of 143b & 144b) leaving the wh-internal argument wh-phrase in-situ in line with Superiority Condition while the movement of the subject wh-phrase in (145b) moves to the Spec, CP position (a case of vacous movement) leaving the wh-internal argument in-situ. Following Superiority Condition of Chomsky (1973), the rule of wh-movement must extract the superior one, hence, well-formedness of (143b, 144b & 145b) and ungrammaticality of (143c, 144c & 145c). Each of the structures

(143d, 144d & 145d) is ill-formed because movement, in each case, violates Wh-complementizer constraint which states that complementizer cannot be doubly filled. So far, the extraction possibilities of arguments wh-phrases out of an argument wh-island have been tested and we discovered that argument wh-phrases prove argument sensitivity. The following examples test the impossibilities of extraction of adjunct wh-phrases out of argument wh-islands:

146. (a) Inkyeem Ø wán a lọ [uńsé kẹ̀ ẹngha]? D-structure
Inkyeem Agr Aux pst buy what Prep who
'Inkyeem bought what for whom?'

(b) [CP Uńsé$_i$ wán$_x$ [IP Inkyeem Ø t$_x$ a lọ t$_i$ kẹ̀ ẹngha]]? S -struct
what Aux Inkyeem Agr pst buy Prep who
'What did Inkyeem buy for whom?'

(c)* [FP Ẹngha$_i$ gha(lẹ̀)$_k$ [IP Inkyeem Ø wán a lọ unse-w t$_i$]]]?
who FM Inkyeem Agr Aux pst buy what QM
'Who was the one that Inkyeem bought what for?'

The ill-formedness of (146c) above is due to argument wh-island violation which results in extracting the wh-adjunct *ẹngha* 'who' over a wh-argument *uńsé* 'what'. The structure (146c) also violates Superiority Condition as the wh-phrase *uńsé* 'what' is higher than the wh-phrase *ẹngha* 'who' in the phrase marker. However, there are exceptional cases where Superiority Condition and argument wh-island may be violated in Ẹ̀dà multiple wh-questions. The following examples demonstrate the extraction possibilities of adjunct wh-phrases out of argument wh-island:

147. (a) Arranzọn Ø wán a ya [uńsé kẹ̀ ìlón ẹlẹ̀n]? D-structure
Arranzon Agr Aux pst eat what Prep which time
'Arranzon ate what when?'

(b)* [CP Uńsé$_i$ wán$_k$ [IP Arranzọn Ø t_k a ya t_i kẹ̀ ìlón ẹlẹ̀n-ẹ́n]]? S-S
what Aux Arranzon Agr pst eat Prep which time QM
'What did Arranzon eat when?'

(c) [CP [Ìlón ẹlẹ̀n]$_i$ yá [IP Arranzọn Ø a ya unse-w t_i]]?
which time be Arranzon Agr pst eat what QM
'When did Arranzon eat what?'

In the structures above, superiority condition will wrongly predict (147b) as well formed while (147c) as ill-formed since the wh-phrase *uńsé* 'what' being the complement of the verb *ya* 'eat', is higher than the adjunct wh-phrase *ìlón ẹlẹ̀n* 'when' in the Phrase Marker. To account for the grammaticality of (147c) and ungrammaticality of (147b), we adopt the complement-non-complement asymmetry proposed by Huang (1982). Following complement-non-omplement asymmetry, when the complement and adjunct are questioned within matrix clause, the complement of the verb is left in-situ being the sister node to the head word (i.e the verb) while the adjunct wh-phrase moves to the Spec, CP position at S-structure. In the structure above, it could be observed that wh-phrase *uńsé* 'what' is the complement as well as internal argument to the verb *ya* 'eat', hence, left in-situ in (147c) while adjunct wh-phrase *ìlón ẹlẹ̀n* 'when' is extracted. This complement-non-complement asymmetry explains why (147b) and not (147c) is ill-formed. All the examples given so far are instances multiple wh-phrases in matrix wh-questions. It is therefore important to examine the behaviour of multiple wh-phrases in embedded clause. Multiple wh-phrases in embedded/indirect wh-questions can have the following realisations in Ẹ̀dà language:

148. (a) Inkyeem Ø wán a byan za [CP ẹngha Ø wán a ya uńsé]?
Inkyeem Agr Aux pst like know who Agr Aux pst eat what
'Inkyeem would like to know who ate what?'

(b) Inkyeem Ø wán a byan za [CP ànáᵢ ṣín [IP eǹgáᵢ Ø Ø a ya uńsé-w]]?
Inkyeem Agr Aux pst like know person that 3sg Agr Aux pst eat what QM
'Inkyeem would like to know who ate what?'

(c)*Inkyeem Ø wán a byan za [CP ọ̀ǹkyéᵢ ṣín [IP ẹngha Ø Ø a ya t_i]]?
Inkyeem Agr Aux pst like know thing that who Agr Aux pst eat
'Inkyeem would like to know what who ate?'

(d) * [CP Uńséᵢ wánₖ [IP Inkyeem Ø t_k a byan za [CP ẹnghaᵢ Ø Ø a ya t_i]]]?
what Aux Inkyeem Agr pst like know who Agr Aux pst eat
'What did Inkyeem want to know who ate?'

149. (a) Ọdauda Ø wán a lúwé [CP ẹngha Ø wán a lọ ọkplà ìlón]?
Dauda Agr Aux pst ask who Agr Aux pst buy shoe which
'Dauda asked who bought which shoe?'

(b) Ọdauda Ø wán a lúwé [CP ànáᵢ ṣín [CP eǹgáᵢ Ø wán a lọ ìlón ọkplà a]]?
Dauda Agr Aux pst ask person that 3sg Agr Aux pst buy which shoe QM
'Dauda asked who bought which shoe?'

(c) *Ọdauda Ø wán a lúwé [CP [ìlón ọkplà]ᵢ ṣín [CP ẹngha Ø wán a lọ t_i]]?
Dauda Agr Aux pst ask which shoe that who Agr Aux pst buy
'Dauda asked which shoe who bought.'

(d) *[CP [ìlón ọkplà]ᵢ wanₖ [IP Ọdauda Ø t_k a lúwé [CP ẹngha Ø wán a lọ t_i]]]?
which shoe Aux Odauda Agr pst ask who Agr Aux pst buy
'Which shoe did Dauda asked who bought?'

150. (a) Adamu Ø wán byan za [CP ẹngha Ø nìí uywrew kẹ̀ ìlón ẹlẹ̀n]?
Adamu Agr Aux like know who Agr Fut return Prep which time
'Adamu likes to know who will come back when?'

(b) Adamu Ø wán byan za [CP ànáᵢ ṣín ----
Adamu Agr Aux like know person that
[CP eǹgáᵢ Ø nìí uywrew kẹ̀ ìlón ẹlẹ̀n ẹ́n]]?
3sg Agr Fut return Prep which time QM
'Adamu likes to know who will come back when?'

(c)* Adamu Ø wán byan za [CP [ìlón ẹlẹ̀n]ᵢ ṣín [CP ẹngha Ø nìí uywrew tᵢ]]?
Adamu Agr Aux like know which time that who Agr Fut return
'Adamu likes to know when who will come back?'

(d)* [CP [Ìlón ẹlẹ̀n]ᵢ yá [IP Adamu Ø byan za [CP ẹngha Ø nìí uywrew tᵢ]]]?
which time be Adamu Agr like know who Agr Fut return
'When did Adamu likes to know who will come back?'

The structures (148a), (149a) and (150a) above are the D-structure representations where the subsequent derived structures (148b-d), (149b-d) and (150b-d) are derived respectively. It could be observed from the embedded clause in the structures (148a), (149a) and (150a) above that the wh-phrase *ẹngha* 'who' is superior to the internal argument wh-phrases (in 148a & 149a) and the adjunct wh-phrase in (150a), being in a higher node in the tree (i.e Phrase marker). Following Superiority Condition, the wh-phrase *ẹngha* 'who' (realised as *ànáá* 'person') is therefore extracted to the Spec,CP of the embedded clause, leaving the internal argument wh-phrase (in 148a & 149a) and the adjunct wh-phrase in (150a) in-situ, hence, well-formedness of (148b), (149b) and (150b).

Also, the ungrammaticality of (148c), (149c) and (150c) is due to violation of Superiority Condition. In the structures (148a) and (149a) above, the wh-phrase *ẹngha* 'who' and internal argument wh-phrase (in 148a & 149a) form a wh-island within a multiple embedded wh-question. Therefore, extraction of the internal argument wh-

phrase out of this wh-island violates the wh-island constraint, hence, ungrammaticality of (148d & 149d). Similarly, in the structure (150a), the wh-phrase *ẹngha* 'who' and the adjunct wh-phrase in (150a) form a wh-island within a multiple embedded wh-question. Therefore, extraction of the adjunct wh-phrase *ìlón-ẹlẹ̀n* 'when' out of this wh-island violates the wh-island constraint, hence, ungrammaticality of (150d). Besides, each of the structures (148d), (149d) and (150d) violates Subjacency Condition as the movement crosses two maximal projections (i.e IP & CP) which is a barrier to movement.

4.5 Direct Echo Wh-Questions

This section presents and analyses data on the formation of direct echo wh-questions as observed in the Ẹ̀dà language. Echo wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà language re-echo a previous discourse and seems to call on the previous speaker to repeat some information (either because the hearer failed to hear or understand it he/she could not believe what he/she heard). Echo wh-questions in the language under study are only asked in-situ without sentence final vowel lengthening or sentence final question morpheme. The constituent which requires confirmation of what has been said earlier is just substituted by a wh-phrase which has identical features. This implies that echo wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà language do not require any movement transformation except that auxiliary verb may be dropped at S-structure. The wh-phrase which has identical features is just used to replace the target constituent that requires confirmation. Based on our research, the direct echo wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà can have the following syntactic realisations:

151. (a) Ẹnna Ø wán a lọ ọkplà? D-structure
Ẹnna Agr Aux pst buy shoe(Sng)
'Ẹnna bought a pair of shoe'

(b) Ẹngha Ø (wán) a lọ ọkplá? Echo wh-question
who Agr Aux pst buy shoe
'Who bought a pair of shoe?'

(c) Ẹnna Ø wán a lọ uńsé? Echo wh-question
Ẹnna Agr Aux pst buy what
'Ẹnna bought what?'

152. (a) Ava Ø wán a nuwan Inkye.
Dog Agr Aux pst bite Inkye
'A dog bit Inkye'

(b) Uńsé Ø (wán) a nuwan Inkyé? Echo wh-question
what Agr Aux pst bite Inkye
'What bit Inkye?'

(c) Ava Ø wán a nuwan ẹngha? Echo wh-question
Dog Agr Aux pst bite who
'A dog bit who?'

153. (a) Untrínin ezikyow Ø sòó ngrẹn.
soup sorell Agr Cop sweet
"Sorell soup is sweet'

(b) Untrínin **ìlón** Ø sòó ngrẹ́n? Echo question
Soup which Agr Cop sweet
'Which soup is sweet?'

(c) Uńsé Ø sòó ngrẹn? Echo Question
what Agr Cop sweet
'What is sweet?'

154. (a) Àná ọkọ Ø ma a ọba lẹ̀ ọklán.
person ten Agr Aux pst come Prep gathering
'Ten people attended the meeting'

(b) Àná **amà** Ø (ma) a ọba lẹ̀ ọklán? Echo Question
person How many Agr Aux pst come Prep gathering
'How many people attended the meeting?'

