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EDITORIAL

Following the first edition of Drumspeak in 2016, we are now ready with the second one. It must be acknowledged that several persons submitted manuscripts for the present edition. Finally, we accepted twelve (12) papers for publication in this edition. We are amazed by the interest shown in Drumspeak and thank our numerous contributors for continually publishing with us. We thank you for bearing with us in spite of the apparent delay. To all contributors, reviewers, and the editorial board, I say Ayekoo.

At this point, let me take the opportunity to introduce to our readers our new Editor-in-Chief in the person of Rev. Prof. E. Anum who takes over the leadership of the editorial board. Rev. Prof. Anum is not new to Drumspeak as he was once the Editor-in-Chief of Drumspeak. He brings to the review process a wealth of experience that should see Drumspeak improve on its review and editorial processes, and time of publishing. To Rev. Prof. Anum, I say ‘Akwaaba’ (meaning, ‘welcome’)

The present edition has a total of twelve papers from the three broad knowledge domains in the faculty: The liberal Arts and Heritage; Language, Literary Studies and Communication; and Performing Arts. The first of three papers in Literature, Oppong Adjei’s ‘Domination in Sexual Relations in the Novels of Ayi Kwei Armah’ draws on Lovett’s (2001) concept of domination to examine the kind of domination that may exist in the various heterosexual and few homosexual and bisexual relations in selected novels of Armah. The writer is to be commended for his boldness in discussing this subject matter. In the second paper titled ‘Soyinka’s Archetypal and the Dialectics of Terror’, Niyi expresses doubt that the search for global peace in the world today is receiving attention unprecedented in history. The writer believes that the turning point which opened up fresh security challenges was the infamous 9/11 attacks on the United States of America by Al-Qaeda. The paper concludes that the easiest route to global peace lies in mutual respect of boundaries by all. The third paper presents a postmodern and postcolonial reading of Véronique Tadjo’s novel As the Crow Flies. It also addresses the vicious circle of hopelessness and poverty which has become the bane of Africans and black diasporans in the twenty first century
Turning away from the literary papers, the next two papers deal with Nigerian linguistics. The paper titled ‘Comparative analysis of question formation in Olukumi and Standard Yoruba: A minimalist approach’ seeks to carry out a survey of the question formation processes in Olùkùmi and Standard Yorùbá. The claim that the two languages originated from the same source was also confirmed. The next paper discusses a different linguistic structure: negative constructions. This paper by Sanusi and Omolewu compares negative constructions in Standard Yorùbá (SY) and Ègbá dialect (ED), using the Principles and Parameters theory as a theoretical framework. The paper concluded that, despite the fact that Ègbá is a dialect of Yorùbá, there are a lot of differences in their negative constructions.

Wincharles Coker’s paper ‘Western Cinema and the work of empire’ examines misrepresentations, false assumptions, and occluded biases against the Orient through the lens of Western cinema. Using theories of Empire, Orientalism, and Myth, the paper turns the spotlight on James Cameron’s True Lies to unpack ideologies embedded in the film in ways that suggest a systemic epistemic malevolence towards the Oriental Other.

In ‘Music preference(s) and emotional intelligence: A study of relationships’, Eric Debrah-Otchere employs a mixed-methods design with a sample of 100 undergraduate students to explore the relationship between Music Preference (MP) and Emotional Intelligence (EI). The analysis revealed that the Upbeat and Conventional, and the Intense and Rebellious music dimensions were positively and negatively correlated respectively, with the overall EI scores of participants. There was ample evidence to suggest that MP and EI are related.

