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**THE STRUCTURE OF THE LEFT PERIPHERY
IN
BASA'A**

**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the
Award of a Master's Degree in General Linguistics**

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“Chomsky’s Minimalist Program is still a very promising framework for explaining the realities of the language faculty in terms of simplicity, innateness and economy. Features-based approach to the study of syntactic derivation has been a very positive development in the story of the study of syntax too.” Ahmad Reza Lotfi (1999:114).

« Il ne faut pas oublier que la linguistique est sans doute la plus exacte des sciences de l’homme, celle du moins qui a le plus d’avance sur les autres par un concours de circonstances qui ne saurait être fortuit. »

J.P VINAY and J. DARBERNET (1958)

Stylistique comparée du français et de l’anglais

Paris, France P24

DEDICATION

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED TO:
GOD ALMIGHTY
My father Jérémie BASSONG
and
My mother Colette LOKI

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If an exercise of this kind has succeeded, it is because its author has managed to balance on the shoulders of many others without too often falling off. So to claim that a piece of work of this kind has been realised single-handedly would be ungrateful and unjust. A host of kind, loving and caring people made the timely realization of this research endeavour possible.

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ABSTRACT

This work sets out to study the structure of the left periphery of the clause in Basa'a, an Equatorial Bantu language spoken in Cameroon, Central Africa. The study is conducted against the background of the minimalist approach initiated and developed by Chomsky (1993, 1995, 1998; 1999/2001) and others. A great deal of attention is not given to the descriptive approach. The study aims at drawing syntactic “maps” in a very detailed and economical way for easier learnability. The study reveals that syntactic computations in Basa'a are built up by a series of merger and movement operations. As could be expected from a work of this kind, the outcomes are presented as follows: Basa'a makes use of different question formation strategies. Wh-operators can remain in-situ or move in overt syntax. In the first case movement is conditioned by **procrastinate** i.e. it is delayed and constituents do not move. In the second case, overt movement is conditioned by the **earliness principle** i.e. constituents move as early as possible at the early stage of derivation. Wh-movement is motivated by checking purposes i.e. there are Wh-features and EPP features in C° that lure the wh-operators in Spec-CP. In case of LF movement there is only feature attraction i.e. the wh-phrase does not move in overt syntax. Basa'a also appeals to indirect questions through the use of the lexical complementisers *tɔ* “if/whether” and *tɔɔ* “if”. In Yes/No questions the particle *baá* “is it that” is used followed by the final vowel at clause-final position. In other cases only the final vowel is used in yes/no questions. Alternative questions are built up through the use of the conjunct *lɛ* “or” between two clauses or phrases. The study of Subjacency reveals that NP and IP are bounding nodes in Basa'a and that wh-movement respects Subjacency. Relativization is realised by the use of a phonetically realised relative operator, by a null operator or by the lexical complementiser *lɛ* “that”. The matching analysis is the more reliable approach in the study of relative clauses since in Basa'a all clauses types are instantiations of wh-movement. Topicalisation and focalisation are two discourse related constructions that affect word order. Multiple topics and multiple topic-fronting are licensed whereas multiple-foci-fronting are banned. There is in-situ focus whereas there is no in-situ topic. V-focusing at the left periphery results in nominalisation or copying rightwards. In negative constructions the negated constituent compulsorily adjoins to the negative particle *aeô* through incorporation before moving to Spec-FocP. In case of Clitic Left Dislocation, resumptive pronoun insertion comes out as a saving device which contribute to well-formedness. In this respect, the resumptive strategy is referred to as a Last Resort Strategy. Topicalisation can target a phrase or an entire clause through “superextraction” of the whole complex clause from clause-internal position to Spec-TopP. The split-CP hypothesis proposed by Rizzi (1997, 2001, 2004b) accommodates the Basa'a data and reveals that the different projections that formerly occupied the left edge of the clause individually may co-occur without illicitness. To this end, the study shows that there are different head projections namely force phrase, topic phrase, focus phrase, interrogative phrase, the modifier phrase and the Wh-phrase. Overall, the “cartography” of the left periphery of the clause in Basa'a has the following configurations:

- (1) Force...Int...Wh...Mod...Top...Foc... or
- (2) Force...Mod...Int...Wh...Top...Foc...

Résumé

Le présent travail entend mener une étude syntaxique de la structure de la périphérie gauche de la proposition en Basa'a, langue bantoue équatoriale parlée au Cameroun, Afrique Centrale. Le cadre théorique est celui du Programme Minimaliste initié et développé par Noam Chomsky (1993, 1995, 1998, 1999/2001) et les autres. Un petit accent est aussi mis sur l'approche descriptive. Le but est de présenter la cartographie de la périphérie gauche de la proposition de manière plus économique afin de faciliter le processus d'apprentissage de la langue. Il ressort de l'étude que les computations syntaxiques en Basa'a découlent d'une série d'opérations de *fusion* et de *mouvement*. Les résultats obtenus révèlent qu'il existe diverses stratégies dans la formation des questions en Basa'a. La formation des questions est rendue possible soit à travers l'usage des syntagmes « Qu » in-situ ou déplacés. Dans le premier cas la vérification des traits se fait par attraction alors que dans le deuxième il y'a déplacement de la catégorie ciblé et des traits grammaticaux. Les syntagmes Qu interrogateurs se déplacent vers le spécifieur du syntagme du complémenteur (SC) soit à la forme de surface soit à la forme logique. Dans le cas où il y'a déplacement en syntaxe le mouvement est motivé par le principe de « **Earliness** » c'est-à-dire que le déplacement a lieu le plus tôt possible au moment de la dérivation syntaxique ; alors que dans le deuxième le mouvement est motivé par le principe de « **procrastinate** » c'est-à-dire qu'il est reporté à la forme logique. Aussi, le Basa'a fait recours aux questions indirectes à travers l'usage des complémenteurs lexicaux *toó* « si/soit » et *ibálé* « si ». De même, il y'a les questions alternatives par l'usage du connecteur *tolé* « ou » placé entre deux constituants. Dans le cas des questions directes il y'a l'emploi de la particule de l'interrogation *baá* « est-ce-que » suivie de la voyelle finale réalisée à la fin de la proposition, ou alors l'on recourt tout simplement à la voyelle finale. Le mouvement des syntagmes *Qu* obéit à la condition de Sousjacence. La relativisation est aussi un procédé présent dans la langue et implique l'usage des pronoms relatifs. En plus, les trois types de relativisations peuvent être abordées par l'approche du « *Matching* » c'est-à-dire la correspondance entre les traits de la tête de la relative et ceux du pronom relatif. Cette approche s'avère la plus pertinente puisqu'elle permet de rendre compte des types de relatives dans la langue. La focalisation et la topicalisation sont aussi réalisées comme deux procédés qui établissent le lien entre la forme du discours et l'ordre des mots.

-On peut avoir des topiques et foci multiples mais les déplacements multiples sont strictement limités au topique. Il n'y a pas de topique in-situ mais plutôt de focus in-situ. La focalisation du verbe se fait à travers la nominalisation du verbe à la périphérie gauche ou alors à travers sa reduplication à droite de la proposition. Lorsque le focus cible un élément nié dans la phrase pour se déplacer à l'extrême gauche il y'a incorporation de l'élément à la particule de la négation *bée*. La topicalisation peut impliquer le déplacement visible de l'élément cible ou alors elle est rendue possible à travers la dislocation à la périphérie gauche de l'élément topicalisé. Dans le dernier cas l'insertion du pronom résomptif est obligatoire, et par conséquent s'avère comme une stratégie de dernier recours sans laquelle la grammaticalité est possible. La topicalisation peut concerner un constituant de la phrase ou alors toute une proposition à travers l'extraction de la superstructure à la périphérie gauche. L'hypothèse du syntagme du complémenteur éclaté proposée par Rizzi (1997, 2001, 2004b) s'avère adéquate pour rendre compte des computations syntaxiques en Basa'a. Il découle des analyses qu'il existe des têtes fonctionnelles telles que Force, Top, Foc, Int, Mod, Q(mis pour l'élément Qu) qui projettent leurs propres syntagmes en cas de nécessité. L'ordonnancement hiérarchique des différents syntagmes et les restrictions de co-occurrence montrent que la structure de la périphérie gauche en Basa'a se présente ainsi qu'il suit :

Force...Int...Wh-...Mod...Top...Foc...OU Force...Mod...Int...Wh-...Top...Foc...

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

AC	:	Activation Condition
ACC	:	Accusative
ACP	:	Attract Closest Principle
ADJ	:	Adjective
ADV	:	Adverb
ADVP	:	Adverbial Phrase
AGR	:	Agreement
AgrP	:	Agreement Phrase
AM	:	Agreement Marker
Agr-S	:	Agreement Subject
C°	:	Head of the Complementiser Phrase
C	:	Consonant
C-Command	:	Constituent-Command
CED	:	Condition on Extraction Domain
cf.	:	See/Confer
CHL	:	Computational system for Human Languages
Cl	:	Class
CP	:	Complementiser Phrase
Comp/COMP	:	Complementiser
CV	:	Consonant Vowel
-C	:	Before Consonant
CNPC	:	Complex Noun Phrase Constraint
CSC	:	Coordinated-Structure Constraint
DEM	:	Demonstrative
D/ DET	:	Determiner
DFCF	:	Doubly Filled Comp Filter
D-linked	:	Discourse-linked
DP	:	Determiner Phrase
D-S	:	Deep Structure
ECP	:	Empty Category Principle
EPP	:	Extended Projection Principle
Et al	:	And Others
Etc	:	And so on
F1	:	Future tense one (immediate future tense)
F2	:	Future tense two (near future tense)
F3	:	Distant (remote) future tense
FHC	:	Functional Head Constraint
FIP	:	Full Interpretation Principle
Foc	:	Focus
FocP/FP	:	Focus Phrase
ForceP	:	Force Phrase
FV	:	Final Vowel
GBT	:	Government and Binding Theory
GER	:	Gerund

Hab	:	Habitual (aspect)
HMC	:	Head Movement Constraint
HRA	:	Head Raising Analysis
I°	:	The head of Inflectional Phrase/Inflection
IF	:	Interpretable Feature
Imp	:	Imperative
Inf.	:	Infinitive
INJ	:	Injunctive
Int	:	Interrogative
IntP	:	Interrogative Phrase
IP	:	Inflectional Phrase
i.e.	:	That is
JC	:	Jamaican Creole
LF	:	Logical Form
L-related	:	Locally related
Loc	:	Locative
MA	:	Matching Analysis
MC	:	Minimal Configuration
MFCF	:	Multiply Filled Comp Filter
MG	:	Modern Greek
MLC	:	Minimal Link Condition
MP	:	Minimalist Program
Mod	:	Modifier
ModP	:	The modifier Phrase
NSP	:	Null Subject Parameter
NEG/Neg	:	Negation
NEGP	:	Negative Phrase
NP	:	Noun Phrase
OP	:	Operator
Op Cit	:	Already Cited
Pass	:	Passive
PERF	:	Perfective
PL	:	Plural
P-M	:	Phrase Marker
PP	:	Prepositional Phrase
PPT	:	Principles and Parameters Theory
Pres	:	Present Tense
PRO	:	Subject of Infinitival clause
Pro	:	Null subject
Prog	:	Progressive
P1	:	Past tense one
P2	:	Past tense two
P3	:	Past tense three
QM	:	Question Marker
REC	:	Reciprocal
Rel	:	Relative
RelP	:	Relative Phrase
Refl	:	Reflexive
Rev	:	Reversive
RM	:	Relativized Minimality

1S	:	First Person Singular
Sim	:	Simultaneous
SM	:	Subject Marker
SMC	:	Shortest Movement Condition
SMP	:	Shortest Movement Principle
Spec	:	Specifier
S-S	:	Surface Structure
SVO	:	Subject Verb Object
(t)	:	Trace
T	:	Tense
Tens	:	Tense
TP	:	Tense Phrase
Top	:	Topic
TopP	:	Topic Phrase
UF	:	Uninterpretable
UG	:	Universal Grammar
-V	:	Before Vowel
V	:	Vowel
V	:	Verb
VP	:	Verb Phrase
v	:	Light verb
Vk	:	Vowel plus the morpheme /K/
Voc M	:	Vocative Marker
VSO	:	Verb Subject Object
Wh-P	:	Wh-Phrase
X°	:	Zero level Category
X	:	Any variable
XP	:	Maximal Projection
Y	:	Any variable
YP	:	Any maximal projection
+	:	Plus/ Added to
-	:	Minus
±	:	Minus or Plus
/	:	Or
*	:	Ungrammatica
Ø	:	Zero morpheme
/ ˊ /	:	High tone
/ ˋ /	:	Low tone
/ ˆ /	:	Falling tone
/ ˜ /	:	Rising tone

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CHAPTER I
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1.OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

In the present state of research, the Basa'a language has been quite extensively studied. However, it clearly emerges from statistics that the Basa'a syntax has fared rather poorly as far as the generative approach is concerned. To date, the only studies carried out on the language as concerns generative syntax are those of Ngo Ndjeyiha (1996; 2006) which respectively analyze the Basa'a sentence within the framework of the principles and parameters theory; and the optimality theory. The present work has been prompted from the need to experiment the minimalist theory vis-à-vis the language and to fill the existing gap. Because no more attention has been paid to the generative approach and given that the minimalist theory has not yet been explored in relation to the language under study, this work aims at setting up a new linguistic approach to the description of the Basa'a sentence and allowing an explicit characterization of the syntactic reference. The main goal is to bring out the relational patterns that exist between the constituents of the sentence and to find out what motivates movement operations within the syntactic chain. In addition, we intend to study and bring out a model which accounts for the linguistic and psycholinguistic phenomena set up in the language acquisition process in Basaa. The analysis of the material selected aims essentially at providing a derivational approach which accounts for the fundamental word order as well as the variation provoked by the movement of the constituents. In the same vein, this analysis shall set up principles that motivate such movements. In fact, each language exhibits its own surface word order, and the only level whereby variation is visible is the phonetic one where movement of the constituents changes the basic order. In Basaa for instance, the word order changes between head-complement and complement-head in accordance with certain constructions. We shall describe a number of constructions which exhibit mixed properties in the typical word order. The aforementioned syntactic constructions start from simple sentences to complex ones. Basing our analysis on these constructions, we maintain that the Basa'a language is defined as being completely symmetric in terms of the linear word order; in which the different variations of word order in some types of constructions can be explained in a unified manner without any need for the principles and parameters theory.

In view of justifying different constructions whereby some complements appear to the left of the head, we propose that they result from *Move alpha*. Following this hypothesis, the complement of a head final position moves to the specifier position of the said head, and leaves it at this position at the phonetic form. The coordination that governs such a movement is defined as follows:

The movement of a phrase Y (YP) complement of X, should be directed towards the specifier position of certain extended positions of X; this implies that the embedded constituents in the moved complement exhibit the head –complement order, and giving the impression of no movement operation. However, it is that movement of the constituents that affects the symmetric word order in syntax, and resulting in a mixed or asymmetric order. The hypothesis that the complement moves to the specifier position of the head has additional impacts on the word order in Basa'a. This explains objectively the different forms of agreement, especially within the noun phrase. This illustration makes possible the treatment of agreement as a specifier-head relation. The intensive and richer agreement system in the nominal construction of Bantu language is perfectly attested in a wide range of literature but has not yet, been explicitly elucidated in the present state of our knowledge. In this perspective, we suppose that, the impact asymmetry in relation to word order and agreement is linked to derivation (movement). By so doing, when there is movement of a phrase or a functional category, there is asymmetry in word order and agreement is realized. As a result, when analyzing affirmative sentences, there are a few movements, giving the poverty of inflectional morphology of tense which is realized as distinct and autonomous morphemes. Everything being equal, we will say that, affirmative sentences exhibit a symmetric order and less agreement as opposed to the rich agreement in the DP where there is a considerable number of movements. This partly brings the answer to the question why different constituents move and other do not, and why movement operation is compulsory in some cases and not in others. A straightforward and suggestive justification of such a situation is that every movement operation in the sentence is motivated by the need of checking/deleting certain morphological patterns. This work, probably the first in its genre as far as minimalism is concerned, is a contribution to the description of syntactic mechanisms in Basa'a. Our syntactic description should contain rules that lead to generalities; i.e. it should be scientific and lead to learnability about grammatical systems that the speaker's apparatus can unconsciously arrive at.

1.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This work attempts to provide an account of the mapping of the left edge of the clause in Basa'a by bringing out some specificities and likeness in relation to other natural languages. This shall enable us to see that Bantu languages at large and Basa'a in particular can also bring its own share to the new development in generative syntax. In this vein we shall demonstrate through empirical and theoretical arguments that the CP layer in Basa'a was

already split but that Rizzi (1995, 1997; 2004)'s contributions have been very helpful for our analysis. Considering the low state of generative studies on Basa'a in general and the inexistence of any minimalist attempt to the language in particular, this work shall undoubtedly advance research on the language. Again, taking also into account the fact that, the minimalist program is still at its inception and has not yet been so broadly experimented like other linguistic theories, our hope is that, the present research work will be an additional material to the theory and will move it towards a unified and explanatory adequacy. So, in addition to contributing its modest share to Universal Grammar, it is our hope that, this work will let the people know about the syntactic structures of Basa'a, and let them understand the mechanism of Move. It shall equally test theoretical principles on the language and extend boundaries of knowledge. Finally, as this work is the very first one (to the best of our knowledge) as far as minimalism is concerned, it will lay the foundation for other research works in Basa'a. To sum up, this study straightforwardly aims at providing a grammar of Basa'a which makes use of the minimal theoretical and descriptive apparatus, i.e. stating simple, economical and relevant rules or principles that can underlie the language learning process of the native speakers or native-like speakers.

1.3. MOTIVATIONS

Many reasons account for the choice of our topic. First and foremost, it is our intellectual and affective commitment to experiment and apply the grammatical approach of the minimalist, and deduce whether or not this model initiated by Noam Chomsky is apt to analyze linguistic principles in Basa'a. It is because we realized that, Basa'a was among languages that have not hitherto undergone any minimalist study we decided to take the challenge. During our stay in the linguistic department, we have been so much fascinated by theoretical and empirical developments namely by recent developments in generative syntax. We deemed it important that, if significant progress are registered in this domain (minimalism), in such a way that, the theory should attain a high degree of explanatory and descriptive adequacy, this shall ameliorate the past linguistic theories in syntax, and shall advance linguistic research by setting up a more general, empirical and economical syntactic theory.

Until quite recently, statistics on language studies revealed that, a lot has to be done so as to provide national languages with a wide research setting. In this vein, with the more rich structuralist studies undertaken on the language, and besides some works done within the generativist approach, it is necessary to extend the research process by undertaking a minimalist study of the language in order to broaden the syntactic research.

1.4. THE LANGUAGE

We shall first of all present the Basa'a language on the geographical, dialectal and linguistic domains. Secondly, attention shall be paid to previous works done on the language.

1.4.1. *Geographical situation*

Basa'a is an Equatorial Bantu language spoken in the western central part of Cameroon .It originally covers the Nyong and Kellé and the Sanaga Maritime divisions and spreads over to the Nkam, Wouri and Ocean. We can also come across some small groups speaking the language in the Mounjo, Mbam and upper –Nkam divisions whereby the speakers even though less attached to the culture, identify themselves with the Basa'a tribe. Apart from French and English, we realize that only the Nyong and Kellé division is monolingual, whereas other division, are multilingual, because the Basa'a language is spoken alongside other national languages. Due to this language cohabitation, Basa'a witnesses a variety of appellations depending on his surrounding:

The Ewondo —————→ mvələ

The Bakoko —————→ nsàa

The Tunen —————→ tupen

The Bulu —————→ bicek

The Beti neighbour —→ mβêne

The Ngumba —————→ bikyek

The Administration —→ Basa or Bassa

Basa'a is a language of an estimated 1,000,000 speakers spread over the above mentioned areas.

1.4.2. *Dialectal situation*

There are five dialects of Basa'a among which communication may be approximate. These include the following:

-The (Mbênè), spoken around the βakoko and tunen areas

-The Yaβasi in the Yaβassi subdivision

-The dīβuβum in the Nkondjock subdivision

-The βasa'a βa duala in the Wouri division

-The ikoo which is not closer to the Mbênè is spoken in the Ndom subdivision.

1.4.3 *Linguistic classification*

Basa'a has been genetically classified as part of the north western group of Bantu languages, Zone A (Guthrie 1948: 31. ; 1953:28, 1970: 11). According to Guthrie, it is the type language of group A.40 within which it is classified as A.43. A similar classification is obtained later on by Bastin (1978) from a lexico –statistical perspective. Greenberg (1966) on his part classifies the Basa'a language in the Benue-Congo family, Niger –Congo sub-phylum and Congo –Kordofanian phylum. Before long, Guthrie and Bastin (1978) classified the Basa'a language alongside neighbouring languages as follows:

A.40 Basa'a Group

A.41 Lombi (Rombi- Barombi)

A. 42 Bankon (Bo-Abo)

A. 43 Basa'á (Basa)

A. 43a. Mbêñe (Ndokbele, Yabasi, Ndokpenda, Ndokama, Bakam, Mbang, Dibum)

A.43b. Koko (Bakoko)

A. 44 Banen

A. 44a. Banen (Tunen)

A. 44b. Otomp (Poneck)

A. 45 Nyo'o (Nyokon)

A. 46 Mande

A. 46a. Mande (Lemande-Numand)

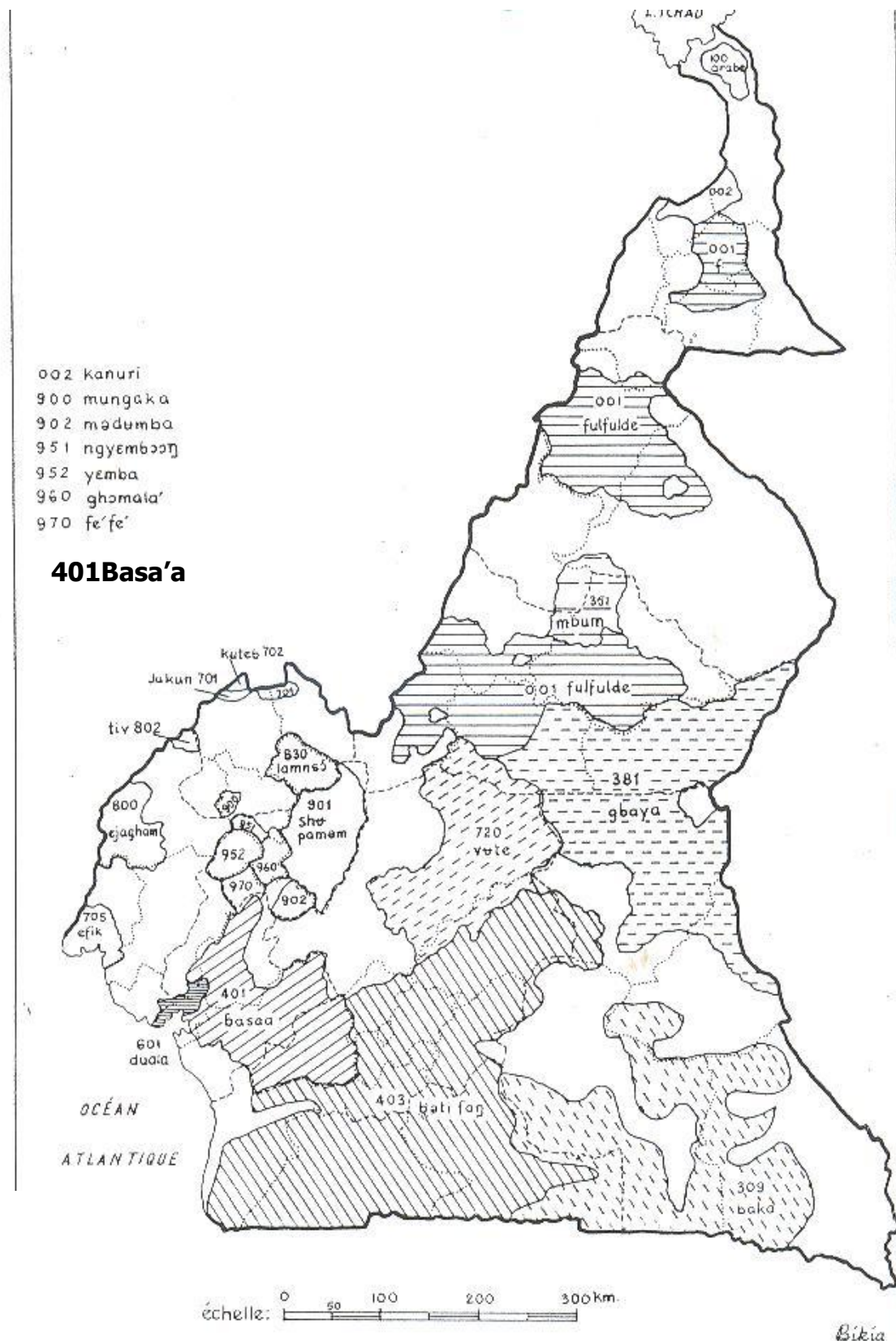
A. 46b. Nigi (Yambeta)

A. 46c. Mese (Yambeta)

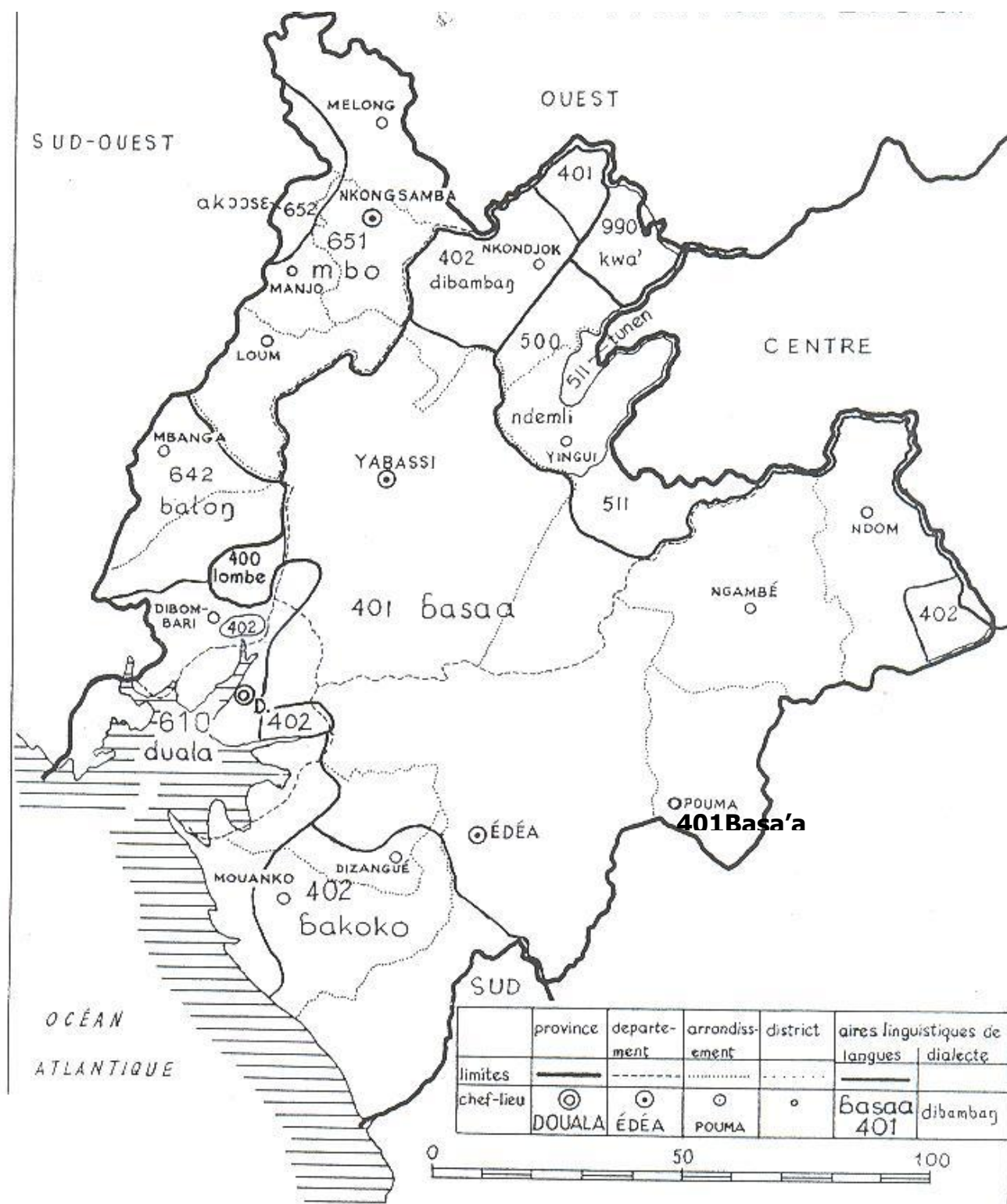
A. 46d. Kibum (Yambeta)

It should be noted that the above classification is far being accepted by many people. Because of the fact that opinions are divided as for the real classification of Basa'a, we take into account the previous works done and well elaborated by Guthrie (1970) who classified the Basa'a language as a Bantu one, zone A, group A.40; A43a. The first map locates the Basa'a language amidst standardized languages in Cameroon(in 1987). The second map is the linguistic map of the Littoral region and the last one is the linguistic map of the Centre region.

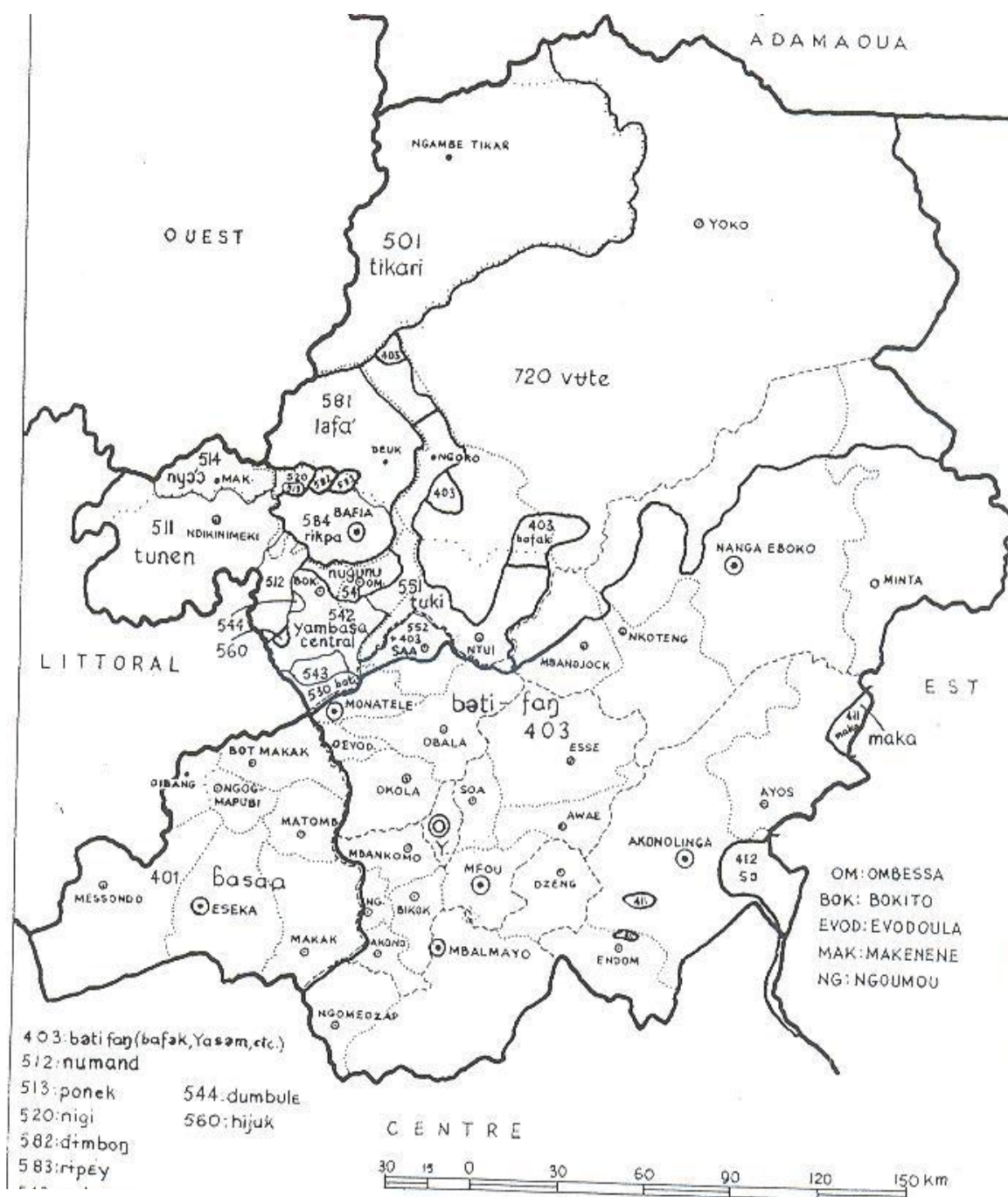
MAP N°1 : STANDARDIZED LANGUADES OF CAMEROON (adapted from Dieu, M. and P. RENAUD (1983))



MAP N°2 : The Linguistic Map of the Littoral Region (adapted from Dieu, M. and P. Renaud (1983))



MAP N°3 : The Linguistic Map of the Centre Region (adapted from Dieu, M. and P. RENAUD (1983))



401 Basa'a

	province	département	arrondissement	district	aires linguistiques de	
limites	—	---	langue	dialecte
chef-lieu	⊙	⊙	⊙	•		

1.5 STATE OF RESEARCH

As opposed to many other group A languages, Basa'a has undergone extensive studies ranging from grammar books intended to serve as manual to foreigners (missionaries and colonial administrators) who wanted to communicate with the natives; up to scientific or descriptive works in linguistics.