(c) Àná ọkọ Ø (ma) a ọba lẹ̀ uńsé? Echo question
person ten Agr Aux pst come Prep what
'Ten people attended what?'

154. (a) Ọtarọ Ø wán a trá ẹ̀ndájà kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù.
Otaro Agr Aux pst put hat(sng) Prep top table
'Otaro put a hat on the table'

(b) Ọtarọ Ø (wán) a trá ẹ̀ndájà kẹ̀ ekye? Echo question
Otaro Agr Aux pst put hat Prep where
'Otaro put the hat where?'

(c) Ọtarọ Ø (wán) a trá uńsé kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù? Echo question
Otaro Agr Aux pst put what Prep top table
'Otaro put what on the table?'

155. (a) Ọ̀maikasa Ø wán a ma usera lẹ̀ ọ̀ǹkyọ́ rẹnrẹn.
Maikasa Agr Aux pst give Serah Prep material writing
'Maikasa gave a pen to Serah'

(b) Ọ̀maikasa Ø (wán) a ma Usera lẹ̀ uńsé? Echo question
Maikasa Agr Aux pst give Serah Prep what
'Maikasa gave Serah what?'

(c) Ọ̀maikasa Ø (wán) a ma ẹngha lẹ̀ ọ̀ǹkyọ́ rẹnrẹn? Echo question
Maikasa Agr Aux pst give who Prep material writing
'Maikasa gave what to Serah?'

156. (a) Ọtarọ Ø sòó son **làrọn**. D-structure
Otaro Agr Cop walk gently
'Otaro walks gently'

(b) Ọtarọ Ø sòó son **lànyẹ**? Echo question
Otaro Agr Cop walk how
'Otaro walks how?'

(c) Ẹngha Ø sòó son **làrọn**? Echo question
who Agr Cop walk gently
'Who walks gently?'

157. (a) Ìdebora Ø wán a ọba kẹ̀ ọ̀nhwẹ lẹ̀ **otu**.
Deborah Agr Aux pst come Prep here prep night
'Deborah came here last night'

(b) Ìdebora Ø (wán) a ọba kẹ̀ ọ̀nhwẹ lẹ̀ **ìlón ẹlẹ̀n**? Echo question
Deborah Agr Aux pst come Prep here Prep which time
'Deborah came here when?'

(c) Ìdebora wán a ọba kẹ̀ ekye lẹ̀ **otu**?
Deborah Aux pst come Prep where prep night
'Deborah came where last night?'

The structures in (a) above represent the D-structure from which the examples (b) and (c) were derived. In the examples (b) and (c), it could be observed that each of the wh-phrases occur in-situ (i.e they remain in their base generated positions). All the examples (b) and (c) are true echo wh-questions in the Ẹ̀dà language. It could also be observed that none of the echo-wh-qustions in (b) and (c) examples end with sentence final question particle or sentence final vowel lengthening. The target constituent which requires repetition or confirmation of what has been said earlier is just substituted by a wh-phrase which has identical features. The target constituent must agree with the wh-phrase as they must have identical features. All the above (b) and (c) examples do not require new information but only request for repetition or confirmation.

From the analysis given so far, we emphasized that direct echo wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà can only be formed by substituting the target consitutent with the wh-phrase which has identical features without any overt movement.

4.6 Indirect Echo Wh-Questions

This section presents and anlayses the data on how indirect echo wh-questions are formed in Ẹ̀dà language. In Ẹ̀dà, indirect echo wh-questions, like direct echo questions, are formed without any movement transformation. All the the embedded/indirect echo wh-phrases (i.e argument or adjunct, subject wh-phrase, direct object wh-phrase, object of preposition wh-phrases and or adverbials/wh-phrases) behave the same way as they have similar syntactic realizations where the echoed wh-phrase remain in its base generated positions as demonstrated in the following examples:

158. (a) Inkyeem Ø (wán) a sìn [CP **ẹngha** nìí dù ọ̀twán na]?
Inkyeem Agr Aux pst say who fut do work Det
'Inkyeem said who will do the work?'

(b) Inkyeem Ø (wán) a sìn àlọ́n nìí dù **uńsé**?
Inkyeem Agr Aux pst say someone fut do what
'Inkyeem said someone will do what?'

(c) * Inkyeem Ø (wán) a sín **uńsé**? Direct Echo
Inkyeem Agr Aux pst say what
'Inkyeem said what?'

159. (a) Ọjọsẹ̀k Ø (wán) a sìn [CP enkyí lan ọka ọba lẹ̀ **ekye** kẹ̀ ẹladẹn?
Joseph Agr Aux pst say man Det prog come Prep where Prep now
'Joseph said the man is coming to where now?'

(b) Ọjọsẹk Ø (wán) a sìn [CP enkyí lan ọka ọba ---
Joseph Agr Aux pst say man Det prog come
lẹ̀ ọ̀nhwẹn kẹ̀ **ìlón ẹlẹ̀n]**?
Prep here Prep which time
'Joseph said the man is coming here when?'

(c) *Ọjọsẹk Ø (wán) a sìn **uńsé**? Direct Echo Question
Joseph Agr Aux pst say what
'Joseph said what?

160. (a) Ekyí eǹgọ́ Ø (wán) byan za [CP ìmí a ----
husband 2sg Agr Aux like know 1sg pst
ywàw kẹ̀ **ekye** kẹ̀ Ọkano].
live Prep where Prep Kano
'Your husband wants to know where I stayed in Kano?'

(b) *Ekyí eǹgọ́ Ø (wán) byan za **uńsé**? Direct Echo
husband 2sg Agr Aux like know what
'Your husband wants to know what?'

161. (a) Ẹǹgá Ø (wán) a lúwé ǹgọ́ [CP ìmí$_i$ a pré kẹ̀ **ẹngha**]?
3sg Agr Aux pst ask 2sg 1sg pst talk Prep who
'He asked you who I talked to?'

(b)* Eǹgá Ø (wán) a lúwé ǹgọ́ uńsé? Direct Echo
3sg Agr Aux pst ask 2sg what
'He asked you who what'

Each of the examples (158a-b), (159a-b), (160a) and (161a) above are indirect echo wh-questions. Examples in (158c), (159c), (160b) and (161b) are ruled out because they do not belong to the type of wh-questions under discussion as they are instances of direct echo wh-questions.

One of the observable differences noted between indirect non-echo wh-questions and indirect echo wh-questions is that in indirect non-echo wh-questions, apart from application of movement transformation (i.e wh-movement) either at the PF or LF level, it could be observed that the real wh-phrases do not substitute the questioned constituent especially where movement is applied as S-structure. The target constituents are only replaced by their equivalent words which have identical features such as *àná* 'person' for 'who', *ọ̀nkyọ́* 'thing' for 'what', *elemle* 'way' for 'how', *ẹlẹ̀n* 'time' for 'when' *ọ́ńhwọ́* 'place' for 'where' etc as demonstrated in 4.3 and 4.6 above. These words are semantically interpreted as wh-words/phrases.

It could aso be observed that in indirect non-echo wh-questions, in every case where the wh-phrases occur in situ (as in the case of wh-adjunct), any of the question morpheme 'w', sentence final vowel lengthening and sentence final high pitch is an obligatory element that marks the structures as new information seeking questions while none of these elements is found in indirect echo wh-questions.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of this research, the methods employed in achieving the objectives, the findings obtained and the conclusions arrived based on the insight gained in line with the research findings. The recommendations made were based on fertile research areas revealed in the course of this study that would need scholars' investigation.

5.1 Summary

This section summarizes the results of our findings in relation to our research objectives; the body of the research reviewed as well as the assumptions in the theory adopted for this research- Government and Binding. The main aim is to answer the research questions formulated in section 1.4. It also explains how our findings lend credence to the answers and how they fit into the theory adopted as well as the existing knowledge in wh-questions.

This study was centered on five research objectives, viz (a) to establish an in depth description of wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà via strategies the grammar of Ẹ̀dà employs in their formation, (b) to study some aspects of grammar of Ẹ̀dà which have remarkable influence on the formation of wh-questions, (c) to account for the possible parameters of wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà, (d) to subject wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà to syntactic theory so as to confirm its conformity to the claim of universal grammar and finally, (e) to establish whether Ẹ̀dà is a wh-movement, wh-in situ or optional wh-movement language.

With regard to the first objectives, we presented detailed analysis on the formation of direct non-echo wh-questions and indirect non-echo wh-questions in 4.2 and 4.3 respectively and multiple wh-questions in 4.4 which help us to identify the strategies which Ẹ̀dà grammar employs in the formation of wh-questions. A close examination of our data revealed that Ẹ̀dà employs two major strategies in the formation of wh-questions which are wh-in situ and wh-movement. Our analysis showed that argument wh-questions undergo WH in-situ at S-structure with the exemption of nonhuman object argument wh-questions. Specifically, our analysis revealed that [+human] argument wh-questions undergo wh-in situ via focus-movement at S-structure as there was no case where a [+human] argument wh-phrase occupies the Specifier of CP at S-structure. Our examples (102c, 103c, 104c, 105c, 106c, 121c, 122c, 123c and 124c) prove this fact.

Contrary to focus movement in the formation of [+human] argument wh-questions, the [-human] subject argument wh-questions undergo wh-in-situ via vacous movement at S-structure. The movement of the wh-phrases into [Spec, CP] in the derivation of [-human] subject argument wh-questions does not effect any change in the syntactic arrangement of the constituents in the sentence. Our examples (11b, 112b, 113b, 114b & 115b) support this fact. In contrast, [-human] object argument wh-questions undergo wh-movement at S-structure as demonstrated in the examples (116c, 117c, 118c, 119c & 120c). In fact, there is no way the movement in the derivation of [-human] object argument wh-questions could be linked to focus movement or vacous movement. We discovered that the derivation of [-human] object argument wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà resemble that of English language which is known to be wh-movement language.

Adjunct wh-questions on the other hand can undergo syntactic wh-movement or wh-in-situ at S-structure. The grammar of the Ẹ̀dà language gives options for the speakers to select any of the two strategies in the formation of adjunct wh-questions. Our examples (125a, 126a, 127a, 128a, 129a & 130a) showed grammatical question formation in Ẹ̀dà, with the wh-phrases at their base generated positions, complemented by a sentence-final question particle. Considering this feature (sentence-final question particle), Ẹ̀dà may be classified as a wh-in-situ language due to its similarity with Chinese and Japanese which are known to be wh-in-situ languages. Our examples (125b, 126b, 127b, 128b, 129b & 130) on the other hand showed instances of wh-movement at S-structure where the wh-phrases are fronted to the Spec, CP position.

The present study has gone beyond the description of wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà but also provides sufficient data, examining the data in terms of possible syntactic environments the wh-phrases may occupy and accounts for the possible optionality productive in Ẹ̀dà wh-questions. Our findings indicate that the operation of both wh-in-situ as well as wh-fronting in Ẹ̀dà shows that the issue of binary choice in wh-parameter (Radford, 2009:24) and the assumptions or predictions in the Principle of Economy of Derivation of Chomsky (1989) that no language has the option of alternating between the two methods of wh-movement and wh in-situ in syntactic analysis needs to be reviewed.