Augustine Mensah’s interpretation of the Biblical story about Abraham and the sacrifice of Isaac is likely to be seen as audacious. Mensah argues that Abraham’s action as depicted in the Biblical account will, in today’s world, reveal him not as a man of faith, but as one who abuses his child; and a father who betrays his son’s trust in him. This interpretation is intended to show the other side of Bible stories that are often closed or lost to us; that is, the side that makes the Bible literature.
Two papers from History are the next to follow. Yayoh’s paper uses primary and secondary sources to argue that the Akan dominance of Ewedome from the early eighteenth century to the later part of the nineteenth century marked the transition from priest-led political organisation to the institution of Akan-style chieftaincy system. This effect was more profound in the way in which certain local leaders in Ewedome emerged as important chiefs through the accumulation of power and status. Thus, the Akan contact reshaped political power and led to the configuration of regional politics in Ewedome. In ‘Pre-conceived ideas and the challenge of reconstruction in African history’, the writer highlights a contemporary challenge faced by scholars in the writing of African History. It establishes that in the attempt to reconstruct the African past, scholars of African history have not always been faithful to what their sources indicate. The paper advises that the search for the objective past should remain pivotal in the historians’ engagement with the fragments of the past.

In the paper titled ‘Apriorism and naturalism: A case for Kant’s intercession in the rationalist and empiricist debate’, Husein Inusah and Richard Ansah suggest that the relevance of the a priori to naturalism cannot be discussed without duly acknowledging Kant’s contribution. They conclude that moderate naturalism provides the platform to appreciate the debt contemporary epistemologists owe Kant. The last paper titled ‘Divination by dreams: The evidence from the ancient Greeks’ examines dream as an aspect of ancient Greek divination. Substantiating its claims with evidence from some works of ancient Greek writers, the writer employs the descriptive research method to bring to light the Greeks’ perception on dreams and their interpretation. The paper concludes that dreams, as they are often true today, were a remarkable form of divination among the Greeks and they were seriously regarded as veritable means of knowing the future.

We encourage students, scholars, and other faculty from other departments in the University of Cape Coast and other universities to submit papers when the next call for papers is made. Enjoy reading the papers!

Prof. J.B.A. Afful (PhD)
(Editor-in-Chief)
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF QUESTION FORMATION IN OLÛKÛMÎ AND STANDARD YORÛBÁ: A MINIMALIST APPROACH

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Abstract

The objective of this paper is to carry out a survey of the question formation processes in Olûkûmî and Standard Yorûbá. Our primary aim is to identify the clause structure in each of the two languages, study how questions are formed in the two languages, and identify the types of questions used in the two languages. Frame technique method was adopted for our data collection. The claim that the two languages originated from the same source was also confirmed. The theoretical framework adopted for this work is the Minimalist Program. It was chosen to test the relevance of its claims to African language data.

Keywords: Question formation, Minimalist Programme, Olûkûmî and Standard Yorûbá.
1.0 Introduction

Syntax is concerned with the study of rules which govern the formation of linguistic units larger than words. Sentences are derived by mapping one phrase marker onto another with an operation known as transformation. Transformation involves relating the deep structure of a sentence to the surface structure through transformational rules. Transformation works on basic sentences as generated by the phrase makers resulting from the deep structure. Transformational processes in any given language could be in the form of question formation, focus construction, relativization, reflexivization, and negation. This paper examines Question Formation processes in both Olùkùmi and Standard Yorùbá. Question formation is a syntactic process found in all human languages because human beings inquire about things out of curiosity. Questions, according to Watters (2000:203), “represent the interrogative mood in which the speaker is not sure if a given situation is a fact or what the details of the situation are and so ask someone to clarify”. The Minimalist Programme approach is used for the analysis of the question formation processes in the two languages.

Brief Notes on Olùkùmi and Standard Yorùbá and their Speakers

Olùkùmi, the name by which the language and its speakers are popularly known, is an adopted Yorùbá term meaning ‘my friend’ in some dialects such as Ọ̀wọ̀ and Àkókó, and even Ìtsékírí and Ìgalà, which are also members of the Yoruboid group of languages. Speakers of Olùkùmi claim to have a strong tie with Ọ̀wọ̀/Àkókó axis in the present Ondo state. The language is spoken in an area of Aniocha North Local Government Area of Eastern Delta named Odiani clan which constitutes a distinct and unique tribe in Western Igbo land and has been described aptly as a ‘Yoruba Enclave’. Enclaves are communities where speakers of language Aare surrounded and,
or dominated by speakers of a different language B, in a defined political or geographical area (Maher 1996).