1.4.2. Previous works on the language

The different areas of study include the following:

A. Phonology

Bôt Bá Njock, H.M. (1962). La description phonologique du Basaa (m̄b̄n̄n̄)

Thèse de doctorat 3^e cycle, Paris, Université de Paris, Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines (Sorbonne).

Dimmendaal, G ; (1976). Aspekten Vanhet Basaa, Leiden , Mémoire de Licence.

Janssens, B, (1982). Phonologie historique du Basaa (bantu A43), Mémoire de Licence Spéciale .Bruxelles, Université Libre de Bruxelles.

B. Morphology

Bôt Bá Njock, H.M. (1970) Nexus et nominaux en Basaa. Thèse de Doctorat d'Etat Paris; Sorbonne.

Voorhoeve, J.(1977) "La dérivation verbale en Basaa in Bouquiaux L. (éd), 1980. L'expansion bantoue Vol.2, Actes du colloque international du CNRS, Viviers(France). 4- 16 avril 1977. Marseille, SELAF

Adam née Nyounae, (1984)." Problèmes posés par la dérivation verbale. Article présenté au XVIème congrès de la SLAO à Yaoundé du 25 au 29 mars 1985.

Bitja'a Kody, Z.D, (1984). Le Basaa parlé à Omeng, Mémoire de maîtrise, Yaoundé, Université de Yaoundé.

Bitja'a Kody, Z.D. (1990). Le système verbal du Basaa (bantu A43), Thèse de Doctorat 3^e cycle, Yaoundé, Université de Yaoundé.

Mbom, B.B., (1990). Tense and Aspect in BASA'Á. Ph.D thesis in philosophy, Department of Language and Linguistics, University of ESSEX

Bôt Bá Njock,H.M. (1985), "Contestation linguistique ou réaménagement de la langue : exemple du bàsàá"

C. Grammar

Imrie, M.E. (1957). The Bàsàá Language (some helps and suggestions) Vol.1 and II , Sakbayemi (Cameroon), unpublished.

Koki Ndombol, P.Lemb et F. de Gastines. (1971)

Le Basaà par la grammaire : Manuel à l'usage des classes de 6è et 5è, Douala, Collège Libermann.

Perono, R.P., (S.D). Grammaire Basaa. Douala, Vicariat Apostolique.

D. Generative Syntax

Ndjock, P.C.(1996). Les rapports syntaxiques des extensifs verbaux du bàsàá. Mémoire de maîtrise,

Yaoundé, Université de Yaoundé.

Ngo Ndjeyiha, M.(1996). Esquisse de la syntaxe générative de la phrase bàsàá (Bantu A43). Mémoire de maîtrise, Yaoundé, Université de Yaoundé.

Ngo Ndjeyiha, M.(2006). La Théorie de l'Optimalité et quelques aspects de la syntaxe du basaa' (bantu A43). Thèse de doctorat (Ph.D) en linguistique, Yaoundé, Université de Yaoundé.

E.Dictionaries

There have also been dictionaries. The very-well –known ones include the following:

Schwab, G.(1924 – 1935). Basaa - English dictionary, 2vol. Sakbayemi (Cameroon).

Lemb P. et F. de Gastines.1973. Dictionnaire bàsàá-Français, Douala, Collège Libermann.

1.4.3. Summary of previous works

An insight into the works mentioned above lets us have the following summary which is mainly related to our field of study.

Drawing inspiration from the canons of the French language, and the Greco-Latin model, Perono strives to bring out the entire grammar of Basa'a focusing on the lexical and syntactic structure of the verb.

Imrie (1957) carries out the descriptive grammar of the language with an important basis on the verb morphology of bàsàá under a scientific ground. However, her work is just a set of helps and suggestions for a better understanding of the language.

Bôt Bá Njock (1970) studies the morphosyntactic aspect of the language within the structuralist framework. He brings out the noun class system of bàsàá and analyses the internal patterns of the nominal construction.

Koki Ndombol et al (1971) write a basic grammar intended to the 6è and 5è students of the Libermann Collège. They lay more emphasis on the nominal system and a slight emphasis on the conjugation.

Lemb de Gastines (1973) sets up a bilingual dictionary with lexical and syntactic entries.

Mbom (1990) sets up a conceptual approach to the analysis of tense and aspect which allow an explicit characterization of the tense and aspect in their morphological, syntactic and semantic structures in terms of the three temporal entities of time. Her analysis is based on the systematic relation between underlying temporal meaning and formal expression of time.

Bitja'a Kody (1990) studies the morphosyntactic aspect of the verb of Basa'a .He sets out rules and mechanisms put in place during the morphosyntactic process and shows how such rules and mechanisms govern language in general.

Voorhoeve (1977) analyses verb derivation and takes into account the different problems encountered when deriving the verb in Basa'a in a transformational point of view following the extended standard theory. In that article, the author tries to analyze passivisation and verb extensions.

Njock (1996) equally studies verb derivation and strives to solve the problems that are related to verb derivation. He sets up the rules in a transformational way and analyses the relationship between simple base verbal sentences and extended base verbal ones following the incorporation theory of Baker (1988).

Ngo Ndjeyiha (1996) addresses the description of the Basa'a sentence in a generative perspective. Following the principles and parameters theory of Chomsky (1981, 1986,), she briefly analyses the questions formation processes, relativization, passivisation and anaphors.

Ngo Ndjeyiha (2006) heralded a new era in the studies related to Basa'a linguistics per se.Emphasis had now shifted to the optimality theory which reflected the scope of the

descriptions. In her thesis she tries to show that the Basa'a language is able, as a Bantu language, to bring her contribution to the then new theory. She lays more emphasis on locality, that is, the different positions that certain phrases can occupy in the sentence. The main goal is to explore how the optimality theory in syntactic descriptions can help Bantu languages contribute to UG.

After a brief summary of what has been done so far in the language, we realize that the descriptions have been done in the generative and structuralist fields. However, it clearly emerges from the foregoing survey that the generative syntax of Basa'a has rather fared poorly. To date, there has been no minimalist study. Our ambition is thus to provide a new syntactic model to the language and see what is the scientific scope of minimalism on the Basa'a syntax.

1.6 Theoretical framework

This research work is driven within the framework of the Minimalist Program initiated and developed by Chomsky (1993, 1995, 1998, 1999/2001) and others. Before any deep analysis of the data, it is quite important to evoke some architectural issues in a minimalist setting.

1.6.1 The starting point

Minimalism has as its starting point the Government and Binding Theory (GBT). Referring to N. Hornstein et al (2005), the reason for this is that, (GB) is a very successful theory of grammar with a very reliable theoretical structure and empirical coverage. In addition, (GB) is the most fully worked out version of a principles and parameters approach to UG. We can summarize by stating that (GB) has a principles and parameters architecture. Thus, UG. is considered to be made up of principles with open parameters values. Since principles are innate and that parameters have to be mastered, one can deal with two basic facts that characterize language acquisition. First of all it is considerably fast despite the very serious deficiency in the data the child can use language in fixing his/her competence. Secondly, human language exhibits a complex surface variation. In the vein, the ease of language acquisition is due to the fact that the child is equipped with rich innate principles. Then, the variation can be traced to the fact that different parameter values can lead to different outputs. In the GB perspective, one distinguishes four main levels of grammatical representation: D-structure (DS) and S-structure (SS), Logical form (LF) and phonetic form (PF). Whereas D-structure is where thematic role coincide with the grammatical function of an expression, that is, positions that are thematically active must all be filled and positions with no semantic import must be left empty. S-structure is the level of representation in which the derivation splits, sending off one copy to PF phonetic interpretation and another copy to LF for semantic

interpretation. At the (SS) level for instance, there are case assignment, identification of null operators etc ...

As for PF and LF are concerned, it is two interface levels. In other words, it is the level where there is interaction between meaning and the sound. So for a sentence to be grammatical there should be information assigning a phonetic and a semantic interpretation to that sentence.

1.6.2. The Minimalist Program.

Rather than being a strong contradiction to previous syntactic theories, the (MP) comes out as a miniaturization theory that systematically rules out multiple speculations on Parameters. For Chomsky, it is necessary to rule out unnecessary and irrelevant features that govern the theoretical and descriptive apparatus, and come out with a syntactic model with a higher degree of explanatory adequacy: selection, merger and movement.

Chomsky (1995:389) strives to describe the computational system for human language (CHL) In this description of the descriptive apparatus, we realize that minimalism is first of all a psychological discursive and logical process whose aim is to find out, and identify superfluous elements in order to rule them out. By so doing, only interpretable and inevitable elements survive due to their relevance. In the Y-model (1993), pre-spell –out and post – spell-out have been introduced and replaced the D-S notions following the spell-out principle. Following this principle, only the highest position should be spelled-out in a chain movement at S-S.Pre-spell-out is a cycle for implicit movement. In the L-model appeared in *‘Derivation by phase’*(1999/2001), each movement is explicit in syntax , the spell-out operation being cyclical at the syntactic component. The units that are already spelled –out are sent during the derivation process to the semantic and phonetic component

In the minimalist program, movement is always triggered by the need to check the features carried by functional and lexical categories. Features are said to be either interpretable or uninterpretable. Where the semantic property is attested on a given category, the feature is said to be interpretable. Where there is just a morphological property attached, the feature is uninterpretable. In other words, the features (person, number and gender) are attested on the determiner (D) for instance, but they are not attested on tense (T). Therefore, such features are said to be interpretable for DP and uninterpretable for TP. The presence of non interpretable features is manifested by the morphological agreement on the verb that are found in T. Interpretable and uninterpretable features should match in order to be checked and then, the latter are erased. Checking is thus seen here as the only motivation for movement from the goal position to the probe position. Consequently, only the most relevant

features are retained in their simplest expression. The computational simplicity of the minimalist program can be accounted for as follows:

- a) The reduction of the levels of representation at the two interface levels that are PF and LF.
- b) The reduction of principles and parameters to the strict minimum through a systematic elimination of superfluous elements.
- c) The necessity of making use of the economy principle as proposed by Chomsky (1995b). These principles include:
 - Least effort (making as a few number of movements as possible).
 - Procrastinate (do not overtly move, unless movement is imposed by some principle of UG.)
 - Greed (do not move X unless X bears a feature that satisfies this movement)
 - Minimize chain movement (movement should be as shorter as possible)
 - Minimality (movement should be the nearest one to the landing site of the moved element).

This minimality effect is Relativized Minimality within GB as mentioned by RIZZI (1990:7) quoted by Hornstein (2005:143) in the following terms:

- ***Relativized Minimality***

$X \alpha$ governs Y iff there is no Z such that:

- (i) Z is a typical potential α governor for Y and
- (ii) Z C-Commands Y and does not C-Command X .

From the forgoing, within the minimalist approach, movement operations must be as shorter as possible. The (MP) takes into account the fundamental issues of the PPT and leads them to a logical conclusion; it also needs the contribution of other theories in order to be well-established. In this connection, to be faithful to the relevance and simplification requirements that uphold minimalism, we shall confine ourselves in this work to provide a binary branching structure analysis (maximal projection and zero projection) instead of the old X-bar theory (maximal projection, intermediary category and zero projection).

Overall, the minimalist program is economy-driven. The link between PF and LF has to be established as economical as possible. Economy in this perspective will be instantiated in a number of respects in our work.

1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The data collected for the present study are partly from us, given that we are a native speaker of the language under study. This is just justified by the fact we have an intuition about the grammaticality and ungrammaticality of the sentences used. Besides, we came across other native speakers of the language where the need arose in order to unveil certain complex aspects. For a scientific orientation, we came across previous researchers that carried out studies in our domain of investigation. The documentation also played a catalyst role during the data analysis. From dictionaries to scientific works done by previous scholars, we managed to get relevant and reliable information that are instrumental to the analysis of the language. Our research corpus was essentially made up of simple and complex sentences. We also proceeded to the identification of the different types of the sentences. In the same vein, we went on to the questions formation processes alongside other movement operations. We did not dispense at all with the verb morphology, noun morphology, as well as phonology as they constitute a key aspect to the derivational process.

For a good and helpful analysis of the data we equally made use of the new technologies of information and communication. In this perspective, this enabled us to do a faster data processing in a short while and explore as many sources as possible.

1.8. SCOPE AND DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The main issues are those of knowing what motivates certain syntactic configurations and not the others. We shall see for instance whether movement operations are compulsory or free; or even if they can take place randomly. We are going to examine how the minimalist program, based on the economy principle, uses certain syntactic constraints to account for syntactic computations in Bàsaà. Due to this limited scope, we will not address all the minimalist aspects as highlighted in Chomsky (1995).

In order to provide an appropriate account of the cartography of the left periphery in Basa'a; we have divided our work into six chapters. The general introduction presents the situation of the language by giving an insight into the linguistic and geographical aspects. It also presents the theoretical framework, the motivations for studying the language. A brief summary of previous works is also presented., The second chapter offers a grammatical sketch of the language. It includes the sound system, verb morphology and noun class system. Chapter three handles question formation strategies as used by the Basa'a native speakers. Chapter

four is concerned with relativization and the different approaches that help build this syntactic processes. Chapter four is an exploration of topic and focus as two discourse-related mechanisms. It tries to bring out the relationship between information structure and clause structure. In more concrete terms this chapter attempts to explain how and why word order is affected in certain discourse configurations. The last chapter is a unifying section that tries to bring together the different head projections that occupy the CP layer in Basa'a. Here the study is guided under the cartography approach proposed by Rizzi (1995, 1997, 2004b). More concretely the chapter explores the split CP hypothesis in relation to Basa'a syntax in order to come out with the fine structure of the left edge of the clause. The general conclusion is the summary of our work at large and brings out the outcomes of the study.

CHAPTER II

GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF Basaa'

2.0. INTRODUCTION

This overview of Basaá grammar aims at familiarizing the reader with the general facts of the language morphology as analysed by previous researchers (for further details, see Bó t Bá Njock (1962; 1970), Bitja’a Kody (1990) and Mbom (1990). This section of the work is necessarily selective since it is almost impossible to tackle every aspect of the language structure extensively.

2.1. PHONOLOGICAL SKETCH

We provide the table of consonants, vowels, and tones of the language.

2.1.1. The vocalic system.

There are seven vowels attested in Basàá that are represented in the table below:

Table n° 1: Bàsáa vowel chart

	front unrounded	central.back rounded	back rounded
high	I i:		u u:
mid-high	e e:		o o:
mid-low	ɛ ɛ:	a a:	ɔ ɔ:
low			

2.1.2. The consonant system

From Bót Ba Njock (1962) to Janssens and Dimmendaal(1976), twenty consonant sounds are attested as illustrated in the table below (cf.Bitja’a Kody1990:32):

Table n° 2: Bàsàá consonant chart

	bilabial.	alveolar	palatal/labialised	velar/labialised	glottal/palatalised
implosive sn	ɓ				
explosive sd sn	p b	t d	ts dz	ç j	k g kw gw
prenasalized	mb	nd	ndz	ŋg	ŋgw
nasalized	m	n		ŋ	ŋw
fricative		s			h
lateral		l			hj
semi- vowels	w		j		

2.1.3 The tonal system.

Four tones are attested in Basa'a: two simple tones and two contour tones as can be seen in the following examples:

- The low tone / ˋ / eg. nsàŋ “peace” ; màkèksè “exams”; mbòŋòl “servant”
- The high tone / ˊ / eg. li-sóm6 “to buy” ; ŋkénél “new born” ; lép “river”
- **The falling tone** / ˋˊ / eg. li-kâl “say/tell” lijêp “poverty”
- The rising tone / ˊˋ / eg. kâl ! “say/tell!” wě “quiete”

Like in most, if not all Bantu languages, tone is one of the main characteristics of the Basa'a language. In chapter four we shall see how tone affect the syntactic-semantic interface. The following table represents the tonal system of Basa'a.

Table N° 3 Basa'a tones chart

Simple tones	/ ˊ /	/ ˋ /
Contour tones	/ ˋˊ /	/ ˊˋ /

2.2. VERB MORPHOLOGY

This section will make a brief review of the grammatical categories related to the verb and see how a given structure can influence verb morphology in relation to semantic and syntax.

2.2.1 Tense, Aspect and Mood in Basa'a

We shall present a sketch of the category of tense in Basa'a and see how it interacts with the order of the events. The use of tense is a very useful aspect in linguistic analysis since it helps us determine the difference between different verb tenses. Tense can be realised by tone or by a phonetically realised morpheme in the language. We shall focus on the present tense, the future tense and the past tense. The category of aspect is not indissociable from tense because whereas the former denotes the moment of actions related to time the latter shows the manner these actions take place.

2.2.1.1 Tense

-As clearly defined by Comrie (1985:236), “*tense is a grammatical expression of the relation of an event to some reference point in time, usually the moment the clause is uttered*”.

Bearing in mind this definition, we realize that the Basa'a tense system is dominated by the indicative mood which is made up of nine tenses.

2.2.1.1.1 The present tense

This tense has two main forms depending on the semantics and the nature of the verb under construction. There is a stative present and an inceptive present.

-The stative present tense expresses an action at the moment of speaking. It is generally used for stative verbs and some situational verbs like *télêp* 'to stand', *bandăp* 'to bend' etc. (cf BITJAA KODY 1990:423 for further illustrations). Some examples include:

(2) a) à téé télêp "to stand"

he +prog stand

"He is standing"

b) mē bendí bândăp 'to bend'

I +prog bend

"I am bending"

-The inceptive present tense expresses an action which is about to begin than while this action is already in progress. Some examples include:

(3) a. Tonye a ɲ-kɛ í súklū

Tonye SM Pres-go to school

"Tonye goes(is going) to school"

b. Tonye à m-běl mākòndò

Tonye SM Pres-plant plantains

"Tonye plants (is planting) plantains."

2.2.1.1.2. The future tense

The future tense is used to express an action which will take place after the time of speaking. There are three types of future. These involve the immediate future (F1), the near future (F2) and the distant future (F3).

- The immediate future has the same tense marker as the inceptive present, as illustrated below:

(4) a. dì n-jé mākòndò jé "to eat"

we F1 eat plantain

"We are going to eat plantain"

b. mɛ̀ ñ-lɔ̀nà pɔ̀s

lɔ̀na “to bring”

I F1-bring bottle

“I am going to bring a bottle”

-**The near future (F2)** expresses an action which is taking place in a near moment (from tomorrow for instance)

5) mɛ̀ gá-kɛ̀nà wé yaaní í òm

I F2 bring you tomorrow to market

“I will bring you tomorrow to the market”

-**The remote (distant) future (F3)** denotes actions which will take place in a distant moment; and whose probability of being achieved is very low. It sometimes expresses uncertainty.

(6) m-à-kè (há) lɛ̀n (Bitja’a Kody 1990:433)

I F3 go (there) today

“I will go today / I might go today”.

2.2.1.1.3. The past tense

It is common practice that past actions are actions which took place before the moment of speaking. There are three forms of past tense in Basàá.

- **The immediate past P1** denotes actions which took place yesterday or at a given moment that the speaker considers as being very close to his mind. Let us consider the following examples:

(7) a. mɛ̀ n-jé kɔ̀n

I P1-eat rice

“I ate rice (I have just eaten)”

b. à ñ- télêp

he P1 stand

“He has just stood”

- **The recent past tense (P2)** refers to actions that took place yesterday back to the anterior moment that the speaker can consider as closer to yesterday. It is morphologically marked by the morpheme **bí-**

(8) a. mɛ̀ bí-jé

I P2 eat

“I ate” (some days ago)

b. a bí-nɔ́l núgá

he P2-kill animal

“He killed an animal”

The distant past (P3) can be considered as being a time of remembrance in the sense that it refers back to actions that took place many years ago. It is not phonetically realised. Morphologically it is realised by the zero morpheme /Ø-/.

(9) a. mè Ø-tí-ḃǎŋ wè mɔ́ní lě́n

I P3+give since you money today

“It is a long time that I gave you money”

b. à nɔ́l ḃǎŋ nùgá

he P3+kil since animal

“Since he killed the snake”

2.2.1.2 Mood

-Besides the different verb tenses above, there are three moods in Bàsàá. As opposed to the abovementioned tenses that locate an action at a given moment of time, mood tenses do not situate actions in a given frame. In addition, there are narrative future and past tenses which can only be used in relation to the aforementioned tenses, and in sentences with more than two clauses. We are not dealing with such tenses here, but let us have an insight into the mood tenses already mentioned.

2.2.1.2.1. The conditional

-The conditional is not quite the same thing as in French. In Bàsàá, this denotes a verbal form which expresses a condition to the realisation of a given action. Both actions are sometimes separated by a phonological pause (generally a comma).

(10) a. à yôj, mè m-ḃádâ

(If) he neglect, I F1- take

“If he neglects I will take”

Another way of expressing a condition consists in using the form *íḃálé* “if” which requires a tensed verb in any indicative tense.

(10) b. íḃálé ù ñ-sâl, ù kâl me

If you F1 work, you tell me
“If you will work, let me know”

2.2.1.2.2. The subjunctive

It is generally used to express orders or wishes and is introduced by verbs like *-bàt* “ask”, *hòṅôl* “think”, etc...

11) a. *mɛ m-bàt lé ù lɔ̄*

I Pres-ask that you come
“I ask that he should come”

b. *à ní-sòmɔ́l lé mé jé*

he Pres-want that I eat
“He wants me to eat”

2.2.1.2.3. The imperative

This expresses orders and is made up of two persons (the second person singular and its plural counterpart). It is only used for the present actions.

(12) a. *jé ṅgàndàk*

eat+Imp a lot
“Eat a lot”(singular)

b. *jé -ná ṅgàndàk*

eat+Imp a lot
“Eat a lot” (plural)

2.2.1.2.4. The persistive

-The persistive denotes a strong action which resists to any impediment or obstruction. So the action persists and is realized in the long run. It is morphologically marked by *ṅgí* “again, yet or still” and is always accompanied by the verb suffix *-èk* (denoting a vowel followed by /k-/).

(13) a. *mè ṅgí ðém-èk wè*

I still wait- èk you
“I am still waiting for you”

b. *à ṅgí nòṅ-òk mìnômbá*

he still pursues the sheep

“He is still pursuing the sheep”

2.2.1.2.5. The continuative

This supposes that an action has started in the past and that although there is a slight interruption, it will go on. It is marked by the morpheme *ma-* which can be translated “already, yet, or so far”.

(14) a. dì má jé lè n

we yet eat today

“We have yet eaten today”

b. a má kɛ í sũklù

he yet go to school

“He has yet gone to school”

2.2.1.3 The category of aspect

Dubois et Al (1982:53) define aspect in the following terms:

« L’aspect est une catégorie grammaticale qui exprime la représentation que se fait le sujet parlant du processus exprimé par le verbe, c’est-à-dire de son déroulement ou de son achèvement... »

When we talk of aspect, we really refer to different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation. In a very brief way, this section will exemplify the major aspects as found in BITJA’A KODY (1990) and Mbom (1990)

2.2.1.3.1. The perfective aspect

This aspect denotes a situation as a whole without dividing it into individual phases. Therefore, the action presented by the verb is seen as a whole as defined by Wieseemann et Al (1993:77): “*Le perfectif est l’aspect du procès saisi dans son ensemble, comme une entité et n’attachant pas d’importance ni au début, au milieu ou à la fin de l’action*”.

The following example denotes the perfectivity of action.

(15) a. Ntogue à bí -nèd màkègsè

Ntogue SM P2 pass exams

"Ntogue passed the exams"

2.2.1.3.2. The imperfective aspect

This aspect refers to the incompleteness of an action. In Bàsàá the imperfective aspect is made up of the perfective doubled with a morphological or lexical marker. It is subdivided into three major aspects as can be seen below:

2.2.1.3.2.1. The progressive aspect

This expresses a simultaneous action at the moment of speaking. Generally, the progressive aspect makes use of any morphological marker but sometimes it is realised by the morpheme /*ɲgi*/ to denote a continuous action.

(16)a. ɓɔ̃ɲgɛ́ ɓa' n-jè kôn

boys SM Pres-Prog eat rice

"The boys are eating rice"

b. à ɲgí sálâk

he still work+*̀̀k*

"He is still working"

The only difference between (16a) and (16 b) is that the latter is made up of *ɲgí* "still" plus -*̀̀k* at the end of the verb. Therefore (16b) can be said to be more progressive than (13a).

Another form expressing progressivity consists in using the morpheme *ma* "already".

(17) màɲgɛ́ à ma-tílá bìkààt

boy SM already write books

"The boy has already written the books"

2.2.1.3.2.2 The habitual aspect

As its name indicates, the habitual aspect describes an action which is iterative. This refers to a habit; a present one, a past one or a future one, depending on the situation. It is mostly used with adverbs of time that indicate the duration or repetition of an action.

(18) a. ɓàùdù ɓà ní-kè í sùklù hikí kèl

Students SM Pres-go to school every day

"The students go (are used to go) to school everyday"

b. Ntogue à mí-ɓèm nyé hikí kòkówá

Ntogue SM Pres-wait him every evening

"Ntogue waits (has the habit of waiting) for every day"

2.2.1.3.2.3 The suffix -̀̀k as a marker of imperfective aspect

This form is inherently linked to the imperfective. Apart from the forms *ɲgí* ... (-̀̀k) "still, yet" and *ma-* "yet, already" mentioned above, the major feature that translates the imperfective aspect is suffixing -̀̀k to the verb. This suffix introduces a significant shade of meaning depending on the context. Grossomodo, this suffix expresses the durative aspect, iterative aspect and progressive aspect as respectively illustrated below.

(19) a. dì gá- sóm̃b-̀̀k mákòndò dí wáá

we F2 buy +Imp plantains we tired

"We will buy plantains until we get tired"

The sentence above shows that the morpheme -̀̀k is realized on *sóm̃b* "buy" as -̀̀k

b. m̀̀ gá ɓóɲ-̀̀k m̀̀m, m̀̀ ɓòɲ-̀̀k m̀̀m

I F2 do + Imp things I do+ Imp things

" I will do and do things"

c. hìlógá hí mí-ɓòɲ̀̀k bísèl lèn hì wáá

boy SM F1-do+ Imp baskets today SM tired

"The boy will be making the baskets today until he get tired"

(19a, b, c) describe respectively the durative, habitual or iterative and the progressive aspects.

2.2.2 THE VERB PREFIX AND SUFFIXES

In this section we want to consider the structure of the verb in Bàsàá.

2.2.2.1. The verb prefix

(20) a. lì-sómɔ̃ "to buy" c. lì-śm "to send"
 b. lì-tèmɔ̃ "to return" d. lì-ùndà "to show"

2.2.2.2. Verb suffixes

- **The applicative suffix**[-̀vɪ] or [-nɛ] is the most productive derivational suffix in Bàsàá. It generally means "to do something for somebody" or " at a particular place or time", that is why we can have a benefatory applicative, locative applicative, instrumental applicative etc. (cf Bitja'a Kody 1990 ;Mbom 1990). Some examples of applicative include the following:

(20) a. lì-kê "to go" → mǎŋgé a ŋkê í sǔklù
 child SM P1 go to school
 "The child has gone to school"

b. applicative → mǎŋgé à ŋk-îl mǝ í sǔklu
 child SM P1+Appl me to school
 "The child went to school for me"

(21)a. hìlógá hí n-nól núgá
 boy SM P1+kill animal
 “The boy has killed the animal”
 b. hìlógá hí n-nôl-ól núgá í lép
 boy SM P1+Appl animal in river
 “The boy has killed the animal in the river”

(22) a. bá bí loó bótámá

they P2 come alone

“They have come alone”

b. ǃá bí -lól í màtoá

they P2+Appl+come in car

“They have come by car”

(23)a. mùt à n-tí mè kàat

man SM F1+give me book

“The man will give me a book”

b. mùt à n-tí-né mè kàat í mahêl

man SM F1+Appl+give me book at loss

“The man will give me the book because he had no choice”

-The causative suffix [-vs] or [-ha] can be rendered as the English construction “to make someone+infinitive” or can either denote an action whereby the causee acts without any constraint. Thus, we can talk of direct causative or indirect causative.

(24) a. lì-jé “to eat”

Inf. eat

b. lì-tìla “to write”

Inf. write

c. lì-gwèl “to catch”

Inf. catch

(25) a. lì-j-êš “to make eat”

Inf. eat Caus

b. lì- s-êš “to make dry”

Inf. dry Caus

c. lì-gwel-ha “to make catch”

Inf. catch Caus

-The reciprocal suffix [-nà]

The reciprocal suffix conveys the meaning of “each other”, and the resultative verb requires two thematic roles.

(26) a. lì-gwêš “to love”

b. lì-nól “to kill”

c. lì-téhé “to see”

d. lì-ùndà “to show”

(27)a. Ntogue ɓó nsáŋ ɓá gwêś-nà

Ntogue and father SM love+Rec

“Ntogue and his father love each other”

b. Ntogue ɓó nsáŋ ɓá nól-nà ɓé

Ntogue and father SM kill+Rec Neg

“Ntogue and his father do not kill each other”

c. dī bí-téh-nà ɓé yaaní

we P2 see+Rec Neg yesterday

“We have not seen each other yesterday”

d. ɓá gá -und-ná bìkààt

they F2 show+Rec books

“They will show each other the books “

-The simultaneous suffix[-ha] is also productive in Bàsàá and can be added to any simplex base. It reflects the performance of the same action by different participants simultaneously.

(28)a. lì-tèmɓ “to return”

b. lì-ɓúdè “to cover”

(29) a. mawándá má tìmb-há

friends SM return + simul

“The friends will return together “

b. ɓakèn ɓá m-ɓúd-há bìpân

guests SM P1+cover+simul plates

“The guests have covered the plates together”

-The reversive suffix[-vl] conveys the meaning of an action that has a converse counterpart.

(30)a. lì-tèŋ “to tie”

b. lì-yip “to close”

(31) a. me ñ-tù-íl

I Pres+Rev

“I untie”

b. bá ñ-yìb-ìl

they Pres+Rev

“They open”

-The possessive suffix [-nà], which is less spread in Bantu languages, nevertheless conveys the meaning of an action performed together with somebody or something.

(32) a. lì - télêp “to stand”

b. lì- kè “to go”

(33) a. à ñ-télbá -ná mân

he P1+stand+Pass child

“He stood with the child”

b. à ñ -ké-ná ðiliðà

he P1+ go+poss keys

“ He has left with the keys”.

- The passive suffixes [-à], [-ðà], [-ì] are added to simple transitive verb bases. Passivisation is not realized the same way in French or English. As opposed to Indo-european languages that require a series of transformations in order to form passivisation, the Bàsàá language proceeds differently i.e adding an extension morpheme to the base of the verb. Three operations are required in order to form passivisation Bàsàá.

- Suffixation of the passive extension morpheme to the transitive verbal base.

-Movement of the noun phrase in the active, whereby the active verb phrase object becomes the subject of the passive verb phrase.

-Compulsory deletion of the subject of the active sentence in the passive counterpart.

What seems to be the focus when the passive is used in Bàsàá is the result rather than the agent, though the latter is generally understood. Let us consider the following examples.

(34) a. lì-nól “to kill”

b. liðép “ to beat”

c. lì-tóp “to pierce”

(35) a. núgá í nól-á nì mề
 animal SM kill+pass by me
 “The animal has been killed by me”

b. màṅgé á m-ḃéb-ḃà
 kid SM Pres+beat+Pass/Refl
 “The kid beats himself”

c. pôs í n-tùb-ĩ
 bottle SM P1+pierce+pass
 “The bottle has pierced”

In (b) we have an instance of reflexive passive in the sense that the action performed by the AGENT subject màṅgé “kid” goes back to the subject itself. The child is thus at the same time the entity which commands the action and suffers from it. In (c), we suppose that the bottle cannot pierce itself, but that there is a presupposed actor or Agent that could perform that action. The action here can be the wind that might make the bottle be pierced or another entity that does not automatically surface at the level of PF. In this case we are in the presence of a causative passive.