Our study equally established the existence of both question particles and syntactic wh-movement at S-structures in the formation of wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà language. We discovered that both question particles and application of syntactic wh-movement at S-structure are productively employed to mark adjunct wh-questions new information seeking questions. Our analysis showed that sentence final question particle ‘w’,

sentence final high pitch or sentence final vowel lengthening play significant semantic role in adjunct wh-phrases that occur in their base generated positions as these mark them non-echo wh-questions. In her Clausal Typing Hypothesis, Cheng (1991) argues that availability of question particles correlates with lack of syntactic wh-movement. In particular, Cheng asserts that an idiosyncrasy of wh-in-situ languages is that they exhibit a question particle at clause final position, as against wh-movement languages. However, our findings do not only establish the operation of both question particles and syntactic wh-movement in Ẹ̀dà but also render Cheng argument language specific and therefore untenable.

In addition, we established that in Ẹ̀dà, agreement holds between the wh-phrases and the constituent that follow them at S-structure due to its sensitivity to [+human/-human] features. It was noted that only rational/mind-processing wh-phrases [+Human] co-occur with focus markers while the nonhuman [-Human] wh-phrases do not. We equally discovered that the selectional restriction in Ẹ̀dà wh- questions is language-specific and therefore remains one of the syntactic parameters specific to Ẹ̀dà which differentiate it from other Niger-congo languages. It is clear when some of these constructions are re-presented for easy of clarification:

117. (c) [CP Uńsé$_i$ wán$_k$ [IP Arranzọn Ø t_k a yá t_i]]?
what Aux Arranzon Agr pst eat
'What did Arranzon eat?'

121. (c) [FP Ẹngha$_i$ gha(lẹ̀) [IP Ẹnna Ø Ø a là t_i]]? (Wh-question)
Who FM Enna Agr Aux pst beat
'Who was the one that Enna beat?'

130. (b) [CP [**Ìlón ọ́ǹhwọ́**]$_i$ ṣín [IP Ọkrẹm Ø Ø a lọ ayàbán t$_i$]]?
which place that Ọkrem Agr Aux pst buy banana
'Where did Okrem buy the banana?'

The wh-phrase *uńsé* 'what' in (117c), which has [-Human] features, is followed by an auxiliary verb *wán*. The structure in (117c) is similar to English - an entirely different language family which employs I-C movement in the formation of some wh-questions. Contrary to (117c), the wh-phrase *ẹngha* 'who', in (117c), being a wh-phrase which has [+Human] features, is followed by a focus marker *gha(lẹ)*. The structure (117c) is similar to Yoruba-a related Niger-Congo language spoken in the South-Westhern part of Nigeria which allows the fronted wh-phrase to be followed by a focus marker *ni*. Interestingly, the wh-phrase (wh-adjunct) *ìlón-ọ́nhwọ́* 'where' in (130b), being [Wh-, -Human, +Place], is followed by a complementizer *ṣín* 'that'. The structure (130b) is also similar to Igbo, a Niger-Congo language spoken in South-Eastern part of Nigeria, that allows a preposed wh-phrase to co-occur with overt complementizer *kà* (Goldsmith, 1981; Uwalaka, 1991 and Ndimele, 1991). This constitutes one of the syntactic parameters specific to Ẹ̀dà which differentiate it from other Niger-congo languages.

We, however, observed that there are many unusual typological properties in Ẹ̀dà wh-questions especially when it is compared with other Niger-congo languages in Nigeria. As stated earlier, the presence of focus marker in the formation of [+Human] argument wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà is similar to Yorùbá (Awobuluyi, 1978; Yusuf, 1998) and presence of overt complementizer in some wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà was reported in Igbo wh-questions (Goldsmith, 1981; Uwalaka, 1991; Ndimele, 1991 and Nwankwegu, 2016). Though, the subject-auxiliary inversion which is found in some wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà, has not been reported in any Niger-congo language spoken in Nigeria, but productively

employed in English language. This suggests that Ẹ̀dà has undergone what Thurston (1989) called "esoterogeny", a process whereby a language accumulates strategies for distinction from its neighboring languages.

Existence of bi-lexical wh-phrases in Ẹ̀dà is also part of our findings with respect to the formation of wh-questions. Examples of these bi-lexical wh-phrases are *ìlón-ẹlẹ̀n* 'when', *ìlón-ọ̀nhwọ* 'where' *kẹ́-elemle* 'how' and *uńsé-sablọ̀* 'why'. Our findings revealed that these bi-lexical wh-phrases, like lexical wh-phrases can undergo syntactic wh-movement at S-structure or WH-in situ. However, our study showed that the process of piedpiping takes place when a bi-lexical wh-phrase moves to the Spec, CP at S-structure. In relation to the above, we discovered that some wh-phrases in Ẹ̀dà language have variants. Examples of these are *lànyẹ/kẹ́-elemle* 'how', *Ekye/ìlón-ọ̀nhwọ* 'where' and *uńsé- sábl̀ọ/uńsé ọ̀nsọ́* 'why'. We also discovered that each of these variants occurs in different syntactic environment. This is clearly shown in adjunct wh-questions in 4.2 and 4.3 where a wh-phrase *lànyẹ* 'how', for instance, occurs in its base generated position while its variant *kẹ́-elemle* 'how' occur at the Spec, CP at S-strucure. We, therefore, argue that these variants are allomorphs of the same morpheme since their environments of occurrence are predictable.

With regard to indirect non-echo wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà, our findings showed that movement of subject wh-phrase leaves behind at the extraction site an overt category known as resumptive pronoun. The resumptive pronoun, must however, have identical features with the antecedent. This resumptive pronoun is coreferential with its antecedent at the specifier of embedded CP. The issue of resumptive pronoun is peculiar to embedded wh-questions only as resumptive pronoun is not found in matrix wh-questions.

In related to this is the behaviour of wh-words in the indirect questions as they are not represented by real wh-words. The target constituents are only replaced by their nominals which have identical features such as *ànáa* 'person' for 'who', *ọ̀nkyọ́* 'thing' for 'what', *elemle* 'way' for 'how', *ẹlẹ̀n* 'time' for 'when' *ọ̀ńhwọ́* 'place' for 'where' etc as demonstrated in 4.3 and 4.6. These nominals are semantically interpreted as wh-words/phrases.

With respect to multiple wh-questions, we discovered that multiple wh-questions exist in Ẹ̀dà but only one wh-phrase can be fronted in the case of wh-argument while other wh-phrases remain in their base generated positions. Our data showed that Superiority Condition of Chomsky (1973) is highly respected as the argument wh-phrase which is being higher in the P-marker is fronted. However, there are exeptional cases in the case of multiple wh-questions involving wh-complement of the verb and wh-adjunct as the wh-adjunct which originated at the lower node can be fronted while the argument wh-phrase which is the complement of the verb remains in its base generated positions depite being higher in the P-marker. In connection with multiple wh-questions, in a multiple wh-questions involving adjunct wh-phrases, one of the adjunct wh-phrases may be fronted while others remain in situ. All the adjunct wh-phrases can also remain in situ without fronting any of the wh-phrases. Multiple wh-fronting is not found in Ẹ̀dà language.

With respect to the second objective of this study, the formation of focus constructions and Yes/No questions in Ẹ̀dà were presented in the first part of chapter four to account for aspects of Ẹ̀dà grammar which have remarkable influence in the formation of wh-questions. In line with this, we presented data on the formation of Yes-no

questions and our findings revealed that no transformational rule is applied in its formation. It was shown that Yes/No questions in Ẹ̀dà require the sentence-final question particle ‘w’ or sentence-final vowel lengthening or sentence-final high pitch. In line with the above, our findings showed that sentence-final question particle ‘w’, sentence-final vowel lengthening and sentence-final high pitch play significant semantic role in the formation of adjunct wh-questions which have wh-phrase in their base generated positions as these sentence-final question particle ‘w’, sentence-final vowel lengthening and sentence-final high pitch determine whether the wh-question is echo or non-echoic. In essence, the presence of any of them marks the wh-question non-echoic.

With regard to correlation between the positions of Yes/No question particles and syntactic wh-movement, our findings revealed that Ẹ̀dà positions its Yes/No question particle at sentence-final position while syntactic wh-movement is obligatory in the formation of nonhuman object argument wh-questions [wh-, -Human, +Object]. Baker (1970:270) argues that only languages which position their particles for yes-no questions in clause-initial position permit a movement rule for a questioned constituent. In brief, Baker links the position of question particles in yes-no question to the position a wh-phrase occupies in wh-question. However, the operation of obligatory syntactic wh-movement as well as availabilility or positioning of question particles at the sentence-final position in yes-no questions without any movement transformation in Ẹ̀dà shows that position of yes-no question particles does not predict whether a language has syntactic wh-movement or not.

Other notable aspect of grammar of Ẹ̀dà which have remarkable intereaction with wh-questions is focus construction. Our study examined the formation of focus

constructions in 4.1.1. Data were presented and analyzed on the strategies employed in its formation. Our findings revealed that Ẹ̀dà is very sensitive to [+human/- human] features when it comes to the selection of focus markers. We established that the focus markers are sensitive to both the features of the NPs to which they assign emphatic case in human-non-human features and their syntactic positions. While some focus markers select a rational (mind processing) entity or being, other focus markers select irrational being or entity. Some focus markers co-occur with subject NPs only while some focus markers co-occur with object NPs. In connection to this, our findings revealed that [+Human] argument wh-questions undergo focus movement at S-structure. The wh-phrases which have human features [+Human, +Count, ±Plural] are followed by focus marker at S-structure. In fact, the structures of wh-questions involving [+Human] look superficially like focusing. Wh-phrases which substitute irrational entity or being do not undergo focus movement as these wh-phrases are either followed by an auxiliary verb *wán* or complementizer *ṣín* 'that'.

In connection with focus constructions and wh-questions is the issue of sentence-initial wh-phrases which have been analyzed as cleft rather than focus movement. Contrary to this, our findings showed that sentence-initial wh-phrases involving [+Human] in Ẹ̀dà are as a result of focus movement rather than cleft.

As to the third objective, our findings revealed that Ẹ̀dà operates both wh-in situ and wh-movement. However, wh-movement is restricted to [-Human] object argument wh-questions. Optional wh-movement is also restricted to wh-adjunct questions as there is no case of argument wh-phrases alternating between the two strategies. We also

established the difference between non-echo wh-questions which have wh-phrase in their base-generated positions and echo wh-questions.

In reference to the fourth objective of this study, we subjected the formation of wh-questions to the conditions, principles; constraints as well as sub-theories of the theory adopted-GB. We presented the D-structures and S-structures in our data presentation and analysis and we demonstrated how transformational rule is applied. Our findings revealed that when movement transformational rule is applied, the fronted wh-phrase leaves behind at the extraction site either an empty category known as trace 't_i/t^i' (in the case of direct non-echo wh-questions) or resumptive pronoun (in the case of subject wh-phrases in embedded clause) in line with Trace Movement Principle. Our findings also revealed that movement of wh-phrases in Ẹ̀dà obeys Subjacency Condition as there are no cases of a wh-phrase crossing more than one bounding nodes without landing at the nearest specifier first. Movement of wh-phrases in Ẹ̀dà also obey Structure Preserving Principle as the movement do not alter syntactic structures. In essence, the sentence-initial wh-phrases only substituted empty specifier positions. We equally discovered that there was no overlapping in the position of head and its satellites, hence, binary choice in head parameter in UG was respected. Ẹ̀dà, as stated in chapter one, is claimed to be head-initial language, our analysis showed that the head of FP/CP always precedes its satellite. However, we refuted some assumptions in PPT concerning binary choice in wh-parameter which seems to be language-specific as Ẹ̀dà grammar gives room for the two strategies; though, wh-movement is highly restricted to [-Human] object argument wh-questions.