Olùkùmi is principally spoken in Ugbodu and Ukwu-Nzu. Also it is used in some parts of Ogodor, Ubulubu, Ugboba, Idumogo and Anioma by settlers who either migrated from Ugbodu and/or Ukwu-Nzu. For precision and easy reference to the study area; Ugbodu community forms the study area. Olùkùmi has remained the only legacy which clearly distinguishes Ugbodu town from the western Igbo sub-culture area in which it is ‘sandwished’. Ugbodu is a border line between Aniocha Local Government Area of Delta State and Agbazilo Local Government Area of Edo State. It is situated at the extreme north of Aniochaland. It is bounded as a community by Ohordua to the north; Onicha-Ukwu to the south, Idumuje to the west and Ukwu-Nzu to the east. The National Population Council as at the last conducted population census in 2006 put the population figure of the town at 13,750.

Yorùbá is one of the three major national languages in Nigeria, with Hausa and Igbo being the other languages. As one of the most highly developed languages in Nigeria, Yoruba is used in legislative houses of assembly in many South Western states of Nigeria (Oyo, Ogun, Osun, Ekiti, Ondo, Lagos, and Kwara). It is also avidly studied in Europe and the United States of America not only for intrinsic linguistic purposes but also for social reasons among African-American and heritage population of the United States (Yusuf, 2011). Apart from Nigeria, the language is also spoken in neighbouring countries like Republic of Benin, Togo, mid-eastern Ghana, Sierra Leone, and Brazil. It is also spoken in some parts of Africa, Europe, and the Americas.

The language has its origin in Yorùbáland. Yorùbá are believed to be descendants of Odùduwà and refer to themselves as ‘Ọmọ Odùduwà’ meaning ‘Oduduwa’s children’. The Yoruba consists of several dialects which are mutually intelligible. The transcription was established over
a century by Anglican archbishop, Crowther, a descendant of slaves of Yorùbá origin and one of the great figures in African history (Alexandre, 1972:57). The Yoruba standard orthography was based on Oyo dialect of the language. It has been severally reformed and revised. Its present form incorporates several features from other dialects. It is learnt in schools and used in the media and other administrative domains. Quite a number of linguistic works have been carried out on the language, with the birth of general linguistics in the 19th century. Genetically, Olùkùmi belongs to Edeki i.e (Yoruba & Itsekiri) under Yoruboid group in Benue-Congo family of Niger–Congo phylum (Lewis, 2009). Also, Yorùbá is one of the Kwa languages, a sub-group of the Niger-Congo family (Katzner, 1977; Comrie, 1987). Hence, the two languages fall under the same family group.

2.0 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework adopted for this work is Minimalist Programme (MP). It has been chosen to test the universality of some of its claims, especially the applicability or otherwise of the theory to African language data.

The Minimalist framework is a product of Chomsky’s (1993, 1995) publications. The framework attempts to reduce the syntactic constructs to a minimum level and also develop a theory of language acquisition. Radford (1997:6) observes that:

Chomsky in the 1990s has made minimalism (that is, the requirement to minimize the theoretical and descriptive apparatus used to describe language) the cornerstone of linguistic theory. The Minimalist Program for linguistic Theory… is motivated to a large extent by the desire to minimize the acquisition burden placed on the child, and thereby maximize the learnability of natural language grammars.

In the same way, Cook and Newson (2007:3) maintain that “Minimalist Program intends to cut down the number of operations and assumptions, making it in the end simpler than past theories”.

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Underlying this proposition is the principle of economy which makes statements about human language that are as simple as possible (Haegeman, 1996). Some of the major assumptions of the MP are outlined in Chomsky (1995).

The four levels of representation recognized in GB theory (D-structure, S-structure, logical form (LF), and phonetic form (PF)) are reduced to two: LF and PF referred to as INTERFACE levels. The LF is an abstract representation of meaning while the PF is an abstract representation of sound. According to the MP, the mapping of sounds to meanings requires no more than a lexicon and a computational (syntactic) procedure which gives lexical elements a phonological and a semantic identity. Language within MP, is an interface of articulatory and perceptual (A-P) system (PF -Sign) and their conceptual and intentional (C-I) system (LF - meaning) (Luraghi and Parodi, 2008).

