

The Etymo-Morphological Analysis of Some Mis-Pronounced Selected Yoruba Place Names in Modern Cities; Constituent Interrogatives in Yoruba: A Minimalist Description [In English]

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ABSTRACT

Constituent interrogatives are employed to request for more than yes/no answers from interlocutors. Extant works on constituent interrogatives in Yorùbá are yet to pay adequate attention to the syntactic behaviour of question nouns (QNs), question verbs (QVs) and interrogative qualifiers in the language. Therefore, this paper investigated the syntax of constituent interrogatives in Yorùbá with a view to providing plausible evidence showing QNs, QVs and interrogative qualifiers as constituent interrogative markers in the language. Primary and secondary data were collected and subjected to syntactic analysis within the confines of Minimalist Program (MP). Yorùbá uses the following to form its constituent interrogatives: QVs (dà, ñkó), QNs (ta, kí, èwo, méléó, èlò, ikelòó) and interrogative qualifiers (wo, kelòó). A QN is copied to the clause left peripheral position in a content-word question unlike an echoed question. Wo as the interrogative qualifier, that is the question marker (QM) in *ìgbà wo* ‘when’ *ìbì è(wo)* ‘where’, *báwo* (bá wo) ‘how’ has its [+Q], the question feature percolated through the entire DPs, that is the question phrases (QPs). A QN does more than satisfying focus requirement in the language while the QVs (dà and ñkó) perform predicate function. A QN qualifies a preceding noun just like a nominal qualifier does in an affirmative sentence in the language.

Keywords: Constituent Interrogatives, Minimalist Program, Question Markers, Question Feature, Yorùbá.

1. Introduction

Question formation is a universal phenomenon. Interrogatives are used to elicit information from interlocutors. Question types are classified into two based on the types of response triggered from interlocutors. König and Siemund (2007: 291), and Issah (2013: 4) opine that interrogatives across

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word languages can be classified into constituent and polar interrogatives based on their syntactic and semantic properties. According to Saito (1992), wh-feature exists in all languages and is consequently responsible for the attraction of interrogative constituents to the clause left periphery for feature checking purpose. Ouhalla (1996) opines that wh-questions in natural languages differ with respect to their morphological and semantic properties while Siemund (2001), according to the positions of occurrence of interrogative words in content word questions, classifies human languages into fronting, in-situ and optionally fronting languages. It is discovered that Yoruba preposes its QNs to the clause left periphery, Also, QNs can be base-generated in the canonical positions associated with their grammatical functions, where they are legible to the PF level, especially when rhetorical/echoed questions are operated. Bocc et al (2021) claim that a wh-phrase is inherently endowed with [+focus] feature as one of the bundles of features specified on every wh-phrase in a direct constituent question. They are of the view that focus feature is assigned to a wh-phrase in its first merge, that is, its base-generated position. Contrary to Ouhalla's position above, it is discovered that some latest scholarly works have taken a radical departure from the traditional position on the semantic status of question nouns (QNs) in Yorùbá. Therefore, discussing detailed semantic properties and syntactic behaviour of the markers involved in the three method of forming constituent interrogatives in the language (question nouns, question verbs and interrogative qualifiers) is necessitated. The paper comprises five sections. Section one focuses on the introduction. Section two discusses the literature review which forms the main rationale behind this paper, particularly, the recent positions that are consered for a rethink. Section three discusses the methodology adopted for this paper. Section four discusses how constituent interrogatives are formed in Yorùbá within the confines of the Minimalist Program (MP) while conclusions are drawn in section five.

2. Literature Review On Interrogatives in Yorùbá

Awóbùlúyì (1978) classifies question forms in Yorùbá into two: content word and non-content word (yes/no) questions. The following three ways of marking constituent interrogatives are identified in Yorùbá: interrogative nouns, interrogative verbs and interrogative qualifiers (Awobùlúyì, 1978; Bámgbósé, 1990).

2.1 Comments on Yorùbá QVs

Àkànbí (2011:8) also identifies *dà* and *ńkọ* as verbs performing dual roles in Yorùbá sentences: predicate and question marking functions. This view is in line with Munro's (2012) assumption that 'an interrogative verb is

embedded with wh-feature, and used in a wh-question (Awóbùlúyì, 1978; Bángbósé, 1990; Táíwò & Abímbólá, 2014; Olánrewájú, 2022 among many others). Àkànbí (2011) also claims that dà and ñkó exhibit some dissimilarities with respect to their semantics, also, they are not mutually exclusive as shown in the examples below:

- 1 a. Ìgbà wo ló dà?
Time QM FOC-it become
'When will it be/When next?'
- b. *Ìgbà wo ló ñkó?
Time QM FOC-it QV
(Àkànbí, 2011: 8)

Àkànbí's opinion on 1a and b above needs a rethink based on the following two reasons:

- i. The ontological specification of dà in the examples (1a) above is defective. The item (dà) is wrongly identified as a QV. Dà "become" in 1a does not have [+Q] feature. For a clearer understanding, let us consider the examples below:

- 2 a. Ó di òla.
It become tomorrow
'Till tomorrow/We shall see/met tomorrow.'
- b. O di ìgbà wo?
It become time QM
'Till when?/Whe shall we see/met?'
- c. Ìgbà wo ni ó di/dà?
Time QM FOC it become
'Till when?/When shall we see/met?'