Finally, with regard to the fifth objective, it could be observed, from our analysis and discussion so far, that all wh-phrases in Ẹ̀dà can undergo wh-in-situ at S-structure (i.e. both wh-arguments and wh-adjuncts) with the exemption of [-Human] object argument wh-questions; however, not all wh-phrases can undergo wh-movement at S-structure. The idea of wider distribution in linguistic analysis is relevant and therefore employed to classify Ẹ̀dà as a wh-in situ language. Beside, Cheng argues that an idiosyncrasy of wh-in-situ languages is that they exhibit question particle at sentence final position. Yes/No questions in Ẹ̀dà also require final question marker which can be final particle 'w', sentence final vowel lenghtening or sentence final high tone. Similarly, adjunct wh-phrases can also occupy their base generated positions while the question is indicated by the final question marker. However, questioning [-Human] object arguments require obligatory syntactic wh-movement at S-structure. Based on our analysis of wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà so far, Ẹ̀dà can be classified as a Wh-in-situ language.

5.2 Conclusion

The most notable syntactic parameter specific to Ẹ̀dà is that the language is sensitive to [+human/-human features] as only [+human] wh-questions undergo focus movement contrary to gender sensitivity in some languages. Based on the data presented, it is evident that Ẹ̀dà grammar, in most cases, employs wh-in-situ via focus movement/vacous movement in the formation of argument questions with the exemption of [-Human] object argument wh-questions. It was equally shown that wh-adjuncts may also occupy its base generated position. However, [-Human] object wh-questions undergo syntactic wh-movement at S-structure. By implication, binary choice in wh-parameter does not hold for Ẹ̀dà. The operation of combining the two strategies in the formation of

wh-questions is becoming a common phenomenon in syntactic analysis. This is a signal that the more other minority endangered languages are studied, the more possible tendencies of different optional wh-movement to emerged, possibly subject-object assymetry. Since parameter setting is one of the main focuses of any universal linguistic theory, the theory must, therefore, be broad enough to account for the diversity of human languages to attain universality.

It is important to note that the variation in some modern existing linguistic theories that sterm from African languages is not peculiar to syntax. The analysis of vowel harmony system in Yorùbá, a Niger-congo language spoken in South-western Nigeria, has been argued to play an important role in establishing and motivating Radical Underspecification theory (Pulleyblank, 1988; Achangeli & Pulleyblank, 1989). Investigation into African tone languages has also provided the main evidence for the development of multi-tiered approaches to phonology, culminating in the development of autosegmental metrical phonology in linguistic analysis (Leben, 1973; Schuh, 1978; 1989; Tuller, 1986; Yalwa, 1995 & Newman, 2000). This is perhaps why Hyman (2003) postulated that phonologists wouldn't be talking about autosegmentalized High and Low features for Chinese tonal contours if it were not for the input from Hausa, Igbo and Mende. By implication, the study of African languages indisputably has significant input on universal linguistic theory. We however suggest that it is time to shift emphasis from rule limitation (binary choice in wh-parameter) to that of systems of possibilities in other to discourage manipulations in syntactic analysis especially among the emerging scholars. This will also discourage scholars from bruce-forcing validity of syntactic

theory which were propounded without adequate input from minority African languages in linguistic analysis.

We proved that sentence-initial wh-phrases in Ẹ̀da, in most cases, are as a result of focus-movement or vacous movement rather than wh-movement nor cleft.We equally argued that wh-adjunct questions which have wh-phrases in their base generated position require the sentence final question particle which is an idiosyncrasy of the wh-in-situ languages (Cheng, 1991). Yes/No questions in Ẹ̀dà also require final question marker which can be final particle 'w', sentence final vowel lenghtening or sentence final high tone. However, [-human] object wh-argument qestions require obligatory syntactic movement at S-structure. By implication, availability of question particle does not determine lack of syntactic wh-movement. Though, we proved the existence of optional wh-movement in Ẹ̀dà, however, optionality is productive only in the formation of adjunct wh-questions. We established that most wh-questions in Ẹ̀dà can undergo wh-in-situ at S-structure (i.e. both wh-arguments and wh-adjuncts) with the exemption of [-Human] object argument wh-questions; however, not all wh-questions can undergo wh-movement at S-structure. In fact, only [-Human] object argument wh-questions require obligatory syntactic wh-movement at S-structure. The idea of wider distribution in linguistic analysis is therefore employed to classify Ẹ̀dà as a wh-in situ language.

5.3 Recommendations

This study is one of the first known detailed and exhaustive syntactic study of Ẹ̀dà. Further research effort will be needed in exploring other aspects of the language especially phonology, morphology, syntax viz-à-viz other aspects of interrogatives which are not within the scope of this study, serial and splitting verbs in Ẹ̀dà, the internal

structure of reflexives and indefinite pronouns in Ẹ̀dà. Research into morpho-syntax might be rewarding in understanding module like case. We also suggest that it is time to shift emphasis from application of these rule limitation/so-called theories (tools of analysis) in the analysis of African languages to that of systems of possibilities by describing the grammar of these languages. It is when linguists concentrate on the description of the grammar of Africal languages that these languages can be explored to the fullest.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Profile of the Informants

This section presents personal information of the informants used in this study.

No	Sex	Age	Village & LGA	Profession	Languages Spoken other than Ẹ̀dà	Other Ẹ̀dà speaking Communities ever lived
1	M	38	Adunu/Paikoro	Civil Servant	Hausa, English	____
2	F	102	Barakwe/Paikoro	Trader	Hausa,Gbagyi	Beji
3	F	40	Kazei/Muyan	Trader	Pidgin, Hausa	Dakalao
4	M	61	Kamachi/ Muyan	Bricklayer	Pidgin, Hausa	____
5	M	42	Maraba-sheriki/Lapai	Farmer	Gbagyi, Hausa	Adunu
6	F	51	Maraba-Galadima/Lapai	Civil Servant	English, Hausa	Barakwe
7	F	58	Duru/Gurara	Teacher	English, Hausa	Iwa
8	M	76	Kapo/Gurara	Farmer	Gbagyi	Gotorishi

Appendix B: Content of the Interview and Ethnographic Fieldwork

This section presents contents of the oral interview and fieldwork. The section covers different strategies employed in the formation of wh-questions as well as other informations that constitute the grammatical aspects of the language.

1. **Folktale**

Ọyẹrà ghan ofróó

Aprẹ́n ìnsón! Aprẹ́n ìnsón !! Aprẹ́n ìnsón !!!

Aplé arọfwọ́ wán a là ywà wán, a la drá wán ìlòó ọbra kẹ̀aprẹ́n. Ọyẹrà tọ́ sòó kẹ̀ ọmẹ́ẹ́ arọfwọ lan. Ọyẹrà la pẹ́ ṣìn " Enỳí mí akywẹ enỳí ọ̀ntwá ẹrọfwọ́", tuwàn la ma ẹkywẹ ghan ọ̀ntwán ṣìn ẹrọfwọ́ "Kẹ̀ ididun". Tuṣin, o sòó ghan nẹ ofròó wan, ada la taá ofròó kẹ̀ amà ghan tuhwán e le fli kan wán là aprẹ́n.

A kán fwan ọ̀nhwọ́ ìlòó ọbrá la, inṣin a ma ọ̀nkyẹ́ ọya, ọ̀yẹrà hwọ́ kpẹ ṣìn "Ìmí nga nẹ a ma m", kọ̀ ọtrá ẹkywẹ kẹ̀ uṣi, anuṣin àa ba ọma ọ̀ kyẹ́ ọya kẹ̀ a wa otòó ṣìn "Ùnú ngrẹ́ kẹ̀ ùnú ya lẹ̀ didun". Ada là kan nya amwá ẹladran tuhwan kẹ̀ angaa ofròó wan ke kyem kẹ̀ eywre wan.

Ọyẹrà la okon enỳá nìí ọ́lẹgha ka aprẹ̀n kẹ̀ izun nga, a la twàn onlòó ṣín o son otòó aṣẹ̀ ghan ṣin, a mẹ̀ enzen tuhwánke eble ikoẹ̀hwa kẹ̀ etinin, kẹ̀ enỳá ma kpàa kẹ̀ aprẹ́n nẹ. Onlòó la fwá, a la otòó aṣẹ́ ọyẹrà ṣin ekyí ghan ṣín a mẹ ọntrọtrá kẹ̀ etighe kẹ̀ ọmẹ abànán kẹ̀ enỳá kyán.

Ọyẹrà la sòó hwọ́ kpàá ba ghan nẹ ẹbọ̀n, kẹ̀ a wa esrí kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ọntrọtrá ṣín anṣẹ́ẹ́ ghan tighe kẹ̀ azọn nga. Ọnwọ́ oso ṣín, ẹ̀hwọ̀ ọyẹrà sòó akprẹkprá, tuṣin a á la oso la dẹdrẹ́ kẹ̀ubón nga.

TRANSLATION

Tortoise and the Feathers

Story! Story!! Story!!!

Once upon a time, there lived a group of young men who were invited to a wedding in heaven. It happened that Tortoise was among those who had been invited. Tortoise said "We should give ourselves names", and he named himself 'All of you'. However, Tortoise had no wings to fly, and so his friends gathered some feathers for him, and they all flew to heaven. When they arrived at the wedding venue, food was being served. The person serving the food called out "Collect and eat, all of you", and so Tortoise would always say "The food is for me". His friends were angry at this, so they collected all their feathers and flew back home.

Then Tortoise realised that he would be left in heaven, so he sent Dove to tell his wife to collect all their soft clothes and arrange them in their compound for his safe landing. But Dove told Tortoise's wife to collect stones and any sharp objects and arrange them in the compound.

Then Tortoise fell from heaven. He landed on the stones and his shell shattered into several pieces. That is why Tortoise's shell is rough, even though it was created smooth.

2. **Narative**

Elemle ṣín akẹ oluwo uńtrín ezikyow.

In ṣín eǹgọ́ abyán ọya uńtrí ezikyow, eńgọ́ nìí kan lẹ onum, kẹ eǹgọ́ sọ abraá ezikyow, kẹ eǹgọ́ waa yọ lẹ ẹnhwran tuhwan kẹ eǹgọ́ huro lẹ ambrẹ́ la dẹdẹyi, kẹ eǹgọ́ sọ yọ kẹ ọmẹ́ ẹmpẹ, tuhwan kẹ eǹgọ́ sọ ambrẹ́ kan tuhwan kẹ eǹgọ́ wẹ ọ̀la kẹ eǹgọ́ trá yọ

kan. In ṣín ǹgǫ́ ahwrę́ ǹgǫ́ sǫ ẹ̀krá kan tuhwan kẹ̀ ǹgǫ́ ùtón aratǫ kẹ̀ ǹgǫ́ teghe, tuhwan kẹ̀ ǹgǫ́ kpa ẹhwran kẹ̀ ǫkywrǫ kę́ ǹgǫ́ ta onfrun la ambrę́ kẹ̀ ǹgǫ́ teghe.

Ẹlẹ̀ ṣín ezikyow lan kyeem ufin, ẹ kyán unìí ukpo kẹ̀ ǫ́la, kps aratǫ kẹ̀ ǹgǫ́ ṣee kan an, ẹmbákyę́ ṣín ezikyow lan ba lẹ̀ patab. Tuhwan kẹ̀ ǹgǫ́ kyẹm anyè-ilighe kẹ̀ ǹgǫ́ skan,kẹ̀ ẹhwran anásrá, kẹ̀ ǫkywrǫ, kẹ̀ ǫ̀nlẹgha.