-The habitual suffix [-a] only affects transitive verbs which are in the process, and requires a patient (human), which should be the object of the verb.

(36) a. lì-ámḃ “to lay tracks”

b. lì-ḃàt “to ask”

(37) a. núnú mùt à n-àmḃ-a
 this man SM Pres lay tracks+Pass+Hab
 “This man lays tracks (to people)”

b. malět à m-ḃàt-á ṅgándak
 teacher SM Pres+ask+Hab a lot
 “The teacher asks a lot of questions (to people)”

2.2.2.3. Reflexivization

Reflexivization is rendered possible in Bàsàá by suffixing the morpheme [-ḡa] to the verb. Recall that this suffix is the same that we encounter in passivisation. During reflexivization, the subject of the sentence plays two roles (agent and patient). In concrete terms, the subject of the verb acts on itself.

- (38) a. mudàá à ñ-hábá mbôt
 woman SM P1+put on cloth
 “The woman has put on the cloth herself”
- b. hìkódó hí ŋ-kán-ḡà
 hat SM P1 split+refl
 “The hat has split itself”

2.3. THE NOUN CLASS SYSTEM

Like many other Bantu languages, nouns in Bassa’á are generally distinguished according to the form of the prefixes and thereby grouped into classes. These nouns can be paired into singular plural groups referred to as genders. Some noun roots may collocate with two of the class prefixes that function as members of a singular/plural opposition. In this context the notion of gender reflects number rather than sex distinctions like in Indo-European languages.

2.3.1. Noun class and concordial prefixes

Noun prefixes generally exhibit CV-structure in Bassa’á although in some cases we have a nasal consonant or a zero morpheme \emptyset -. The concordial prefixes are determined by the class prefix of the head noun. There is always agreement relation holding between the noun and its satellites such as adjectives, pronouns etc (Bassong,2007). For further illustrations on agreement,(see Corbett ,2006 and Bassong 2007) . Let us consider the following examples:

- (39) a. mì-ntómbá mì-mpúbí mí-ntân mí yé mì-nlâm
 Cl4-sheep Cl4- white Cl4- five SM be nice.
 “The five white sheep are nice”
- b. lì-laŋ lì- kɛŋí lí mudàá lí yé libé
 Cl5-onion Cl-5 big AM woman SM be ugly

“The big onion of the woman is ugly”

It can be seen from above that it is the class prefix of the head nouns *mìntómbá* “sheep” (39a) and *lilaŋ* “onion” (39b) that determine the form of their respective satellites as well the subject marker and the associative marker. It is both the class prefix and the concordial prefix that are significant in noun classification.

The following table summarizes the noun class and concordial prefixes in Basa’á.

Table N°4: Noun and concordial prefixes in Basa’á (Adapted from Mbom 1990; 166-167)

Classes	Proto Bantu prefixes	Basa’á class prefixes		Basa’á concordial prefixes		Subject markers
		- C	-C	- C	- V	
1	Mu-	m̀- ma- mu- ̀̀- ̀̀- ø-	̀̀- ̀̀w- ø	m̀- nú- ̀̀- ̀̀- ø-	w- nú-	a
2	Ba-	ba- bo- bo-	ba- ba-	ba-	ba-	ba
3	Mu-	m̀- ̀̀- ̀̀- ø-	̀̀- ̀̀w-	m- n- ̀̀- ú	w-	ú

4	Mi-	mim min miŋ ø-	miŋ- ŋw-	mim- min- miŋ-	mi- ŋw-	mi
5	Li-	li-	j- li-	li-	j- li-	lí
6	Ma-	ma-	m- ma	ma-	m- ma	má
7	Ki-	ø-	ø- Y-	i-	i- Y-	í
8	Bi-	bi-	bi- gw-	bi-	bi- gw-	bí
9	Ni-	ø-		ø- } i- } (yɔ-)	ø- } i- } y- } (yɔ)	i
10	Lini-	ø-		ø- } i- } (yɔ)	ø- } i- } y- } (yɔ)	í
12	Tu	di-	di-	di- tu-	di- tu- ç-	dí
14	Bu-	ø-	w-	ú- } m- } n- } (wɔ-) ŋ-	w-	ú
19	pa-	hi-	hy-	hi-	hi- hy-	hí

2.4. THE GENDER SYSTEM

The above noun classes can be classified into eight genders. The first ten classes are consistent in their singular/ plural alteration. The odd number refers to the singular member and the even number to the plural member as illustrated below.

Gender I: Class1/ Class 2

mân/ ðôn “child /children”

n-tát/ ða-tát “keeper/ keepers”

Gender II: Class3/ Class4

n-són/ mî-nsón “work/ works”

ŋ-kòó/ mi-ŋkòó “rope/ ropes”

Gender III: Class5/ Class6

li-laŋ/ma-laŋ “onion/ onions”

li-hoha/ ma-hoha “mistake/ mistakes”

Gender IV: Class7/ Class8

ø-nugá/ binugá “animal/ animals”

ø-jóŋ/ bijóŋ “idiot/ idiots”

Gender V: Class9/ Class10

ø-ŋgǎn/ ø-ŋgǎn “cayman/ caymans”

Ø-nyĩk/ Ø-nyĩk “porcupine/ porcupines”

Gender VI: Class9/ Class6

Ø-ndáp/ma-ndáp “house/ houses”

Ø-ŋgeda/ ma-ŋgeda “time/times”

Gender VII: Class14/ Class6

Ø-Koo/ ma-koo “leg/ legs”

Ø-lép/ ma-lép “river/rivers”

Gender VIII: Class19/ Class12

hi-ondε/ di-ondε “groundnut/ groundnuts”

hi-sée/ di-sée “hare/ hares”

In addition to the two-class-genders above, there are single- genders in which the noun root combines only with one class prefix (either singular or plural). These single-class genders are summarized below:

Gender III a: Class5

li-pém “glory”

li-emb “witch craft”

Gender III b: Class 6

malép “water”

masée “joy”

Gender Va. Class 7

mbiiβε “sweat”

yak “pride”

Gender V b. Class 8

bi-lim “bad omen”

bi-ɔk “curse”

Gender VI a. Class 9

Ø-kóhòl “cough”

Ø-mboŋ “poison”

Gender VII a. Class 14

βé “ugliness”

wɔŋí “fear”

All nouns in the single- class genders above refer to abstract and uncountable noun.

2.5 NEGATION

Unlike most Bantu languages, Bassa’á has no specific negative tenses marked morphologically. Negation is rendered possible through the use of the negative particle *βé* “not” after the verb. With simple tenses negation is formulated as follows:

(40) a. Ngan a n-jé βé lěn

Ngan SM P1-eat Neg today

“Ngan did not eat today”

b. βáúdú βá m-pót βé βásàá

students SM P1 speak Neg Basà’á

“The students did not speak Basà’á”

When negation is applied with the imperative or the subjunctive mood, the negation particle *βé* “not” is replaced by *βâŋ* “not”. In this case the verb is preceded by the second personal pronoun *u* “you” (singular) or *ni* “you” (plural):

- (41) U/ Ni pót βâŋ!
 You Imp + talk Neg
 “Do not talk!”

When negation is used in complex verb tenses, the particle *βé* “not” follows the auxiliary verb form of the affirmative sentence, as illustrated below:

- (42) a. βaúdú βá βé βé βá níǵıl mahóp mâp
 students SM were Neg SM learn languages their
 “The students were not studying their languages”
 b) mε gá βá βé mε níǵıl ndik mahóp mápé
 I F2 be Neg I study only languages others
 “I will not only be studying other languages”

2.6. INTERROGATION

When formulating interrogation in Bassa’a, the SVO word order may change or. Question formation is rendered possible through the use of interrogative particles such as *βàá* “is it that?” *tòó* “whether, if” *íβálé* “if” or by the doubling of the final vowel in some cases. In other cases, the phoneme /ε/ is added to a consonant –final utterance. Question words such as *kélkú* “when” *héé* “where” *njéé* “who” *ínyùúkú* “why” and the like can be used in sentence-final position or sentence initial position. We shall be exploring interrogation in a very extensive way later on. Let us consider the following instances of interrogation in Bassa’a.

- (43) a. βàá malět a n-lòó ?
 is it that teacher SM P1-come
 “Did the teacher come?”

b. mɛ m-ɓatba íbálé malět a n-ló

I Pres-wonder whether teacher SM P1 come

“I wonder whether the teacher has come”

c. liwándá jêṁ li bi-lò kélkí?

friend my SM P2-come when

“When did my friend come?”

d. kíí ɓaúdú ɓá gá ɓɔŋ yáání ?

what students SM F2 do tomorrow

“What will the students do tomorrow?”

Summary

This chapter was intended to familiarize the reader with some relevant features of the language structure rather than exploring the theoretical aspect of our analysis. After briefly bringing out this formal structure of the language, we shall devote ourselves in the following chapters to carry out the theoretical analysis of our work.

CHAPTER III

INTERROGATIVES

3.0 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with interrogative constructions. We are going to explore a particular kind of movement operations termed A-bar movement. We shall be looking at the syntax of wh-expressions alongside other interrogative constructions such as yes/no questions, alternative questions and indirect questions. Against the background of the minimalist approach, we shall argue that such movements are triggered by the need for the moved constituents to fulfil certain requirements. Our analysis shall be centred on the movement of maximal projections and the relationship that exists between the moved constituent (called a probe) and its extraction site (called a goal). It shall be argued that during this process of movement, uninterpretable and interpretable features should match in order to be checked, so that uninterpretable features be erased. Following Chomsky (1995), it is said that there are overt movements and covert movements. While overt movements concern the displacement of a given constituent along with its phonetic features (syntactic movement), covert movements on the contrary deal with the displacement of grammatical features. In concrete terms, we shall be dealing with syntactic movement and logical form (LF) movement.

3.1 Operator movement

Our analysis in this chapter is centred on movement operations at the syntactic level i.e. PF movement or visible movement and at the logical form level (LF movement). The targeted constituents are expressions which contain a paraphrasable version of wh-expressions such as

“who”, “what”, “which” and their equivalents such as “how”, etc. Language studies reveal that there is a cross-linguistic variation as to the syntax of wh-phrases. So languages differ as to where they place the wh-phrase in wh-questions. For instance, English obligatorily moves wh-phrases to Spec-CP in overt syntax; colloquial French, on the contrary, can either move wh-phrases or leave them in-situ (in place) in overt syntax. In this section, we shall argue that there is a clear-cut similarity between the Basa’a language and colloquial French. So in Basa’a, wh-phrases can either move overtly or stay in-situ. When there is movement of wh-phrases in Basa’a, the moved constituent lands in Spec-CP (the specifier position of the complementizer phrase) as opposed to other Bantu A languages like Tuki and Duala (Bilola: 1995) where wh-movement is substitution for Spec-FP (the specifier position of the focus phrase).

3.1.1 wh-questions

Although there are no real wh-expressions in question formation in Basa’a, there are some other expressions that are equivalent to wh-phrases in English. To get our discussion underway, let us straight away state that wh-questions in Basa’a can be classified into three main categories: arguments, referential adjuncts and non-referential adjuncts. Let us consider the following examples:

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|
| (1) a. <i>njéé</i> “who” | <i>kíí</i> “what” |
| (2) b. <i>héé</i> “where” | <i>kélkíí</i> “when” |

c. <i>léláá</i> “how”	<i>ínyùúkíí</i> “why”
-----------------------	-----------------------

In (a) we have arguments, in (b) we have referential adjuncts and in (c) we have non-referential adjuncts. Furthermore, alongside wh-phrases above, there are also wh-phrases with interrogative adjectives. In this case, the interrogative adjective agrees in class/number/person with the noun it modifies. They are *-áyén* and *-mbé*, and they agree with the modified nouns already mentioned. Some examples include the following:

- | | |
|--|--------|
| (3) a. <i>nú-mbéé mánḡé?</i> “which boy/girl?” | class1 |
| b. <i>á- mbé ḡ-ḡḡḡé?</i> “Which boys/girls?” | class2 |

c. *maləŋ máŋén?* “How many onions?” class6

d. *bôt báŋén?* “How many people?” class2

For more discussion on the noun class system of Basa’a, see Bôt Ba Njock (1979).

3.1.1.1 wh-in-situ

Wh-in-situ questions are attested in Basa’a in echo questions during a conversation. In this case, the wh-phrases do not undergo movement; rather they remain in place at their canonical (normal) position. In Asian languages like Japanese and Chinese for instance, wh-phrases always remain in situ at PF whereas they undergo movement at LF. The canonical position here is thus associated with the grammatical functions. To illustrate our view, let us consider the following sentences:

(4) a. *malět à bí- níga’ njée’?*

teacher SM P2 teach who

“Whom did the teacher teach?”

b. *mε gá- kè hée’ yáání?*

I F2 go where tomorrow

“Where will I go tomorrow?”

c. *bôt bá- n-sóm6 kii’?*

men SM P1 buy what

“What did the people buy?”

The account we give from (4) above is common knowledge in that the formalism for wh-questions above is easily understood as not being subject to any movement. So wh-expressions *njee’* “who”, *hee’* “where” and *kii’* “what” in (4a-c) are in their canonical position.

In (4) the italicised wh-expressions *njee’* “who”, *hee’* “where” and *kii’* “what” function as complements of their respective verbs *níga* “teach”, *kè* “go” and *sóm6* “buy”. We can even go forward using the common expression “echo question” to term wh-questions in (4). This situation is similar to the one found in Japanese (Lasnik and Saito 1992) cited by Ouhalla (1999:304) where wh-phrases stay in-situ and do not move in overt syntax as can be seen below:

(5). John-wa nani-o Kaimasita Ka?

John-top what-Acc bought

“What did John buy?”

Sentence (5) shows that Japanese does not move wh-phrases to sentence initial position. The wh-phrase *nani-o* “what” occupies its canonical position (object position). Since Japanese is a head-final language, the object is situated to the left of the verb as can be seen in (5). Top stands for “topic marker”, ACC for accusative case marker and Q for ‘question marker’. So as opposed to English and English-like languages, Japanese does not undergo wh-movement in overt syntax. In a nutshell, we can construe from (4) and (5) that there is similarity between wh-questions in Basa’a and Japanese. However, if we content ourselves with the foregoing, and if we limit ourselves to such a view, we might be limited half-way and might not give a real account of the syntax of in-situ wh-phrases in (4) and (5). If we agree with the view that (4) and (5) are instances of questions (content questions), we should also militate for the existence of a complementizer phrase in (4) and (5). We argue in a short while that there are two types of movement as far as wh-phrases are concerned. There is PF movement which involves overt movement at the syntactic level and LF movement which involves covert movement. If (4) and (5) are instantiations of questions, and if such structures require a CP, then, it is said that in wh-in-situ questions, operators undergo covert movement at LF. In concrete terms, notwithstanding the fact that wh-phrases in (4) and (5) are in-situ at S-Structure in Basa’a and Japanese, they must move to the relevant Spec-CP at LF for wh-questions interpretation. At LF level (4) and (5) wh-phrases have an identical representation to that of their English counterparts with the wh-phrase situated at the relevant Spec-CP position. So, it is said that in (4) and (5) above the wh-phrases (although in-situ) occupy the scope-taking position that corresponds to the position of the logical operator in the logical representation.

In view of (4) and (5), we claim that wh-movement (LF movement) and PF movement (their English counterparts) is associated with the presence of the feature (+Q) under C° . This feature is thus necessary to characterize the sentences above as wh-interrogative and thus to be distinct from declarative sentences for instance.

3.1.2 Yes/No questions

In Basa’a there are many ways of formulating Yes/No questions. Recall that a Yes/No questions is the one which requires a Yes/No answer. Such questions are generally termed

‘questions tag’ in English. In building Yes/No questions, the speaker or questioner stresses on the veracity of the action. First of all, in a yes/no question, the interrogative sentence can be introduced by the particle *bàá* “is it that” (English) “est-ce que” (French), and the sentence is closed off downward by a falling vowel or what Bitja’a Kody (1990) terms “voyelle finale réalisée”. Generally, in most Bantu languages, this final vowel assimilates the final vowel of the final word of the clause. Secondly, there is no *bàá* particle; instead, there is only the falling vowel at the end of the clause. Thirdly, the clause is closed off by the particle *ŋgà* “isn’t it”. Yes/No questions in Basa’a can be illustrated below:

(6) a. malět a n-nígà

teacher SM P1 teach

“The teacher has taught”.

b. *bàá* malět a n-nígà à

is it that teacher SM P1 teach QM

“Did the teacher teach”

c. malět a n-nígà à

teacher SM P1 teach QM

“Did the teacher teach?”

d. malět a n-niiga ŋga

teacher SM P1 teach isn’t it

“The teacher has taught. Hasn’t he?”

From (6) we realize that (a) is the declarative sentence whereas (b-d) are interrogative ones. The major characteristic of Yes/No questions is that more prominence is given to intonation. It is the reason why the falling tone on the question marker at the end of the clause depends on the context. There is no movement operation in Yes/No question, therefore the SVO word order is in tact. As to the position of the question particles, *bàá* ‘is it that’ occupies the head position whereas the final vowel is the question marker and occupies the head of a phrase of some kind to be determined later on within the split CP hypothesis. The particle *bàá* ‘is it that’ can be preceded by the lexical complementizer *lé* “that” and followed by *íbálé* “if” as in (7) below:

(7) a mɛ m-bat lé b̃àá mút a gá -lɔ kí i suklu u ?

I Pres ask that Is it that man SM F2 come again to school QM
“I wonder if someone will come to school again.”

b. b̃àá íbálé u n-jé u gá-wó ò

is it that if you Pres-eat you F2 die QM
“Will you die if you eat?”

Generally, we come across *b̃àá* “is it that” constructions when the speaker has a strong conviction of what might happen. For instance in (7a) the speaker is convinced that something might happen or not. Such structures normally mean “are you truly sure that”.

3.1.3 Alternative questions

As their name indicates alternative questions look for either answer among others. An alternative question is formed by conjoining two or more clauses or phrases with *tɔlé* “or”. There are two possibilities among which the askee is expected to make a choice of. They can be centred on a phrase or a clause. Let us consider the sentences below:

(8) a. b̃àá malět a n-níga tɔlé a ŋ-kè ?

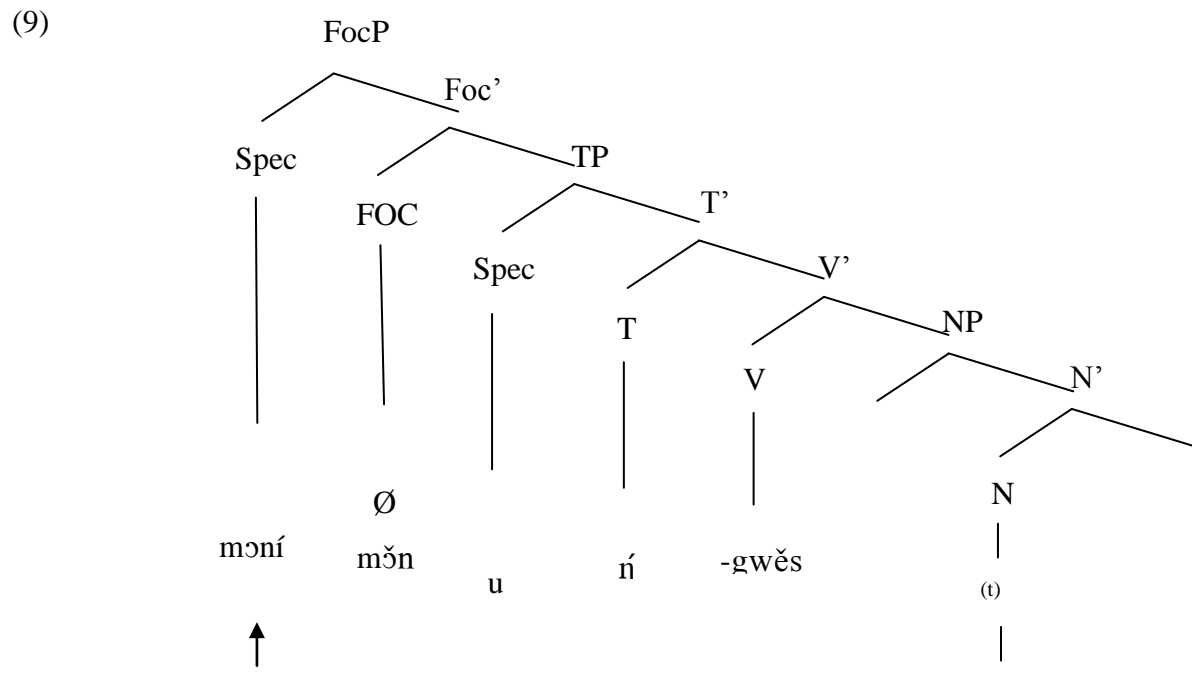
is it that teacher SM Pres-teach or he Pres-go
“Does the teacher teach or go?”

b. mɔní mǎn u ŋ'-gwěs tɔlé sũklu?

money Foc you Pres-love or school
“Is it the money that you love or school?”

In (8a) the questioner is looking for information on whether the teacher has taught or has gone. In (8b) the speaker would like to know what the interlocutor loves. The word order in (8a) is SVO whereas in (8b) OSV, whereby the constituent *mɔní* “money” has been subject to movement by being clefted. Constructions like (8b) are very common in human languages. During this clefting process, the speaker is laying more emphasis on the constituent *mɔní*

“money”. This constituent has moved to Spec-FocP to occupy a scope or prominent position (this issue shall be tackled in detail later on). Recall that there is a sort of equality between *mɔní* “money” and *sǔklu* “school” in (8b) but given that both constituents cannot move to sentence initial position (in that case the question shall no longer be alternative), only one constituent should move. When moving from its extraction site, the constituent *mɔní* “money” leaves behind a copy trace which it c-commands and therefore both (*mɔní* “money” and its trace) form a chain link as can be seen in (9) below:



We shall not lay more emphasis on movement operation in this section since we shall be analysing cleft constructions later on. But retain that like in many Bantu languages, the element in Spec-FocP should be in a Spec-head relation with the displaced constituent.

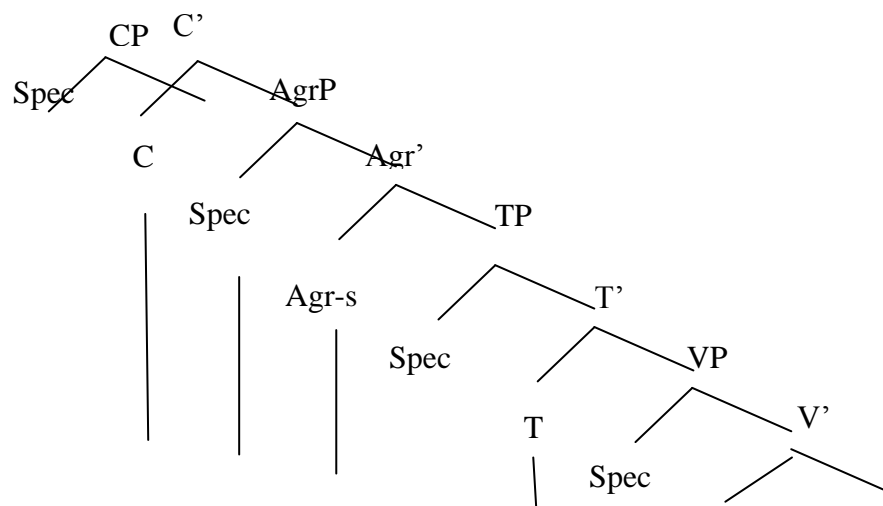
3.1.4 Indirect questions

In this section we discuss another type of question in Basa'a. Unlike Yes/No questions and alternative ones, indirect questions involve an overt interrogative complementizer in C in embedded contexts. We can also say that this is also an indirect type of Yes/No questions or even of alternative questions. Indirect questions are introduced by epistemic verbs such as *bat* “ask”, *kal* “say”, *batba* “wonder” etc. These types of question are illustrated in (10) below:

- (10) a. ɓaúdí ɓá n-somból yí tɔɔ malět a n-lɔ.
 students SM Pres- want know whether teacher SM P1-come
 “The students want to know whether the teacher has come”.
- b. mɛ m-batba **ibálé** u ŋ-ke í ɓom
 I Pres-wonder if you Pres-go to market
 “I wonder if you will go to the market.

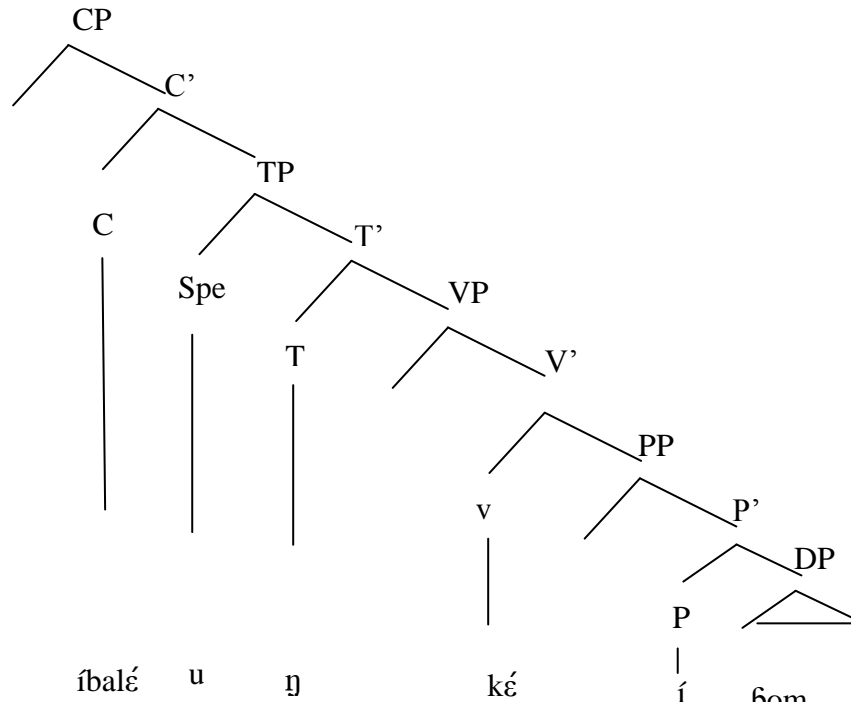
The bold printed complementizer *tɔɔ* “whether” and *ibálé* “if” hosted in C are base-generated and therefore are not subject to movement since they initiate the embedded context as it is the case for ‘whether’ and ‘if’ in English(although whether is base-generated in Spec-CP). Both sentences are respectively represented in (11.a; b) below. We content ourselves with the embedded clauses

(11) a.



$\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ | \\ \text{í} \end{array}$
 $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{tɔɔ} & \text{malět} & \text{á} & & \text{n} & & \end{array}$

(11b)



As shown in the above diagrams, the head C of CP is occupied by the complementizers *tɔɔ* “whether” and *íbalé* “if” which originate in the CP layer.

3.1.5 Subject questions

So far, we have assumed that wh-phrases can move or remain in-situ in Basa’a. Apart from the fact that wh-questions display a twofold analysis in Basa’a, that is, they can either remain in-situ or move, there is another important issue which requires particular attention. This issue is the syntax of wh-phrases in subject position. The question to be asked is whether subject wh-expressions in Basa’a are subject to movement or not. To answer this question, we shall make use of the theory of trace and Chomsky’s arguments about language acquisition (cf Haegeman 1994:398). To have our discussion underway, let us consider the following sentences:

(12) a. **njéé** u ŋ-kâl lé (t) a bí- kε í 6om?

who you Pres-say that SM P2 go to market

“Who do you say has gone to the market?”

- b. **njée** u bí-tí (**t**) móní
 who you P2 give money
 “Who did you give the money to?”
- c. **njée** a bí-tí wé makebla?
 who SM P2 give you presents
 “Who gave you the presents?”

In (12a) above, we have an instance of long subject movement, whereby the subject *njée* “who” has been subject to movement by being extracted from its canonical position (subject position) of the lower clause (in Spec-AgrP) up to the specifier position of the complementizer phrase. When moving, this subject leaves behind a trace at its extraction site. In like manner, the object wh-expressions *njée* “who” in (12b) has moved from its position after the verb *tí* “give” into Spec-CP. By moving, it also leaves behind at its extraction site a trace(**t**). Another important thing is that both wh-phrases in (12a-b) are arguments, i.e. they are participants that respectively take part in the actions expressed by the verbs *ké* “go” in (12a) and *tí* “give” in (12b). In (12a) the argument *njée* ‘who’ is in the subject position whereas in (12b) it is in the object position before any movement. However, more striking is (12c). If we agree with the Trace Theory of Chomsky that when a constituent moves, then it leaves a trace at its extraction site like in (12a-b), we should argue without any fear for misanalysis that (12c) does not display a movement operation in overt syntax. There is no visible movement operation in (12c), since there is no trace. This is *prima facie* evidence that a constituent has moved somewhere at the phonetic level. Some views argue that there is analogy between long subject movement (12a), object movement (12b) and the subject wh-expression in (12c). According to these views there is also movement operation in (12c) as can be seen below:

- (13) [CP **njée** [AgrP[Agr-S a][TP bí[VP tí [DPwé [DP makebla]]]]]]?]
 Who SM P2 give you presents

If we suppose that there is overt movement of the subject wh-expression in (12c) we shall be facing a problem of UG. In concrete terms sentence (13) above has a problem related to well-formedness. If we maintain (13) and if we take into account the trace theory we shall be violating the notion of *chain* introduced by Chomsky (1981d) in *Lectures*.

(14) A moved constituent and its co-indexed trace form a movement chain.

We realize from (14) that there is no chain between the supposedly moved subject wh-phrase **njée** “who” and any trace. Since there is no trace, then we cannot talk of chain and therefore cannot envisage any overt movement operation. However, if we adopt Cheng’s (1997) view, quoted by Radford (2004:155) that every clause be typed (i.e. identified as declarative or interrogative etc. in type) in the syntax, and that a clause is typed as interrogative if it contains an interrogative head or specifier, then in this view, the apparent movement of the interrogative **njée** “who” in (12c) is typed as interrogative. In addition, if we assume that CPs, the head of which is marked with the feature [+Q] are subject to the requirement that their specifier position be filled, we propose that in case of subject wh-phrases like in (12c) above, the feature [+Q] is checked at LF by covertly moving the subject **njée** “who” in Spec-CP and therefore satisfying the [+Q]-CP Principle defined below by Ouhalla (1999:133).

(15) [+Q]-CP principle

A [+Q]-CP must have a specifier.

Because the head C of CP in questions bears the feature [+Q], only a phrase bearing the same feature, i.e a wh-phrase, can occupy Spec-CP. As far as (12c) is concerned, this is rendered possible in covert syntax. We say that as opposed to long distance subject movement (12a) and object movement (12b), the effect of short movement in (11c) concerning subject wh-phrase cannot be observed on the surface string. Movement operations whose effects are not observed on the surface string are referred to as **vacuous movement** (Chomsky 1986:48-9). Chomsky (1986:48-49) quoted by Haegeman (1994:398) argues that during language acquisition, the child acquiring a language uses overt evidence for building up the grammar and the syntactic representations of sentences. For instance, the child acquiring the Basa’a language and faced with a sentence like (12c) has no overt evidence that the subject wh-phrase **njée** “who” has moved. Faithful to the minimalist view that syntactic operations include merger and move, and given that sentences that include subject wh-phrase like (12c) are not consistent with the trace theory and the notion of chain at PF, then it follows that (12c) simply includes a merger operation and a vacuous movement. We shall therefore propose the following derivation for (12c).

LF representation:

(16) [CP *njée*[C [AgrP [Agr-s a][TP[T -n[VP [V *tí*[DP*wě*[DP*makebla*]]]]]]]]?]

Who SM P1 give you presents

Adopting the vacuous movement hypothesis, we say that the subject wh-phrase *njée* “who” is merged at Spec-AgrP. This is done within the IP; and the subject wh-phrase is not subject to movement operation in overt syntax. The subject wh-phrase moves at **LF** into Spec-CP in order to check the feature [+Q] in C. Since there are three types of operations by which features can be checked (merger, movement, attraction) and since the subject wh-phrase *njée* “who” does not visibly move in the syntax, we argue that the feature [+Q] hosted in C is checked via attraction of the [wh] features of the subject *njée* “who”. From the foregoing, we construe that in interrogative clauses with subject questions, the feature [+Q] or [WH] is checked via attraction not by overt movement. Since feature attraction is more economical and preferred to movement, it follows that only the subject of an interrogative clause can check the [WH] feature of [Q] by attraction.

3.1.6 Displaced wh-phrases

The goal of this section is to show a wide range of dependencies, referred to as A’ constructions. They can be accounted for within the minimalist setting. Contrary to wh-in-situ, we shall see that wh-phrases can overtly move in overt syntax in Basa’a. We shall be analysing wh-questions extraction.