The grammar is modelled as a COMPUTATIONAL SYSTEM containing a numeration of lexical items, to which operations of MOVE and MERGE apply in order to build up a structural description. All inflected words are formed in the lexicon. Operations are driven by morphological necessity, with features being checked for their applicability. Economy constraints, such as ‘procrastinate’ and ‘greed’ are used in comparing derivations involving the same lexical resources and reject those which do not conform. The derivation eventually splits into phonetic and semantic representations (following SPELL-OUT), which must converge to produce grammatical sentences; otherwise, it crashes.

The point at spell-out determines which movement operation will affect the pronunciation of a sentence and those that will not. Operations that occur between spell-out and PF do affect pronunciation and are not of the same sort as those that operate within the computational system on the road to LF which do not affect pronunciation (Marantz, 1995).
3.0 Question Formation Processes in Olùkùmi and Standard Yorùbá

Question formation is a syntactic process found in all human languages because human beings inquire about things out of curiosity. Matthew (2007:330) defines question formation as “a syntactic process which forms an interrogative construction”. There exists a transformational relationship between a statement and the corresponding question, be it Yes/No or Wh-question (Nwachukwu 1995; Yusuf 1998). Yusuf (2007) makes the assertion that simple sentence could perform various functions like declaration, interrogation, request, etc. He argues further that sentences are similar in many ways, in that, in spite of the seeming structural differences, they are related to one another. The declarative, according to him, is primary whereas others are derived and that the process by which one sentence generates another type is simply tagged transformation. Question constitutes both a syntactic category and a discourse category. Quirk, et al (1985:804) define questions as a semantic class which is primarily used to seek information on a specific point. They can also be used to show surprise or disbelief and can be used in exclamation.

3.1 Types of Question

Questions are of different types. Quirk, et al. (1985) proposed three major classes of questions according to the answers they expect. These are:

1. a. Yes/No questions
   b. Wh-questions
   c. alternative questions

Other types of questions that are identified are:

   d. echo question and
   e. indirect question (Watters, 2000; Carnie, 2007; and Lamidi, 2008).
The above question types are exemplified with Olùkùmi and Standard Yorùbá data, as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OLÙKÙMI</th>
<th>YORÙBÁ</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2) a. Wọ ra asọ nè hán nif?</td>
<td>‘Have you bought the clothe?’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Kí orúkọ rẹ?</td>
<td>Kí ni orúkọ rẹ?</td>
<td>‘What is your name?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Usú tábí apáká, kàrì té wọ fẹ?</td>
<td>Iṣu lo fẹ tábí ēwà?</td>
<td>‘Do you want yam or beans?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Èghí-ènè Adé gwélé?</td>
<td>Adé télé tani?</td>
<td>‘Ade went with whom?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Urún àwán fẹ mí mà?</td>
<td>Ohun tí wón fẹ kò yé mí?</td>
<td>‘I wonder what they want?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this write-up, emphasis shall be on two types of questions (i.e. Yes/No question and the wh-question) that are most common in the two languages.

### 3.1.1 Yes/No Question in Olùkùmi and Standard Yorùbá

Yes/No question, also known as polar question, refers to the question which requires a yes or no answer. In forming the Yes/No question in Olùkùmi and Standard Yorùbá, the languages use their basic word order of SVO and, usually, it is derived from declarative sentence with the elongation of the final vowel or introduction of a question marker, either at sentence initial or sentence final position. The response is either E or Èè in Olùkùmi and Béènì/Bèèkö́r rará in Standard Yorùbá, meaning ‘Yes or No’. Some examples are provided below:

**OLÙKÙMI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Declarative Sentence</th>
<th>Derived Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(3) i. Olú yúulé-ewé ní ọnínì.</td>
<td>Olú yú ulé-ewé ní ọnínì nif?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Olu went to school today.’</td>
<td>‘Did Olu go to school today?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. Wọ ra asọ nè hán ni.</td>
<td>2SG buy clothe DROP finish be-QM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘You have bought the clothe.’</td>
<td>‘Have you bought the clothe?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. Àwányú ọzà nì</td>
<td>Àwányúọzà nif?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples (3i-iv) show declarative sentences and their corresponding derived question forms in Olùkùmi, while similar examples in standard Yoruba are shown in (4i-iv) above.