Dà/Dì in above examples are ontologically different from dà/ñkó (specified [+Q] feature), a QV in Yorùbá.

- ii. Àkànbí's position regarding 1 above also fails to consider that QVs in Yorùbá have high restriction with respect to their distribution (Awóbùlúyì, 2013; Abímbólá and Táíwò, 2014; Olánrewájú, 2017),

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therefore, the language disallows collocation of two question markers in an interrogative clause as depicted in the examples below:

- 3 a. *Ibo dà/ńkó?
 Where QV
- b. *Èwo dà/ńkó?
 Where QV
- c. Èyin dà/ńkó?
 You QV
 ‘Where are you?’

The implication borne out of the comments above is that Akànbí 2011 wrongly identifies dà (dì) “become/change or turn to” as a QV in Yorùbá.

Awóbùlúyì (2013) disregards dà and ńkó as question verbs in Yorùbá and refers to them as (interrogative) qualifiers. His arguments are based on distributional restriction placed on these items. He classified dà, and ńkó alongside kó, ni, kẹ and wẹ as shown (in 4) below:

- 4 a. Ìwọ **ni** (You are)
 b. Ìwọ **kó** (You are not ...)
 c. Ìwọ **dà** (Where are you?)
 d. Ìwọ **ńkó** (What of you)
 e. Ìwọ **kẹ** (You!)
 f. Ìwọ **wẹ** (You!)

(Awóbùlúyì, 2013:72)

Now, a cursory look at 5 below evidently reveals that Awóbùlúyì (2013) does not adequately account for the categorial status of each of the items. The question begging for an explanatory adequacy is ‘what are the italicised items qualifying in 5a and b below?’

- 5 a. Òjò tún n rọ kẹ/wẹ.
 Òjò still are fall PSM
 ‘The rain is still falling.’
- b. Òjò tún n rọ ni (.....).
 Òjò still are fall FOC

‘The rain is still falling ...’

The example (in 5b) above is identified as an elliptical (sluiced) form of a focus construction (Owólabí, 1983, 1987, 1989). Therefore, for a more plausible grammar, all environments where all these items occur must be surveyed and discussed before we can determine their grammatical functions or categorial status. It is discovered that only examples in 4c-d are predicate clauses.

Awóbùlúyì also identified the same items as preverbal modifiers as considered in the examples below:

- 6 a. Iwọ tiẹ **dà**? (Where are you again?)
 b. Iwọ tiẹ **kọ** ni. (You are not ...)

(Awóbùlúyì, 2013: 73)

It is discovered that the examples above are not plausible enough to determine the categorial status of QVs in Yorùbá, or equate their categorial status with *kẹ*, *kọ*, *ni* and *wẹ* as claimed by the Author. The examples (in 6a and b) above have dissimilar structures. Therefore, *dà* as the predicate in 60a collocates with pre-modifiers just like some other lexical verbs in the language do in a simple clause (Táiwò & Abímbalá, 2014; Oláńrewájú, 2020, 2022) while 6b is an elliptical form of a focus construction. Therefore, to adequately capture the syntactic behaviour of Yorùbá QVs and their collocation with pre-modifiers, we need to explore some other technical details on the syntactic or semantic similarities/dissimilarities among QVs (*dà* and *ńkọ*), other lexical verbs and *kẹ*, *kọ*, *ńkọ*, *ni* and *wẹ* classified alongside the QVs by Awóbùlúyì (2013). In line with this, let us consider the examples below:

- 7 a. Olú tún wá.
 Olú still come
 ‘Olú still came.’
 b. Olú tún *dà/ńkọ*?
 Olú still QV
 ‘Where is Olú again?’
 c. Olú tún ni ó wá.

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Olú still FOC he come
‘OLÚ still came.’

d. Olú ni mo tún ri.
Olú FOC I still see
‘I still saw OLÚ.’

e. Olú tún lọ wè/kè!
Olú still go PSM
‘Olú went again!’

All the examples above feature pre-modifiers. They are all sentential, and fully represented at the PF interface except 8c which is the elliptical form of 8d. In 8e above, *kè* and *wè* function as post modifiers. *Èwè*, a nominalised form of *wè* functions as a (nominal) qualifier (in 9) below:

9. Èyin náà èwè, ẹ̀ kò fẹ̀ lọ.
You the also, you not like go
‘You also did not want to go.’