3.1.6.1 Wh-questions in main clauses

Wh-fronting is characterized by the fact that there is the licensing of wh-phrase in clause initial position. To be licensed it must be linked to a trace. We shall be looking at the type of movement by which a wh-phrase moves in overt syntax into Spec-CP. We will see that the chain that links the moved constituent in A’-position with the corresponding gap is defined by a syntax-semantic correspondence rule. To pave the way for our discussion let us consider the following sentences:

(17) a. *njée baúdí bá ń-gwěs?*

who students SM Pres-love

“Who do the students love?”

b. *lélàá u ń-kôs nín bóǵá?*

how you Pres-get life eternal

“How do you get eternal life?”

c. *ḡá-mbê bálét* u ḡ-gwěs?

what teacher you Pres-love

“What teachers do you love?”

d. **ḡá-mbê bálét* ḡ-gwès ni

what teachers Pres-love you

“What teachers do you love?”

Each of the sentences in (17) contains an italicized wh-phrase in sentence initial position. These wh-phrases, also called operators, are interrogative because they ask questions about something, someone etc. These operators are *njée* “who” (17a), *léláá* “how” (17b). Expressions like in (17d) are called wh-expressions because they are made up of a wh-operator followed by a noun. Hence, *ḡá-mbê bálét* “what teachers” (17c-d) are wh-expressions or phrases. Again, while (17a-c) are grammatical, (17d) on the contrary is not. In order to account for the ungrammaticality and the grammaticality in (17) above, we should provide a descriptive account of wh-questions involving what licenses or allows a transformation that moves wh-operators into sentence initial position. Following Culicover (1976:73), we argue that such a transformation is termed wh-fronting. Wh-fronting requires that inversion should only involve wh-operators to sentence initial in Basa’a, whereas in languages like English and French for instance, wh-fronting requires both wh-inversion and auxiliary inversion or wh-inversion and verb inversion (French only). In (17d), there are both wh-inversion and verb inversion; something which is disallowed in Basa’a. More concretely, (17d) is ungrammatical because there is neither subject inversion in Basa’a nor auxiliary movement. However, what makes us claim that there is wh-fronting in (17)? A straightforward answer to this question comes from word order. Basa’a is an SVO language which does not license subject inversion. It seems clear that a peep at (17a-c) lets us realize that the operators function as the complements of their respective verbs, and have been subject to movement. This can be illustrated in (18) below:

(18) a. *ḡáúdú* ḡá ḡ-gwěs *njée*?

students SM Pres-love who

“The students love who?”

b. u ḡ-kôs niḡ ḡḡḡá *léláá*?

you Pres-get life eternity how

“You get eternal life how?”

c. u ń-gwěs bámbê báľět?

you Pres-love which teachers

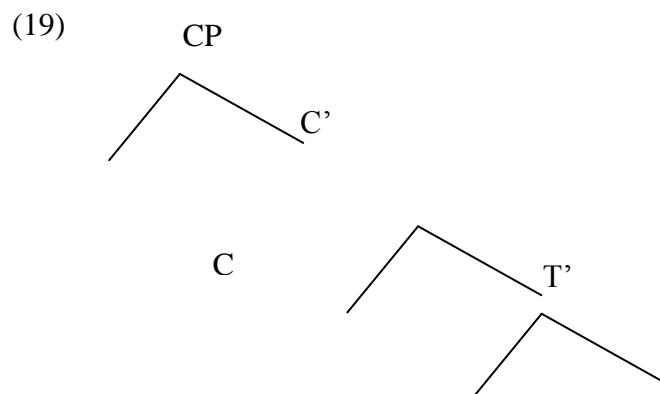
“You love which teachers?”

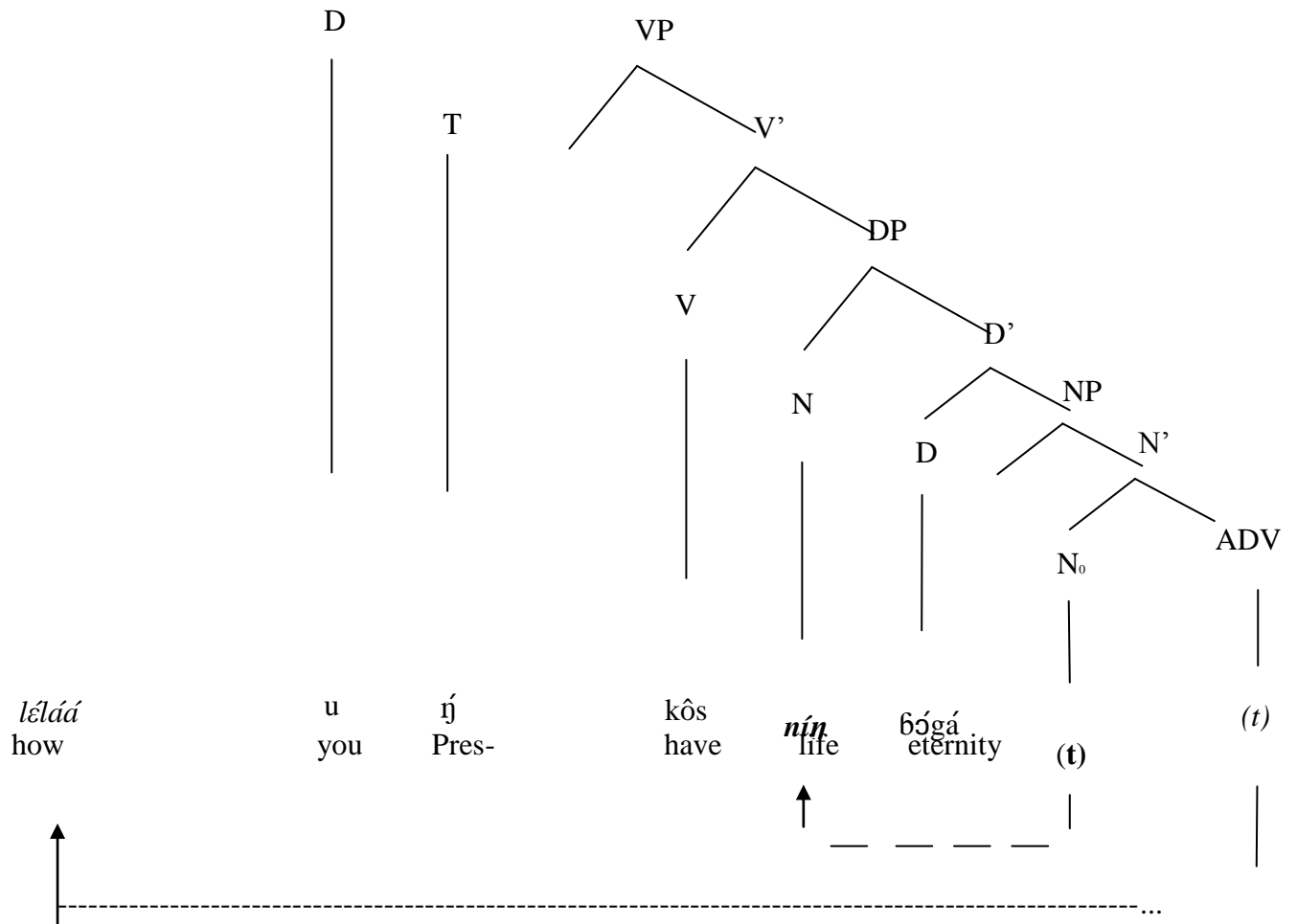
If we consider the paraphrased versions of (17a-c) as (18a-c), we can infer that (18) is a prima facie evidence that the wh-operators in (17) originate within their respective verb phrases and have been subject to movement. We have referred to structures like (18) above as wh-in-situ questions since these operators remain in place. If we agree that operators in (17) have undergone movement operations, the question is what the landing-site of such operators are? In English and French for instance, wh-operators land in Spec-CP when displaced and the inverted auxiliaries move into C like in “what have you seen?” or “qu’as-tu mangé?” If wh-phrases move to Spec-CP because the only available landing-site above the moved auxiliaries is Spec-CP in English and French, the structures encountered in Basa’a seem problematic. Let us consider (18b) as (19) below:

(19)[TP U [[T ń-] [VP kôs] [DP niŋ ńógá] [ADVP léláá?]]]

YOU Pres- have life life how

Assuming that there is a phrase above TP called the complementizer phrase, given the nature of the clause (interrogative clause) and assuming that this CP has two available landing sites i.e. the head C and the specifier Spec-CP, we might suggest that since the next available site after TP at the left is C, then the adverbial *lélaa* “how” (17b) cannot move in C° because C° is a head.





The above representation is unproblematic because it does not violate some principles of UG. First of all, if we take into account the fact that there is an XP movement that involves movement of a full phrase or a maximal projection and X^0 movement involving movement of a word (word-level category), and that both movements involve movement of a target category into a matching empty category position, and if reasoning along these lines proves productive, then we open up the possibility that there is matching (true matching) between the moved operator *lélàá* “how” which is a maximal projection and its landing site which is Spec-CP. In other words, we have moved an adverbial phrase into the specifier of the complementizer phrase. Let us consider, following Chomsky (1995a:406), the following principle governing the well-formedness of chains:

(20) CHAIN UNIFORMITY PRINCIPLE (CUP)

A chain must be uniform with regard to phrase structure status.

The acceptability of (20) is accounted for in a principled way since in this sentence we get a uniform chain whose head is C° and whose foot is a maximal projection AdvP. So, the derivation in (19) does not violate the **chain uniformity principle**. Again, if we know that human languages have rules moving a range of different constituents from one position into another in a given sentence, then we ought to expect that in principle, any constituent can move anywhere. In like manner, if in practice this is not the case, then it is our task to provide principles which determine why some constituents can move into some positions and not the others. To account for such pertinent restrictions, and in order to provide further evidence vis-à-vis the well-formedness of (19), we shall posit that (19) is in conformity with the **structure-preserving principle**. Using category and level variables, Radford (1988) reformulates this principle as follows:

(21). *A substitution is structure-preserving if and only if it results in a constituent X^n being substituted for another constituent X^n of the same type.*

It seems clear from above that since AdvP and Spec-CP are of the same type in (19), then, the substitution is structure preserving. We can only get a right derivation of (17b) if we suppose that above C, there is another available site that can host the moved adverbial phrase. Since this site is Spec-CP the adverbial phrase *lelàá* “how” will move into Spec-CP as illustrated above. (19) is structure preserving because it moves an X^n category into another X^n category of the same type. In other words, by moving *lelàá* “how” from its target site into its landing site in Spec-CP, we move a maximal projection into another maximal projection. If our discussion is right along the lines, we can now say that the derivation in (19) converges because it satisfies the **structure preserving principle** in (21) and the **chain uniformity principle** defined in (20). By (20), we mean that the chain formed between the moved operator and its trace is uniform since the head and foot of the chain are maximal projections. In order to avoid any random speculation as to the term “maximal projection”, let us simply define it following Chomsky (1995a:396) as follows:

(22) *A category that does not project any further is a maximal projection.*

In view of (23) for instance, the adverb *lelàá* “how” is a maximal projection because it does not project into a larger structure NP. Thus, a word which is devoid of a complement or specifier of its own functions as a maximal projection. The claim that operator and wh-expressions move into Spec-CP is furthermore supported by the **Multiply Filled Comp Filter/MFCF** violation in ungrammatical sentences in Basa’a

(23) Multiply Filled Comp Filter/MFCF(Radford: 2004:177)

Any CP containing an overt complementizer (that/if/for) with an overt specifier is ungrammatical.

As the result of the **MFCF** violation, it follows that it is often normal to use both an overt complementizer and an overt specifier in certain constructions. If the hearer is not attentive such constructions might sound grammatical. Let us consider the following sentences:

(24)a. ?imbê kaat lé u bí-áj (t) ?

which book that you P2 read

“Which book (that) did you read?”

b. ?númbê mut lé ni ga- téhé (t) ?

what man that you F2 see

“What man (that) did you see?”

(24) is additional support for the claim that moved operators land into Spec-CP in Basa’a if we assume that the complementizer hosts in C position.

3.1.6.2 Wh-questions in embedded clauses

The previous section dealt with wh-questions in main clauses. We have seen so far that moved wh-operators land in Spec-CP. We would like to extend our analysis to another construction type termed embedded clauses; i.e. subordinate clauses. Such clauses are introduced in Basa’a by epistemic verbs like *kal* “tell, say”, *bat* “ask”, *batba* “wonder”, *hójól* “think, believe” etc. Let us consider the sentences below:

(25) a. malët à n-hójól lé njéé [u bí- téhé(t)] ?

teacher SM Pres-believe that who you P2 see

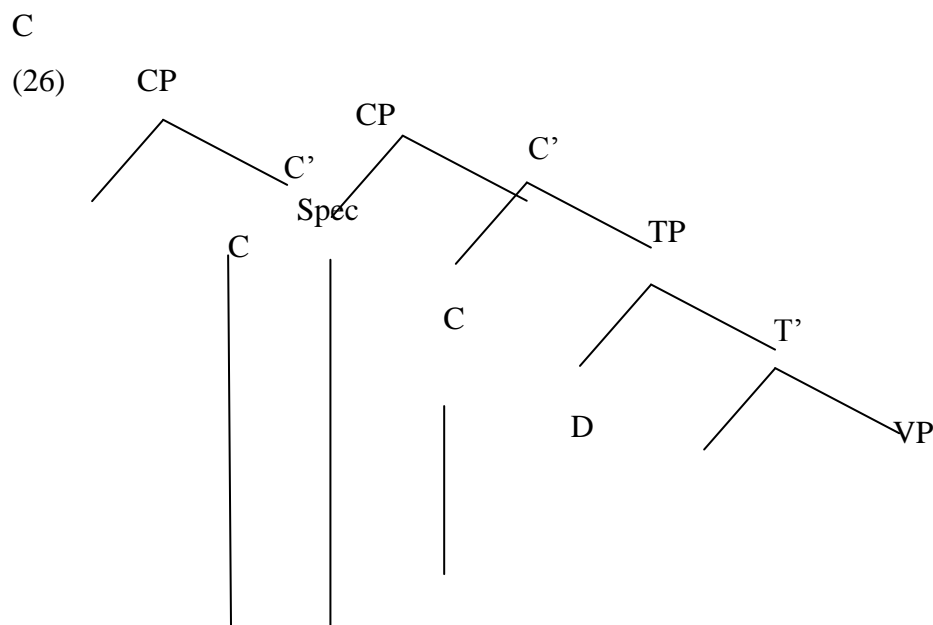
“The teacher believes that who did you see?”

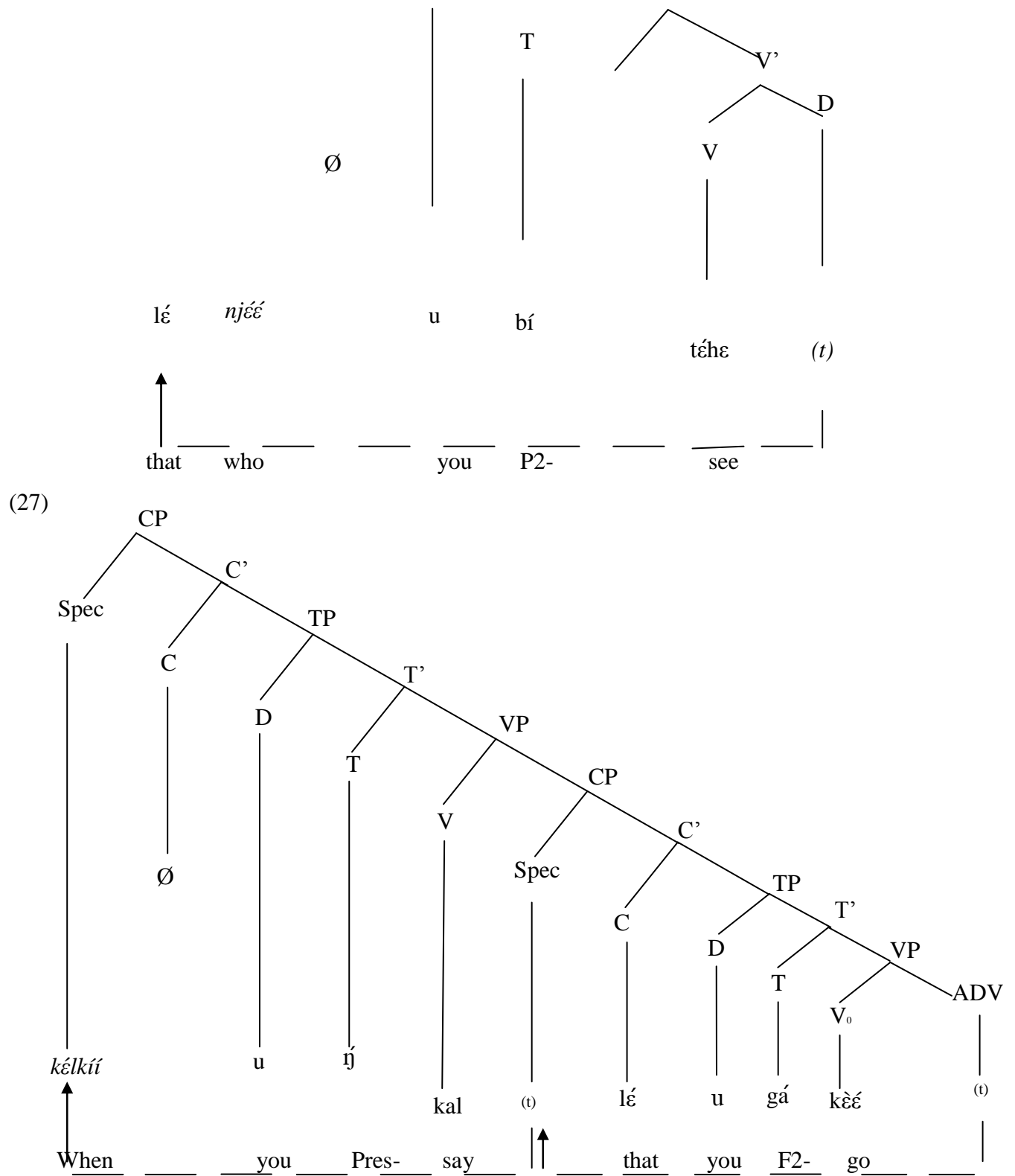
b. kélkí u íj-kal lé [u gá- kèé(t)] ?

when you Pres-say that you F2- go

“When did you say that you will go?”

We suggest that we should handle embedded wh-questions such as those discussed in (16) i.e. those in main clauses. So in structures like in (25) above the moved wh-operators move into Spec-CP. It shall be shown that in (25a) wh-movement applies in a single step while in (25b) it applies in a successive cyclic way. Since (25) is a case of interrogative constructions, let us suppose that the head C of CP contains the question morpheme Q, that has a [wh]-feature which triggers the movement of the wh-operators. (26a) is derived as (26) below: Recall that there is CP recursion in the following example.





In (26 and 27) we realize that wh-operators have been overtly moved in the syntax as opposed to wh-phrases in-situ. We can summarize this section by arguing that wh-operators are subject to movement and that they move from the VP internal position into the specifier

position of CP. This movement can be done in a single step or in many steps in a successive cyclic fashion.

3.1.6.3 Multiple Wh-Questions

Research on language studies have shown that there is a cross-linguistic variation as concerns the level of application of wh-movement. In Japanese and Chinese for instance, wh-movement applies at LF, in English, this is done at PF although there may also be cases of wh-movement at **LF** in English. Basa'a can be said to be an intermediary or mixed language in that it displays wh-movement both at **PF** and **LF**. We saw that wh-movement in this language is not compulsory. In the previous sections we saw that wh-phrases can stay in-situ or move in overt syntax. In Basa'a constituent questions, we shall see that in case of multiple wh-questions, only one wh-phrase substitutes for Spec-CP; the others remain in-situ or better still, they are delayed till LF. So like English, the Basa'a language does not license multiple movements in the syntax. Let us consider the following sentences:

(28) a. **kíí** **njéé** a ń-kâl?

what who SM Pres-say

“What does who say?”

b*. **njéé** *kíí* (t_i) a ń-kâl (t_j)

who what SM Pres-say

“ *Who what says?”

c. *ínyukíí* njéé a bí -kè hée? (t)

why who SM P2 go where

“Why did who go where?”

d. ***ínyukíí** hée **njéé** a bí-kè (t) (t) ?

why where who SM P2 go

“Why where who went?”

To better unravel the wh-movement phenomenon in Basa'a, our starting point shall be the above constructions in (28). First and foremost, (28a) is an instance of multiple questions which displays a content question (about what) and a subject wh-question (about who). (28a)

is additional support for our claim above that subject wh-phrases do not move in overt syntax; instead their movement is delayed at LF in order to satisfy the wh-criterion Rizzi (1996) which requires a spec-head configuration between the head C and the moved wh-operator. So, in (28a), only the object wh-phrase **kíí** “what” overtly moves into Spec-CP via a substitution process. As for the subject wh-phrase **njéé** “who”, it does not move in overt syntax, so it remains in-situ. Bear in mind that LF is the level that encodes the semantic interpretation of the sentence. Our proposal is that, since there is only one available site in Spec-CP, we assume that the object wh-phrase **kíí** “what” occupies this position whereas its subject counterpart **njéé** “who” moves at LF. (28b) is ungrammatical because we have moved two wh-operators in overt syntax into a scope position. The ungrammaticality of (28b) can be accounted for in two ways. First of all, Basa’a is a noun class language which requires that the subject of the sentence be adjacent or as closer as possible to the subject marker. The subject wh-phrase **njéé** “who” is marked [+human] and refers to class one in the Basa’a classification since the subject is singular. So, the subject verb agreement relation fails because the length of syntactic relations between the moved subject **njéé** “who” and its subject marker **-a** violates the locality principle. In concrete terms, the study of locality interacts with the attempt to draw maps as precise and detailed as possible. According to the relativized minimality approach (Rizzi 1990) a local relation is the one that must be satisfied in the smallest environment. In this perspective, he proposes the configuration below:

(29) ... X ... Z ... Y ...

According to (29), a local relation cannot hold between X and Y if Z is a potential bearer of the relevant relation and Z intervenes between X and Y. How can we explain the ungrammaticality of (28b) in view of (29) above? In structures such as (28b), the object wh-operator **kíí** “what” is an intervener between the moved subject **njéé** “who” and its trace (ti) and mainly its subject marker **-a** so that the antecedent relation in this chain between the moved constituent and the SM fails. This is due to the fact that one cannot ask a wh-question concerning the subject. From the foregoing we can infer that relativized minimality is not respected in (28b) since the structure is against the economy principle which requires that local relations be as shorter as possible.

In (28c), only one wh-phrase **ínyúkíí** “why” moves in Spec-CP and the others (**njéé** “who”, **héé** “when”) remain in-situ. In (28c), we can say that **ínyúkíí** “why” is in a scope position in the syntax; and the other wh-phrases remain in-situ, but their movement being delayed till

LF. After examining the sentences (28a-c) we can straightforwardly account for the ill-formedness of (28d). As we have already mentioned, in case of multiple questions in Basa'a, only one wh-phrase moves syntactically, the others remain in-situ (further information shall be provided in chapter V and V1). So it is due to the fact that since two wh-operators have been fronted, the sentence cannot be well interpreted and therefore violates the full interpretation principle (FIP). So unlike languages like Hungarian or Polish where multiple wh-fronting is possible, Basa'a only allows a single wh-fronting if so far CP is considered as being the utmost projection above IP. In a nutshell, our discussion on multiple wh-questions put at the limelight some observations. There is a cross-linguistic variation concerning the application of wh-movement; this parametric variation brings forth two points: Firstly, wh-movement applies at PF as early as possible where one wh-phrase is preposed at sentence initial position in accordance with the **earliness principle** (Pesetsky 1989).

The idea is that when the wh-feature is strong, this is reflected at the spell-out level (syntactic level) and this triggers movement of the wh-phrase. In case of multiple questions, other movements are postponed as later as possible by **procrastinate** at LF. Given that Basa'a is a mixed language i.e. a language in-between languages like English that allows wh-fronting and languages like Japanese or Chinese which do not allow wh-fronting, we can construe that wh-movement is not compulsory in this language. Within the minimalist setting, we can say that in sentences like (28) above, movement is regulated by the **last resort** and **least effort** principles.

3.1.6.3.1 MULTIPLE QUESTIONS: last resort and least effort

This section deals with why some wh-operators should move to Spec-CP in multiple questions and why the others should remain in-situ. In other words, why do we prefer moving **njée** "who" in overt syntax and leaving **kélkíí** "when" in-situ in (30b) below?

(30) a. me ŋ-kâl lé Tonye a ŋ-kè yàání

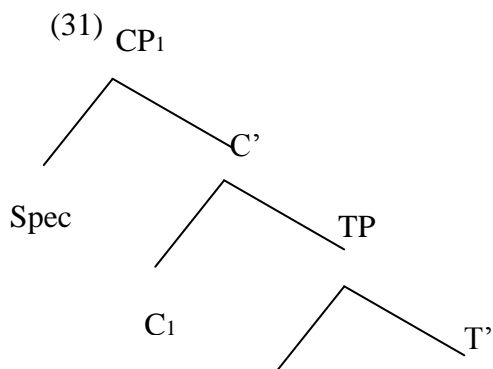
I Pres-say that Tonye SM Pres-go tomorrow
 "I say that Tonye will go tomorrow"

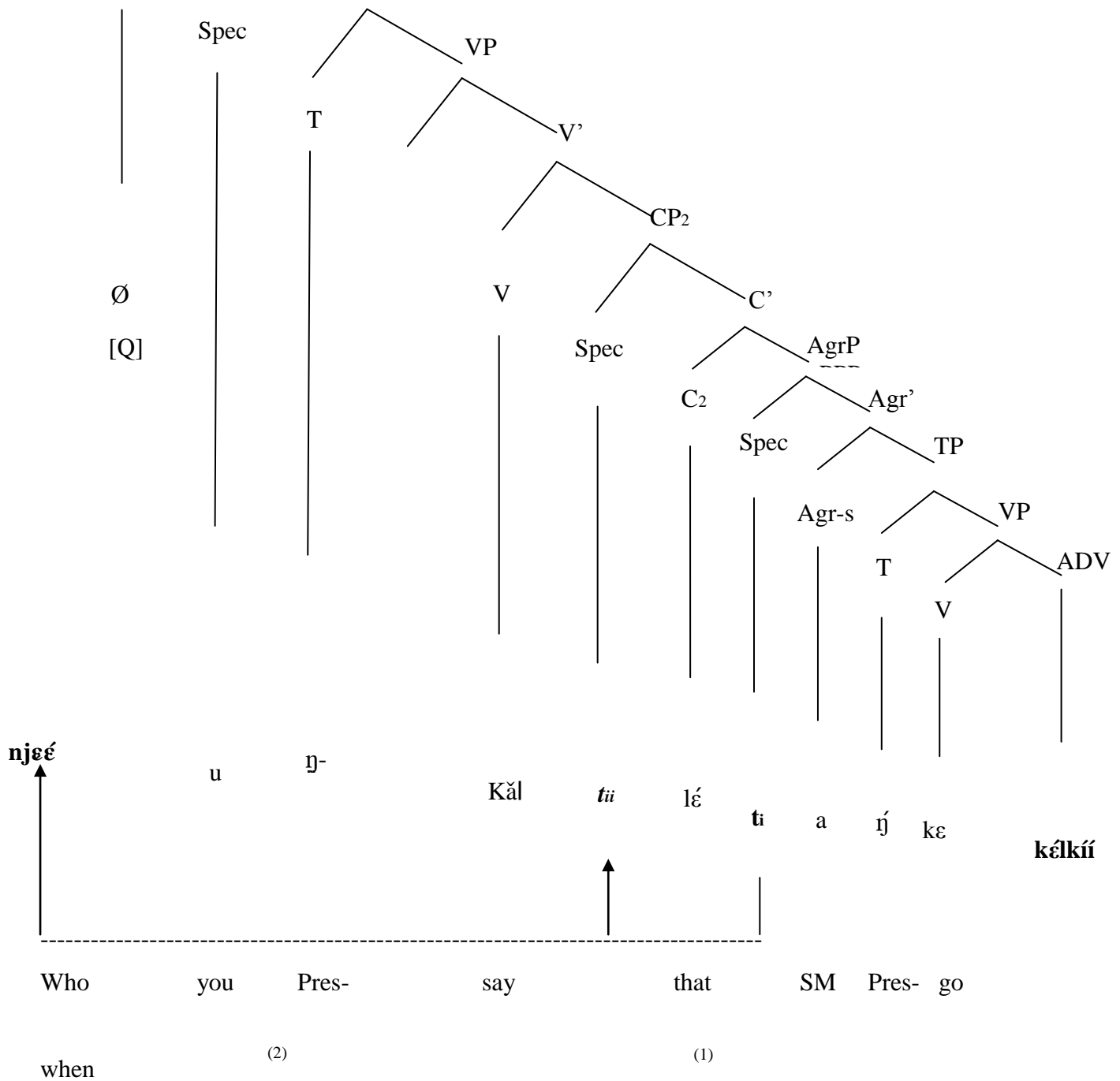
b. **njée** u ŋ-kâl lé (t) a ŋ-kè *kélkíí*?

who you Pres-say that SM Pres-go when
 "Who do you say will go when?"

(30a) is a declarative sentence with an embedded clause introduced by the verb *kâl* "say" which is an epistemic verb. (30b) is an interrogative sentence with multiple questions. There

is one fronted wh-operator and one in-situ wh-operator. A way back to (30a) enables us to recall that as far as word order is concerned, Basa'a is an SVO language. The subject *Tonye* of the embedded clause precedes the adjunct complement *yàání* "tomorrow". Following this word order, the interrogative sentence in (30b) matches the wh-operators in relation to their referents in (30a) so that **njéé** "who" corresponds to *Tonye* and **kélkíí** "when" corresponds to *yàání* "tomorrow". To the question; why should we only move, **njéé** "who" in overt syntax and leave **kélkíí** "when" in-situ like in (31) below:





We suggest that this is rendered possible or preferable for economy reasons. If we look at both **njéé** “who” and **kélkú** “when”, we realize that they are within the main clause dominated by AgrP. **njéé** “who” moves from its original position into Spec-CP₁ by first moving into Spec-CP₂. This movement is done in a successive cyclic fashion. The first cycle is indicated by (1) and the second by (2). Within the minimalist setting, shorter movements

are preferred to longer ones. In fact, **njéé** “who” is closer to Spec-CP₁ than **kélkúí** “when”. The feature [+Q] in C₁ lures the nearest wh-operator into spec-CP₁. Given the general view that the minimalist approach is economy-driven; the link between PF and LF has to be established as economical as possible. Economy in (31) above is instantiated in a number of respects. First of all, the movement of **njéé** “who” into Spec-CP₁ is economy-driven in a step wise fashion. **njéé** “who” should move into Spec-CP₁; its movement is necessary, and is referred to in the minimalist terminology as movement as a **last resort**. What we want to highlight here is that in (31), movement of **njéé** “who” is not optional, this operator moves because it has to. Chomsky (1993) suggests that movement such as that of **njéé** “who” in (31) obeys what he calls the **short move condition** (SMC). So far, the idea underlying the SMC is that it requires that a moved category cannot cross over another c-commanding category of the same type. So, the operator **njéé** “who” in Spec-AgrP cannot cross-over the Spec-CP₂ to land directly in Spec-CP₁. Again, since **njéé** “who” is closer to the main clause than **kélkúí** “when”, it follows from this view that this is a consequence of what Radford (2004:162) calls **Attract Closest Principle** (ACP). He outlines this principle as follows:

(32) Attract Closest Principle/ACP:

A head which attracts a given kind of constituent attracts the closest constituent of the relevant kind.

Following (32) we suggest that the movement of **njéé** “who” is relevant and less costly than that of **kélkúí** “when”. The last issue concerns the barring of **kélkúí** “when” from moving overtly in Spec-CP₁. The first answer is that since Basa’a does not allow multiple wh-movement in the syntax, once the first operator has moved, the other remain in-situ. Secondly, the fact that **kélkúí** “when” remains in-situ is also accounted for in terms of an economy principle called **procrastinate**. By procrastinate; covert operations are less costly than overt ones. So, the derivation has to converge as fast as possible by minimizing overt syntax. So moving the wh-operator **kélkúí** “when” is unnecessary and this is regulated by the least effort principle which requires that categories should not move if they do not have to.

In (31) above, a striking issue is that one might wonder why the construction is not ungrammatical. In other words, (31) seems to violate the that-trace effect. However, notice

that wh- operators do not exhibit any subject/ object asymmetry, and therefore are immune to COMP-trace effects: A straight forward answer to this issue is that the lack of COMP-trace effects in Basa'a is expected under the assumption that the language is a null subject one.

Since Perlmutter (1971), it has become customary to assume that pro drop languages do not exhibit any subject/ object asymmetries in cases of extraction across an overt complementizer. For instance, in Italian, subjects are freely extractable across declarative and interrogative complementizers:

(33) (Rizzi 1990) 's (94)

a. Chi credi che abbia telefonato?