A rising intonation on the final syllable and the corresponding lengthening or elongation of the final vowel sound produces Yes/No question in Olùkùmi whereas, Yorùbá has QM that can either occur at the sentence initial or final to show polar questioning. However, it should be noted that in Standard Yorùbá questions can be asked by rising intonation on the last syllable of the
question marker. E.g. Adé dà? ‘Where is Ade?’ Olú ńkọ? ‘What about Olu?’ Two separate question markers can also co-occur in a single construction as in (5) below.

(5) Ọ́ṣé oti ẹ̀mí bó?
QM 2SG PERF eat QM
‘Have you eaten?’

3.1.2 Wh-Questions

Wh-questions are so called because in English they typically involve the use of an interrogative word beginning with a wh- such as who, what, when, where, which, why and how (Radford, 1981; Tallerman, 2005; Carnie, 2007). In such questions, the speaker is requesting information about the identity of some entity in the sentence. According to Payne (1997), questions that expect a more elaborate response than simply an affirmation or disaffirmation are called question–word questions, content questions, information questions or wh-questions. Examples of such elements in Olùkùmi include èghí ‘who’ kí ‘what’ kíyà ‘where’ etc.

Yorùbá grammarians from the traditional to the contemporary (e.g. Awobuluyi 1978; Bamgbose 1980; 1990; Yusuf 1999; Yusuff 2006) identify interrogative nouns in Standard Yorùbá as ta ‘who’ kí ‘what’ èwo ‘which’ ibo ‘where’, etc. However, these identified words fail to capture the total D-Structure property of the items they meant to represent. On the same issue, Bamgbose (1980:36) avers: ‘...these question items must be considered as having the variance tani ‘who’ and kíni ‘what’ otherwise it will be impossible to explain...’ Following Bamgbose’s observation, the wh-word kíni ‘what’ rather than kí ‘what’ captures more accurately the D-Structure form of wh-words. In other words, if we assume that the question words are rather tani ‘who’ and kíni ‘what’, they seem to capture more accurately the content of the question items.

However, the question that this analysis might raise is, if the variant tani and kíni are the wh-items at the D-Structure, how are they reduced to ta and kí respectively at the S-Structure?
can we account for the deletion or separation of \( ni \) from \( ta \) or \( kí \) at the S-Structure? The explanations given for this reduction at the landing site are given by Bamgbose (1980:35-36):

The question items for the two types of noun phrases will be \( ta \) ‘who’ and \( kí \) ‘what’ respectively. When topicalisation does not take place, however, these question items must be considered as having the variants \( tani \) ‘who’ and \( kíni \) ‘what’... it seems that topicalisation is analogous to Wh-Movement in these questions.

From the above, we can infer that, when a \( wh \)-item \( ta \) ‘who’ or \( kí \) ‘what’ is moved to the sentence initial position, it is at the same time focused. In other words, what is moved to SPEC-CP position is the \( wh \)-item \( ta \) ‘who’ or \( kí \) ‘what’. The movement of the morpheme \( ni \) of the pre-derived \( wh \)-item is to C position as a focus marker.

Transformation process under the MP framework is said to involve merge and movement (Radford, 2004). The assumption is that movement is a composite operation involving two sub operations of copying and deletion. This is the cornerstone of Chomsky’s *CopyTheoryofMovement*. The copying component of movement involves a form of merger operation by which a copy of a constituent which has already been merged in one position is subsequently merged into another position. In deriving \( wh \)-question, the phrase which is about to be questioned is first replaced by a suitable \( wh \)-word or \( wh \)-phrase and then moved to a special clause–initial position; subsequent deletion of the original merge will leave behind it a gap in the clause structure. Example (6) best illustrates this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OLÚKÚMI</th>
<th>YORÚBÁ</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
c. \([\text{kí}] \text{Adé zé [kí]}\) \([\text{kí ni}] \text{Adé je [kíni]}\) \([\text{what}] \text{Ade eat [what]}\)
d. \([\text{kí}] \text{Adé zé ---?}\) \([\text{kí ni}] \text{Adé je ---?[What] did Ade eat ---?}\)

The constituent to be questioned is replaced with the appropriate *wh*-element, as seen in (b) above. A copy of the constituent replaced with the *wh*-element is merged to the initial position of the sentence through *wh*-movement, as seen in (c). Subsequent deletion of the phonetic features of the original occurrence of *kí/kíni* is derived from the form in (d) above.