Dà and *ńkọ* unlike *kè* and *wè* co-occur with *wá*, a premodifier in Yorùbá.

- 10 a. *Ayò wá dà/ńkọ?*
Ayò PRM QV
‘Where is Ayò now?’
- b. *Ayò wá fẹ̀ iyàwó.*
Ayò PRM marry wife
‘Ayò later got married?’
- c. *Ayò wá gbọ ọ̀rọ̀ mi.*
Ayò PRM hear word me
‘Ayò later listened to me.’
- d. **Ayò wá kẹ̀/wè*
Ayò PRM PSM

The italicised items (in 10a-c) above are verbs. *Ni* is a focus marker (in 11a) below which is an elliptical version of 11b, where *ri* “see” functions as the sentence predicate.

- 11 a. Olú náà ni
Olú the FOC
'It was also Olú.'
- b. Olú náà ni mo ri.
Olú the FOC I see
'It was also OLU I saw.'

QVs do not collocate with other regular verbs unlike *kẹ* and *wẹ*, as shown below:

- 12 a. Olú lọ kẹ/wẹ/*dà/*ńkọ.
Olú go PSM
Olú still went!'
- b. Olú sùn kẹ/wẹ/*dà/*ńkọ.
Olú sleep PSM
'Olú still slept!'

The implication borne out of 12a and b above is that *dà* and *ńkọ* do not function as pre-modifiers unlike their counterparts (*kẹ* and *wẹ*). As shown in 12a and b above, the native speakers of the language use *kẹ* and *wẹ* to mark surprise in their expressions.

QVs also select prepositional complements similarly to other lexical verbs (Táiwò & Abimbólá, 2014; Olánrewájú, 2017, 2020, 2022) as depicted in the examples below:

- 13 a. Ọré rẹ dà/ńkọ nínú wọn?
Friend your QV at-inside them
'Where is your friend among them?'
- b. Ọré rẹ ni mo pè nínú wọn?
Friend your FOC I call at-inside them
'It was your friend I called among them?'

Suffice to note that 13a and b are structurally dissimilar to 14a and b below. *Kẹ/Wẹ* does not select the prepositional complement in 14a.

14. a. Ọré rẹ kẹ/wẹ, nínú wọn!

Friend your also at-inside them
‘Your friend also, among them!’

b. Òré rẹ̀ yí, nínú wọ̀n!
Friend your this at-inside them
‘This your friend, among them!’

2.2 Comments on QNs in Yorùbá

Awóbùlúyì (1978, 2008, 2013), Bámgbósé (1990) and Olánrewájú (2017) amongst others identify ta “who”, kí “what” èwo “which”, mélòó “how many” and so on in Yorùbá. They are referred to as interrogative nouns in Awóbùlúyì (1978). Oláògún (2016) and, Oláògún and Aṣiwájú (2016) take a radical departure from the above position claiming that items like ta, kí and so on in Yorùbá content word questions never mark interrogative. Therefore, in line with Cheng (1991) Nkemnji (1995), Aboh and Pfau (2011), they assert that QNs only satisfy focus requirements, based their principal argument on the assumption that Yorùbá operates overt or abstract question morpheme to mark content word questions as also evident in some other languages. This and some other points are subsumed under clause typing, information structure and clause structure evidence (Oláògún, 2016; Olánrewájú, 2017, 2020). Oláògún (2016) claims that, just like some other languages under Kwa, Yorùbá operates an abstract question morpheme, and not a wh-phrase to mark a content word question. According to him, this question morpheme either occurs after subject DP (or at the clause final position) as evident (in 15a) below:

15 a. Ìwọ̀ a mọ̀?
You INTER know
‘Did you know?’

(Oláògún, 2016: 14)

b. Njẹ̀ iwọ̀ a mọ̀?
YNQM You PRM know
‘Did you know?’

According to Oláògún him, overt realisation of a question morpheme a after the subject DP in 15a above is an evidence that Yorùbá also attest its abstract equivalent. It is however discovered that a is wrongly identified as a question morpheme based on the facts that the same item still co-occurs

with other question markers in the language as depicted in the examples below:

- 16 a. Ñjé/Şé iwọ a gbà á?
YNQM you PRM take it
'Did you really take it?'
- b. Èléríí rẹ ha dà?
Owner-witness your PRM QV
Where is your witness?
- c. Báwo ni èyín ha ti ẹ mọ?
QN FOC you PRM PERF do know
'How did you get to know?'
- d. Níbo ni èyín a ti gbọ?
QN FOC you PRM PERF hear
'Where did you hear?'