"Who do you think that has telephoned?"

b. Un momo che non so se ci potrà aiutare

"A man that I don't know if will be able to help us"

Rizzi (1982a chapter 4) suggests that the property of free extraction of the subject over a phonetically realized complementizer is a result of the free inversion of the subject. In tensed clauses, subjects can occur in post verbal position in Italian; something which is disallowed in Basa'a. Let us consider the following examples: (33)

a. Credi che abbia telefonato Gianni

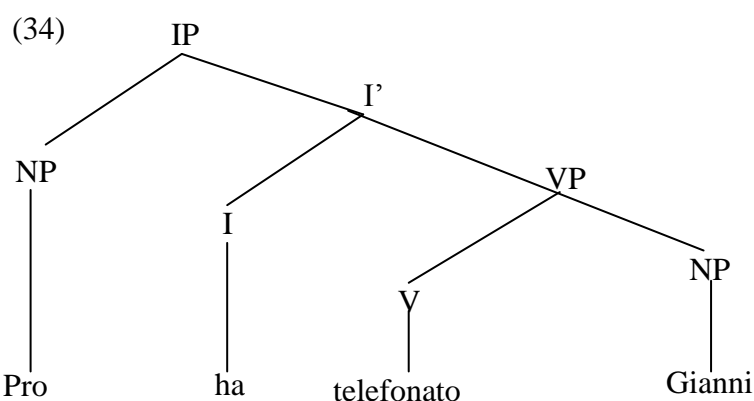
"I think that has telephoned Gianni"

b. *me n-hóŋóŋ l é a bíí wó manǵé

I Pres-think that SM P2 die child

??"I think that child died the"

It is clear from (33b) above that there is no subject inversion in Basa'a, as opposed to Italian. The idea that subjects are freely extractable across declarative and interrogative complementizers because the subject can be placed in post verbal position has been substantiated by a bulk of literature (Rizzi 1982. Burzio 1986, Haegeman 1991 etc.). So, when the subject occurs in post verbal position in those languages that license free inversion, it is adjoined to VP and the preverbal position is occupied by an expletive pro:



For (33a) we could propose the following derivation:

(33a) chi credi [CP che[IP e[I abbia] [VP telefonato t_i]]]?

The empty subject position marked by *e* would be a non- overt expletive. (For further discussion Cf. Rizzi 1982c). Since free inversion of the subject is strictly banned in the Basa'a example above, it is unable to be appealed to in order to explain free extraction of the subject *wh*- operator across an overt complementizer. It should be noted that Basa'a licenses **pro** in subject position because Agr-S is a proper governor. In other words, the following constructions are allowed in Basa'a:

(35) a. Bassong a- n-tíla kàat

Bassong SM Pres-write book

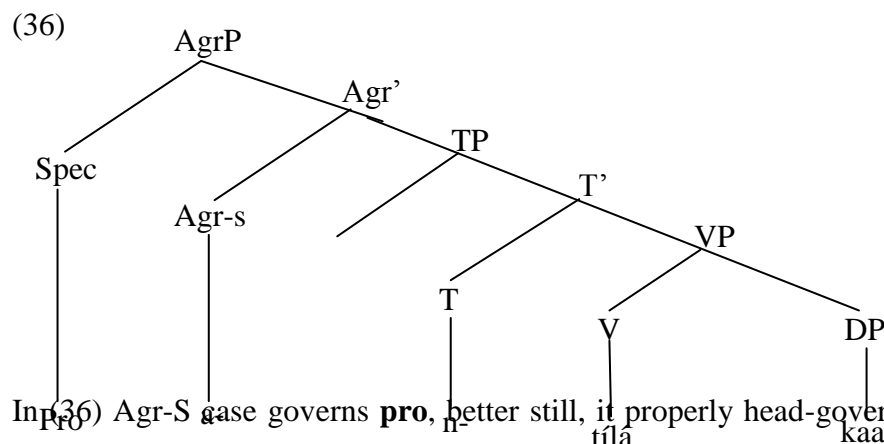
"Bassong writes a letter"

b. Pro a- n-tíla kaat

Pro SM Pres-write letter

"He/she writes a letter"

The P- marker of (b) is the following:



In (36) Agr-S case governs **pro**, better still, it properly head-governs **pro**, thereby licensing the occurrence of the latter empty category. Now, we can appeal to this explanation to account for the free extractability of Basa'a subjects across the declarative complementizer *le* "that" (31). We will say that Basa'a is immune to COMP-trace effects because the variable created by Wh-extraction in subject position is properly head-governed by Agr-S. In Relativized Minimality terminology, Agr-s properly head-governs the variable in subject

position. In addition, we can illustrate the grammaticality of (31) and (36) above by the null subject parameter (Radford et al 1999: 348; Laenzlinger 2002). Radford et al argue that the **NSP** can be explained by the rich verbal morphology. According to this argument, there are verbs that carry a richer set of agreement inflections in some languages. In fact, the relatively rich agreement inflection carried by verbs in Basa'a serves to identify the null- subject (e.g. The- a inflection on the verbal slot *a- n- tílá* "he writes" helps identify the null subject features (class and number). We realize that the grammatical features of the subject Wh-operator in (31) as well as those of **pro** above can be recovered from those of INFL; specifically from AGR in languages with rich verb inflection.

In a nutshell, in multiple questions such as in embedded contexts, only one wh-operator moves into Spec-CP in overt syntax because its movement is necessary. Movement in this case is referred to as movement as a **last resort**. The other operators remain in-situ because its movement is unnecessary and in this case we refer to movement as to a **least effort**. But it is necessary to point that least effort is less costly than last resort i.e. for economy considerations, covert movement is preferred to overt one.

3.1.7 Pied-Piping and preposition stranding

In this section, we examine pied-piping which involves movement of a wh-phrase along with its complement and preposition stranding which involves movement of a wh-phrase without its preposition. Although Pied-piping is common practice in everyday Basa'a conversations, there are also cases of preposition stranding even though few in number. We will see how both phenomena participate in the convergence principle i.e when normally used they lead to well-formedness. Let us consider the following examples:

(37) a. **ḡámbê ḡáúḡú** u bí tí (*t*) nsón?

which students you P2 give work

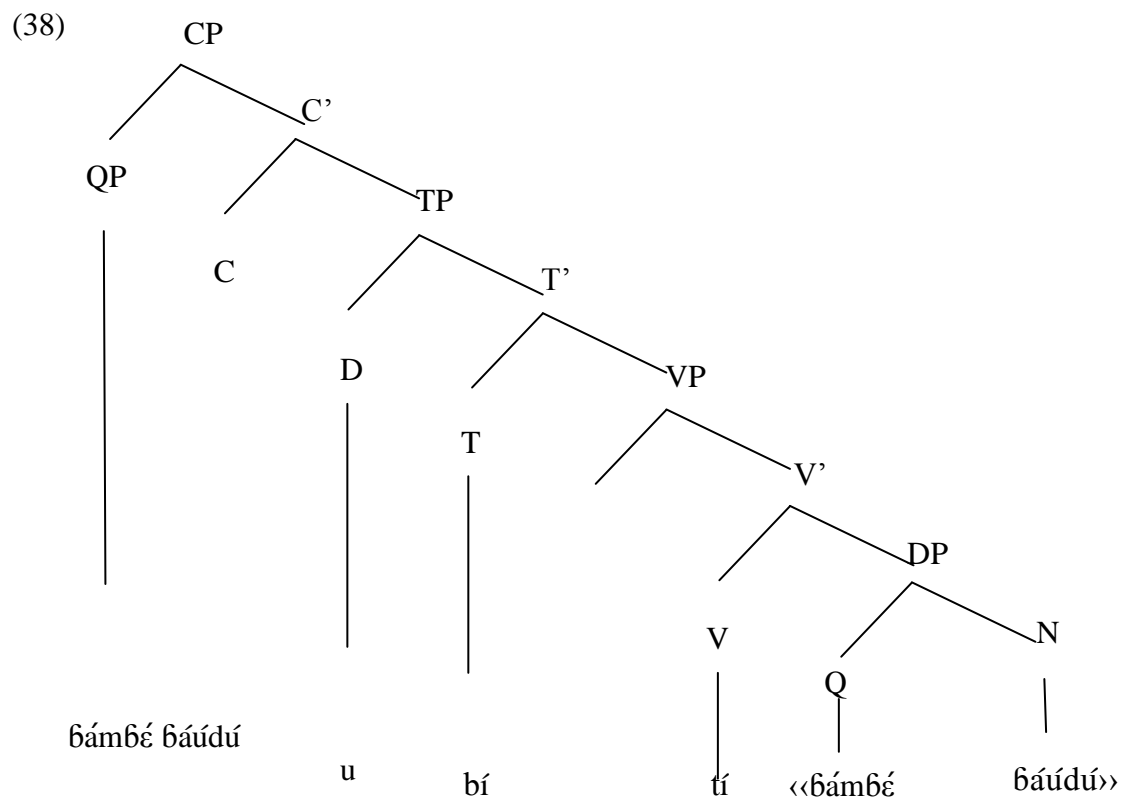
"Which students did you give the work?"

b*. **ḡámbê** u bí tí nsón (*t*)**ḡáúḡú**?

which you P2 give work students

"Which did you give the work students?"

In (37a) we realize that the quantifier phrase *ǎámbê ǎáúú* “which students” has moved into Spec-CP. So, the wh-operator *ǎámbê* “which” has been moved along with its complement constituent *ǎáúú* “students”. So, a process through which a constituent (a wh-operator in this case) moves along with its complement is technically termed pied-piping (Ross 1967). Again; notice that only a wh-operator is needed for a wh-interpretation; but since moving only the wh-operator does not satisfy the convergence principle, the wh-operator has to drag the noun following it in order to ensure convergence. (37a) shall have the following derivation:



(38) that the quantifier phrase *ǎámbê ǎáúú* “which students” has been initially merged as the complement of the ditransitive verb *tí* “give”, since (37a) is a main wh-question, C carries the [wh, EPP] features that trigger movement of the QP to Spec-CP following ACP (32). However, if the closest wh-word is the quantifier **ǎámbê** “which” and since this quantifier also carries a wh-feature; why do we need to move the whole QP instead of moving only the quantifier alone if we want to satisfy the economy principle? First of all the

quantifier **ḡámbé** ‘which’ is part of the larger constituent **ḡámbê ḡáúdu** “which students” which is a maximal projection. So, moving only the quantifier *ḡámbê* “which” into Spec-CP will violate the chain uniformity principle outlined in (20) in that only a maximal projection can occupy the specifier position. It emerges from the foregoing that the derivation in (37b) cannot converge (therefore ungrammatical) because we have moved a zero level category into a maximal projection. On the contrary, (37a) is licit because it moves a maximal projection **ḡámbê ḡáúdu** “which students” into another maximal projection (Spec-CP) and is therefore consistent with the convergence principle from Chomsky (1995:262) outlined below:

(39) Convergence principle

When an item moves, it carries along with it just enough material.

Following the idea that a derivation converges when it results in a grammatical utterance, which is in turn assigned an appropriate semantic and phonetic representation, it emerges that the QP **ḡámbê ḡáúdu** “which students” is enough to ensure convergence in (37a). So we realize that pied-piping is well accounted for in constructions like (37) above. Now, let us look at what we have termed preposition stranding in a short while by considering the following sentences:

- (40) a. *mɛ ɓí- lòl ɓísú ɓí ɲǵɛɲ yáɲɛn?*
 I P2 come before AM hour how many
 “I came before how many hours?”
- b. *ɓísu ɓí ɲǵɛɲ yáɲɛn mɛ ɓí- lòl*
 before AM hour how many I P2 come
 “Before how many hours did I come?”
- c. **ɲǵɛɲ yáɲɛn mɛ ɓí lòl ɓísú ɓí*
 hour how many I P2 come before AM
 “How many hours did I come before?”
- d. *ḡɔɲǵɛɛ u ø- yiné ípaɲ?*
 who you Pres-sit beside

“Who do you sit beside?”

e. *ípáj ɓɔnjéé u ø-yiné*

beside whom you Pres-sit

“Beside whom do you live?”

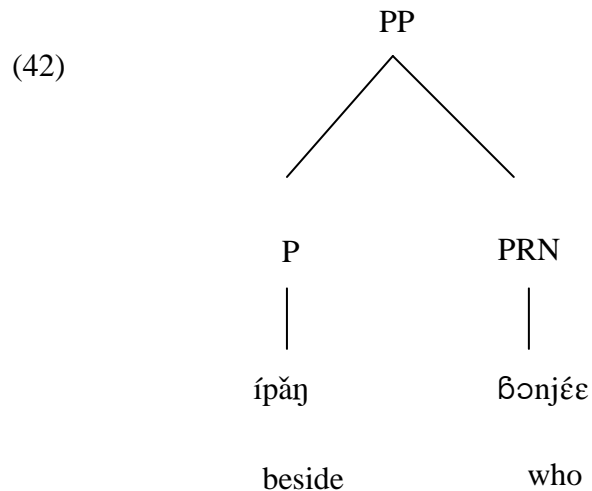
The above examples display some cases whereby preposition stranding is allowed and others whereby this is not licensed. This phenomenon of preposition stranding is even subject to cross linguistic variation as it is banned from usage in French and Italian and allowed in English and Basa’a for instance. For the last two languages, it is noted that although we encounter preposition stranding this still remains a restriction. What we want to underline is that preposition stranding is not licensed everywhere in English and Basa’a. This is further illustrated below:

(41) a. ***which course** are you backing **after**?

b. **who** are you talking **to** ?

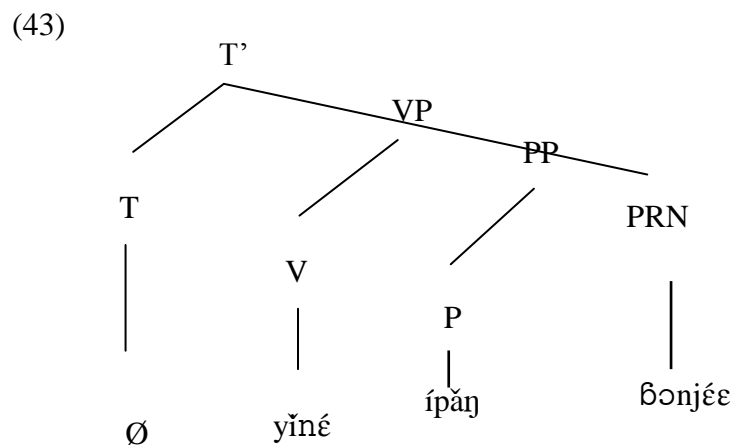
In English, pied-piping is legitimate whereas preposition stranding is restricted to certain constructions. (41a) is ungrammatical because the preposition “after” has been left behind. So, it should have been moved along with the quantifier phrase “which course” in order to ensure convergence. On the contrary, “to” is stranded in (41b) because the movement of “who” alone into Spec-CP is enough to ensure convergence, and therefore satisfies the economy principle. So, since the movement of “to” in (41b) is unnecessary for the derivation to converge, then, the syntactic operation is minimized. Coming back to our examples in (40) above, we realize at a gist that all the sentences, except (40c) are grammatical. The prepositional phrase *bísú bí ngén yáñén* “before how many hours” in (40a) is the complement of the verb *lòl* “come”, but by virtue of the fact that (40b) is interrogative in nature, and given that, we need to project a CP; the [WH, EPP] features carried by C° trigger the movement of the PP into Spec-CP. Such a construction is legitimate in Basa’a in so far as it is an instance of pied-piping. This is what we equally observe in (40e) where the whole propositional phrase *ípáj ɓɔnjéé* “beside whom” has been subject to movement. (40d) shows that the wh-operator *ɓɔnjéé* “who” canonically originates within the VP headed by the verb *yíné* “sit or live” but has moved to spec-CP for [WH, EPP] requirements, and has left its preposition *ípáj* “beside” behind. We can thus technically argue that, the preposition *ípáj* “beside” has been stranded or orphaned at the end of the clause. Let us say that, this situation

is possible through merger and movement operations. In other words, the preposition *ίπάη* “to” merges with its complement *βονηέε* “whom” to form the PP *ίπάη βονηέε* “beside whom” as in (42) below:



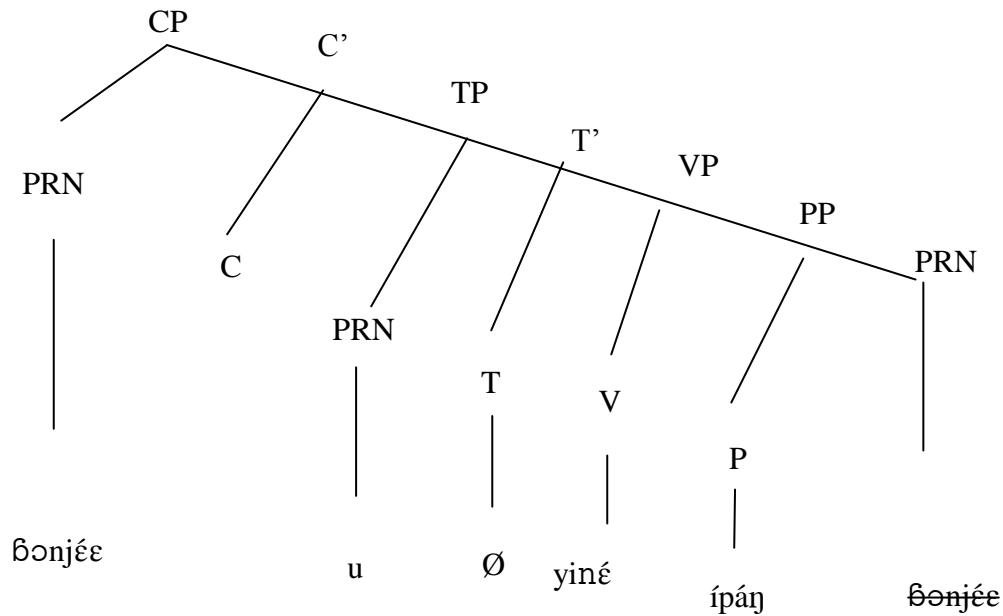
The PP above merges with the verb *γίνε* “sit” to form the VP *ίπάη βονηέε* “beside whom”.

The tense morpheme \emptyset - then merges with the VP to form T-bar (we do not consider the VP internal subject hypothesis and its movement to Spec-TP) as in (43)



The resulting T-bar will then merge with its specifier *u* “you” to form the TP. *U ∅-yīnē ipāη βονηέε* “who do you sit behind”. By virtue of the fact that our clause is interrogative in nature, we need to project a CP whose head C carries the [WH; EPP] features. The [WH; EPP] features in C will then trigger movement of the wh-pronoun *βονηέε* “whom” into Spec-CP as in (44) below:

(44)



It should be noted that PP as well as PRN are maximal projection. So; in accordance with economy and convergence principles, the movement of *δονηέε* “whom” is enough material to satisfy the [WH; EPP] requirements. We do not need to move the whole prepositional phrase *ίπάη δονηέε* “beside whom” into Spec-CP to ensure convergence. However, if we are right alone the lines that (44) ensures convergence with preposition stranding, the more striking question is why (45b) does not converge.

(45) a. malět a m’-pót ni njée ?

teacher SM Pres-talk with whom ?

“The teacher talks with whom?”

b *njée malět a m’-pót ni ?

whom teacher SM Pres-talk with

“Who does the teacher talk with?”

c. ni njée malět a m’-pót ?

with whom teacher SM Pres-talk

“With whom does the teacher talk?”

(45b) is similar to (40c) above since they are not licit. Following the claim that when C, the head of CP carries [WH;EPP] features, it triggers the closest wh-word to Spec-CP and moves the smallest possible maximal projection containing the wh-word into Spec-CP, then; the question that surfaces is how to account for the ungrammaticality of (40c) and (45b)? A straightforward answer to this question is that there is a stranding constraint proposed by Chomsky (1995:264) which specifies that a preposition cannot be separated from its complement and thereby be stranded. In other words, in most Basa’a constructions, a preposition is barred from being stranded at the end of the clause. So, if we are in line with the convergence principle outlined in (39), we shall say that the next smallest maximal projection containing the wh-word namely: *bísú bi ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ* “after how many hours” (40c) and *ni njéé* “with whom” (45b) should be preposed in order to ensure convergence.

On the whole pied-piping and preposition stranding are licensed in Basa’a. However, the former is common practice whereas the latter is subject to some restrictions. Both are necessary when they lead to a convergent derivation. So, pied-piping is appealed for when it prevents a given preposition from stranding.

3.1.8 WH-MOVEMENT AND CHECKING THEORY

In this section we will confine ourselves to pointing out what motivates wh-movement. We will argue that, there is no random movement in syntax, so, movement is motivated by many reasons we shall examine. In this vein, we suggest that the features carried by the wh-operators are checked against the corresponding features encoded in C, the head of CP. Once a feature is checked it is erased, and is no longer available to the computation. We will see that in Basa’a, the domain of checking involves the spec-head structure [XP Spec [X’X]]. The morphological features checked in this domain are called **L-features**. A position that is locally related to one of these features in this domain is said to be **L-related**. So, the specifier position in the Spec-head structure is said to be **L-related** because it is in a local relation with the features in [X]; and in our context in C. We shall examine checking theory in relation to wh-in-situ, displaced wh-operators and multiple wh-operators. To put our discussion underway, let us consider the following sentences:

(46) a. *kíí* *baúdí* *ḡá* *m-ḡḡḡ* ?

what students SM Pres-do

“What do the students do?”

b) $\delta\alpha\upsilon\delta\upsilon\ \delta\acute{\alpha}\ g\acute{\alpha}\ k\grave{e}\ h\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}$

student SM Fut go where

“The students will go where?”

c) $nj\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}\ u\ n\text{-}h\acute{o}\eta\acute{o}l\ l\acute{e}\ m\epsilon\ g\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\delta\alpha t\ (t)\ k\acute{\iota}\acute{\iota}$

who you Pres-think that I F2 ask what

“Who do you wonder I will say what?”

Recall that (46) exhibits instances of displaced wh-operators, wh-in-situ and multiple wh-questions. To illustrate the motivations for wh-movement in this specific case, the first answer comes from the **activation condition** which requires that an element undergoing move/agree have an uninterpretable feature (Chomsky 2000) cited by Bošković (2007: 607). Chomsky (2000, 2001) proposes a feature checking system as follows:

(47) X(**probe**) Y(**goal**)

UF IF

EPP UK

(Note that uF refers to uninterpretable feature, and iF to interpretable feature). According to Chomsky’s Activation Condition (AC) a given goal Y must have an uninterpretable feature to be visible for movement. In (46a), we have a CP headed by C. C stands for X (probe) while the wh-operator stands for Y(goal) so that there is an F-feature-checking relation between C and the moved wh-operator **kíí** “what”. As a consequence of that relation, the uninterpretable feature k(uk) is checked after movement of Y to Spec-CP in (47). To be more concrete in our approach; the system in (47) is well illustrated in (46a) whereby C and **kíí** “what” are in a [+wh]-feature-checking relation. The uninterpretable Q-feature, which makes the wh-operator **kíí** “what” visible for feature checking relation, and movement to Spec-CP is checked and erased as a consequence of feature-checking as illustrated below: (46a is repeated here for explanatory reasons.)

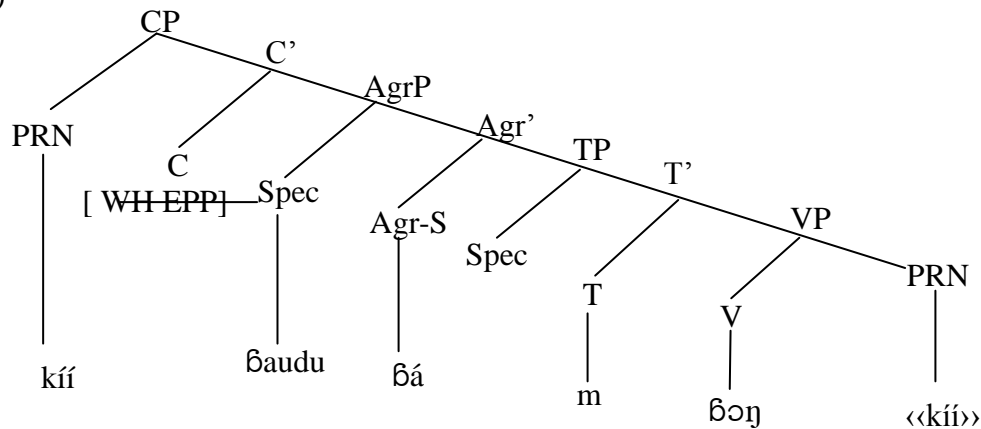
(48) a. **kíí** C $\delta\alpha\upsilon\delta\upsilon\ \delta\acute{\alpha}\ m\text{-}\delta\omega\eta\ (t)$

iwh ~~uwh~~

~~uQ~~ ~~EPP~~—

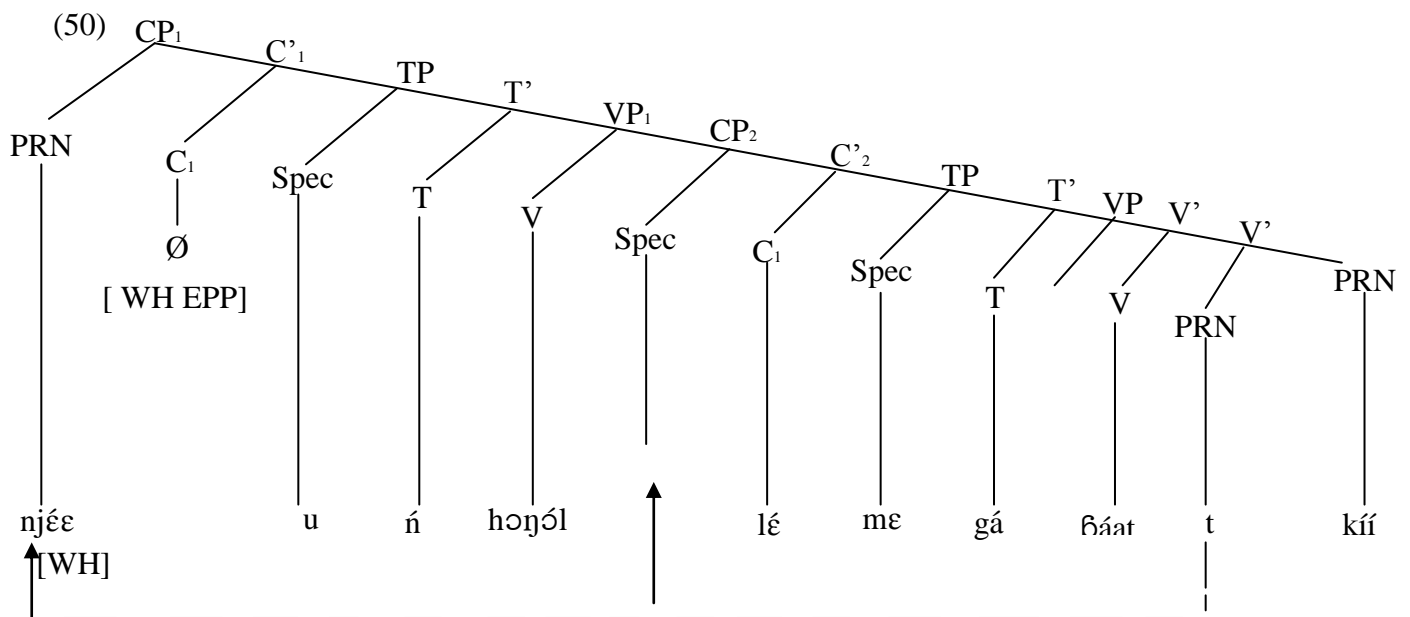
In (48a) above, the [wh] feature in C attracts the wh-operator **kíí** “what”. The [EPP] feature of C requires C to project as its specifier position; an expression which has a feature which matches some features of C. Given that C carries a [wh] feature, this is tantamount to saying that C projects a wh-specifier. On the assumption that the wh-phrase **kíí** “what” also carries a [wh] feature, this means that C attracts it from the VP-complement position to spec-CP. In like manner, if we suppose that the [wh; EPP] features carried by C are deleted and inactivated once the [wh; EPP] requirements are satisfied; we obtain the structure in (49) below (deletion is indicated by angle brackets $\langle\langle \rangle\rangle$ and the phonological features of the trace of the moved wh-operator also deleted):

(49)



Note that the VP in (49) has been simplified. There is no tense (TNS) feature in C because Basa'a allows neither verb movement nor auxiliary movement. So far, we suggest that the wh-operator **kíí** “what” in (49) has been subject to movement because of **Greed** (Lasnik 1995) i.e. the need for the wh-phrase **kíí** “what” to move on its own in order to satisfy its own morphological features carried by C. So supposing that the head C of CP carries a Q-feature (question feature) in interrogative constructions then the wh-operator moves in order to check the interrogative specifier-features carried by C. After the checking process, the sentence is interpretable and the derivation converges. However the question to be asked is why does the [WH] feature carried by **kíí** “what” survive and does not get erased in (48a). The answer is that the [WH] specifier-feature carried by C in (48a) are checked by the [WH] head-feature carried by **kíí** “what”. Since the specifier-feature is uninterpretable at LF, it is erased. On the contrary, the [WH] head-feature carried by **kíí** “what” survives at LF because it plays a semantic role by identifying **kíí** “what” as an interrogative operator and therefore the clause as being interrogative in nature. In (42b), we have an instance of wh-in-situ; in this case we have a Japanese-like construction. If we adopt the view that wh-movement to Spec-CP is

motivated by feature checking considerations, then how does the feature [Q] encoded in both C and the wh-operator *hée* “where” is checked in wh-in-situ? If the checking domain of the [Q] feature is the Spec-head configuration as stated earlier; then wh-movement is substitution in Spec-CP either in overt or covert syntax. We assume that in (46b) C is not strong to trigger movement of the wh-operator into Spec-CP in overt syntax. So this movement is barred by **procrastinate**. If correct; this raises interesting questions of economy principle. We suppose that movement in this case is described as least effort. The wh-operator moves at LF in order to check the wh-specifier features carried by C in CP. If we suggest that there are two important economy principles in deriving sentences: last effort and least effort; it emerges that in (46a) movement is necessary because the wh-operator has to move to ensure convergence. In (46b) movement is unnecessary for the sentence to be interpretable. Least effort is thus less costly than last effort. (46c) is additional support for our claim that a wh-operator moves to Spec-CP for Greed reasons. (46c) is a multiple question whereby only one wh-operator get moved into Spec-CP in Basa’a as we mentioned a while ago. The stacking of wh-operators is not obvious in overt syntax. Let us consider (46c) as (50) below: (VP1 is simplified)



(50) above provides us with additional evidence that wh-operator movement is motivated by altruistic reasons. More concretely, if an operator moves to Spec-CP to check its features carried by C; once this operator lands in Spec-CP; it erases the wh-specifier feature carried by C. Once the feature is checked, by the first wh-operator; there is no available wh-feature in C so as to license the movement of the second wh-operator. This is tantamount to saying that in

Basa'a multiple questions, only one wh-operator substitutes for Spec-CP in overt syntax; therefore attesting the illicitness of (51) below:

(51) * njéé kǐ́ u n-hóǵǵǐ́ lé mɛ ga' bǎt

who what you Pres-think that I F2 ask

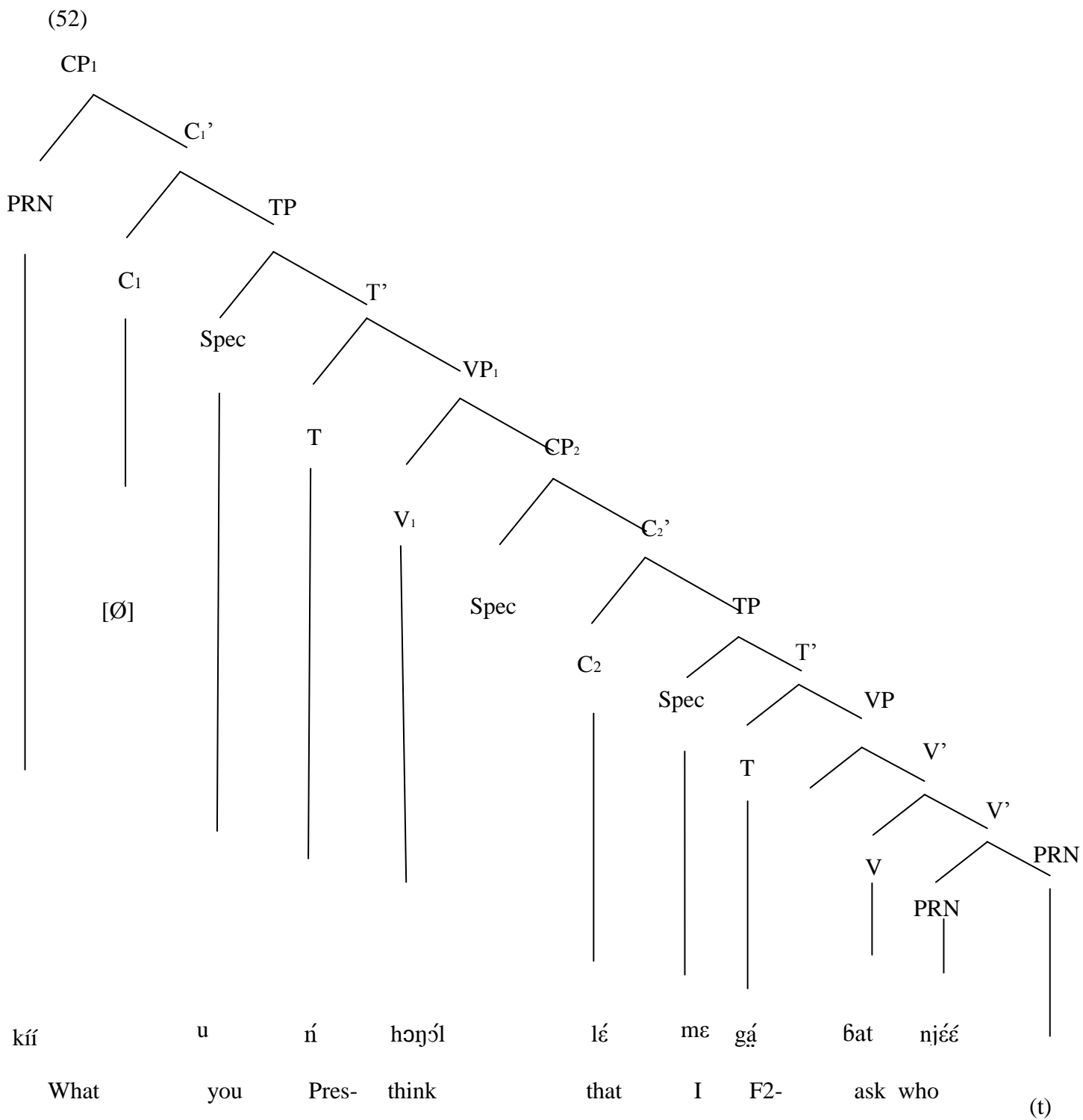
“Who what do you think that I will ask”

Another important issue in (50) is that movement of *njéé* “who” is done in two successive steps. Firstly it moves from the VP-complement position within the embedded clause into the specifier position of CP2; secondly it moves from spec-CP2 into Spec-CP1. In this perspective, we say that movement applies in a *successive cyclic fashion*. This successive cyclicity is driven by the **shortest movement principle** (Chomsky 1995b) which requires that an operator should move into the nearest Spec-CP above it. A striking question which seems unanswered is that if in Basa'a multiple questions only one operator get moved into Spec-CP as in (50); then how can we account for the ungrammaticality of (52) below:

(52) *a. kǐ́ u n-hóǵǵǐ́ lé mɛ gá bat njéé

what you Pres-think that I F2 ask who

“What do you think I will ask who?”