Tuhwan kẹ̀ ǹgǫ́ hwrun kan, in ṣin ǫ̀n píya ufin, ǹgǫ́ nìí ǫkǫ́ǫ̀ ǫ̀nya nvrang hwre ǫmẹ abànán , lẹ̀ eǹgǫ́ hwǫpíya kẹ̀ ǹgǫ́ kǫ́n ṣin ǫ̀nkyę́ lan ngrén nẹ. In ṣin ǫ̀n ngrę́, ẹ ǹga hwǫ́ tǫ́n kẹ̀ ǹgǫ́ teghe kẹ̀ ẹbǫ́n, ùntrínin ezikyow hwre wulan, ǫ tǫ ka hwǫ ba ǫya. Elemle ṣín àda akẹ oluwo uǹtrín ezikyow ghẹn.

TRANSLATION

How to prepare sorell soup?

If you want to eat a Sorell soup, you will go to a farm and fetch the sorell, use a knife to cut it, wash it and put it in a pot together with water. Then make your fire and put in on the fire. After that, you will blend your potash and keep it ready and combine your locust beans, and pepper and you mix it with water and keep it.

When the sorell begins boiling, you then take the potash water and pour it to make the sorell soft. After that, you will scoop the sheanut butter and pout it inside, and then you put in locust bean, pepper and salt. Then, bring the white magi and put it inside and close it for a while on the fire.

When you smell the aroma everywhere in the house, then you taste the soup and see if it's sweet, if it is done, you then drop the pot down and keep it on the ground, and the sorell soup is ready for eating. That is how the Ada people prepare their sorell soup.

3. **Proverbs**

(i) Ọya ìdó arẹ́n, ọṣa ofo to urre onoko.

(Eating beans follows children, but a swollen stomach follows the elders)

"Children often get into trouble, parents sort it out".

(ii) Ọ̀ntọ́ kọ́ lẹ̀ abwẹ̀.

(The neck should wait for the shoulders)

"Do not run faster than your legs".

(i) Ọgbọ́ ọmràn kan akọ̀nọ́n atọ.

(The stem of the cocoyam is weakened by potassium)

"The stubborn fellow met his waterloo".

(ii) Ambrẹ́ ukpikpu wán o sòó akànan iluwe.

(Muddy water is a medicine for dirt)

"The remedy to my difficult situation is a more vigorous approach"

(iii) Ẹ̀ngbapya kẹ̀ a sẹ̀ ọ̀dọ awẹ̀lẹ̀ ẹ̀gàn ma.

(The shirt of the heir to the throne cannot be bigger than him)

"No crown can be greater than a true heir to its throne"

(iv) Se òkywun onywú kan ìhywùú tọ̀ otro.

(A whistle come out only when the lips are pursed)

"Only when we work together that we can make an impact"

(v) Ẹ́rrẹnyẹ izún kẹ̀ akpọ́n ya ẹndrẹ́ wan.

(One finger cannot carry a broom)

"We need each other to make progress"

(vi) Ukpo ẹntẹ̀ghẹ́ wọ ù sòó ọnọ ẹmprà.

(It is the death of a calabash that produces a packing spoon)

"When one door closes, another opens"

(vii) Uzún kẹ̀ alọ.

(One is painful)

"It is painful to be alone"

(viii) Ọpwà sòó uṣiì.

(Two is good)

"(It is good to be united"

(ix) Ẹgbọ̀n ẹndrẹ kẹ̀ azẹ́ yá wan.

(A single broom cannot sweep)

"We can achieve more when we work together"

(x) Ùkon ibun lẹ̀ ọfọ̀n kẹ̀ odu wọn ọkọ́nọ̀n ẹwọ̀n má.

(Holding faeces in one's stomach is not a remedy for hunger)

"Keeping a problem in one's heart does not take away the burden"

(xi) Ambrẹ́ ọlà kyán ọ̀nhwọ ọnẹ ayìwra hu wán.

(Hot water is not a place for toads to play)

"Watch who your age-mates are"

(xii) Ọnàa aywra outu ozú kẹ̀ ọmẹ́ ambrẹ́ nìí wọsọ aṣaú wan.

(A toad sleeping in water a night will not rot)

"Patience does not take anything away from you"

(xiii) Inṣin eǹgọ́ ùnìí ufró ìgò o kẹ́ arẹ́n, ṣẹ̀ ghan afran kẹ̀ ọmẹ́ nẹ̀.

(If you must cross a river with a child, dip his legs in it)

"If you want someone to appreciate a task, allow him to experience it"

(xiv) Ẹmá kẹ̀ akpọ́n má ọtàá ọpan lẹ̀ ọ̀dọ́ wan.

(They don't dance vigorously on a rock)

"Study the situation carefully, lest you have an accident"

(xv) Ava ṣín ovro onum kẹ̀ akọ̀nọ́n wọ̀ ìhywù wan.

(A stray dog does not hear a whistle)

"A wayward person does not follow his master's instruction"

(xvi) Ẹmà kẹ̀ egre wán unkòó kan uswó unṣin w ma.

(They don't tear down a house to go and roof a farm shelter)

"You don't destroy what is important to you for those who don't appreciate your sacrifice"

(xvii) Ekyí ṣín ee re ọ̀kanan ẹ̀nkọ a kẹ̀ ùlá kẹ̀ òdu ọ̀kanan.

(It is a tree that is fit for medicine that they use for medicine)

"Only a person's kin can pay or receive the bride price"

(xviii) Ẹmà kẹ̀ àtwá wán unkpẹ́n kẹ̀ aywẹ́ ọtàá wan.

(They do not sew a drum on the day of the dance)

"A stitch in time saves nine"

4. **Some Lexicals in the Language**

Singular	**Gloss**	**Plural**	**Gloss**
abàn	‘stick’	àbàn	‘sticks’
abànán	‘house’	àbànán	‘houses’
abọ́n	‘goat’	àbọ́n	‘goats’
ámẹ̀	‘year’	àmẹ̀	‘years’
àmúghá	‘angry’	___	___
àǹdà	‘person’	àdà	‘people’
àńṣẹ́ẹ̀	‘woman’	àṣẹ́ẹ̀	‘women’
àrẹ́n	‘child’	arẹ́n	‘children’
ava	‘dog’	àva	‘dogs’
bà	‘to come’	___	___
drá	‘to call’	___	___
ẹbẹn	‘breast’	abẹn	‘breast’
ẹbọ́n	‘earth’	ọmbọ́n	‘earth’
ẹ̀fa	‘finger’	ẹfa	‘fingers’
ègbèn	‘hunter’	égbèn	‘hunters’
ẹkpa	‘egg’	akpa	‘egg’
ekyí	‘tree’	èkyí	‘trees’
ẹ́lghà	‘salt’	ọnlghà	‘salt’
ẹ̀na	‘scorpion’	ẹná	‘scorpions’
ẹ́ndàja	‘cap’	ọ́ndàja	‘caps’
ẹntrẹtra	‘stone’	ọntrẹtra	‘stones’

ẹṣà	‘spirit’	ọnṣà	‘spirits’
ẹṣan	‘city’	ọnṣan	‘cities’
fa	‘to cut’	___	___
frọ	‘to open’	___	___
gbo	‘to fetch’	___	___
go	‘to roast’	___	___
hùrẹ̀n	‘to fight’	___	___
ìbin	‘unripe’	ùnbin	‘unripe’
ìdrè	‘eye’	èdrè	‘eye’
ilo	‘mucus’	___	___
inlosu	‘gun’	unlosu	‘guns’
ino	‘tongue”	ino	‘tongues’
jé	‘to steal’	___	___
ka	‘to share’	___	___
kpa	‘to bound’	___	___
mọ	‘to celebrate’	___	___
ọkplà	‘shoe’	akplà	‘shoes’
ọ́mràn	‘cocoyam’	ámràn	‘cocoyams’
pré	‘to kill’	___	___
sa	‘to lift’	___	___
ṣẹ	‘to wear’	___	___
sun	‘to walk’	___	___
ta	‘to throw’	___	___

ulo	‘disease’	ilo	‘diseases’
vọ	‘to marry’	___	___
wa	‘to slaughter’	___	___
yá	‘to eat’	___	___
zá	‘to know’	___	___

6. Sentence Structures

This section presents different types of sentence which covers focus constructions, negation, yes-no questions as well as wh-questions.

1. Inton wán a ya ẹ́sàmbá.
   (Inton Aux TNS(past) eat rice)
   ‘Inton ate rice’
2. Inton nga a- ya ẹ́sàmba.
   (Inton FM TNS(past) eat rice)
   ‘It was Inton that ate rice’
3. Ẹngha nga a- ya ẹ́sàmba?
   (Who be PST eat rice)
   ‘Who ate rice’
4. *Ẹngha a- ya ẹsàmba?
   (Who PST eat rice)
5. Ẹ́sàmbá$_i$ yọ Inton a- ya t$_i$?
   (rice FM Inton Pst eat)
   ‘It was rice that Inton ate’
6. Uńsé wan Inton a- ya?
   (What Aux Inton Pst eat)
   ‘What did Inton eat?’
7. *Uńsé yọ Inton a- ya?
   (What FM Inton Pst eat)

8. Inton a- ya ẹsàmbá yọ́.
(Inton PST eat rice FM)
'The fact is that Inton ate rice'
9. Ẹnna a- la Umusa.
(Ẹnna Pst beat Musa)
'Ẹ̀nna beat Musa'
10. Umusa gha(lẹ̀) Ẹnna a- la.
(Musa FM Ẹnna Pst beat)
'It was Musa that Ẹnna beat'
11. Ẹngha gha(lẹ̀) Ẹnna a- la?
(who FM Ẹnna Pst beat)
'Who did Ẹnna beat'
12. *Ẹnna a- la ẹngha?
(Ẹnna Pst beat who)
13. Ọkrẹm a- lọ ayàbán kẹ̀ ọmẹ ize.
(Okrem PST buy banana PREP inside market)
'Okrem bought banana in the market'
14. Ọkrẹm nga a- lọ ayàbán kẹ̀ ọmẹ ize.
(Okrem FM PST buy banana PREP inside market)
'It was Okrem that bought banana in the market'
15. Ẹngha nga a- lọ ayàbán kẹ̀ ọmẹ ize?
(who be PST buy banana PREP inside market)
'Who bought banana in the market'
16. Ayàbán yọ Ọkrẹm a- lọ t_i kẹ̀ ọmẹ ize.
(banana FM Okrem PST buy Prep inside market)
'It was banana that Ọkrẹm bought in the market'
17. Uńsé wán Ọkrẹm a- lọ kẹ̀ ọmẹ ize?
(What AUX Okrem PST buy PREP inside market)
'What did Ọkrẹm buy in the market'
18. *Uńsé yọ Ọkrẹm a- lọ kẹ̀ ọmẹ ize?
(What FM Okrem PST buy Prep inside market)

19. *Ọkrẹm a- lọ uńsé-w kẹ̀ ọmẹ ize?
(Okrem PST buy what QM PREP inside market)

20. Ọme ize wọ Ọkrẹm a- lọ ayàbán.
(Inside market FM Okrem Pst buy banana)
'It was in the market that Okrem bought the banana'

21. *Ọme ize wọ Ọkrẹm a- lọ ayàbán kẹ́.
(Inside market FM Okrem Pst buy banana Prep)