The wrongly identified question morpheme *a* collocates with a yes/no question marker (*ñjé/şé*) in 16a, a QV in 16b and QNs in 16c and d above. A serious question begging for a plausible answer is, considering *a* as a question morpheme (in 16) above, how many question markers does each of the constructions (in 16) above have, or what exactly mark interrogative in the clauses? Suffice to note that the examples in 16 are not clause-typed as questions by *a*. Therefore, the item *a* (*ha*) is identified as a pre-modifier just like other premodifiers italicised in the examples below:

- 17 a. Ñjé/Şé èyin tilẹ gbà á?
YNQM you PRM take it
'Did you really take it?'
- b. Èléríí rẹ tilẹ dà?
Owner-witness your PRM QV
'Where is your witness?'
- c. Báwo ni èyín yòò ti ẹ mọ?
QN FOC you will PERF do know
'How will you get to know?'

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- d. Níbo ni èyín yóò ti gbó?
 QN FOC you will PERF hear
 ‘Where did you hear?’

It is equally important to note that a as a premodifier occurs only in interrogative constructions just like *mó*, a post-modifier is restricted to negative sentences as shown below:

- 18 a. Ìyàwó rẹ̀ kò wá mọ́.
 Wife your not come PSM
 ‘Your wife is not coming again.’
- b. Ìyàwó rẹ̀ kò wá. .
 Wife your not come
 ‘Your wife did not come.’
- c. *Ìyàwó rẹ̀ wá mọ́.
 Wife your come PSM

Mó functions as a post-modifier in 18a above while the example 18c is ill-formed.

Ọláògún (2016), and Ọláògún and Aṣiwájú (2016) in line with Nkemnji (1995) and, Aboh & Pfau (2011), opine that focus and clause typing are teased apart; therefore, the question morpheme clause-types while a QN satisfies focus requirements. It is discovered that a QN in Yorùbá does more than satisfying focus requirement (Yusuf, 1990; Olánrewájú & Táíwò, 2020) as shown in 19a and 20a.

- 19 a. **Ilé wo** ni Oyè rà ____?
 House QM FOC Oyè buy
 ‘Which house did Oyè buy?’
- b. **Ilé yẹn** ni Oyè rà ____.
 House that FOC Oyè buy
 ‘Oyè bought THAT HOUSE.’

In 19a above, the interrogative qualifier *wo* performs interrogative function not scope marking. The [+Q] feature on *wo* percolates through the entire phrase (QP), *ilé wo* (Bámgbóṣé, 1990; Ajíbóyè, 2005; Olánrewájú &

Táíwò, 2021). The implication borne out of this is that once *wo* is the question marker in 19a, *kí* also marks question in 20a below.

- 20 a. *Iṣé kí ni Ọlá n ṣe?*
 Work QN FOC Ọlá are do
 ‘What is Ọlá’s profession?’
- b. *Iṣé Ọlùkọ ni Ọlá n ṣe.*
 Work teacher FOC Ọlá are do
 ‘Ọlá TEACHES?’

Two or more question makers do not co-occur in a clause in Yorùbá (Ọláńrewájú and Táíwò, 2020; Ọláńrewájú, 2022). Therefore, Ọláògún (2016), and Ọláògún and Aṣiwájú (2016) still need to adequately account for why the wrongly identified question morpheme *a* (and its abstract form) still collocates with YNQMs, QVs, QNs and and interrogative qualifiers in the language. There is also a need to survey the technicalities underlying the formation of constituent interrogatives in Yorùbá to be able to determine the correct distribution of the said item *a* and its abstract equivalent.

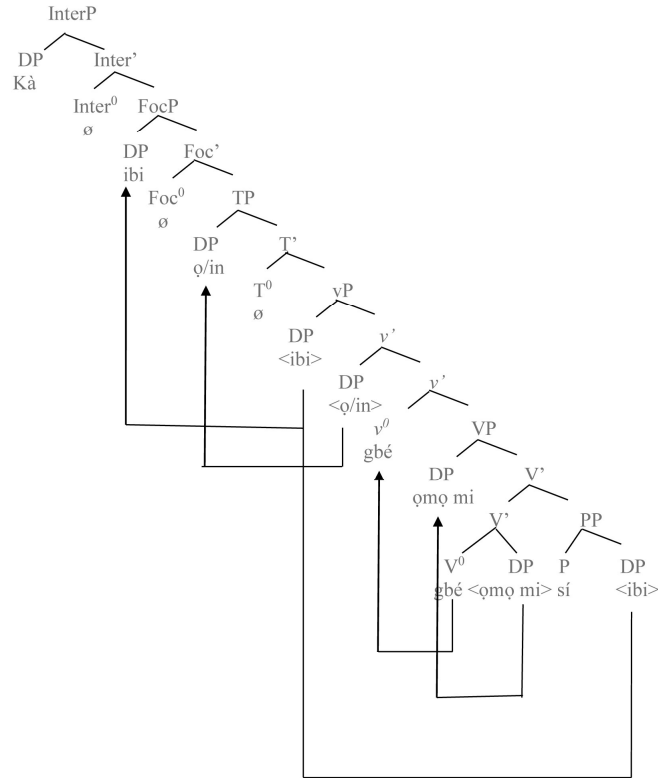
Another plausible evidence revealing that QNs do more than focus marking is shown in the example from *ifẹ* (a Central Yorùbá dialect) below:

21. *Ka ibi o gbé ọmọ mi sí?*
 QN place you carry child me to
 ‘Where did you put my child?’