The ill-formedness of (52) can be accounted for by a UG principle termed attract closest principle (ACP) outlined in (36) and what Huang (1982) terms **condition on extraction domain (CED)**. According to (36), we cannot move *kíí* “what” to Spec-CP₁ because it is too far from it. Since *njéé* “who” is closer to Spec-CP₁ than *kíí* “what” it is preferable to move the

closest wh-operator and by so doing, we favour shorter moves over longer ones. According to (CED), we cannot extract the direct object wh-pronoun *kíí* “what” because it is inferior to the indirect object wh-pronoun *njéé* ‘who’ in an embedded context. Finally, following the view that wh-clauses are islands so movement of the direct object wh-pronoun *kíí* “what” will violate the wh-island constraint. The idea of superiority as far as wh-phrases are concerned will have an exhaustive explanation in our discussion. However keep in mind that with regards to merger operation, the direct object-pronoun *kíí* “what” is merged prior to its subject counterpart *njéé* “who”, and so to speak; the former cannot be moved over the latter; just as we say:

- (53) a. *mě m-bàt Paul bijék*
 I Pres ask Paul food
 “I ask Paul the food”

But we cannot say

- b. **mε m-bàt bijék Paul*
 I Pres ask food Paul
 “I ask the food Paul”

We see from (53) above that the indirect object precedes and not follows the direct object. It emerges from the foregoing that checking theory takes place in a Spec-head configuration in Basa’a wh-questions. Three cases are possible. First of all, Basa’a licenses overt wh-movement to Spec-CP; in this case the wh-head features carried by the moved operator are checked against the wh-specifier features carried by C. The [wh]-features of the moved operator survive whereas those of C are erased in order to allow the sentence to be interpretable as being interrogative. For this case, Basa’a resembles English. Secondly Basa’a resembles Japanese in that wh-operator (can) remain(s) in-situ, checking operates at LF, and movement is referred to as least effort. The two aspects are prima facie evidence that Basa’a is an intermediary language as far as wh-movement is concerned. This is due to the fact that wh-movement is not compulsory. Finally, in case of multiple questions in an embedded context, only the closest wh-operator moves into Spec-CP in order to check features. Because movement is motivated by the selfish need of certain constituents to check their features by moving on their own, the wh-operator can move to Spec-CP in a single step or in a successive cyclic fashion, otherwise, movement is done in covert syntax.

3.5. SUBJACENCY

This section explores some of the constraints on movement in the Basa'a syntax. This principally has to do with the notion barriers introduced in Chomsky (1986b). We shall see that extraction cannot apply over two or more bounding nodes in Basa'a where bounding nodes are NP and IP. Again, we shall be exploring the notion of syntactic islands i.e. syntactic domains out of which extraction is not possible. We shall examine the wh-island constraint, the complex noun phrase constraint (CNPC), the coordinating structure constraint (CSC) and the sentential subject constraint (SSC).

3.5.1. Wh-movement and the wh-island constraint

- The analysis of wh-movement leads to an attempt to provide a more general treatment of Ross' island constraints. The formulation of highly general constraints on transformations is the focus of the problem that confronts linguistic research: restricting the options for grammar; i.e. linguistic research should facilitate the process of language acquisition by putting at the disposal of the learner a set of grammatical rules in a minimal way. In '*On Wh-Movement*' Chomsky (1977) unifies under the label 'wh' a number of rules which were formerly considered as being separated. The general characteristics of *move-wh* can be summarized as follows:

(54)

- a) Wh-movement leaves a trace behind
- b) Wh-movement has as landing-site the specifier of CP
- c) Wh-movement is done in a cyclic fashion
- d) Wh-movement respects subjacency
- e) The moved wh-phrase is moved into a position where it c-commands its trace
- f) Wh-movement obeys the structure preserving constraint.

It emerges from above that general conditions permit a sharp reduction in the expressive potential of rules and thereby decrease the class of grammar available to the language learner in view of given data. This enables the formulation of general restrictions on the amount of details that may be included in structural descriptions of rules. Such general restrictions constitute not only a great step forward but also a step backward. The subjacency condition can be outlined below as follows:

(55) **Subjacency Condition**

Movement cannot cross more than one bounding node, where bounding nodes are IP and NP.

Let us consider the application of subadjacency in a grammatical sentence such as (56) below:

(56) [léláá[ðaúdú þá η- kal [lε '[malět a η-hóηól [lél[mε bí jón móní?]]

how studentsSM Pres-say that teacher SM Pres-think that I P2 take money
 “How do the students say that the teacher thinks that I took the money?”

One might be tempted to conclude that (56) above is ungrammatical, and that the subadjacency condition is violated. This is only possible if we maintain that *léláá* “how” has been extracted from the lower CP3 and ends up in the top most CP1. By so doing, it crosses IP3 and the matrix clause IP1 that are bounding nodes. It had been proposed by Chomsky (1973) and later works that IP and NP are boundaries for movement. So if we take (55) into account then; (56) would be ungrammatical since the moved constituent *léláá* “how” crosses three IPs. However; within the minimalist framework, and for economy reasons movement operations should be as shorter as possible. Shorter movements are preferred to longer ones. Instead of moving the constituent *léláá* ‘how’ in a single step from the lowest clause to the matrix domain, we propose that the wh-element could also move stepwisely i.e. in a successive cyclic fashion as illustrated below:

(57)

[CP₁ *léláá* [IP₁ðaúdú þá η-kal[CP₂ (t) lél[IP₂ malět a η-hóηól[CP₃(t)lél[IP₃mε bí jón móní
 (t1)]]]]]]

↑ How do the students say ↑↑ that the teacher ↑↑ thinks that I took
 the money?

————— (3) ————— (2) ————— (1) —————

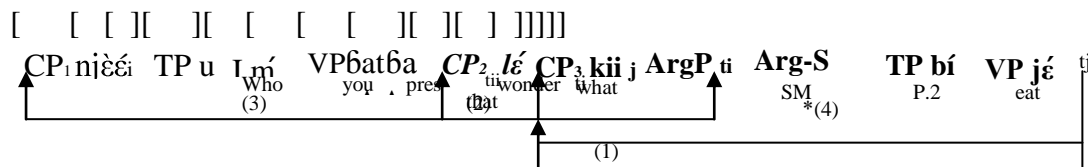
The wh-operator *léláá* “how” moves in a successive cyclic fashion whereby (1) is the first cycle; (2) the second and (3) the third one. At each stage, the moved constituent leaves a trace symbolised by (t) and an index. The traces in CP3 and CP2 are intermediate traces; and at each stage, the moved element c-commands its trace. Every step (1) (2) or (3) is an application of wh-movement. Wh-movement obeys the structure preserving constraint which requires that a maximal projection should move into a maximal projection position and a

head into a head position. So, by moving the wh-operator *léláá* “how” into a specifier position of CP at each step, we are in conformity with (54c). Again, each CP in (57) is an application of wh-movement and is a syntactic domain in which wh-movement can apply. It is generally assumed that transformations are subject to cyclicity: wh-movement in (57) for instance first applies to a lower cycle (1) prior to (2) and (3). This application of wh-movement is rendered possible if and only if there is a vacant Spec-CP which will serve as an escape hatch. On the contrary; if Spec-CP is already filled; any wh-movement over this domain leads to ungrammaticality and therefore to subjacency violation. Let us consider (58) below to illustrate our view:

- (58) **njéé* u m-bat6a lé kíí ti a bí jé tí
 who you Pres wonder that what SM p2 eat
 “Who do wonder ate what?”

At first sight, we realize that both *njéé* “who” and *kíí* “what” have been subject to movement. As we stated a while ago, [Spec-CP] is like an escape hatch which can only be occupied when available; but once a wh-operator has occupied it, another movement into this position leads to ungrammaticality. This state of affairs is accounted well for by the fact that since each CP is a cycle, and that once a cycle is attained, it is no longer accessible to any movement operation. Let us now derive (58) as (59) below:

(59)*



In (59) the movement of the wh-operator subject *njéé* “who” is licensed because it is done cyclically. First of all, it moves from the specifier position of AgrP into [Spec-CP3]; then into [Spec-CP2] and finally [Spec-CP1]. However; the wh-operator object *kíí* “what” moves from VP internal position into Spec-CP3 that is already occupied by (ti)he trace of *njéé* “who”. Given that once a cycle is attained, it is no longer accessible, then, movement of *kíí* “what” into Spec-CP3 alters the trace (ti) of *njéé* “who” and therefore obliterates the chain between the trace (ti) and its antecedent *njéé* “who”. Again, the relation between *njéé* “who” and its trace (ti) will not be local because the presence of *kíí* “what” will interfere in-between

the two and thus prevents the formation of the chain. So given that wh-phrases are islands, (59) violates the wh-island constraint..

3.5.2. The Complex Noun Phrase Constraint (CNPC)

The CPNC is formulated in Ross (1977) quoted by Riemsdijk and Williams (1986:25) as follows:

(60) Complex Noun Phrase Constraint (CNPC)

No element contained in an S dominated by an NP with a lexical head noun may be moved out of that NP by a transformation.

Constraint (60) above is not only limited to NPs in Basa'a since APs as well as PPs fall under this restriction. Let us consider the following sentences:

(61) a. mε bí- nók ḡáḡ lé *basaá* bá m-pód-á í sũklu

I P2 hear news that Basa'a SM Pres-speakPass at school

"I heard the news that Basa'a is spoken at school"

b. *kíí* mε bí nók lé í m-pód-á í sũklu?

what I P2 hear that SM Pres-speak-Pass at school

"What did I hear that is spoken at school?"

c. **kíí* mε bí nók ḡáḡ lé í m-pód-á í sũklu?

what I P2 hear news that SM Pres-speak-Pass at school

" *What did I hear the news that is spoken at school?"

If we consider (61a) as the simplex sentence, (61b-c) are considered as being the transformations of (61a). Although (61b-c) seem to be the same, it is no doubt that whereas (61b) is licit (61c) is not.. The wh-NP *kíí* "what" in (61b) leaves a trace at its extraction site i.e. after the lexical complementiser *lé* "that". This trace is head governed by Agr-S which is a proper governor and which salvage the derivation from ill-formedness. However, in (61c) there is ungrammaticality because the wh-NP *kíí* "what" has been extracted from the complex noun phrase *ḡáḡ lé* "the news that..." by being questioned. It should be noted that since question formation is a type of transformation the sentence is ruled out by constraint (60). This sentence might sound grammatical if the hearer is not attentive at the moment of speaking.

All the same, as stated a while ago extraction out of PPs and APs is also banned because it leads to the violation of the CNPC as can be seen below:

(62) a. malět a m-pód-ós [báúdú bá bá yé í sũklu]

NP

teacher SM Pres-speak-Com students who SM be at school

“The teacher talks to the students who are at school”

b. *hée [malět a m-pód-ós] [báúdú bá bá yé ?]]

IP

NP

where teacher SM Pres-speak-Com students who SM be

(63) a. me ŋ-gwěs [báúdú bá bá n-néné bálâm]

NP

I Pres-love students who SM Pres-look nice

“ I love[the students who look nice]”

b. *bámbe bálâm me ŋ-gwěs [báúdú bá bá n-néné [(t)]]

NP

AP

which nice I Pres-love students who SM Pres-look

The illicitness of (62b) and (63b) are justified by the fact that in the first case for instance we have questioned the PP *í sũklu* “to school” which is part of complex noun phrase *báúdú bá bá yé í sũklu* “the students who are at school” and in (63b) we have questioned the AP *bálâm* “nice” which is a subpart of the complex noun phrase *báúdú bá bá néné bálâm* “the students who seem nice” and therefore violating the CNPC.

3.5.3. The Coordinating Structure Constraint (CSC)

Like in many other languages coordinating structures form islands so that extraction out of them is banned. The CSC is formulated as follows:

(64) Coordinating Structure Constraint (CSC)

In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct.

The following sentences illustrate the CSC in Basa’a:

(65) a. malět a n- tí [mákebla] ni [ŋgandak mɔní]

teacher SM P1-give [presents]with[lot money]

“The teacher has given presents with a lot of money”

b. **kíí* malět a n-tí [mákebla] ni? (*t*)

what teacher SM Pres-presents with

(66) a. *ḡḡḡḡ ḡá n-tí nsáy ni malět lipém*

children SM Pres-give father and teacher respect

“Children respect their father and their teacher”

*b. *njéé ḡḡḡḡ ḡá n-tí nsáy ni (t) lipém*

who children SM Pres-give father with respect

The above (b) constructions are not licensed due to the fact that in each of them only part of information is targeted instead of the whole. More concretely, in (65a) for instance the coordinate structure *makebla ni ḡḡḡḡḡḡ mḡní* “presents and a lot of money” forms a single constituent but the construction in (b) dispenses with one part of the constituent i.e. *ḡḡḡḡḡḡ mḡní* “a lot of money” and focuses on the subpart *makebla* “presents”. By extracting only a subpart out of the whole coordinate structure we end up with ungrammaticality. Similarly, the subpart *nsáy* “father” in *nsáy ni malět* “father and teacher” is left out and is not part of the whole structure in (66b). In order to salvage the construction we should involve both subparts of each constituent in the question formation process in 65b) and (66b) as in (67a-b) below:

(67) a. *kíí* malět a n-tí

what teacher SM P1 give

“What has the teacher given?”

b. *ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡá n-tí (t) lipém*

who children SM Pres-give respect

“Who do children respect?”

3.5.4. The Sentential Subject Constraint (SSC)

Ross’s sentential subject constraint is formulated as follows:

(68) The Sentential Subject Constraint (SSC)

No element dominated by an S may be moved out of that S if that node S is dominated by an NP which itself is immediately dominated by S.

Sentential subjects in Basa'a are introduced by the lexical complementisers *lé* "that" and *ínyuú* "for". In this context the sentential subject occupies the specifier position of IP. Let us consider the following sentences:

- (69) a. *lé* ɓaúdu ɓá n-sâl ɲándak (hála) a ye lɔŋɛ
 that students SM Pres-work hard it SM be good
 "That the students are working hard is good"
- b. **léláá* ***lé*** ɓaúdu ɓá n-sâl ɲándak hála a ye?
 how that students SM Pres-work hard it SM be
 "How that the students are working hard is good?"
- (70) a. [ínyuú malět] li-níga ɓɔŋgé lí n-lɛt ɓé
 for teacher Inf.teach children SM Pres-be hard +Neg
 "For the teacher to teach children is not difficult"
- b. **njée* *ínyuú* (*t*) li-níga ɓɔŋgé lí n-lɛt ɓé
 who for Inf. teach children SM Pres-be hard +Neg
 "Who for the teacher to teach children is not difficult?"

The bold-printed wh-phrases *hée* "how" (69b) and *njée* "who" (70b) have been extracted each by a transformation out of the sentential subject and thus violating the SSC.

SUMMARY

On the whole, our concern in this chapter was the syntax of operators. We started off our discussion by stating that operators are involved in an A-bar movement owing to the fact that this movement operation involves movement of an argument or adjunct expression to a position beyond the subject of the clause. We saw that there is no real wh-operators in Basa'a per se, but that there are equivalent expressions that play the same role as their English counterparts. It has been argued that Basa'a can be said to be an intermediary language in that it is at the cross-road of wh-in-situ languages like Japanese and Chinese; and displaced-wh operators languages like English. Due to this cross-linguistic variation, we saw that in case of wh-in-situ there is no movement in overt syntax, however wh-operators move into Spec-CP at LF i.e covertly; and that this is motivated by the need to check the [+Q] feature hosted in C.

-Among wh-in-situ, we examined yes/no questions and saw that there are many strategies with regard to this aspect. First of all, we saw that a yes/no question can be

introduced by the particle *bàá* “is it that” followed by the falling vowel on the last word of the clause. Secondly, a yes/no question can be introduced without the particle *bàá* “is it that” but ends up with the falling vowel which generally assimilates the last vowel of the last word of the clause. Thirdly, the clause can only be closed off by the particle *ɲgà* “isn’t it”. We saw that *bàá* “is it that” occupies the head of CP whereas the falling vowel as well as the particle *ɲgà* “isn’t it” are questions markers at the end of the clause. We saw that yes/no questions are given more prominence because intonation plays a central during their formation process. We also looked at alternative questions i.e. questions that are built by the means of the conjunction *tolé* “or” between two clauses. Then, we explored indirect questions i.e. questions introduced by epistemic verbs like *kal* “say”, *hɔ́ɲɔ́l* “think”, *bat* “ask” etc. We saw that in such questions the lexical complementizers like *lé* “that”, *toɔ* “whether” etc. are bare-generated in C. The syntax of subject questions has also been explored. We saw that wh-phrases in subject position do not move in overt syntax since they do not leave traces behind. There is no visible chain between the moved operator and its trace, rather wh-operators in subject position move at LF into Spec-CP where they can check the [+Q] feature in C. So, subject wh-operators move in covert syntax and check their features by attraction or covertly. Such a movement has been described as vacuous movement.

Again, we talked of the syntax of displaced wh-operators. We examined wh-operators in main clause and saw that wh-movement in this case is substitution for Spec-CP. We saw that wh-movement in main clauses respect the structure preserving principle in that, as a maximal projection, the moved wh-operators can only land in Spec-CP and not in a head position. We went forward and saw that the moved operator leaves behind at its extraction site a trace which it c-commands. Again, the moved constituent and its trace form a chain and are in conformity with the chain uniformity principle. The claim that wh-operators move into spec-CP has been supported by the fact that in certain constructions, the moved operator is followed by a phonetically realized lexical complementizer and therefore violating the multiply filled comp filler (MFCF).

Again, we examined wh-movement in embedded clauses. We saw that wh-operators in embedded contexts are similar to those in main clauses in that they also move into Spec-CP. However, in certain embedded contexts, wh-phrases can move cyclically i.e. step by step from the lower clause to the upper one. In addition, we explored multiple wh-questions and

saw that there is also a cross-linguistic variation concerning the level of application of wh-movement. We saw that unlike Hungarian and Polish, which license multiple wh-fronting, Basa'a, like English does not, instead, only one wh-operator move into Spec-CP at s-structure, the others remain in-situ. So, whereas an wh-operator moves in overt syntax, the rest move covertly i.e. at LF. We realized that multiple wh-questions obey relativized minimality in that movement should be as shorter as possible in a local relation. In concrete terms, only the nearest/ closest wh-operator moves into Spec-CP, and by so doing, economy principle is respected. In case of multiple wh-fronting; the sentence crashes because this is in violation of the full interpretation principle (FIP). In the next section, we handled multiple questions in relation to last resort and least effort principles. We equally saw that in case of multiple questions, the closest wh-operator moves overtly as a consequence of last resort i.e, wh-operator moves because its movement is necessary. So, movement takes place as early as possible. When the closest operator moves, the second or the rest are delayed to LF by procrastinate, in this case movement is referred to as least effort. We saw that, least effort is less costly than last resort. Similarly, the study revealed that since a head C attracts the closest wh-phrase, this process satisfies the attract closest principle (ACP). Furthermore, we handled pied-piping and proposition stranding and saw that the former is common practice in Basa'a whereas the second is subject to restrictions. So, in a very formal style in Basa'a, a wh-expression which is the complement of a preposition may pied-pipe a preposition along with it when it is subject to movement, so that the entire phrase lands in spec-CP. This is possible because there is a stranding constraint which prevents preposition from stranding. When pied-piping is realized, the derivation satisfies the convergence principle. In some contexts, preposition stranding also leads to convergence. We moved forward into wh-movement and checking theory. We saw that, wh-operators move into Spec-CP for checking purposes. There are [WH, EPP] and [+Q] features in C that are only checked by moving the wh-operator into Spec-CP, otherwise features remain unchecked and the sentence cannot be interpretable. Wh-movement is guided by the activation condition which requires that an element undergoing move/ agree have an uninterpretable feature. So, there is a [XP-SPEC[X' X]] configuration between the probe and the goal, so that a given goal has an uninterpretable feature which must be checked against the matching feature of a given probe. In case of multiple questions, only one constituent check the feature overtly, the rest check theirs covertly. Subjacency enabled us to have a deep insight into wh-movement. By so doing, we saw that wh-movement respects subjacency in general and conditions outlined in (62). Over all, because the syntax of operators examined throughout this chapter moves wh-expression in one way or

the other into Spec-CP and since Spec-CP is an A-bar position, we can conclude our discussion by stating that we have been investigating A-bar movement operations.

CHAPTER IV

RELATIVIZATION

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Relativization is generally another instance of wh-movement in that it involves movement of a wh-operator in Spec-CP. The formation of relative clauses is simply what we call relativization. Relativisation has always been the concern of linguistic investigations and a great deal of attention has been given to it in recent years; largely owing to Kayne (1994)'s revival of the promotion analysis of relative constructions in contrast to the prevailing wh-movement analysis widely adopted in the literature since Chomsky (1977b). The promotion analysis was originally proposed by Schachter (1973) and Vergnaud (1974). An early form of the wh-movement analysis was labelled the *matching analysis* by Schachter (1973, referring to an analysis whereby the derivation of a relative clause involves the deletion of a nominal expression in the relative clause under identity with the base-generated Head (cf. Chomsky 1965 and Kuroda 1968). In addition, relative clauses are also said to involve an adjunction structure as in Chomsky (1977b) or a complementation structure as in Kayne (1994). In this section, we are going to analyse the different kinds of relative constructions that are encountered in Basa'a and examine different syntactic restrictions that are associated with them. An investigation of relative clauses reveals that we need different types of relative constructions within as well as across languages depending on the interpretation and empirical generalizations.

4.1. THE COMPETING PROPOSALS

- Generally, there exist two lines of research against the background of relative clauses analysis: the promotion analysis and the matching analysis. In the early 1970s, the significant issue concerning the promotion analysis was made that the Head of a relative clause can be said to be in the gap position inside the relative clause. This is also referred to as the Head Raising Analysis (HRA) developed by many authors such as Kayne(1994), Bianchi (1997, 2000a), De Vries(2002) and others. This approach rules out any right adjunction structures in

the grammar of natural languages. Since Kayne (1994) the HRA involves the following complementation structure and the Head movement process:

- (1) *The Head Raising Analysis (HRA)*: [DP [CP NP/DP [C [IP...(ti)...]]]]
- ↑

Following (1) above it is revealed that in deriving a relative clause the Head of the relative (NP/DP) raises to its surface position as can be seen in (2) below:

- (2) a. [The careful tract [that [she's keeping (t) of her expenses pleases me]
- ↑

- b. [The headway [that [Mel made (t) was impressive] (Aoun and Li 2003)
- ↑

It emerges from (2) that the DPs “the careful tract” and the “the headway” have been subject to movement. By so doing they leave a trace at their extraction sites i.e. within the relative clause. Empirical generalisations in support of the HRA include the use of idioms chunks, binding and scope properties that fall within the term reconstruction (cf Aoun and Li 2003).

Another line of research that is pursued in the study of relativisation is the Matching Analysis (MA) or operator movement. Since Chomsky (1977b) it has been argued that like wh-interrogatives, relative clauses are derived via wh-movement and share the following properties:

- (3) a. The construction contains a gap
- b. Long distance relations are available
- c. Island constraints are relevant

Schematically, the matching analysis can be represented as follows:

- (4) *The Matching Analysis (MA)*:
[NP DP [Head NP/DP i...] [Relative CP wh_i [IP...(t)...]]] Chomsky (1977b)

According to (4) the relative pronoun in Spec-CP is in a predication/agreement relation with the Head NP/DP. This agreement relation is also termed a matching relation i.e. the Head of the relative should match with the relativised wh-phrase like in (5) below:

- (5) a. [The student [whom [I saw (t) last night has left for New York.]
- ↑
|

DP CP IP

b. [The house [which [she bought (t) is luxurious.]

DP CP IP

Under the matching analysis, the heads of the relative clauses are base-generated. There is wh-movement to a position closer to the head i.e. the peripheral position of the relative CP. So the heads “the students” and “ the house” in (5) are in a predication/agreement relation with the moved wh-phrase “ whom” and “ which” respectively. According to this line of analysis reconstruction is not available since the head does not undergo direct movement.

In Basa’a both the HRA and the MA account for relative clauses constructions. Let us consider the following examples:

(6)a. [Hiol a ye [mangé hisú [lé [(t) a nêd makekse]

IP DP CP IP

Hiol SM be child first that he pass exam

“Hiol is the first child(that passes) to pass the exam”

b. [Yaaní a gá bá [kě́l insók[lé [mé tí wε mɔní (t)]

IP DP CP IP

tomorrow SM F2 be day last that I give you money

“Tomorrow will be the last day I give you the money”

(7) a. [Bikun a m-poná [mangé [nú [mε bí- tí (t) mɔní

IP DP CP IP

B. SM Pres-resemble child whom I P2 give money

“ Bikun looks like the child to whom I gave the money”

b. [báken [bá [u ga- sebél (t) bá ga- lɔ́]

DP CP IP
 guests whom you F2 call SM F2 come
 “The guests whom you will invite will come”

The sentences in (6) are illustrations of the Head Raising Analysis whereas those in (7) are instances of the Matching Analysis. In the former case relatives are introduced by the lexical complementiser *lé* “that” and in the latter they are introduced by wh-operators. In (6) the heads *maṅgé bisú* “first child” and *kěl insók* “last day” have been subject to movement and they are clause internally-linked to a trace. Conversely in (7) it is the wh-operators *nu* “whom” and *bá* “whom” that are subject to movement. They directly enter in an agreement relation with their antecedent DPs *maṅgé* “child” and *báken* “guests”. In Basa’a like in most Bantu languages agreement between the base-generated head and the moved operator is strictly respected in such a way that any random assignment of relative operator leads to ungrammaticality as can be seen below:

(8) a. *[*báken* [**nú** [u ga- sebéł (t) a ga- lóó]

↑-----|

DP CP IP
 guests whom you F2 call SM F2 come

b. . *[*Bikun* a m-poná [*maṅgé* [**bá** [mε bí- tí (t) moní

↑-----

IP DP CP IP

B. SM Pres-resemble child whom I P2 give money

As we have just mentioned in Basa’a agreement should be respected and the wh-operator and the antecedent should agree in class, number, and gender to ensure convergence or better still well-formedness, otherwise there is agreement failure. The Head *báken* “guests” in (8a) belongs to class2 in Basa’a noun classification whereas its counterpart *maṅgé* “child” in (b) belongs to class1. In the first case the relative requires a noun from class2 whereas in the second case the relative requires a noun from class 1. Given that the matching relation is unable to hold we end up with ungrammaticality.

However, as we have already mentioned both the HRA and the MA accommodate the Basa’a data. Now a more striking issue is to know which of the two proposals is more relevant. In this work it is important to note that although both lines of research hold the MA is the most relevant because it can also account for relative clauses introduced by the lexical

copplementiser *lé* “that”. More concretely; following Radford (2004: 173-178) it is plausible to provide a unified analysis of relative clauses in Basa’a under the sole matching approach. Firstly wh-relatives, that-relatives and relatives with an empty relative involve wh-movement, they leave a trace at their extraction site and they respect subjacency.

4.2. CATEGORIES OF RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses may be divided into dependent and independent clauses. The defining criterion is the nature of the antecedent: Dependent clauses have an overt antecedent, independent ones do not. According to traditional grammar, there are two types of dependent relative clauses: Nonrestrictive and restrictive clauses. They are generally differentiated in semantic terms: A restrictive clause is semantically intimately related to the NP which it modifies, whereas a nonrestrictive clause adds an extra comment, which might not affect the content of the sentence, and which might be dispensed with. In addition, a nonrestrictive clause is marked by a separate intonation contour, as can be seen from the English sentences below:

(9) The lecturer, who teaches us, has a good reputation.

(10) The lecturer who teaches us has a good reputation.

It is clear from the above examples that the relative clause in (9) cannot be left out without affecting an essential part of the meaning of the sentence: The implied polarity between “that teacher who teaches” “and that teacher who does not”

In Basa’a, many constituents of a given clause can be relativized. Keenan and Comrie (1977) propose an accessibility hierarchy with respect to relativization. Following this hierarchy, it comes out that in Basa’a the following positions can be relativized:

(11) a. subject: *málět nu a n-tíla a ye lóngè*

teacher who SM P1-write SM be good

“The teacher who has written is good”

b. direct object: *míntómba mí mē bí sómb mí yé mína*

sheep which I P2 buy SM be four

“The sheep that I bought are four of them”

c. indirect-object: *ḡalět [] mē bí- tí makebla ḡá yé ḡána*

teachers I P2 give present SM be four

“The teachers I gave the presents are four of them”

d. Possessor. *ḡaúdí mbót [] í bí- nímil ḡá bí kè*

students clothes SM P2 lose SM P2 go

“The students, whose clothes were lost, have left”

The above sentences are termed relatives because they contain a relative pronoun (**nu, mí**) for (11a-b) that refers to its antecedent in bold. (11c-d) on the contrary does not have an overt relative pronoun. Apart from the two types of relative clauses in (11), there is also a relative clause introduced by the lexical complementizer *lé* “that”. It should be noted that in Basa’a there is homophony between the relative pronoun, the demonstrative and the subject marker. In the following lines, we are going to analyse before we proceed any further to indicate in our discussion, the types of relatives to be handled. Our analysis will include Restrictive Relatives and non restrictive relatives

4.2.1. Dependent relative clauses.

In the following section, we are going to discuss restrictive relative clauses and non-restrictive relative clauses in order to see how they operate in Basa’a.

4.2.1.1 Restrictive relative clauses

Restrictive relative clauses, as their name indicates, restrict the class of the noun (antecedent) doing an action. These relatives, with antecedent are widely spread among human languages. The antecedent in restrictive relatives is mostly a noun, a pronoun an adjective or an adverb depending on the language (Arrivé et al 1986: 604) within the framework of restrictive relatives. The relative pronoun introduces a relative and constitutes a subordinating operator; it is the reason why it is at the head of the relative clause. There is therefore a co-referent relation between the relative operator and its antecedent. In this case, the relative operator substitutes the NP and assumes its function in the relative clause. We are going to explore relative clauses with an overt relative pronoun , bare-relative clauses (without a visible relative pronoun) and relative clauses introduced by *lé* “that”, and see if all of them involve wh-movement, and if they are also subject to some syntactic constraints. Ultimately we are going to analyse predicative relative clauses.