22 *ize_i wọ̀ Ọkrẹm a- lọ ayàbán kẹ̀ ọmẹ.
(market FM Ọkrẹm PST buy banana Prep inside)

23. *Kẹ̀ ọmẹ ize wọ̀ Ọkrẹm a- lọ ayàbán.
(Prep inside market FM Ọkrẹm PST buy banana)

24. Ìlón ọ́ǹhwọ́ ṣín Ọkrẹm a- lọ ayàbán?
(Which place that Ọkrem PST buy banana)
'Where did Okrem buy banana'

25 *Ìlón ọ́ǹhwọ́ wọ Ọkrẹm a- lọ ayàbán?
(Which place FM Okrem PST buy banana)

26. Ava a- nuwan Inkyé.
(Dog Pst bite Inkye)
'Dog bite Inkye'

27. Avá kọ́ a- nuwan Inkyé.
(Dog FM Pst bite Inkye)
'It was dog that bite Inkye'

28. *Avá nga a- nuwan Inkyé.
(Dog FM Pst bite Inkye)

29. Uńsé wán a- nuwan Inkyé?
(What AUX Pst bite Inkye)
'What bites Inkye'

30. * Uńsé kọ́ a- nuwan Inkyé?
(What FM Pst bite Inkye)

31. *Uńsé a- nuwan Inkyé?
(What Pst bite Inkye)

32. Ọ̀ǹkyọ́ rẹnrẹ́n usòó kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù.
(material writing COP Prep top table)
'The pen is on the table'

33. Ọ̀ǹkyọ́ rẹnrẹ́n$_i$ kọ́ usòó kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù.
(material writing FM COP Prep top table)
'It is the pen that is on the table'

34. * Ọ̀ǹkyọ́ rẹnrẹ́n$_i$ nga usòó kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù?
(material writing FM COP Prep top table)

35. Uńsé wán usòó kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù?
(what AUX EC COP PREP top table)
'What is on the table'

36. *Uńsé kọ́ usòó kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù?
(what FM EC COP PREP top table)

37. Ìkyi kẹ̀ ava wán kon ùtón lẹ̀ ukle abànán.
(rat Conj dog Aux TNS(prog) run Prep round house)
'A rat and dog are running around the house'

38. Ìkyi kẹ̀ ava kọ́ kon ùtón lẹ̀ ùklé abànán.
(rat conj dog FM TNS(prog) run prep round house)
'It was rat and dog that are running around the house'

39. Uńsé wan kon ùtón lẹ̀ ùklé abànán?
(What Aux TNS(prog) run Prep round house)
"What is running around the house?'

40. * Uńsé kọ́ kon ùtón lẹ̀ ùklé abànán?
(What FM TNS(prog) run Prep round house)

41.* Uńsé wán kẹ̀ ava kon ùtón lẹ̀ ùklé abànán?
(What Aux Conj dog TNS(prog) run Prep round house)

42. * Uńsé wán ìkyi kẹ̀ kon ùtón lẹ̀ ùklé abànán?
(What Aux rat Conj TNS(prog) run Prep round house)

43. Avwa Ẹ̀dà wán a bá lẹ̀ ọnhwẹ kẹ̀ ọlẹ.
(teacher Eda Aux (past) come Prep here Prep yesterday)
'Ẹ̀dà teacher came here yesterday'

44. Avwa Ẹ̀dà nga a bá lẹ̀ ọnhwẹ kẹ̀ ọlẹ.
(teacher Ẹ̀dà FM TNS(past) come Prep here Prep yesterday)
'It was Ẹ̀dà teacher that came here yesterday'.

45. Ìlón avwa nga wán a bá lẹ̀ ọnhwẹ kẹ̀ ọlẹ?
(which teacher FM Aux TNS(past) come Prep here Prep yesterday)
'Which teacher came here yesterday?'

46.* Avwa ìlón nga a bá lẹ̀ ọnhwẹ kẹ̀ ọlẹ?
(teacher which FM TNS(past) come Prep here Prep yesterday)

47. Untrínin èzíkyow wán sòó ngrẹn.
(Soup sorell Aux Cop sweet)
'Sorell soup is delicious'

48. Untrínin èzíkyow kọ́ sòó ngrẹn.
(soup sorrel FM Cop sweet)
'It is sorell soup that is delicious'

49. Ìlón untrínin wán sòó ngrẹn?
(which soup Aux Cop sweet)
'Which soup is delicious'

50. *Ìlón untrínin wan sòó ngrẹn?
(which soup FM Cop sweet)

51. Àná ọkọ́ wán a bá lẹ̀ ọklán.
(person ten Aux TNS(past) come prep gathering)
'Ten people attended the meeting.'

52. Àná ọkọ nga a bá lẹ̀ ọklán.
(person ten FM TNS(past) come Prep gathering)
'It was ten people that attended the meeting'

53. Àná amà nga a bá lẹ̀ ọklán?
(person how many FM TNS(past) come Prep gathering)
'How many people attended the meeting?'

54. Amà nga àná a bá lẹ́ ọklán?
(How many FM person TNS(past) come Prep gathering)

55. Àná amà a bá lẹ́ ọklán?
(person how many TNS(past) come Prep gathering)

56. Arẹ́n ẹmakaranta ìtunáa wán a bá lẹ́ ọnhwẹ.
(children school nine EC TNS(past) come Prep here)
'Name students came here'

57. Arẹ́n ẹmakaranta ìtunáa nga a bá lẹ́ ọnhwẹ.
(children school nine FM EC TNS(past) come Prep here)
'It was nine students that came here'

58. Arẹ́n ẹmakaranta amà nga a bá lẹ ọnhwẹ?
(children school how many FM TNS (past) come Prep here)
'How many students came here?'

59. * Amà nga arẹ́n ẹmakaranta a bá lẹ́ ọnhwẹ?
(How many FM children school TNS (past) come Prep here)

60. * Arẹ́n ẹmakaranta amà a bá lẹ́ ọnhwẹ?
(children school how many TNS(past) come Prep here)

61. Abọ́n ẹpwa wán kon ùtón lẹ́ ùklé abànán.
(Goat two Aux TNS(Prog) run Prep round house)
'Two goats are running around the house'

62. Abọ́n ẹpwa kọ́ kon ùtón lẹ́ ùklé abànán.
(goat two FM TNS(Prog) run Prep round house)
'It was two goats that are running around the house'

63. Abọ́n amà wan kon ùtón lẹ́ ùklé abànán?
(goat how many Aux TNS(prog) run Prep around house)
'How many goats are running around the house?'

64. * Abọ́n amà kọ́ kon ùtón lẹ́ ùklé abànán?
(goat how many FM TNS(prog) run prep round house)

65. *Abọ́n amà kon ùtón lẹ́ ùklé abànán.?
(goat how many TNS(Prog) run Prep round house)

66. Ọ̀ǹkyọ́ rẹnrẹ́n ìtúmpwá sòó kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù.
(material writing seven BE Prep top table)
'Seven pens are on the table'

67. Ọ̀ǹkyọ́ rẹnrẹ́n amà sòó kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù?
(matrial writing how many BE Prep top table)
'How many pens are on the table?'

68. Ujem wán a prẹ́ ẹwẹ kẹ̀ abàn.
(James Aux TNS(past) kill snake Prep stick)
'James killed the snake with stick'

69. Ẹwẹ yọ Ujem a prẹ́ t_i kẹ̀ abàn. (Focus Construction)
(Snake FM James TNS(past) kill Prep stick)
'It was a snake that James killed with stick'

70. Uńsé wán Ujem a prẹ́ kẹ̀ abàn? (Wh-question)
(what Aux James TNS(past) kill Prep stick)
'What did James kill with stick?'

72. * Uńsé$_i$ yọ Ujem a prẹ́ kẹ̀ abàn?
(what FM James TNS(past) kill Prep stick)

73. * Ujem a prẹ́ uńsé kẹ̀ abàn?
(James TNS(past) kill what Prep stick)

74. Ọjọsẹ̀k wán a lọ ọkplà etrétrí.
(Joseph Aux TNS(past) buy shoe black)
'Joseph bought a pair of black shoe'

75. [Ọkplà etrétrí yọ Ọjọsẹ̀k a lọ.
(shoe black FM Joseph TNS(past) buy)
'It was a pair of black shoe that Joseph bought'

76. Ìlón ọkplà wán Ọjọsẹ̀k a lọ?
(which shoe Aux Joseph TNS (past)buy)
'Which type of shoe did Joseph buy?'

77. Ìlón wán Ọjọsẹ̀k a lọ?
(which Aux Joseph TNS (past) buy)
'which type of shoe did Joseph buy?'

78. * Ọjọsẹk a lọ ọkplà ìlón?
(Joseph TNS (past) buy shoe which)

79. * Ọjọsẹk a lọ ìlón ọkplà?
(Joseph TNS (past) buy which shoe)

80. Ìmí wán a ṣín enkyí anuṣin a je ọzaa kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù.
(1sg wán TNS(past) see man Rel TNS(past) steal book Prep top table)
'I saw the man that stole the book on the table'

81. Enkyí anuṣin a je ọzaa kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù gha(lẹ̀) ìmí a ṣín.
(man Rel TNS(past) steal book Prep top table FM 1sg TNS(past) see)
'It was the man that stole the book on the table that I saw'

82. Ìlón enkyí gha(lẹ̀) eǹgọ́ a ṣín?
(which man FM 2sg TNS(past) see)
'Which man did you see?'

83. * Ìlón enkyí wán eǹgọ́ a ṣín ?
(which man Aux 2sg TNS(past) see)

84. * Eǹgọ́ a ṣín enkyí ìlón?
(2sg TNS(past) see man which)

85. Ẹmọs ma akẹ otòó ẹ̀dà ẹnang.
(Amos Aux TNS(Hab) speak language four)
'Amos speaks four languages'

86. Ẹ̀dà ẹnang gha(lẹ̀) Ẹmọs akẹ otòó?
(Language four FM Amos TNS(Hab) speak)
'It is four languages that Amos speaks?'

87. Ẹ̀dà amà ma Ẹmọs akẹ otòó?
(Language how many Aux Amos TNS(Hab) speak)
'How many languages does Amos speak?'

88. *Ẹ̀dà amà gha(lẹ̀) Ẹmọs akẹ otòó?
(Language how many FM Amos TNS(Hab) speak)

89. *Ẹmọs ma akẹ otòó ẹ̀dà amà?
(Amos Aux TNS(Hab) speaks language how many)

90. Inton ma a lọ ẹriẹ́n untrí itong.
(Inton Aux TNS(past) buy pieces yam(Pl) five)
'Inton bought seven tubers of yam'

91. Ẹriẹ́n untrí amà ma Inton a lọ?
(pieces yam(Pl) how many Aux Inton TNS(past) buy)
'How may tubers of yam did Inton buy?'

92. * Ẹriẹ́n untrí amà gha(lẹ̀) Inton ma a lọ?
(pieces yam(Pl) how many FM Inton Aux TNS(past) buy)

93. * Inton ma a lọ ẹriẹ́n untrí amà?
(Inton Aux TNS(past) buy pieces yam (PLR) how many)

94. *Amà ma Inton a lọ ẹriẹ́n untrí?
(How many Aux Inton TNS(past) buy pieces yam)

95. UJem ma a vrán àbànán ẹpwa.
(James Aux TNS(past) build house(Pl) two)
'James built two houses'

96. Àbànán amà ma Ujem a vrán?
(house(Pl) how many Aux James TNS(past build)
'How many houses does James have?'