The constituent that is to be questioned, usually a maximal projection, leaves behind a copy at its extraction site. In earlier works in the 1970s and 1980s, moved constituents were said to leave behind a trace (t) in the position out of which they move. Within the framework of Chomsky’s more recent Copy Theory of Movement, a trace is taken to be a full copy of a moved constituent. The null copies left behind by movement are referred to as traces or trace copies (Radford, 2004).

Let us examine how constituents are questioned in Olùkùmi and Standard Yorùbá from the following sentences:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OLÙKÙMI</th>
<th>YORÙBÁ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adé zé usu ní ulé.</td>
<td>Adé je iṣu ní ilé.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ade eat yam at home</td>
<td>Ade eat yam at home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Ade ate yam at home.’</td>
<td>‘Ade ate yam at home.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above sentences could be phrase-marked as in (9) below:

(9a) \(\text{CP} \)
(9b) \(\text{SPEC} \quad \text{C’} \)
Adé zé usu ní ulé

‘Ade ate yam at home.’ (OLÛKÛMI)

(9b) CP

SPEC C’

C TP

DP T’

T [PAST]VP

V NP

N PP

P N

Adé jẹ isu ní ilé
Adé je iṣu ní ilé.

‘Ade ate yam at home.’ (YORÙBÁ)

If we are to question the subject(NP1), the copy left behind by moved element is given an overt spell out by replacing itself with a resumptive pronoun. The *wh*-element is moved to the SPEC-CP. Chomsky suggests that an Extended Projection Principle [EPP] features drives movement of *wh*- expression to SPEC-CP position. Questioning NP1 in the example above will give:

OLÛKÙMI YORÛBÁ

(10) Èghí ózẹusu ní ulé? (11) Ta ni ójé iṣu ní ilé?
QM 3SG eat yam at home QM FOC3SG eat yam at home
‘Who ate yam at home?’ ‘Who ate yam at home?’

The above sentences can be diagrammatically represented in (12) below:

(12a) CP
    SPEC C’
    C TP
    DP T’
    T [PAST] VP
    V NP
    N PP
    P N
èghí ó i zẹ usu ní ulé

Sanusi & Eleshin: Comparative Analysis of Question Formation in olükùmi and Standard Yorùbá: A Minimalist Approach

èghí ó jí ẹ
When a subject is questioned or focused, a third person singular resumptive pronoun ọ is obligatory (Carstens, 1985). This takes place under conditions of repetition. Thus, the precondition for the occurrence of resumptive in the cases of questioning on subject or an attributive noun is the independent presence of the \textit{wh}-element of these constituents at the beginning of the sentence, so that the resulting structures contain repetitions of these constituents. The principle of checking also ensures that constituent moved does not land wrongly in order not to produce crash derivation. The
derivation eventually splits into (PF) and (LF) representations (following spell-out), which converged to produce the grammatical sentences above.

**Direct-Object (NP2) Questioning**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OLÛKÙMI</th>
<th>YORÙBÁ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(13) KíAdé zé ní ulé?</td>
<td>Kí Adéjé ní ilé?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QM Ade eat at home</td>
<td>QM FOC Ade eat at home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘What did Adé eat at home?’</td>
<td>‘What did Adé eat at home?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sentences above can be diagrammed, as shown below:

(15a) CP

SPEC C’

C TP

DP T’

T [PAST]VP

V NP

N PP

P N

kí Adé zé øti ní ulé

Kí Adé zé ní ulé?