4.2.1.1.1 Relative clauses with an overt relative

They are introduced by phonetically realised wh-operators and fall within the Matching Analysis framework. Following this line Chomsky (1977b) proposes that like wh-interrogatives, relative clauses are derived via wh-movement and share the following properties (repeated):

(12)

- b. The construction contains a gap.
- c. Long distance relations are available.
- d. Island constraints are relevant.

c. [*ǃáúǃú [ǃǃǃ [mɛ m-ǃatǃǃ [ǃnyúúǃǃǃ j nsǃǃ a n-tǃ (ǃǃ) mǃnǃ (ti)]]]]

students who I Pres-wonder why father SM P1 give money

“The students whom I wonder why the father has given the money”

(13) a. mɛ n-yǃ ǃé ǃítámǃ [ǃǃ mɛ ǃǃ- tǃ wɛ]

I Pres-know not shoes which I F2 give you

“I do not know the shoes which I will give you”

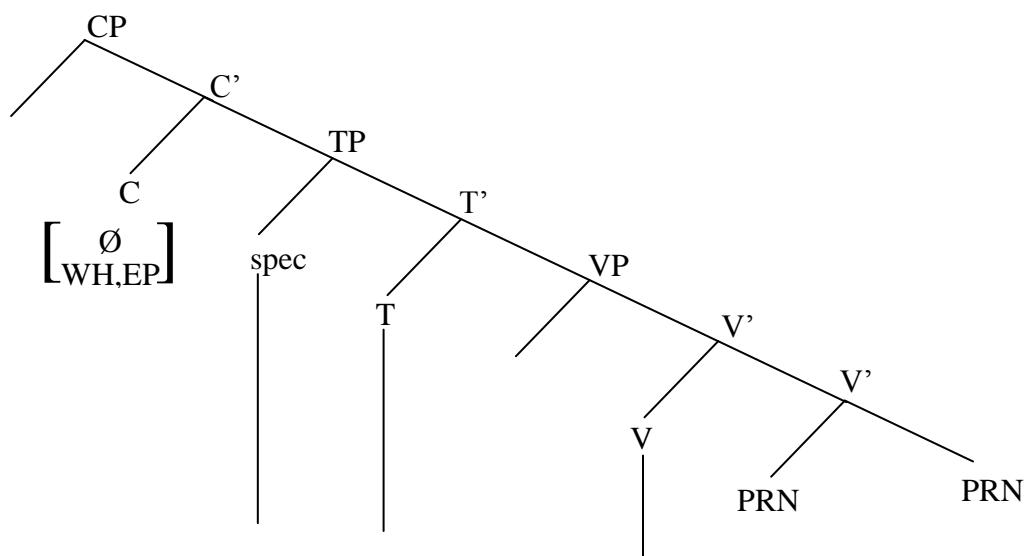
b. mɛ ǃǃ- leǃǃ mut [ǃǃ u ǃé yǃǃ]

I P2 find man who you be look for + Prog

“I found the man whom you were checking”

The bracketed clauses above are relative clauses in that they are introduced by relative pronouns. Recall that Basa’a relative pronouns agree in Class/ number and person with the nouns they modify. The bold printed relative pronoun **ǃǃ** “which” (13a) and **ǃǃ** “who” (13b) refer back to their antecedents *ǃítámǃ* “shoes” and *mut* “man” in their respective main clauses. Based on the presence of the tense markers *ǃǃ-* (13a) and the auxiliary *ǃé* “be” in (13b) and their preceding subject NP pronoun, we suggest that the relative clause is a TP preceded by the relative pronoun. Following the assumption that relative clauses are CPs it follows that since relative pronouns in (13) are maximal projections, they occupy the specifier position of CP; C being unable to host them because of its headness i.e. cannot host a relative pronoun in this case because they are maximal projections. There is neither verb movement nor auxiliary inversion in (4), so C only carries [WH, EPP]. (13a) will be given the following derivation:

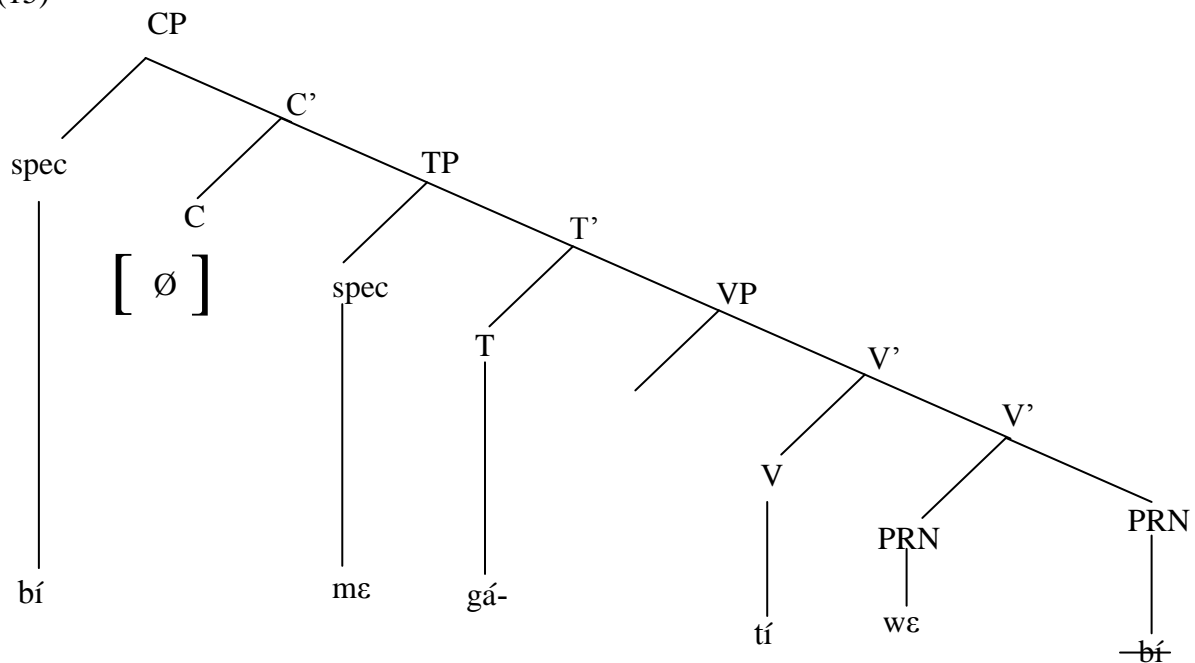
(14)



mε	gá	tí	wε	
I	F2-	give	you	bí which

The [WH, EPP] features of the null C lure the wh-operator **bí** “which” (relative pronoun) which a maximal projection. After movement of **bí** “which” to Spec-CP, there is a process of features deletion (the [WH, EPP] features of C) and features survival (the WH, EPP features of the moved operator **bí** “which”) and thus resulting in (15) below

(15)



(13b) has the same derivation as (13a). Sentence (15) is thus the structure of the bracketed relative clause in (13a)

4.2.1.1.2 Bare relative clause

As already mentioned a bare relative clause is the one which does not have an overt relative pronoun. The relative is said to be covert or otherwise suppressed because it is recoverable by a lexical antecedent with the same semantic content. Let us consider the following sentences:

(16) a. mε gá-sóm6 bítám6 [**bí** u η-gwěs

I F2 buy shoes which you Pres-like

“I will buy the shoes you like”

b. mε gá sóm6 [bítám6 []u η-gwěs

I F2 buy shoes [] you Pres-like
 “I will buy the shoes you like”

(16a) contains an overt relative pronoun **bí** “which” that refers back to its antecedent *bitám6* “shoes”. Although (16b) lacks an overt relative pronoun, the sentence is not ruled out. The absence of the relative pronoun is recoverable by *bitám6* “shoes”. There is reason to think that (16b) contains a null relative pronoun. The verb *gwěs* “like” is transitive and requires a direct object complement. Since the complement is not visible and the sentence is grammatical, we postulate that there is a null direct object just as the relative pronoun can be phonetically realised or not. So, the suppression of **COMP** is licit in (16b) since the suppressed relative is recoverable by an identical lexical category, namely its antecedent. If we maintain the view that the relative clause in (16b) contains a relative pronoun, the object must be a relative operator so to speak. In other words if we suppose that since the verb *gwěs* “like” is transitive in nature and requires a direct object, let us suppose that this object is the relative operator **bí** “which”. Following this assumption, both bracketed clauses in (16) will have the derivation below:

(17) [C \emptyset WH, EPP][TP mē [T gá-][VP [V sóm6] **bí**]]

The null complementizer \emptyset is merged with its TP complement above. The [WH, EPP] features hosted in C lure the relative operator **bí** to move into Spec-CP and after that these features delete along with the trace copy of the moved relative operator as can be seen below:

(18) [CP **bí**][TP mē [T gá-][VP [V sóm6] **bí**]]

In the same vein; if we suppose that the PF component enables a relative pronoun in Spec-CP to be given a null spell out, then **bí** “which” in (18) can be given a null spell out at PF and therefore deriving (19) below:

(19) [CP **bi**] [C WH, EPP][TP mē [I gá-][VP [V sóm6] <<**bí**>>]]

Taking into account the recoverability condition, additional support for the claim that a relative operator can be given a null spell out may be that its class/number/ gender properties can be identified by its antecedent: *bí* “which” in (16a) refers back to *bitám6* “shoes” and is identifiable as a noun from class4 in Basa’a noun classification and third-person plural. The

more striking question about the syntax of bare relative clauses is whether they are subject to the same syntactic restrictions as clauses with phonetically realized operator and by analogy like *wh*-constructions. Let us consider the following sentences:

(20) *a. *kíŋɛ a ye mut [nú i mɛ n-yí [kíi baúdu bá bí- kal (ti) (ti)]]*

King SM be man who I Pres-know what students SM P2 tell

“The king is somebody to whom I know what the students told ”

*b. *kíŋɛ a ye [mut [[mɛ n-yí [kíi baúdu bá bí- kal]]*

King SM be man I Pres-know what students SM P2 tell

“The king is somebody I know what the students told”

Both sentences above are illicit and are *prima facie* evidence that there is empirical argument in support of the assumption that bare relative clause, relative clauses with overt operators and *wh*-questions are subject to subjacency. In more concrete terms sentences above violate the **wh-island constraint**. According to Ross (1967) certain syntactic structures are islands; that is; they are structures out of which no subpart can be moved via any kind of movement operation. Since *wh*-clauses are islands in this connection, it emerges that constructions such as (20) above are illicit because they are not in conformity with certain syntactic restrictions. Recall that while (20a) has two overt *wh*-operators (*nú* “who” and *kii* “what”) (20b) on the contrary has only one overt operator (*kii* “what”). The ungrammaticality of (20a) is accounted for by the fact that the relative operator *nú* “who” which is the indirect object of *kal* “tell” has moved out of the *wh*-clause *kíi baúdu bá bí kal* “what did the students tell?” Since *wh*-clauses are islands then the derivation crashes because a *wh*-phrase has been extracted out of a *wh*-clause. As for (20b) which contains a bare relative, we realize that there is the same islandhood effect with its (20a) counterpart. We can straightforwardly argue that since bare relative clauses have a relative pronoun which moves to spec-CP; and which is subsequently given a null spell out at PF as we mentioned a while ago; then (20b) will have the structure (21) below:

(21) a. [C Ø WH, EPP][TP mɛ[T n-][VP [V yi][CP kíi [AgrP baúdu bá bí- kal]nú]]]

I Pres know what students SM P2 tell who

At this stage the [WH, EPP] features in the upper C lures a wh-phrase to SPEC-CP. We realize that *nú* “who” before having a null spell out at PF moves over the lower CP containing *kii* “what” and lands into Spec-CP as can be seen below:

(21b) [CP **nú**][C Ø][TP mɛ[T n-] [VP yí]_ [CP **kíí** [AgrP ɓáúú ɓá bí- kal ti]]]
Who I Pres- know what students SM P2 tell

On the assumption that at PF a relative pronoun is given a null spell out which is hosted in Spec-CP, then; *nú* “who” in (21b) is given a null spell out at PF and therefore deriving (21c) below:

(21c) [C Ø WH, EPP][TP mɛ[T n-][VP yí] [CP **kíí**[AgrP ɓáúú ɓá bí- kal]]]
I Pres- know what students SM P2 tell

From (21a) to (21c) we realize that the relative pronoun *nú* “who” is first of all merged as the complement of the verb *kal* “tell”, then it moves out of the CP containing the wh-phrase *kíí* “what” and finally receives a null spell out at PF. However, since the lower CP contains a wh-clause, then moving *nú* “who” over this CP leads to the violation of the wh-island constraint. So if our reasoning is on the right lines, then we can conclude that bare relative clauses also contain a wh-operator which undergoes a wh-movement and therefore they are subject to subjacency.

4.2.1.1.3. Relative clause with *lé* “that”

It should be noted at the beginning that these types of relatives are very restricted in Basa’a usages. They are not widely used like wh-relatives. However, they can be found in some constructions where they convey meaning. The most important with these relatives is the likeness they share with wh-relatives. More concretely, both are subject to some syntactic constraints we are going to examine in this work. In addition to relative clauses with overt and non overt operators examined above, there are also relative clauses in Basa’a introduced by the lexical complementizer *lé* “that”. Apart from the fact that these kinds of relative clauses do not have a wh-operator, it seems that they also share common characteristics with the first two relative clauses analysed. To bring our discussion closer to home, we would say that relative clauses introduced by *lé* “that” are also subject to subjacency. However, we already know that both relative clauses already examined involve a movement operation, and if we argue that relatives introduced by *lé* “that” resemble the former, then the question is

to know what has moved since we know that lexical complementizers are based generated in COMP. Let us consider the following sentences:

- (22) a. mɛ ye masée í leba bôt [lé mɛ ŋ-gwěs]
 I be happiness Inf. find men that I pres-love
 “I am happy to find people that I love”
 b. ɓaúdí ɓá gwě malět [lé a ŋ-kal ɓó mam]
 students SM have teacher that SM Pres-tell them things
 “The students have a teacher that tells them stories”

In (22) the relative clauses are introduced by **lé** “that”, but unlike real relative pronouns that agree in class number and person with the modified noun, **lé** “that” is invariable and does not undergo agreement like relative pronouns do. Unlike relative pronouns that occupy the specifier position of CP, **lé** “that” is hosted in C, the head of CP. Following the assumption that relative clauses contain a relative pronoun, relative clauses headed by the lexical complementizer **lé** “that” will also contain a relative pronoun which moves to Spec-CP and which in the long run receives a null spell out in the PF component. This can be justified by the fact that **lé**-clauses (that- clauses) obey subjacency.

Let us consider the sentences below:

- (23) a. *kíné a yé mut [nú mɛ n-yí [kíí ɓaúdí ɓá bí- kal]]
 king SM be man who I Pres-know what students SM P2 tell
 “The king is somebody who I know what the students told”
 b. *kíné a yé mut [lé mɛ n-yí [kíí ɓaúdí ɓá bí- kal]]
 king SM be man that I Pres-know what students SM P2 tell
 “The king is somebody that I know what the students told”

The analogy between relative clauses with overt operators and those with **lé** “that” is that **lé**-relatives (that-relatives) involve movement of a relative pronoun to Spec-CP. (23a) is the repeated form of (20a) which is ungrammatical. (23b) is also ungrammatical, and the questions raised here is that if **lé**-clauses (that-clauses) are subject to the wh-island constraint, then; what has moved since there is nothing visible which has been subject to movement? Biloa (2004:159) alongside Radford (2004:176-7) suggest that *that-relatives* involve wh-movement to Spec-CP and that the wh-operators are subsequently given a null spell out at PF. Considering this assumption, the ungrammaticality of (23b) is well accounted for, and is due

to the fact that the relative operator firstly originates as the complement of the transitive verb *kal* “tell” and is moved out of the CP dominated by *kíí* “what”; and violating the wh-island constraint. Going back to (22) above with *lé*-clauses (that-clauses), the derivation of (22a) for instance will proceed as follows: The relative pronoun *ḃá* “who” which is identifiable as third-person plural and class2 ;and which modifies the noun *ḃôṭ* ‘men’ (class2) is first merged as the object of the transitive verb *gwě s* “love” as can be seen below:

(24a) [C **lé**WH; EPP][TP mε [T ṽ́] [VP[V -gwěs] **ḃá**]]
 That I Pres love who

After the [WH, EPP] features hosted in C are deleted, the relative *ḃá* “who” has moved to Spec-CP. The trace of the moved relative is also deleted as can be illustrated below:

(24b) [CP **ḃá**[C **lé** WH; EPP][TP mε[T ṽ́][VP[V -gwěs] **ḃá**]]
 who that I Pres- love who

In order to get the structure in (22a) the relative *ḃá* “who” in Spec-CP is given a null spell-out at PF and subsequently deriving (24c) below:

(24c). [CP [̣][C **lé** **WH; EPP**][TP mε[T ṽ́][VP[V -gwěs]**ḃá**]]
 That I Pres- love who

4.2.1.1.4. *lé*-relatives versus wh-relatives

Notwithstanding the syntactic likeness between relatives introduced by the lexical complementiser *lé* “that” and their wh-counterparts, it should be noted that they offer a different semantic interpretation in information structure. Tone and verbal morphology are features that reveal the difference between both relatives. Let us consider the following sentences:

(25)

a. Tonye a ye maṅge bisú *lé á* ø-ké:ε í mbeṅge (complete action)

Tonye SM be kid first that SM ø go to Europe

“ Tonye is the first child to have left for Europe”

b. Ntogue a ye maṅge bisú *nú a* ṽ́-kε í mbeṅge (incomplete action)

Ntogue SM be kid first who SM F1 go to Europe

“ Ntogue will be the first kid to leave for Europe”

c. Tonye a ye maŋge bisú *lé* a ŋ-kɛ í mbɛŋge (complete action)

Tonye SM be kid first that SM P1 go to Europe

“Tonye is the first kid to have left for Europe”

d. Ntogue a ye maŋge bisú *nú* á ø-ké:ɛ í mbɛŋge (incomplete action/order))

Ntogue SM be kid first who SM Imp to Europe

“Ntogue must be the first kid to go to Europe”

A closer look at the sentences above enables us to see that relatives introduced by the lexical complementiser *lé* “that” appeal to incomplete actions whereas those introduced by wh-operators like *nú* “who” indicate that the action is incomplete or not accomplished. This semantic difference comes out in (25a-b). The apparent likeness between both kinds of relatives is at the level of tone and verb morphology. It follows from observation that in sentences (25a and d) the SM *á* which underlies subject verb agreement bears a high tone and follows respectively the lexical complementiser *lé* “that” and the relative operator *nú* “who”. The verb *-kɛ* “go” is not morphologically inflected for tense; it is rather materialised by the null morpheme/ø-/. The likeness between (25b and c) is that in both cases the SM bears a low tone and the verb *-kɛ* “go” is morphologically inflected for tense, precisely by the future tense morpheme /-ŋ/. We can summarise our discussion regarding relative clauses introduced by the lexical complementizer *lé* “that” as opposed to wh-relatives. It emerges from the foregoing that such clauses respect subjacency: there is an overt wh-operator at the very beginning of the derivation. This operator gets moved into Spec-CP because it is lured by the [WH, EPP] features hosted in C. At the end the moved operator is given a null spell out in the PF component and therefore enabling the derivation to converge and to satisfy the full interpretation principle. *lé*- relatives “that-relatives” contrast with their wh-counterparts in semantic terms i.e. depending on whether a given structure indicates completeness or incompleteness.

4.2.1.1.5. Predicative relative clauses

This is another instance of restrictive relative clauses encountered in Basa’a. Predicative relative clauses are realized after the object complement of verbs of perception like *téhé* “see” *bɛŋge* “observe” *émbɛ* “listen” *nɔ́k* “hear etc. In this case, there is equally homophony between the subject marker, the relative pronoun and the demonstrative. Notice that they operate like the three types mentioned above. Some examples include the following:

(26)a. mɛ bí -téhé malět **nú** a gá- nígá mɛ

I P2 see teacher who SM F2 teach me

“I will see the teacher who will teach me”

b. mɛ gá- mbeŋgé mínsôn **mí** mí yé minlâm

I Fut look works which SM nice

“I will control the works that are good”

Here, we can see that relative clauses are introduced by verbs of perception, and the relative pronouns agree in class and number with the antecedent. Similarly, predicative relatives are introduced by verbs such as *leba* “find” *ɓoma* “meet” *ɓána* “have” etc. alongside processes involving presentation. Let us consider the following examples:

(27)a. mɛ ø-gwě mawándá mêm **má** má m-ɓem mɛ

I pres-have friends my who SM pres- wait me

“I have my friends who are waiting for me”

b. malět a- m-ɓómá ɓoŋgé **ɓá** ɓá bí-yegá nyé

teacher SM pres+prog meet children who p2 greet him

“The teacher has met the children who greeted him”

c. ɓáúdí ɓâ ɓa n-lɔ

students who SM Pres+prog come

“Those students who are coming”

d. litówa **lí** lí- ŋ-kɛ

car which SM Pres+prog+go

“That is the car which is going”

A gist at (26) and (27) enables us to see that wh-relatives are subject-operators i.e. they occupy the subject position in the lower clause. For instance the relative *nú* “who” in (26a) refers back to the head noun *malět* “teacher” which is the subject of the verb *-níga* “teach”. Similarly, the relative *mí* “which” in (26b) refers back to the head noun *minsón* “works” which is in turn the subject of the stative verb *ye* “be” in the lower CP. Following the matching analysis, both *nú* “who” and *mí* “which” are respectively in agreement relation with their antecedents *malět* “teacher” and *minsón* “works” with whom they agree in class, number and gender. The same analysis holds in (27). It is important to note that even if the MA militates for wh-movement, a word deserves to be said concerning subject wh-operators. Just like subject wh-questions (eg. *who* offered you this car?) in English, there is no visible movement

with subject wh-relatives. They do not involve movement in the syntax, they rather involve vacuous movement à la Chomsky (1986: 48-9). To illustrate this view let us consider the following sentences:

(28) a. *mε bí-téhe* [*malět* [*nú* a bí-níga wε ɓasaá]

I P2 see teacher who SM P2 teach you Basa'a

“I saw the teacher who taught you Basa'a”

b. . *mε bí-téhe* [*malět* [*nú* u bí-tí (t) makebla]

I P2 see teacher whom you P2 give presents

“I saw the teacher whom you gave presents”

In (28a) is an instantiation of subject wh-relative operators whereas (28b) is a case of object wh-relatives. It is clear that in the first case the relative *nú* “who” is the subject of the verb *bí-níga* “taught” and occupies the subject position. In the other case movement of the relative “whom” has taken place in the syntax. We realise that with subject wh-operators there is vacuous movement or covert movement because this movement is not visible but has taken place at the logical form. Conversely, with object wh-operators there is overt movement. For instance in (28b) the wh-operator *nu* “whom” has undergone movement in the syntax i.e. it has overtly moved from the IP-internal position to Spec-CP where it is in a predication / agreement relation with the head noun *malět* “teacher”. The following are the representations of (28a) and (28b) respectively:

(29) a. LF representation: [*malět* [*nú* [(t) [a] [[bí [[-níga] [wε [ɓasaá]]]]]]]

DP	CP	AgrP	Agr-s	TP	T	VP	V	DP	NP
teacher	who		SM		P2		teach	you	Basa'a

“The teacher who taught you Basa'a”

b. PF representation: [*malět* [*nú* [u [bí] [[-tí] [(t) [makebla]

DP	CP	TP	T	VP	V	DP	DP
teacher	whom	you		P2	give	presents	

“The teacher whom you gave presents”

Overall considering features checking as the motivation for movement, we realise that in subject wh-relatives wh-features are checked via attraction whereas with object wh-relatives there is a “*generalised pied-piping*” i.e. movement of features along with the category associated with those features.

4.1.1.2. NON RESTRICTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES

As opposed to restrictive relatives, appositive relatives generally provide additional information to something already known in the context of communication. Talking about appositive relatives; Arrivé et al (1986: 606) say that

l'appositive apporte une remarque supplémentaire sur un référent déjà déterminé, de façon contextuelle ou situationnelle... alors que la déterminative constitue le processus même d'identification du référent à l'intérieur de la phrase. Unlike restrictive relatives, appositives serve as parenthetical comments set off in a separate intonation group from the rest of the sentence (this being marked in writing by a comma, a hyphen etc.) Let us consider the following sentences:

(30)a. baúdí, **ba** u bí-téhé yáání, bá ø-yé balâm

students whom you p2 see yesterday SM pres- be nice

“The students, whom you saw yesterday, are nice”

b. malět mahóp, **nú** a -níígá bǝŋgě a- ní-lo

teacher languages who SM teach children SM P1 come

“The language teacher, who teaches the children, has come”

c. baúdí **ba** bá ø-yé balâm

students who SM-pres- be nice

“Those students who are nice”

d. malět mahóp **nú** a- ní-lo

teacher languages who SM pl come

“The language teacher who has come”

Although sentences (30a and c) might seem alike, just like sentences (30 b and d), it should be noted that there are differences in terms of interpretation. First of all, at the level of intonation, we realize that the antecedent *baúdí* “students” in (30a) does not bear a high

tone on the first syllable as opposed to (30c) where there is a high tone on this syllable. At the level of writing, there is a comma separating the difference sequences of the sentence in (30a) whereas in (30c) there is not. In like manner, the antecedent *malět* “teacher” (30b) does not bear a high tone on the first syllable. At the level of writing, there is a phonological pause in (30b) whereas in (30d) there is not any. What we would like to mention here is that in (18a-b) we have instances of appositive relative relatives whereas in (30c-d) we have restrictive relatives. In terms of the semantic interpretation, we realize that the appositive relative leaves unchanged the extension of the antecedent. In more concrete terms, in (30a) for instance, the antecedent *baúdí* “the students” is simply extended by the appositive relative *ba’u bí-téhé yáání, bá ø-yé balâm* “whom you saw...” On the contrary, with sentence (30c), the antecedent *baúdí* “the students” is purely restricted in extension; given that it is only the clause *baúdí, ba’ bá ø-yé balâm* “the students who are nice” (and not the others) which is given more prominence in terms of interpretation. So, with restrictive relatives, the field is very limited as opposed to appositive relatives whereby the field is wider.

Another salient issue differentiating restrictive clauses from appositive ones is that in case of an appositive, the relative operator can be replaced by a coordinating process in case of appositives whereas this is disallowed in case of restrictive relatives. Let us consider the following examples:

(31) a. *baken bá bôt, ni bɔ́ bá ø-tiigé nyé ɛɛɛɛ*
 stranger AM men and them SM P3 -come closer him near
 “The strangers, **and they** come closer to him”

*b. *baken bá bôt ni bɔ́ bá ø-tiigé nyé ɛɛɛɛ*
 strangers AM men and them SM p3 come closer him near
 The strangers, and they came closer to him”

In (31a), we have an instance of appositive relative whereby the antecedent noun phrase *baken bá bôt* “the strangers” is followed by a comma, and a coordinating string made up of the conjunction *ni* “and” as well as the anaphoric pronoun *bɔ́* “them”. The sentence is grammatical and shows that in an appositive relative, the relative operator can be replaced by a coordination process. So, sentence (31a) above, which involves a coordination process, can have the following structure whereby there is a phonetically realized relative operator:

(32) báken bá bôt, **bá** bá ø-tiigé nyé ɓɛɓɛɛ, bá ø-bě ɓalâm
 strangers AM people, who SM P3-come closer him near SM P3+be nice
 “The strangers, who came closer to him, were nice”

The sentence in (31b) above is ungrammatical because it is an instance of restrictive clause. Since a restrictive relative cannot be replaced by a coordinating process, then, we end up with an illicit sentence. In fact, the sentence in (31b) is derived from the following restrictive clause:

(33) báken bá bôt **bá** bá ø-tiigé nyé ɓɛɓɛɛ bá ø-bě ɓalâm
 strangers AM people, who SM P3-come closer him near SM P3+be nice
 “The strangers, who come closer to him, were nice”

On the whole, we realize that restrictive relatives and appositives do not only differ in terms of extension and referent identification, but also in terms of some structural restrictions such as intonation, punctuation and coordination.

4.2.1.2.1. INDEPENDENT RELATIVE CLAUSES

In this kind of relative clauses, the relative operator can either be subject to movement or base-generated. We shall investigate free relative and periphrastic relatives.

4.2.1.2.1.1. Free relatives

The earmark of free relatives is their apparently nature of being antecedentless i.e. the wh-operators they contain do not appear to refer back to any other constituent in the sentence containing them. They are somehow similar to appositives in that they are always introduced by a phonetically realized relative pronoun. Generally in Basa’a free relatives are the result of the particle *tɔ* meaning “ever” in English, followed by any wh-operator. We shall have *tɔnjéé* “whoever” *tɔhéé* “wherever” *tɔláá* “however” *tɔkíí* “whatever” etc. They can therefore designate a person, a thing, a moment or a manner etc. Let us consider the following sentences:

- (34)a. **tɔkíí** malět a ŋ-kal (o) í yé malígá
 whatever teacher SM Pres- say SM be truth
 “Whatever the teacher says is true”
 b. mɛ ga-kèé *tɔhéé* mɛ ŋ-gwěš
 I F2 go wherever I pres- want
 “I will go wherever I want”
 c. *tɔnjéé* u n-là tí (u) móní

whoever you pres-can give money

“You can give the money to whomever”.

Free relatives can equally be realized with the relative adverb *hɛ́ɛ́* “where”; where it is devoid of the particle *tɔ* “ever”. This can also be encountered in the English sentence “I will go where I want” or in French “*Je vais où tu vas*”

Overall, free relative clauses are devoid of antecedent and are introduced by indefinite relative pronouns. The foregoing illustrations have enabled us to have an insight into restrictive, non restrictive relative and free relative clauses however; we went on by arguing that there is another type of relative clause called periphrastic relative clauses. Theoretically we realise that neither the Head Raising nor the Matching Analysis can account for free relative. First of all, the HR is inadequate because there is neither DP head nor NP head, or better still there is no antecedent that would have raised from IP-internal position to a higher position above CP i.e. above the relative in bold above. In the same vein, any attempt for the MA is not relevant because we have certainly WH-movement but there is no head that enters in a predication/agreement relation with the moved wh-relative operator. In the following section we are going to explore periphrastic relative clauses.

4.2.2.2. Periphrastic relative clauses

This type of relative clause does not have a real antecedent and seems to resemble free relative clauses. The terms that play the role of the relative pronouns are generally marked [+human/–human]. They can stand for an adjunct or an argument expression. Notice that periphrastic relatives are either substitution for Spec-CP or Spec-AgrP. The following examples are illustrations of periphrastic relative clauses in Basàá:

(35) a. mɛ ɲ-kɛ-ná báúdí **hɛ́t** mɛ ɲ-gwêš
I Pres-go –CAUS students where I Pres-want
“I bring the students where I want”

b. **nú** a n-sâl lɔ́ŋgɛ́ (t) a- gá- nɛd mákekɛ
whoever SM Pres-work well SM F2 succeed exams
“Whoever works well will succeed”

c. **ɲwɛ́t** a n-sâl (t) a- gá -kos nsáà
whoever SM Pres-work SM F2 receive reward

“Whoever works will be rewarded”

A closer look at (35) above enables us to see how periphrastic relatives operate in Basa'a. In (35a) the relative pronouns used in periphrastic relatives are all indefinite in nature since they do not refer to a specific entity; rather, they refer to any person (35b-c) or any place (35a). Periphrastic relatives are used in compound tenses like in (35b-c). In such constructions the relative seems to originate in the lower IP position and precisely in Spec-AgrP where it first acts as the subject of the lower clause before moving higher to another higher position. Generally, in Basa'a periphrastic relatives occupy the subject position like subject wh-operators. The difference between subject wh-operators in question formation (like in the English sentence “**Who** gave you this car?”) and periphrastic relatives is that periphrastic relatives are not instantiations of question formation and do not substitute for CP. Periphrastic relatives like in (35b) have the following derivation:

(36)

[AgrP nú	[Agr-S a-]	[TP [T n-]	[VP [V -sâl[ADJP lóŋgé]	[AgrP(t)[Agr-S-	a-]
whoever	SM		Pres-		-work	well		SM

[TP [T gá-]	[VP[V -nɛd][NP mákekse]]]]]
F2		succeed	exams	

The derivation above shows that the relative **nú** “whoever” originates in the lower AgrP and leaves a trace when moving to the highest AgrP.