97. * Àbànán amà gha(lẹ̀) Ujem ma a vrán?
(house(Pl) how many FM James Aux TNS(past build)

98. * Ujem ma a vrám àbànán amà?
(James Aux TNS(past) build house(Pl) how many)

99. * Amà ma Ujem a vrán àbànán?
(How many Aux James TNS(past) build house(Pl)

100. Ọtlán ẹ́ntran ma a pré àdà ìtúmpwà kẹ̀ ọlẹ.
(Weapons robber Aux TNS(past) kill person(Pl) seven Prep yesterday)
'Armed robber killed seven people yesterday'

101. Àdà ìtùmpwà gha(lẹ̀) ọtlan ẹ́ntran ma a pré kẹ̀ ọlẹ.
(person(Pl) seven FM weapons robber Aux TNS (past) kill Prep yesterday)
'It was seven people that armed robbers killed yesterday'

102. Àdà amà gha(lẹ̀) ọtlan ẹ́ntran a prẹ́ kẹ̀ ọlẹ?

(person(Pl) how many FM weapons robber EC TNS(pst) kill Prep yesterday)

'How many people did armed robber kill yesterday?

103. *Àdà amà ma ọtlan ẹ́ntran a prẹ́ kẹ̀ ọlẹ?

(person(Pl) how many Aux weapons robber TNS(past) kill Prep yesterday)

104. *Ọtlán ẹ́ntran ma a prẹ́ àdà amà kẹ̀ ọlẹ?

(Weapons robber Aux TNS(past) kill person(Pl) how many Prep yesterday)

105. Ìmí ma a ṣìn enkyì ọkọ kẹ̀ ọklán ná.

(1Sg Aux TNS(past) see men ten Prep gathering Det)

'I met ten men at the meeting'

106. Enkyì ọkọ gha(lẹ̀) ìmí a ṣìn kẹ̀ ọklán ná.

(men ten FM 1sg EC TNS(Past) see Prep gathering Det)

'It was ten men that I met at the meeting'

107. Enkyì amà gha(lẹ̀) eǹgọ́ a ṣìn kẹ̀ ọklán ná?

(men how many FM 2sg EC TNS(past) see Prep gathering Det)

'How many men did you meet at the meeting?

108. * Enkyì amà ma eǹgọ́ a ṣìn kẹ̀ ọklán ná?

(men how many Aux 2sg TNS(past) see Prep gathering Det)

109* Eǹgọ́ ma a ṣìn enkyì amà kẹ̀ ọklán ná?

(2sg Aux TNS(past) see men how many Prep gathering Det)

110. Àgọ̀n ma a vọ aṣẹ́ẹ̀ ẹtàá.

(king Aux TNS(past) marry women three)

'The king married three wives'

111. Aṣẹ́ẹ̀ ẹtàá gha(lẹ̀) àgọ̀n a vọ.

(women three FM king EC TNS(past) marry)

'It is three wives that the king married'

112. Aṣẹ́ẹ̀ amà gha(lẹ̀) àgọ̀n a vọ?

(women how many FM king EC TNS(past) marry)

'How many wives did the king marry?'

113. * Aṣẹ́ẹ̀ amà ma àgọ̀n a vọ?

(women how many Aux king TNS(past) marry)

114. * Àgọ̀n a vọ asɛ́ɛ̀ amà?
(King TNS(past) marry women how many)

115. Ámɛ̀ná ma a lọ untrí ànáirà atɛlɛ.
(Amena Aux TNS(past) buy yam Naira hundred)
'Amena bought hundred Naira yam'

116. Untrí ɛmà ma Ámɛ̀ná a lọ?
(yam how much Aux Amena TNS(past) buy)
'How much yam did Amena buy?'

117. * Untrí ɛmà kọ̀ Ámɛ̀ná a lọ?
(yam How much Cop Amena TNS(past) buy)

118. * Ámɛ̀ná a lọ untrí ɛmà á?
(Amena TNS(past) buy yam how much QM)

119. * Untrí ɛmà yọ Ámɛ̀ná a lọ?
(yam How much FM Amena TNS(past) buy)

120. Inkyeem wán a má Usera ɔ̀ǹkyɔ́ rɛnrɛn.
(Inkyeem TNS(past) give Serah material writing)
'Inkyeem gave Serah the pen'

121. Uńsé wán Inkyeem a má Usera?
(what Aux Inkyeem TNS(past) give Serah)
'What did Inkyeem give Serah?'

122. * Inkyeem wán a má usera uńsé-w?
(Inkyeem Aux TNS(past) give Serah what QM)

123. Àgọ̀n wán a má Inkyeem àrɛn arasɛ́ɛ̀ ɛǹgá.
(king Aux TNS(past) give Inkyeem child girl 3sg)
'The king married his daughter to Inkyeem'

124. Àrɛn arasɛ́ɛ̀ àgọ̀n gha(lɛ̀) ɛǹgá a má Inkyeem.
(Child girl king FM 3sg EC TNS(past) give Inkyeem)
'It was his daughter that the king married to Inkyeem'

125. Ɛngha gha Àgọ̀n a ma Inkyeem?
(who FM king TNS(past) give Inkyeem)
'Who did the king marry to Inkyeem?'

126. * Àgọ̀n a má Inkyeem ẹngha?
(king TNS(past) give Inkyeem who)
127. Ọkrẹm wán a lọ Usera iprèe.
(Okrem Aux TNS(past) buy Serah purse)
'Okrem bought Serah a purse'
128. Uńsé wán Ọkrẹm a lọ Usera?
(What Aux Ọkrem TNS (past) buy Serah)
'What did Okrem buy for Serah?'
129. * Ọkrẹm a lọ Usera uńsé?
(Okrem TNS(past) buy Serah what)
130. Ukwaso yá a ba lẹ́ ọ́ǹhwẹ kẹ́ aywẹ́.
(Kwaso Aux TNS(past) come Prep here Prep afternoon)
'Kwaso came here in the afternoon'
131. Ukwaso a ba lẹ́ ọ́ǹhwẹ kẹ́ ìlón ẹlẹ̀n ẹ́n?
(Kwaso EC TNS(past) come Prep here Prep which time QM)
'When (which time) did Kwaso come here?'
132. Ìlón ẹlẹ̀n yá Ukwaso a ba lẹ́ ọ́ǹhwẹ?
(which time Aux Kwaso TNS(past) come Prep here)
'When (which time) did Kwaso come here?'
133. * Ìlón ẹlẹ̀n yá Ukwaso a ba lẹ́ ọ́ǹhwẹ kẹ́?
(which time Aux Kwaso TNS(past) come Prep here Prep)
134. Èkyíke yá a vọ ọbrà lẹ́ ẹzẹ̀ .
(Èkyíke Aux TNS(past) marry marriage Prep last year)
'Ekyike got married last year'
135. Èkyíke yá a vọ ọbrà lẹ́ ìlón ubwón.
(Èkyíke Aux TNS(past) marry marriage Prep which day+QM)
'When (which day) did Ekyike get married?'
136. Ìlón ubwon yá Èkyíke a vọ ọbrà?
(which day Aux Ekyike TNS(past) marry marriage)
'When (which day) did Ekyike get married?'

137. * Ìlón ubwón yá Èkyíke a vọ ọbrà?
(which day Aux Ekyike TNS(past) marry marriage)
138. Ọkrẹm wán a- lọ ayàbán kẹ̀ ọmẹ ize.
(Okrem Aux TNS(past)PST buy banana Prep inside market)
'Okrem bought banana in the market'
139. Ọkrẹm a- lọ ayàbán kẹ̀ ekyé.
(Okrem TNS(past) buy banana Prep where+QM)
'Where did Ọkrẹm buy banana'
140. Ìlón ọ́ǹhwọ́ ṣín Ọkrẹm a- lọ ayàbán?
(Which place that Ọkrem TNS(past) buy banana)
'Where did Okrem buy banana'
141. * Ìlón ọ́ǹhwọ́ wọ Ọkrẹm a- lọ ayàbán?
(Which place FM Okrem TNS(past) buy banana)
142. Kyẹ́ Ọkrẹm a- lọ ayàbán?
(Where Ọkrem TNS(past) buy banana)
'Where did Okrem buy banana'
143. (a) Umusa nìí ọkán lẹ̀ àbànán ọpwa rẹnrẹ́n.
(Musa TNS(Prog) go Prep house(PLR) counting writing)
'Musa is going to the school'
144. Umusa nìí ọkán lẹ̀ ekyé?
(Musa TNS(prog) go Prep where + QM)
'Where is Musa going?'
145. Ìlón ọ́ǹhwọ ṣín Umusa nìí ọkán?
(which place that Musa TNS(prog) go)
'Where is Musa going?
146. *Umusa nìí ọkán lẹ̀ kyẹ́/ ìlón ọ́ǹhwọ?
(Musa TNS(prog) go Prep where/which place)
147. * Ekye ṣín Umusa nìí ọkán?
(where that Musa TNS(prog) go)

148. Kẹ́ Umusa nìí ọkán?

(where Musa TNS(prog) go?'

'Where is Musa going?'

149. (a) Egbénen na wán a prẹ́ ẹwẹn kẹ̀ abàn.

(Hunter Det Aux TNS(past) kill snake Prep stick)

'The hunter killed the snake with stick'

150. Egbénen na a prẹ́ ẹwẹn (kẹ̀) lànyẹ ẹ́?

(Hunter Det Aux TNS(past) kill snake Prep how+QM)

'How did the hunter kill the snake?'

151. Kẹ́-elemle ṣín egbénen a prẹ́ ẹwẹn?

(where way that hunter TNS(past) kill snake)

'How did the hunter kill the snake'

152.* Egbénen na a prẹ́ ẹwẹn kẹ̀ kẹ́- elemle?

(hunter Det EC TNS(past) kill snake Prep where way)

153. * Lànyẹ ṣín egbénen a prẹ́ ẹwẹn?

(How that hunter EC TNS(past) kill snake)

154. (a) Ọtarọ sòó son **lànyẹ ẹ́**?

(Ọtarọ Cop walk how QM)

'How does Ọtarọ walk?'

155. Kẹ́-elemle ṣín Ọtarọ́ sòó son t_i?

(where way that Ọtarọ Cop walk)

'How does Ọtarọ walk?'

156. Ujem a krám (kẹ̀) lànyẹ ẹ́?

(James TNS(past) escape Prep how QM)

'How did James escape?'

157. Kẹ́-elemle ṣín Ujem a krám?

(where way that Ujem TNS(past) escape)

'How did James escape?'

158. Ẹ̀ngọ́ nìí ọ́kam íklí la lànyẹ ẹ́?

(2sg TNS(Fut) divide money Det how QM)

'How did you share the money?'

159. Kẹ́-elemle ṣín eǹgọ́ nìí ọ́kam íklí la?
(where way that 2sg TNS(Fut) escape) money Det)
'How did you share the money?'

160. Ọpwà rẹnrẹ́n sòó lànyẹ ẹ́?
(counting writing Cop how QM)
'How is studies?'

161. Kẹ́ elemle ṣín ọpwà rẹnrẹ́n sòó?
(where way that counting writing Cop)
'How is studies'

162. Ẹgbrán nẹ lànyẹ ẹ́?
(length Det how QM)
'How long is it?'

163. Kẹ́ elemle ṣín ẹgbrán nẹ́?
(where way that length Det)
'How long is it?'

164. Eǹgọ́ wán a hywà ambrẹ́ lan sáblọ̀ uńsέw?
(2sg Aux TNS(past) drink water Det because what+QM)
'Why did you drink the water?'