(Ọláńrewájú, 2022: 76)

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22.



The example (in 21) above is phrase-marked as 22 below for more explanatory adequacy.

The derivation (in 22) above goes thus: The verb *gbé* ‘carry’ merges with the DP *o/mo mi* ‘my child’ and consequently projects the lower V-bar. The lower V-bar merges with the PP *sí ibi* to project the higher the V-bar. The object DP *o/mo mi* ‘my child’ is copied to the spec VP by Operation Copy and Delete so as to have its case feature checked through specifier and head agreement. After this, the null performative light verb *v⁰* is externally merged with the VP to project the v-bar, while the strong *vF* feature on the light *v⁰* attracts the lexical verb *gbé* ‘carry’ to adjoin to itself while the subject DP (second person plural subject pronoun) *o* ‘you’ is selected from the numeration and merged as the inner specifier of the light vP to conform to the Predicate-Internal Subject Hypothesis (PISH). The outer spec vP then

becomes the escape hatch for the DP *ibi* ‘place’ so as to be licensed from Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), The abstract non-future marker is merged with the light *vP* to project the T-bar while the subject DP *o* ‘you’ is probed to the specifier position of the TP where its [+EPP, case] feature is checked. The derivation proceeds by merging the abstract *Foc*⁰ to project the *Foc*-bar. The *Foc*⁰ as a probe also attracts the DP *ibi* ‘place’ to the spec *FocP* to value its [+Focus] feature. The derivation still proceeds by merging the abstract *Inter*⁰ with the *FocP* to project the *Inter*-bar. The QN *ka* is externally merged at the spec *InterP* to value the unvalued [+Q, EF] on the *Inter*⁰ through specifier and head agreement. At this point, the derivation is spelt-out as interrogative. This implies that only the DP *ibi* ‘place’ and not *kà* (QN) undergoes focusing in (106) above. *Kà* is externally merged at the spec *InterP* in line with Radford’s (2009: 124) proposal in (23) below:

23. A clause is interpreted as a non echoic question if (and only if) it is a CP with an interrogative specifier i.e a specifier with an interrogative word.

2.3 Comments on Interrogative Qualifer *Wo*.

Two claims are made by *Àkànbí* (2016) on how *Yorùbá* operates *wo* as an interrogative marker: one, the entire italicised phrases (in 24) below functions as a question marker, and two, *wo* is derived from *èwo* by deleting the initial vowel *è*. Let us consider his first assertion in the examples below:

24. *Ilé wo ni Olú kó?*
House QM FOC *Olú kó?*
‘Which house did *Olú* build?’
(*Àkànbí*, 2016: 419)

In *Àkànbí*’s opinion, the entire DP (QP) in 24 is regarded as the question marker. Corroborating this position, he assumes that the entire italicised phrase (in 24) above is undetachable and undergoes pied-piping to the clause left periphery, as evident in the ungrammaticality of 25b below:

- 25 a. *Ayò sùn ní igbà wo?*
Ayò sùn at time QP
‘When did *Ayò* sleep?’
b. **Wo ni Ayò sùn ni igbà ____?*
QP FOC *Ayò* sleep at time

However, if Àkànbí's assumption above holds water, how do we account for ilé 'house' and iwé 'book' as question markers (in 26a-b) below?

- 26 a. Ilé kí ni Olú kọ?
 House QM FOC Olú kọ
 'What type of house did Olú build?'
- b. Ìwé mélòó ni wọn rà?
 Book QM FOC they buy
 'How many books did they buy?'

The QNs (kí and mélòó) in the examples above cannot be detached from their head nouns. The head nouns and their complements form the DP just like we have in 25a-b above. The QNs in 26a-b above also function as qualifiers, just like a noun (nominal qualifier) qualifies its head noun, as shown (in 27) below:

27. Bàbá Adé lọ sí ilé iwé.
 Father Adé go to house book
 'Adé's father went to school.'

Adé qualifies bàbá while iwé qualifies ilé (in 27) above. Therefore, what happens in 24 or 26a-b unlike 27 above is that the question markers (the interrogative qualifier *wo* and the QN *kí/mélòó*) have their interrogative feature percolated through the entire phrases. Q-feature percolation is a feature copying process whereby a constituent that does not possess Q-feature (a non Q-word) inherits Q-feature from its immediately adjacent complement (Ajíbóyè, 2005). Under minimalist assumption, attraction of the entire phrase to the clause left periphery is accounted for by Attract Possible Smallest Maximal Projection (in 28) below:

28. An interrogative **C** attracts the smallest possible maximal projection containing an interrogative word to become its specifier.