‘What did Adé eat at home?’
Kíni Adé jẹ ní ilé?
‘What did Ade eat at home?’

Questioned or focused objects leave a gap in object position (Déchaine, 2002). Hence, the constituent questioned leaves behind a trace copy at its extraction site, as seen above. The index shows the co-referential value of the questioned element. After an object element has been transposed and merged with the wh-element at sentence initial, its original position must be left blank, leaving a trace copy.
Indirect-Object(NP3)Questioning

OLÙKÚMI | YORÙBÁ

(16) **Kíyà Adé zẹ usu?**  (17) **Ibo ni Adé ti je iṣu?**

QM  Ade eat yam  QM  FOC  Ade  PERF  eat yam

‘Where did Adé eat yam?’

‘Where did Adé eat yam?’

The phrase-marked in (18) below represents the sentences above:

(18a) **CP**

**SPEC**  **C’**

C  **TP**

DP  **T’**

[PERF]  **VP**

V  **NP**

N  **PP**

kíyà  Adé  zẹ  usu  ti  

Kíyà Adé zẹ usu?

‘Where did Ade eat yam?’
As shown above (in 18a and 18b), when the object of a preposition is questioned in both Olükùmì and Standard Yorùbá, the prepositions do not move with it to the preverbal position. According to Culicover (1977), this is conceived as a ‘displaced or dangling preposition. There are some wh-elements which normally have complements. Consider the below examples:

**OLÛKÙMÌ**

(19) Wọ né aṣọ ́ ́nilìkà.
2SG have clothe plenty

**YORÛBÁ**

(20) Ọní aṣọ púpò.
2SG have clothe plenty

‘You have plenty clothes.’

The phenomenon of pied-piping requires that when a wh-quantifier is moved to SPEC-CP, its complement has to be pied-piped (that is, dragged) along with it (Radford, 2004).
The *wh*-word and its complement form the Question Phrase (QP) under the SPEC-CP.

(23a)

```
  CP
    SPEC
      QP
        QM
        DP
        C
          NP
          T'
            T [+PRST]VP
```

Olú asọ eyi wọ nè?

‘How many clothes do you have?’ (OLÚKÙMI)
4.0 Conclusion and Recommendations

From the available data from Olùkùmi and Standard Yorùbá, we have observed that the two languages display some degrees of similarities and differences in terms of lexical and syntactic properties. This probably accounts for the reason why they belong to the same language family. Olùkùmi’s migration and eventual integration into South-South region did not influence them to drop their mother tongue. It is observed that Olùkùmi does not have overt question marker like Standard Yorùbá. A rising intonation on the final syllable and the corresponding lengthening or elongation of the final vowel sound produces Yes/No question in Olùkùmi. It should be noted that in Standard Yorùbá, questions are also asked by rising intonation on the last syllable and double QM in a single construction can be used, if need be. On the case of \textit{wh}-question, the two languages merge the constituent to be questioned with the appropriate \textit{wh}-element and transpose to sentence
initial through a *wh*-movement. Hence, the initial *wh*-element in *wh*-questions originate internally within the sentence in underlying structure and subsequently copy and delete through movement and merge to the initial SPEC-CP position by a transformation of *Wh*-movement. However, this process is followed by a focus marker *ni* placed at the C-CP position in Standard Yorùbá to make the derivation grammatical.

Based on our observation of the available data from Olùkùmi and Standard Yorùbá, it could be said that the two languages share a reasonable percentage of cognates. This confirms the fact that the two languages originated from the same source, and also reveals the fact that the two languages belonged to the same speech form in the past before they diverged to become autonomous languages. In spoken forms, the two languages are fairly mutually intelligible. Although speakers of Yorùbá can hardly understand Olùkùmi, Olùkùmi speakers have a better understanding of the spoken form of Yorùbá language.

This paper does not claim to have exhausted all the available facts about the question formation processes in Olùkùmi and Standard Yorùbá, but the aspects treated are quite vital to the formation of interrogative sentences in the two languages. Linguists can carry out further investigation on Olùkùmi. This will provide full awareness of this discovered Kwa language in the midst of the Niger-Deltans.

References