165. Uńsé wán ọ̀ǹsọ́ eǹgọ́ a hywà ambrẹ́ lan?
(what Aux reason 2sg TNS(past) drank water Det)
'Why did you drink the water?'

166. Àgọ̀n a má Inton ọ̀twán na sáblọ̀ uńsέw?
(king TNS(past) give Inton work Det because what)
'Why did the king award the contract to Inton'

167. Uńsé wán ọ̀ǹsọ́ àgọ̀n a má Inton ọ̀twán ná?
(what Aux reason king TNS (past) give Inton work Det)
'Why did the king award the contract to Inton?'

168. Ọkrẹm a ba lẹ̀ ọ́ǹhwẹ uńsé sábl̀ọ́ọ́?
(Okrem TNS(past) come Prep here what cause+QM)
'Why did Okrem come here?'

169. Uńsé wán ǫ̀ǹsǫ́ Ǫkrẹ̀m a ba lẹ̀ ǫ́ǹhwẹ̀?
(what Aux reason Okrem TNS (past) come Prep here)
'Why did Okrem come here?'

170. Egbénen na wán a prẹ́ ẹwẹn kẹ̀ abàn.
(Hunter Det Aux TNS(past) kill snake Prep stick)
'The hunter killed the snake with stick'

171. Egbénen na a prẹ́ ẹwẹn kẹ̀ uńsé w?
(Hunter Det EC TNS(past) kill snake Prep what+QM)
'What did the hunter use to kill the snake?'

172. Uńsé wán egbénen na a prẹ́ ẹwẹn?
(where Aux hunter Det TNS(past) kill snake)
'What did the hunter use to kill the snake'

173. Inkyeem wán a lọ ayàbán kẹ̀ Inton.
(Inkyeem Aux TNS(past) buy banana Prep Inton)
'Inkyeem bought banana for Inton'

174. Inton gha(lẹ̀) Inkyeem a lọ ayàbán.
(Inton FM Inkyeem TNS(past) buy banana)
'It is Inton that Inkyeem bought banana for'

175. Ẹngha gha(lẹ̀) Inkyeem a lọ ayàbán?
(who FM Inkyeem TNS(past) buy banana)
'Who did Inkyeem buy banana for'

176. *Inkyeem a lọ ayàbán kẹ̀ ẹnghaw.
(Inkyeem TNS(past) buy banana Prep who+QM)

177. * Ẹngha ṣín Inkyeem a lọ ayàbán?
(who that Inkyeem EC TNS(past) buy banana)

178. Ìmí wán a byan za àná ṣín eǹgá a dù ǫ̀twán na.
(1sg Aux TNS(past) like know person that 3sg TNS(past) do work Det)
'I would like to know who did the work'

179. *Ìmí wán a byan za ẹngha nga a dù ǫ̀twán na?
(1sg Aux TNS(past) like know who FM TNS(past) do work Det)

180. *Ìmí wán a byan za ànáá a dù ọ̀twán na?
(1sg Aux TNS(past) like know person TNS(past) do work Det)
181. Inton byan za ànáá ṣín eǹgá a lọ ẹ̀trá lan.
(Inton like know person that 3sg TNS (past) buy groundnut(Pl) Det)
'Inton wants/likes to know who bought the groundnut'
181. *Inton byan za ẹngha nga a lọ ẹ̀trá lan.
(Inton like know person FM TNS(past) buy groundnut(Pl) Det)
183. *Inton byan za ànáá nga a lọ ẹ̀trá lan.
(Inton like know person FM TNS (past) buy groundnut(Pl) Det)
184. Èkyé m wán byan za ọ̀ǹkẹ́ ṣín eǹgá sòó kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù.
(father my Aux like know thing that 3sg Cop Prep top table)
'My father wants to know what is on the table'
185.* Èkyé m byan za uńsé ṣín eǹgá sòó kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù.
(father my like know what that 3sg Cop Prep top table)
186. * Èkyé m byan za ọ̀ǹkẹ́ sòó kẹ̀ aprẹ́n ùtebrù.
(father my like know thing Cop Prep top table)
187. Ọkrẹm wán a lúwé mí ọ̀ǹkẹ́ ṣín eǹgá a ọbà lẹ̀ otù.
(Okrem Aux TNS(past) ask 1sg thing that 3sg TNS(past) happen Prep night)
'Okrem asked me what happened last night'
188. *Ọkrẹm a lúwé mí uńsé ṣín eǹgá a ọbà lẹ̀ otù.
(Okrem TNS(past) ask 1sg thing that 3sg TNS(past) happen Prep night)
189. *Ọkrẹm a lúwé mí ọ̀ǹkẹ́ a ọbà lẹ̀ otù.
(Okrem TNS(past) ask 1sg thing TNS(past) happen Prep night)
190.Ujems wán a lúwé Ọdauda ṣín ùlón ọklán nga wọ̀ ọsrẹ lẹ̀ ọ̀dọ́.
(James Aux TNS(pst) ask Dauda that which gathering FM do surpass Prep strong)
'James asked Dauda which group is the strongest'
191. *Ujems a lúwé Ọduada ùlón ọklán ṣín eǹgá ọsrẹ lẹ̀ ọ̀dọ́.
(James TNS(past) ask Dauda which gathering that 3sg surpass Prep strong)
192. Ìmí byan za ùlón ọzàá wán wọ̀ sòó aggagyuwàn.
(1sg like know which book Aux do Cop beautiful)
'I want to know which book is interesting'

193. *Ìmí byan za ùlón ọzàá sin eǹgá sòó aggagyuwàn.

(1sg like know which book that 3sg Cop beautiful)

194. Ekyi m wán byan za àná ṣín ava a nuwan?

(husband my like know person that dog TNS(past) bite)

'My husband wants to know whom the dog bite'

195. * Ekyi m byan za ẹngha ṣín ava a nuwan?

(husband my like know who that dog TNS(past) bite)

196. * Ekyi m byan za àná gha(lẹ) ava a nuwan?

(husband my like know person FM dog TNS(past) bite)

197. * Ekyi m byan za ava a nuwan àná?

(husband my like know dog TNS(past) bite person)

198. Alẹs wán a lúwé m àná ṣín Ẹnna a là?

(Ales Aux TNS (past) ask me person that Enna TNS(past) beat)

'Alex asked me whom Enna beat'

199. *Alẹs a lúwé m ẹngha ṣín Ẹnna a là?

(Alex TNS(past) ask me who that Enna TNS(past) beat)

200. *Alẹs a lúwé m $àná_i$ gha(lẹ) Ẹnna a là t_i ?

(Alex TNS (past) ask me person FM Enna TNS(past) beat)

201. * Alẹs a lúwé m Ẹnna a là àná?

(Alex TNS(past) ask me Enna TNS(past) beat person)

202. Eǹgá wán za eǹgá ọǹkyẹ́ ṣín eǹgá ùnìí mà.

(3sg Aux know 3sg thing that 3sg want NEG)

'He does not know what he wants.'

203. * Eǹgá za eǹgá uńsé ṣín eǹgá ùnìí mà.

(3sg know 3sg what that 3sg want NEG)

204. * Eǹgá za eǹgá ọǹkyẹ́ wán eǹgá ùnìí mà.

(3sg know 3sg thing Aux 3sg want NEG)

205. * Eǹgá za eǹgá eǹga ùnìí uńsé mà.

(3sg know 3sg 3sg want what NEG)

206. Ìmí a byan za ọ̀ǹkyẹ́ ṣín Ọkrẹm a lọ.
(1sg TNS(past) like know thing that Okrem TNS(past) buy)'
'I would like to know what Okrem bought'

207. * Ìmí a byan za uńsé ṣín Ọkrẹm a lọ.
(1sg TNS(past) like know what that Okrem TNS(past) buy)

208. * Ìmí a byan za ọ̀ǹkyẹ́ wán Ọkrẹm a lọ.
(1sg TNS(past) like know thing Aux Okrem TNS(past) buy)

209. * Ìmí a byan za Ọkrẹm a lọ uńsé.
(1sg TNS(past) like know Okrem TNS(past) buy what)

210. Ẹngha (wán) a ya uńsé?
(who Aux TNS(past) eat what)
'Who ate what?'

211. Ẹngha nga a ya uńsé-w?
(who FM TNS(past) eat what QM)
'Who ate what?'

212.*Uńsé wán ẹngha a ya?
(what Aux who TNS (past) eat)

213.* Ẹngha nga Uńsé wán a ya?
(what FM who Aux TNS (past) eat)

214. *Ẹngha wán a ya uńsé?
(who Aux TNS(past) eat what)

215. Ẹnna wán a lọ ọkplà?
(who Aux TNS (past) buy shoe(Sng)
'Ẹnna bought a pair of shoe'

216. Ẹngha a lọ ọkplà? ECHO
(who TNS (past) buy shoe)
'Who bought a pair of shoe?'

217. Ava wán a nuwan Inkye.
(Dog Aux TNS(past) bite Inkye)
'A dog bite Inkye'

218. Uńsé a nuwan Inkye? Echo wh-question
(what TNS(past) bite Inkye)
'What bite Inkye?'

219. Untrínin ezikyow sòó ngrẹn.
(soup sorell BE sweet)
"Sorell soup is sweet'

220. Ìlón untrínin sòó ngrẹn? Echo
(which soup BE sweet)
'Which soup is sweet?'

221. Àná ọkọ wán a ba lẹ ọklán.
(person ten Aux TNS(past) come Prep gathering)
'Ten people attended the meeting'

222. Àná amà a ba lẹ ọklán? Echo Question
(person How many TNS (past) come Prep gathering)
'How many people attended the meeting?'

223. Alẹsi wán má Usera ọ̀ǹkyọ́ rẹnrẹ́n.
(Alex Aux give(pst) Serah material writing)
"Alex gave Serah the pen".

224. Alẹsi má Usera ọ̀ǹkyọ́ rẹnrẹ́n ẹ́n?
(Alex give(pst) Serah material writing QM)
"Did Alex give Serah the pen?"

225. Inton sòó kẹ Ọbauchi.
(Inton Aux Prep Bauchi)
"Inton is in Bauchi"

226. Inton sòó kẹ Ọbauchii?
(Inton Aux Prep Bauchi+QM)
"Is Inton in Bauchi?"

227. Eǹgọ́ usòó kẹ ẹṣan ẹlẹ̀n ṣin ìmí a(la) ba.
(2sg Aux(Pst) Prep home time that 1sg TNS(Past) come)
"You were at home when I came".

228. Eǹgǫ́ usòó kẹ̀ ẹ̀ṣan ẹ̀lẹ̀n ṣin ìmí a(la) baw?
(2sg Aux(Pst) Prep home time that 1sg Pst come+QM)
"Were you at home when I came?"

229. Ǫjǫsẹf kyán eǹgá má.
(Ǫjǫsẹf coming 3sg NEG)
"Joseph is not coming"

230. Ǫjǫsẹf kyán eǹgá máw?
(Ǫjǫsẹf coming 3sg NEG+QM)
"Is Joseph not coming"

231. Alẹs avwa ghan.
(Alẹs teacher EMP)
"Alex is a teacher"

232. Alẹs avwa ghán?
(Alẹs teacher EMP+QM)
"Is Alex a teacher"

233. Ǫpwa sòó ùṣìí.
(Two BE good)
"It is good to be united"

234. Ǫpwa sòó ùṣìí?
(Two BE good+QM)
"Is it good to be united"