(Radford, 2006: 128)

Now, let us return to Àkànbí's second assertion, where he claims that *wo* is derived from *èwo* after deleting the initial vowel *è*. On the contrary, *èwo* is derived by prefixation of *è-* and *wo* (*è+wo*). Both of them are of different categorial status: *ewo* is a QN while *wo* is an interrogative qualifier (Olánrewájú, 2016; Olánrewájú & Táiwò, 2021). They do not occur in free variation as evident in the examples below:

- 29 a. $[_{\text{FocP}} \text{Èwo} [_{\text{Foc}} \text{ni} [_{\text{TP}} \text{e} [_{\text{T}} [_{\text{VP}} \langle \text{èwó} \rangle [_{\text{V}} \langle \text{e} \rangle [_{\text{V}} \text{rí} [_{\text{VP}} \langle \text{èwo} \rangle [_{\text{V}} \langle \text{rí} \rangle [_{\text{DP}} \langle \text{èwo} \rangle]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]?$
 QN FOC you see.
 'Which one did you see?'
 b. $*[_{\text{FocP}} \text{Wo ni e rí } \langle \text{wo} \rangle]?$
 QM Foc you see

Two things cause 29b to crash unlike 29a: Firstly, in Yorùbá, the spec FocP only hosts a DP, therefore, any lexical item specified [-nominal] never occupies the spec FocP (Ìlòrí, 2010; Olánrewájú 2022). This invariably disqualifies *wo* occupying the left periphery of the clause (in 29b). Secondly, *wo* unlike *èwo* does not satisfy the c-selection requirement of the lexical verb *ri* 'see' as evident in ungrammaticality of 30a below:

- 30 a. *Olú ra wo?
 Olú buy QM
 b. Olú ra èwo?
 Olú buy QN
 'Olú bought WHICH ONE?'

3. Methodology

This paper adopted both primary and secondary methods of data collection to source for data. Eight (8) native speakers of the standard dialect (Yorùbá) aged 65 and above were purposively selected for structured oral interview and based on their proficiency. Data were also sourced from relevant texts, articles, journals and so on, both from libraries and the internet. The Phase Theory of Noam Chomsky's Minimalist Program served as the framework for the syntactic analysis.

4. Minimalist Analysis of Constituent Interrogatives in Yorùbá

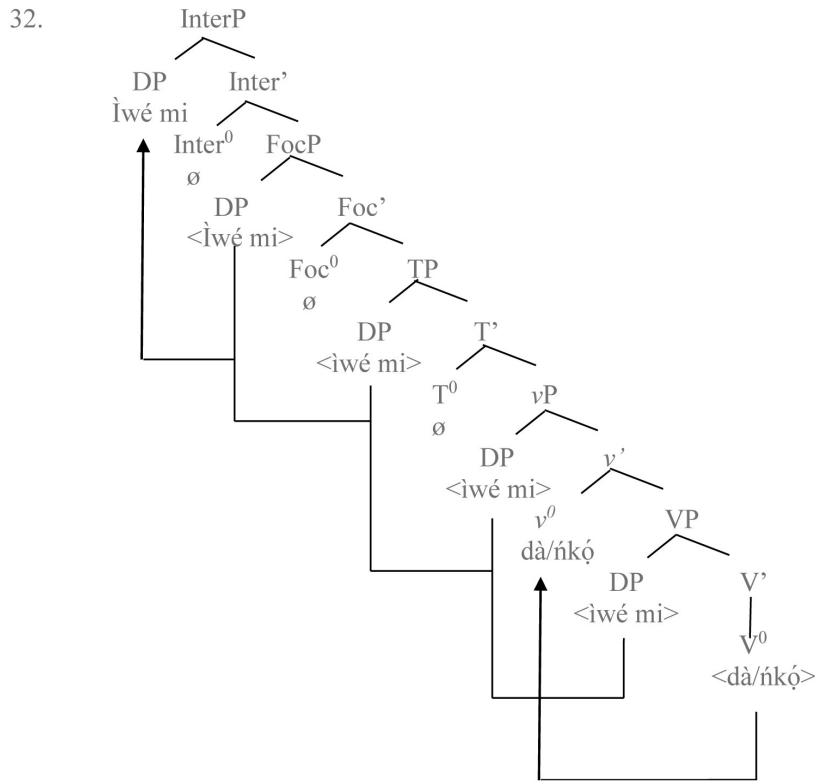
Yorùbá operates three methods to form its constituent interrogatives. They are: the use of QVs, QNs and interrogative qualifiers. These three methods are used to request for a response more than a yes/no answer from an interlocutor.

QVs in Yorùbá

QVs are used to ask after the location of a referent or to request for something from an interlocutor. The two QVs in Yorùbá are *dà* and *ńkó* (Awóbùlúyì, 1978; Táiwò & Abímbólá, 2014; Olánrewájú, 2022). According to Munro's (2012), a QV is a verb specified wh-feature. The two QVs in Yorùbá have high restriction on their distribution (Awóbùlúyì, 1978). Let us consider them in the example below:

- 31 a. Ìwé mi dà/ńkó?
 Book me QV
 'Where is my book?
 b. Owó rẹ dà/ńkó?
 Money you QV
 'Where is your money?

Example (31a) is illustrated (in 32) below, for a clearer understanding.



The derivation in 32 goes thus: The DP *iwé mi* ‘my book’ externally merges with the QV *dà/níkó* to project the VP in line with the PISH. The null performative light verb v^0 externally merges with the VP to project the *v*-bar, while the strong *vF* on the light performative verb v^0 attracts the QV *dà/níkó* to adjoin to itself. The DP *iwé mi* is attracted to the spec *vP* for external argument role. After this, the abstract T^0 merges with the light *vP* to project the *T*-bar. The T^0 as a probe attracts the DP *iwé mi* to the spec TP to value its unvalued [+EPP, case] feature. *Ìwé mi* is therefore valued nominative case. Following question and answer pair of this interrogative type, focus projection is activated. Therefore, the abstract Foc^0 externally merges with the TP to project the *Foc*-bar while the Foc^0 probes the DP *iwé mi* to the spec *FocP* to value its [+Focus] feature. The derivation still proceeds by activating the interrogative projection by merging the abstract $Inter^0$ with

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the FocP to project the Inter-bar. The Inter⁰ as a potential probe attracts the DP *iwé mi* to the spec InterP to check its [+Q, EF] through specifier and head agreement. In line with the derivation above, Olánrewájú (2022: 166) proposes 34 below for Yorùbá and related languages in the place of Radford's (2009:124) proposal repeated as 33 below:

33. A clause is interpreted as a non echoic question if (and only if) it is a CP with an interrogative specifier i.e a specifier with an interrogative word).

(Radford, 2009: 124)

34. A clause is interpreted as a non echoic question if (and only if) it is an InterP with either an interrogative specifier or a QV.

(Olánrewájú, 2022:166)

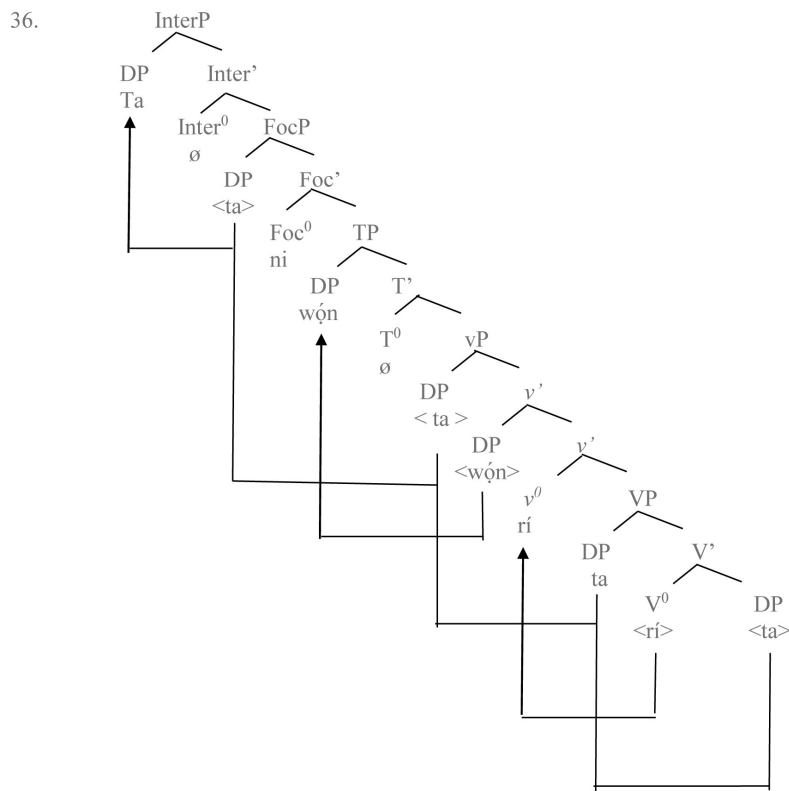
QNs in Yorùbá

QNs in Yorùbá are *ta* 'who', *kí* 'what', *èwo* 'which', *ìkelòò* 'what number/frequency', *mélòò* 'how many', *èlò* 'how much'. Apart from *ta* and *kí* other QNs in Yorùbá have more than a syllable and they are derivational (Olánrewájú, 2016). *Ibo* (*ibi + wo*) 'where', *ìgbà wo*, 'when' *báwó* (*bá + wo*) 'how' are all question phrases (QPs). *Wo* the interrogative item in them has its [+Q] feature percolated through the entire QPs. The same thing is applicable to *èèkelòò* (*èrin + kelòò*) 'what number/frequency', *èèmelòò* (*èrin + mélòò*). QNs can be base-generated in the canonical position associated with their grammatical functions in the language especially in rhetorical questions. Also, two QNs can be stacked in a constituent interrogative. QNs are specified [+Q, focus] feature (Kroeger, 2004). Below are example of how some of these QNs are operated.

- 35 a. *Ta ni wón rí?*
 QN FOC they see
 'Who did they see?'
- b. *Kí ni Oyè rà?*
 QN FOC Oyè buy
 'What did Oyè buy?'
- c. *Mélòò ni wón n fẹ?*

QN FOC they are like
 ‘How many do they want?’

The examples above are non-echoic questions, QNs are copied to the clause left peripheral position for feature valuation on the Foc⁰ and the Inter⁰. This is referred to as ex-situ strategy in the previous model of generative syntax. Example 35a is represented in the tree diagram below.



The derivation (in 36) goes thus: The lexical verb rí ‘see’ merges with ta ‘who’ to project the V-bar ri ta ‘see whom’ in line with c-selection requirement of the verb. After this, the QN ta ‘who’ is copied to the spec VP by the Operation Copy and Delete so as to check its case feature through specifier and head agreement. The derivation proceeds by merging the null performative verb v⁰ with the VP to project the v-bar, while the strong vF feature on the light v⁰ attracts the lexical verb rí ‘see’ to adjoin to itself. The

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third person plural subject pronoun *wón* is externally merged as the inner specifier of the light *vP* in line with the PISH. The QN *ta* is copied to the outer spec *vP*, an escape hatch from PIC. This invariably makes it visible to further operations in the course of the derivation. The derivation proceeds by externally merging the abstract T^0 with the *vP* to project the T-bar. The T^0 as a probe attracts *wón* ‘they’ to the spec TP to check the [+case, EPP] feature on the T^0 . The abstract Foc^0 merges with the TP to project the Foc-bar. The Foc^0 as a potential probe searches its c-command domain and attracts the QN (an active goal) to the spec FocP to have its [+Foc] feature checked. The derivation still proceeds by externally merging the abstract $Inter^0$ with the FocP to project the Inter-bar. The $Inter^0$ as a potential goal attracts the QN *ta* to the spec InterP to check its [+Q, EF] through specifier and head agreement.

Interrogative Qualifiers in Yorùbá

Yorùbá uses interrogative qualifiers in two ways: one, it uses either of the interrogative qualifiers *wo* and *kelòó* with a head noun, and two, it uses any of its QNs identified above to qualify a (head) noun. Let us consider the examples below on the first method.

- 37 a. *Aṣọ wo ni Oyè rà?*
Cloth QM FOC Oyè buy
‘Which cloth did Oyè buy?’
- b. *Ipò kelòó ni Oyè ṣe?*
Position QM FOC Oyè do
‘What is Oye’s position?’
- c. *Ìgbà wo ni ẹ dé?*
Time QM FOC you arrive
‘When did you arrive?’
- d. *Ba-wo ni ẹ ti ṣe é?*
Like-QM FOC you PERF do it
‘How did you do it?’

Wo and *kelòó* are interrogative qualifiers, their [+Q] feature percolates through the entire QPs in 37a-d above. Let us consider the examples below on the second method.

- 38 a. *Ilé ta ni wón rà?*

- House QN FOC they buy
'Whose house did they buy?'
- b. Ìlú ibo ni à n lọ?
Town QN FOC we are going
'Which town are we going?'
- c. Bàtà mélòó ni Olú rà?
Shoe QN FOC Olú buy
'How many shoes did Olu buy?'

The QNs (in 38a-c) above function as qualifiers similarly to the italicised nouns (nominal qualifiers) (in 39a-b) below:

- 39 a. Bàbá Oyè lọ sí ilú Ìbàdàn
Father Oyè go to town Ìbàdàn
'Oyè's father went to Ìbàdàn.'
- b. Ọmọ olùkó ẹ ipò kin-in-ní.
Child teacher do position first'
'The teacher's child came first.'

In line with Wh-Attraction Condition (WAC), the entire QPs in 38 and 39 are copied to the clause left periphery for feature valuation.

Conclusion

This paper discussed the syntactic behaviour of constituent interrogative markers in Yorubá. The paper adopted QNs, QVs and interrogative qualifiers in the place of wh-phrases adopted in some extant works.. With this, we were able to identify the class (of word) that each of these interrogative words belongs. Unlike wh-phrases in English which are also operated in relativisation and adverbial clauses, these items are restricted to interrogatives only. QNs are specified [+Q, focus] feature while QVs perform both interrogative and predicate functions in the language.

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