SUMMARY

In a nutshell this chapter was devoted to the analysis of relative clauses in Basa'a. Different proposals are made as far as the study of relative clauses is concerned. Both the matching analysis and the promotion analysis accommodate the Basa'a data and are necessary to derive the different types of relatives encountered. However, for economy reasons we suggested that the matching approach is sufficient enough due to the fact that it handles relatives introduced by the lexical complementiser *lé* “that”, those introduced by wh-operators in addition to bare relative clauses. Evidence in support of the matching analysis include subadjacency

and the copy trace theory. Faithful to the minimalist view that a number of grammar principles be reduced as much as possible, it is preferable to resort to the sole matching approach because it is sufficient enough to derive relative clauses we have studied. It also emerged from the study that subject relatives involve vacuous movement as opposed to their object counterparts which undergo overt movement. Free and periphrastic relatives are independent relative clauses i.e. they are not related in the discourse to an antecedent. Free relatives are substitution for Spec-CP whereas periphrastic ones are substitution for either Spec-AgrP or Spec-AgrP. Both of them cannot be accounted for by the Matching Analysis and the Head Raising Analysis.

CHAPTER V

FOCALISATION AND TOPICALIZATION

5.0 Introduction

In most cases, when somebody makes a statement, he/she makes what we call a pragmatic assertion or simply an assertion. This pragmatic assertion in most communicative situations is a piece of information, a proposition the speaker hopes the hearer will come to know or be aware of as a result of the sentence being uttered. The assertion is said to be pragmatic because it is a pragmatically structured utterance, generally involving both “old information” such as topic and the presuppositions associated with it, and “new information”, such as focus. Human languages exhibit various ways of marking different kinds of information within a given utterance. This may involve intonation, word order, morphological marking or some combination thereof, depending on language specifics. The association of a particular information structure with a particular morphosyntactic or intonational structure is referred to as “the focus structure” of the sentence (cf. Lambrecht 1987). It is important to recall that the Basaá language is basically an SVO language, and that word alternation is crucially determined by discourse properties such as topicalization and focusing. In addition to discourse-related word order variation, Basaá also displays some morphosyntactic and phonological alternations when marking topic and focus. This is additional evidence that tone is very characteristic of Bantu languages. This chapter attempts to discuss information structure and clause structure in Basaá; more concretely, we shall strive to see how topic and

focus as information structure affect word order in Basaá in relation to many other languages. Our discussion will suggest that Basaá slices the clause structure mainly in one domain for encoding topic and focus. So, under the view that the clause structure includes peripheral domains (above IP and VP) where specific functional positions host topic and focus expressions, we propose that Basaá uses the higher outer functional categories i.e. focus and topic above IP and this provides us with both empirical and theoretical evidence for the existence of an articulate left peripheral material.

5.1 FOCALISATION

In the present study the term “focus” is mostly related to the coding of one element of a proposition as salient. The discourse function of the focus construction is contrasted with an element of another proposition that occurred earlier in the discourse. Thus the constituent in focus position could be an unexpected subject or another argument. The notion of focus also involves the contrastive function whereby the information is provided to correct presuppositions that a hearer might have. According to Aboh et al (In press) “*focus refers to that part of the clause that provides the most relevance or most salient information in a given discourse situation*”. In Basaa, any XP category can be focused as well as an X° category (namely the verb). Focus can be marked syntactically, morphologically or phonologically.

5.1.1 Focalization of arguments and adjuncts

In main clauses any XP category can be focused phonologically, morphologically or syntactically.

Let us consider the following examples:

(1) a. maŋgé a ŋ- kɛ í sũklu yàání

Child SM F1-go to school tomorrow

“The child will go to school tomorrow”

b. **maŋgé** nyén_(t) a ŋ-kɛ í sũklu yàání

Child Foc SM F1 go to school tomorrow

“It is the child who will go to school tomorrow”

c. **yàání** nyén maŋgé a ŋ-ké í sũklu (t)

tomorrow Foc child SM F1-go to school

“it is tomorrow that the child will go to school”

The data in (1) show that any constituent XP (an argument or adjunct) can be focused in Basaá. In (1b) we have clefted the subject argument *mangé* “child” whereas in (1c) it is the time adverbial *yàání* “tomorrow” that is clefted. By so doing, we have moved XPs from their base positions i.e. in the VP internal positions up to Spec-FocP. The moved constituents move leftwards where they c-command their respective traces. There is a Spec-head agreement relation holding between the moved constituent in Spec-FocP and the focus word in Foc. So, the focused word must necessarily agree in class and number with the displaced noun. More concretely, since the moved argument *mangé* “child” in (1b) belongs to class one in the Basaá noun class system the focused word should be *nyén*. Any random assignment of a focus word will lead to ungrammaticality. In case of PP clefting or AdvP (cf.1c) the focused word is always the one found in case of DP clefting. More concretely, when we cleft a noun from class one in Basa’a, the focus word is *nyén*. This focus word is the same in the case of PP and AdvP clefting. The spec-head agreement relation exhibited in (1b-c) is reminiscent of the Tuki language (Bilola 1992, 1995) where the focalized constituent must obligatorily agree in class and number with the focused element. The following examples are illustrations of the Tuki data (Bilola In press).

(2) a. Abongo a- ma- kos-en agee waa yendze idzo

A. SM P2 buy Appl (for) Fv wife his house yesterday
 “Abongo bought his wife a house yesterday”

b. Abongo odzu a- ma- kos-en agee waa yendze idzo

Abongo Foc SM P2 buy Appl (for) Fv wife his house yesterday
 “It is Abongo who bought his wife a house yesterday”

c. idzo owu Abongo a- ma- kos-en-a agee waa yendze idzo

yesterday Foc Abongo SM P2 buy Appl (for) Fv wife his house
 “It is yesterday that Abongo bought his wife a house”

We realize that there is similarity between the data in (1) and those in (2) in the sense that there is always a spec-head agreement relation between the moved element in Spec-FocP and the focus marker in Foc. However, the difference between Tuki and Basaá is that when an adjunct is clefted the focus maker is quite different from when a noun is clefted (Tuki). This explains why we have different

focus markers in (2): *odzu* [+human] and *owu* [-human]. The regularity of the focus maker *nyén* [\pm human] in Basàá can be justified in terms of noun classification. More concretely, it seems that in Basàá adverbials bear nominal features so that they can be classified in class one like real noun (kinship terms and proper noun). So, it is observed that adverbials such as *yàání* “tomorrow” or “yesterday”, *len* “today” etc. can be nominalised by bearing the class marker *ba-* like normal nouns. For instance, nouns such as *nsáyǵál* “peacemaker” and *mboǵol* “servant” which belong to class one in Basa’a become *ba-sáyǵál* “peacemakers” and *ba-boǵol* “servants” respectively in plural (class two). In like manner, adverbials like *yàání* “tomorrow/yesterday” become *ba-yàání* in plural in some discourse contexts. This idea is supported by the subject verb agreement in (3) below:

(3) a. *malět a ye lóǵé*
 teacher SM be good
 “The teacher is kind”

b. *yàání a ye lóǵé*
 tomorrow SM be nice
 “Tomorrow is better”

c. *í kèté ndap a-ye lóǵé*
 inside house SM be nice
 “Inside the house is better”

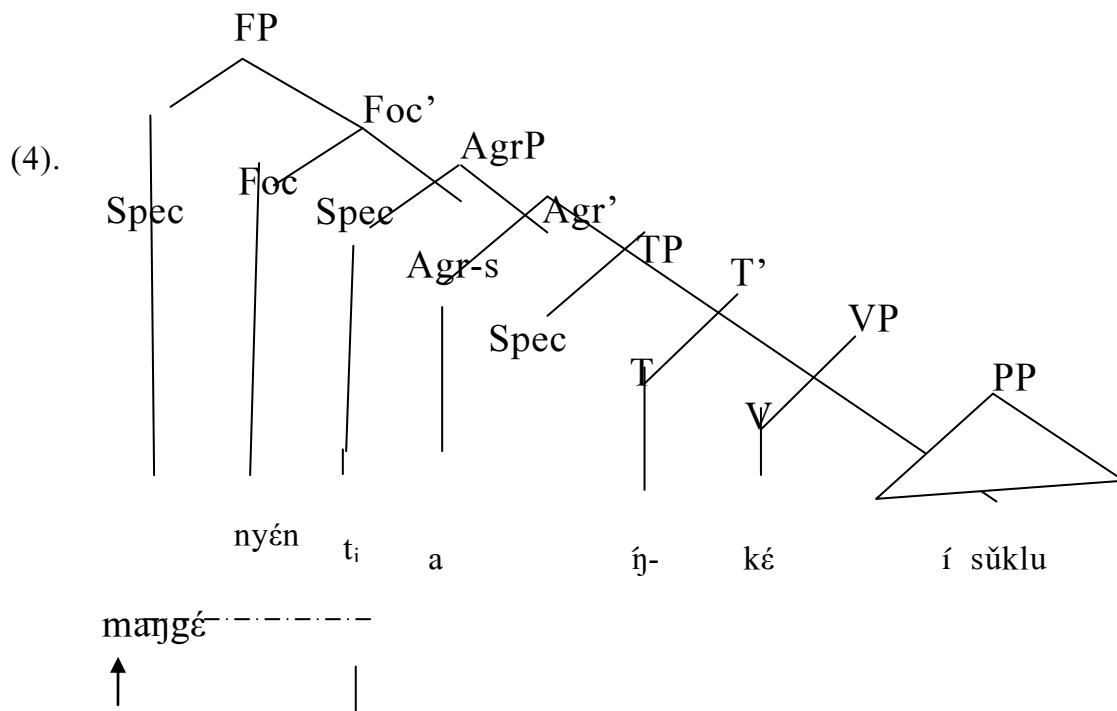
d. *bijék bí-yé lóǵé*
 food SM be nice
 “Food are nice”

e. *ǵwó í yé lóǵé*
 dog SM –be nice
 “The dog is nice”

We assume that on the basis of the subject verb agreement displayed in (3) both nouns and adverbs share common features (at least + human). Recall that in most Bantu languages, the subject verb agreement is underlaid by Agr-S which is

materialized by the subject marker SM. This subject marker may change depending on the noun class of the subject argument.

Let us now come back to our data in (1) and make observations according to which clefting in Basàá, just like in Tuki, creates an empty category or trace at the clause-internal position. So the trace has a null spell out whereas the moved element at the higher position has a phonological spell out. Therefore, there is a chain linking the head (the moved element) and the tail (the trace). Sentence (1b) illustrates this view and is represented as (4) below:



The phrase marker above is the projection of (1b). We realize that the focused noun in Spec-FP moves from Spec-AgrP and forms a chain with its trace; therefore satisfying the **chain uniformity principle** (Chomsky 1995a:406) which requires that a chain must be uniform with regard to phrase structure. In concrete terms the chain in (4) is uniform since its head is the DP *mą́gě* "the child" (with a null D) and its trace is also a DP. Notice that specifiers are maximal projections (Radford: 1997:277).

So we realize that Basàá uses morphological focus markers when it comes to cleft constructions. The information- structural category of cleft construction refers to the overt realization of focus by special grammatical means which is subject to cross-linguistic variation.

5.1.2 Wh-questions

There is an asymmetry among wh-expressions in Basàá. It is noticed that Wh-questions in Basàa behave differently. Unlike many other languages where Wh-operators and focus elements compete for the same landing site, in Basàa such an issue should be handled differently. This has to do with whether the Wh-operator is an argument or an adjunct and mainly if the Wh-adjunct is referential or not. In Basa'a, only arguments compete with focused expressions whereas adjuncts do not because the latter are said to occupy a higher position called Interrogative Phrase, which always dominates the focus phrase as we shall see later on. Let us consider the following examples:

(5) a. ínyũúkí hilógá hí bí- 6ii múdaá?

why boy SM P2 marry woman

“Why did the boy marry the woman?”

b. ínyũúkí hilógá hjôn hí- bi-6ii múdaa?

why boy Foc SM P2 marry woman

“Why is it the boy who married the woman?”

c. léláá hilógá hjôn hí- bí- 6íí múdaá?

how boy Foc SM P2 marry woman

“How did THE BOY marry the woman?”

(6) a. Owate owu Puta a-m(a)-iba-moni?

why Foc Puta SM P2 steal money

“Why did Puta steal the money?”

(Tuki, Biloa 1997:53)

b. Ane odzu a-ma- fenda ate twi?

who Foc SM P2 repair what how

“Who fixed what how?”

(Tuki, Biloa 1997:102)

c. Ménu wé ðu lési?

Who Foc eat rice

“Who ate rice?”

(Gungbe, Aboh 2007:97)

d. *[Kofi]j wè [Ménu]I wèti nyà tj?

k. Foc who Foc chase. PERF

(Gungbe, Aboh, 2003:11)

The data in (5) and (6) show that targeted Wh-expressions land in different positions, depending on language specifics. Let us say straight away that in Tuki and Gungbe Wh-expressions and focused constituents compete for the same slot i.e. the specifier position of the focus phrase. Where both the Wh-operator and the focus are fronted, the construction is illicit (cf. (6d)). Accordingly in Tuki just like in Gungbe Wh-expressions are inherently focused. Things are rather different in Basàa where both a Wh-operator and a focus constituent may occur without any fear of ungrammaticality (cf. 5a-c). However, it should be noted that only non-referential expressions *inyũukii* “why” and *léláá* “how” can co-occur with focus elements. As for referential adjunct Wh- operators and their argument counterparts, this co-occurrence is impossible and we can see in (7) below:

(7) a. *kíí hilógá hjôn hí n-sóm6?

what boy Foc SM P1 buy

“What did the boy buy?”

b. *njéé hilógá hjôn hí m-bii?

who boy Foc SM P1 marry

“Who did the boy marry?”

c. *héé hilógá jón hí ń-ke?

where boy Foc SM P1 go

“Where has the boy gone?”

(8) a. kíí hilógá hí n-sòm6?

what boy SM P1-buy

“What did the boy buy?”

- b. hilógá hjón hí n-sóm6 kíí
boy Foc SM P1-buy what

“It is the boy who has buy what?”

- c. héé hilógá hí ñ-ke?
where boy SM P1 go

“Where has the boy gone?”

- d. njéé hilógá hí- m-6íí?
who boy SM P1 marry

“Who did the boy marry

The data in (7) and (8) enable us to realize that where both focus elements and argument Wh-operators and the referential adjuncts are fronted, the result is an ungrammatical construction (cf.7) but where either element is fronted, the other should remain in-situ in order to salvage the construction. This state of affairs is additional evidence that human languages differ and that in Basàá it is not risky to postulate that Wh-operators differ among themselves and that only Wh-arguments and the Wh-referential adjuncts are focalized. The other Wh-operators occupy another left-peripheral position whose name shall be determined later on. One of the salient differences between cleft constructions and the focused Wh-questions is established in a morphological ground: while the former exhibit a phonologically realized focus maker, the latter on the contrary do not. Again, it is important to keep in mind that the focus markers *wε* (in Gungbe), *mâ* (in Nweh, Nkemnji 1995: 136), *Odzu* and its counterparts (in Tuki); *nyên* and its counterparts (Basaá) have no other usage or function in these languages than expressing focus, although in Tuki there is the relativizer *odzu* which is homophonous with the focus marker *odzu*(*this is not the issue of this work*). Even on this basis, both only fulfil grammatical functions.

Now, how can we account for the ungrammaticality of (7a-c), if we assume that Wh-operators in the Basaá examples in (7a-c) are inherently focused? we realize that since the cleft constructions are subject to syntactic movement in these constructions, any further syntactic movement of Wh-operator leads to illicitness. If we are in line with the adjacency requirement between the cleft NP *hilógá* “boy”

and the focus marker *hjóñ*, we are closer to Brody's (1990) idea that the feature [+f] be assigned to Spec-FocP. As far as Basaá is concerned, although the focus word is phonetically null in case of Wh-fronting, we suppose that since the above mentioned Wh-operators are inherently focused, then there is a [+f] feature, in Foc which is checked only by moving the Wh-operator in sentence-initial position. Given that both the cleft NP *hilógá* "boy" and the Wh-operators are focused, multiple foci-fronting disqualify the above constructions because there is only one focus feature capable of hosting a focused element in Spec-FocP. The idea that Wh-operators and focused elements compete for the same slot is further highlighted in other African languages like Tuki and Gungbe. In addition, it appears that in Tuki for instance the focused word in wh-fronting is optional i.e. it can be phonetically null like in Basa'á. Now, if it is proven true that some kind of vacuous movement obtains between an empty head and an extracted Wh-phrase in Basaá as well as in Tuki then we have to assume that a wh-phrase must be gamma-marked by an agreeing head. This captures the idea that although Spec-head agreement is compulsory in Wh-questions, an agreeing head does not have to be overtly realized. However, with cleft constructions the focused word should not be avoided, if not the construction would be interpreted as topicalization or relativization as can be seen below:

- (9) a. *ḡáúdú, malět a ŋ-gwěs ḡó*
 students teacher SM Pres-love them
 "The students, the teacher loves them"
- b. *ḡáúdú, malět a ŋ-gwěs*
 students teacher SM pres-love
 "The students [] the teacher loves"
- c. *ḡáúdu ḡoñ malět a ŋ-gwěs*
 students Foc teacher SM pres-love
 "It is the students that the teacher loves"

It can be postulated from the foregoing that a wh-question is focused by definition, thus irrespective of the absence or presence of a focus marker. Overall, in order to salvage the

illicitness of (7a-c) we have to front either the wh-question or the cleft NP and leave either the NP or the wh-question in situ.

5.1.3 Long distance focus

There seems to be asymmetry between arguments and adjuncts extraction in Basaá. To account for this state of affairs, let us consider the following sentences:

(10) a. *malět a bí- nígá ááúú yaaní*
 teacher SM P2 teacher students yesterday
 “The teacher taught the students yesterday”

b. **malět nyén mɛ bí- nók lé yaaní nyén (ti) a bí- nígá (t)*
 teacher Foc I P2 hear that yesterday Foc SM P2 teach
 “I heard that the TEACHER taught YESTERDAY”

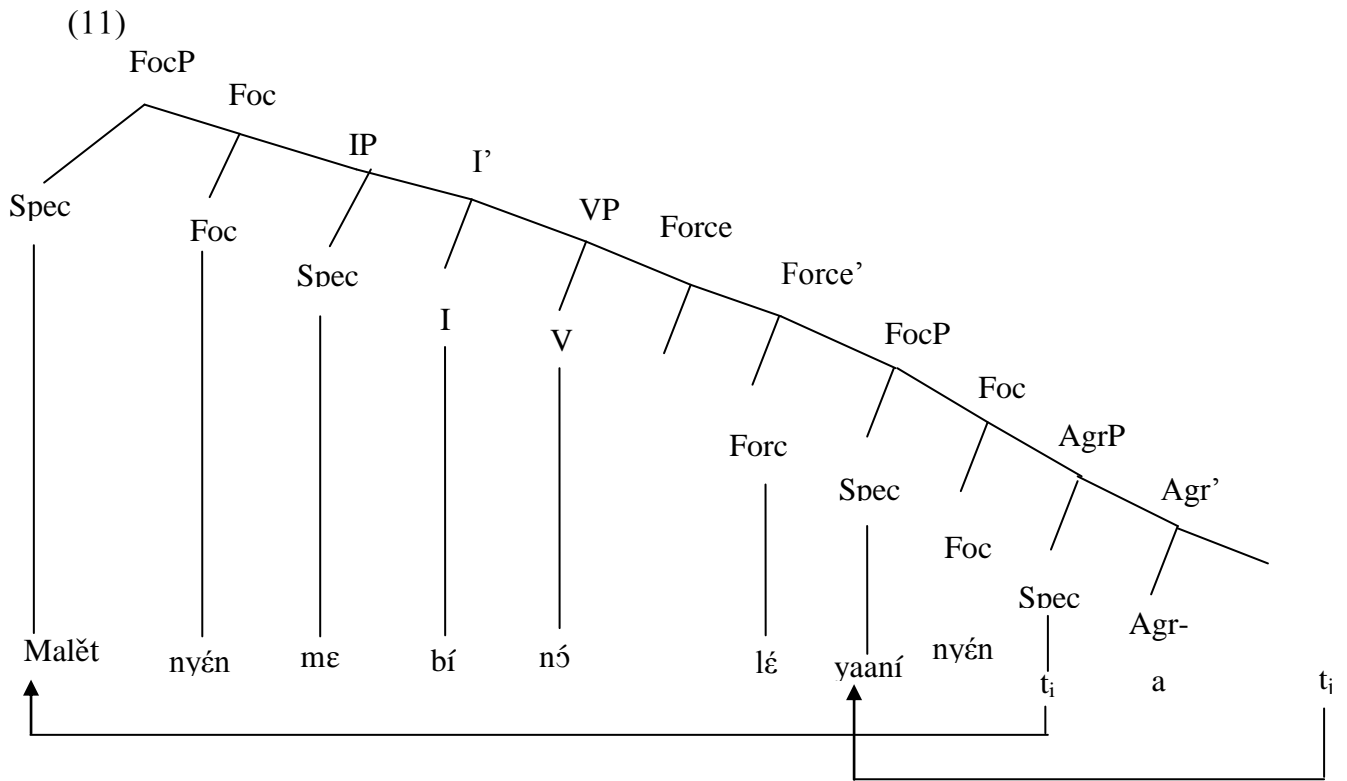
c. *yaaní nyén mɛ bí- nók lé malět nyén a bí- nígá áés*
 yesterday Foc I P2 hear that teacher Foc SM P2 teach
 “I heard that YESTERDAY, the TEACHER taught us”

d. **ááúú bôn mɛ bí- nók lé malět nyén a bí- nígá*
 students Foc I P2 hear that teach Foc SM P2 teach
 “I heard that it is the students that the teacher taught”

e. *ááúú bôn mɛ bí- nók lé malět a bí- nígá yáání*
 students Foc I P2 hear that teacher SM P2 teacher yesterday
 “It is the students whom I heard that the teacher taught yesterday”

The constructions in (10) above indicate that extraction from embedded contexts as far as focus is concerned is sensitive to some syntactic constraints. This is justified by the ungrammaticality and grammaticality of certain constructions above. If we consider (10a) as the basic sentence, we can see that in (10b) we have clefted both the subject NP *malět* “teacher” and the lower adjunct *yaaní* “yesterday”. If we consider the specifier position of the force phrase as being an escape hatch, then movement of the subject NP *ááúú* “students” is licensed since it is in conformity with economic

requirement i.e. movement is strictly local. By so doing, the moved NP first lands in Spec-ForceP before moving to Spec-FocP above the matrix IP. However, it seems that the time adverbial *yaaní* “yesterday” in Spec-FocP of the lower position blocks the antecedence relation between the moved NP *malět* “teacher” and its co indexed trace. Therefore, the time adverbial *yaaní* “yesterday” acts as an intervener between the moved NP and its trace as can be seen below:



It seems that adjunct crossing at this level is banned and that any violation leads to ungrammaticality. In the same vein, in (10d) we can see that we have focused both the argument object *baúdu* “students” and the subject argument *malět* “teacher”. At a glance we can see that the ungrammaticality is a result of multiple foci-fronting, but it does not seem to be the case. Following Rizzi (2004b) we can retain that elements that have the same featural make-up belong to the same class; an argument is thus said to have the same featural make-up as another argument. Following this reasoning, the object NP *baúdu* “students” cannot cross over its

subject counterpart *malět* “teacher” in the lower focus position. The latter is thus a barrier for movement. In order to salvage the construction, only the object is clefted whereas the subject remains defocalized (out of the focus domain) as can be seen in (10e). Nevertheless, the idea that the focused category may be extracted from various embedded positions is subject to cross-linguistic variation. Non-verb focus, for instance, is not sensitive to island constraints in Gungbe so long as movement targets arguments. In other words; based on data from Gungbe, in Aboh (2003:10) it is shown that no focus-island occurs where the object of the lower embedded verb moves to the matrix clause across the focalized subject of the immediate embedded clause. This idea is illustrated in (11) below (Aboh: 2003:9):

(12) Wémà lò wè ùn sè t’_i dò kòfí_k wè t_k dò t_i dò séná ní xiá t_i

book DET Foc 1SG hear PERF that K. Foc say.PERF that S. INJ read

“I heard that KOFI said that séná should read the book”

It emerges from the foregoing example that in Gungbe, no focus-island arises (at least at this level). According to Aboh, the lower focus positions are not used as an escape hatch for long movement. If that was the case, the focused object *wémà lò* “the book” could not move across the focused subject *kòfí* up to the matrix clause. Aboh suggests that subsequent focus to the matrix clause proceeds through Spec-ForceP i.e. the highest position of the C-system. More interesting is that where extraction is banned in Gungbe, Basaá seems to license it. In other words, if argument extraction across another argument domain in focused constructions is allowed in Gungbe, this is not possible in Basaá. Again, there is argument/adjunct asymmetry in Gungbe which does not exist in Basaá. For instance, while a focused adjunct can undergo long extraction in Basaá this operation is sensitive to Relativized Minimality in Gungbe. Let us consider the following example.

(13)a. *[sò]j wè séná sè dò [hí ló]i wè Rémí xò t_i t_j

yesterday Foc S. hear that knife DET Foc R. buy. PERF

“Séná heard YESTERDAY that knife Rémí bought THE KNIFE”

b. yaaní nyén mɛ bí -nók lé malět nyén a bí- nígá ɓés

yesterday Foc I P2 hear that teacher Foc SM P2 teach us

“I heard that YESTERDAY, the TEACHER taught us”

Syntactic computations in the above sentence enable us to see that in Gungbe, simultaneous focus of an argument and an adjunct creates two A-bar chains which interfere with each other; long extraction of an adjunct is prohibited if the embedded Spec-FocP is filled: therefore long construal is impossible and (13) can only be interpreted as involving local movements in the main and embedded clauses respectively. As a result, we end up the violation of the Wh-island constraint. The ungrammaticality of (13) is further illustrated in minimality terms: so, we can see that the focused object *hiló* “the knife” has a referential index and binds a trace clause-internally under proper government by the transitive verb *xò* “buy”. By contrast, *sò* “yesterday” is not properly governed because it is an adjunct and it seems that antecedent government fails because the intervening focused object *hiló* “knife” acts as a potential antecedent governor, and this triggers minimality effects. However, as compared to Gungbe, this argument-adjunct relation seems to act differently in Basaá. In fact, long extraction of an adjunct over an intermediary focused subject is not banned as we can see from the licitness of (10 c). Contrarily to Gungbe, Basaá licenses long extraction of an adjunct over a focused argument simply (cf 10c) because adjunct in this case is not sensitive to Relativized Minimality. Notwithstanding the intervention of the focused argument in the lower IP in (10c), the adjunct *yaaní* “yesterday” freely crosses over the subject argument *malět* “teacher” and lands in Spec-FocP of the higher clause without any illicitness. However, as stated a while ago, focusing above an adjunct domain is prohibited as we can see from the ill-formedness of (10 b).

5.1.4 Focalisation of the verb

As opposed to many other languages, verb-focusing in Basaá does not involve syntactic movement at the edge of the clause. So, notice that whereas some languages like Yoruba and Gungbe (Aboh 2003: 12-14), Tuki (Biloa 1995:112), Jamaican Creole (Durrelman 2005:122), English etc. seem to display verb movement in focus constructions, Basaá breaks away from this process. More concretely an X^0 category cannot undergo syntactic focus because this violates the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984), Relativized Minimality (Rizzi: 1990) or the Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky 1995). Basaá exhibits two ways of marking focus: whether resorting to prosodic devices or using contrastive focus. Let us consider the following examples:

(14) a. *kí malět a m-ḃóŋ nyé?*

what teacher SM P1 do him

“What did the teacher do to him?”

b. malět a n-sébél **ndík** nyé

teacher SM P1 call simply him

“The teacher has **simply called** him”

(15) a. maŋgé a ø- 6óŋ kíí

child SM Imp+ do what

“What should the child do?”

b. me ŋ-kāl lé maŋgé á **ké:ε** í sǔklu

I P1 say that child SM go to school

“I said that the child **SHOULD GO** to school”

The above (b) constructions show that in order to mark verb-focusing in Basa’a, one can resort either to contrastive focus (14b) or to prosodic focus (15b). More concretely, we realize that in (14b), the bold printed adverb *ndík* “only” marks restriction as far as the act of “calling” is concerned. The idea being that the child has “simply and purely” been called; nothing else has been required of him. Also notice the importance of tone on the verb *sébél* “to call” which normally bears a low tone in the infinitive, but which, by virtue of being focused bears a high tone on both syllables. In (15b), we have an imperative construction whereby the speaker gives instructions and strongly lays emphasis on the act of going. By so doing, all the verb morphology undergoes focusing: the subject marker *á-* which underlies subject verb agreement bears a high tone (in normal discourse situation this SM bears a low tone); the verb *ké* “to go” also bears a high tone doubled with the lengthening of the vowel of the verb. The examples in (14b) and (15b) are reminiscent of tone languages where tone plays a key role as far as discourse configuration is concerned. This idea is further illustrated in Chichewa a Bantu language analyzed by Aboh et (In press):

(16) a. (ana ményá nyumbá ndí mwáala) (VP focus)

he. hit house with rock

“He hit the house with a rock”

b. (anaményá **nyuúmbá**) (ndí mwáála) (object NP focus)

“What did he hit with the rock?”

c. (**anaméenya**) (nyuúmba) (ndí mwáála) (V focus)

“What did he do to the house with the rock?”

The above examples show the prominence of tone or stress assignment in tone languages. We can see that focus marking has an effect on prosodic phrasing. In Chichewa, for instance, the right periphery of a prosodic phrase is indicated by penultimate lengthening and tone lowering on the phrase final vowel, as we can see from *nyumbá* > *nyúumba* in (16b-c). One can see from the above Chichewa examples that focus has an impact on the prosodic phrasing in that a prosodic phrase boundary must be inserted after the focused element, i.e. after the VP in (16a), after the object NP *nyúumba* “house” in (16b) and after the verb *anaméenya* “hit” in (16c). The constructions above (14-16) show that verb focusing does not involve syntactic fronting. The idea that V-focusing in Basa’a does not display fronting as opposed to some other languages is illustrated below:

(17) a. mɛ n-lɔ lí-sómɓ bitámɓ

I P1 come inf. buy shoes

“I have come to buy shoes”

b. li-sómɓ bitámɓ jôn mɛ n-ló (t)

inf. buy shoes Foc I p1-come

“What I have come to do is to buy shoes”

c. *-sómɓ mɛ n-ló lí-(t) bitámɓ

buy I P1-come inf. shoes

d*. -sómɓ bitámɓ mɛ n-ló lí-(t)

buy shoes I P1 come inf.

(18) a. A wok mi a wok

A work 1sg [prog] work

Durrleman (2005:122)

“What I am doing is working”

Jamaican Creole

b. *A di bammi mi love di bammi

A the bammies I love the bammies

c. O-nya owu Mbara a-nyam cwi

Inf. eat Foc M. SM eat fish

“Mbara EATS fish”

d. *O-kutu-Vanga owu Puta. a-kutu-vanga cwi

Inf-prog-fry Foc P. SM prog-fry fish

“Putá is FRYING fish”

Bilola (1995:112) ;Tuki

e. Rí-rà_i ni Ajé ra_i iwé

GER-buy Foc A. buy book Aboh (2003: 14)

“Ajé BOUGHT a book” Yorùbá

f. *Rí-rai ni Ajé (t) iwé

GER-buy Foc A. book

g. Gbái [IP Séná gbái Xwé ló ná kòfí]

build S. build.PERF house DET for Kofi Aboh (2003:

14)

“Séná built the house for Kofi”

Gungbe

h. *Gbái i séná (t) xwé ló ná Kofí

build S. house DET for Kofi

-The data from (17-18) show that there is a cross-linguistic variation concerning V-focusing. We can straight away notice that V-focusing does not involve verb movement in a higher focus phrase position in Basa’a, as opposed to J.C, Tuki, Yoruba and Gungbe. Any verb movement into Spec-FocP leads to ungrammaticality in Basáá, as we can see from (17c-d). If we consider sentence (17a) as the basic sentence from which focusing is applied in (b-d), we can see that the infinitive *li-sómb bitámó* “to buy shoes” has been subject to syntactic movement by occupying the specifier position of FocP, where it can check its focus features in a local relation with the head Foc. Ab initio, this movement satisfies the ECP in that the moved clause antecedent governs its trace in post-verbal position; again the empty category is theta-governed by the lexical verb *lò* “to come”. Thirdly, if we consider the moved sentence as X and the co-indexed trace as Y, we realize that the c-command relation holds and no barrier intervenes between the two. From the foregoing, we infer that Relativized Minimality is respected. However, a striking issue is the way the superstructure i.e.the infinitive clause ends up in Spec-FocP. Notice that if we only consider the infinitive construction *li- sómb bitámó* “to buy shoes” which is an I-bar position, movement operation shall violate the structure preserving constraint or the chain uniformity principle. It is clear that I-bar is not an XP, it is rather an intermediate category whereas Spec-FocP is an XP

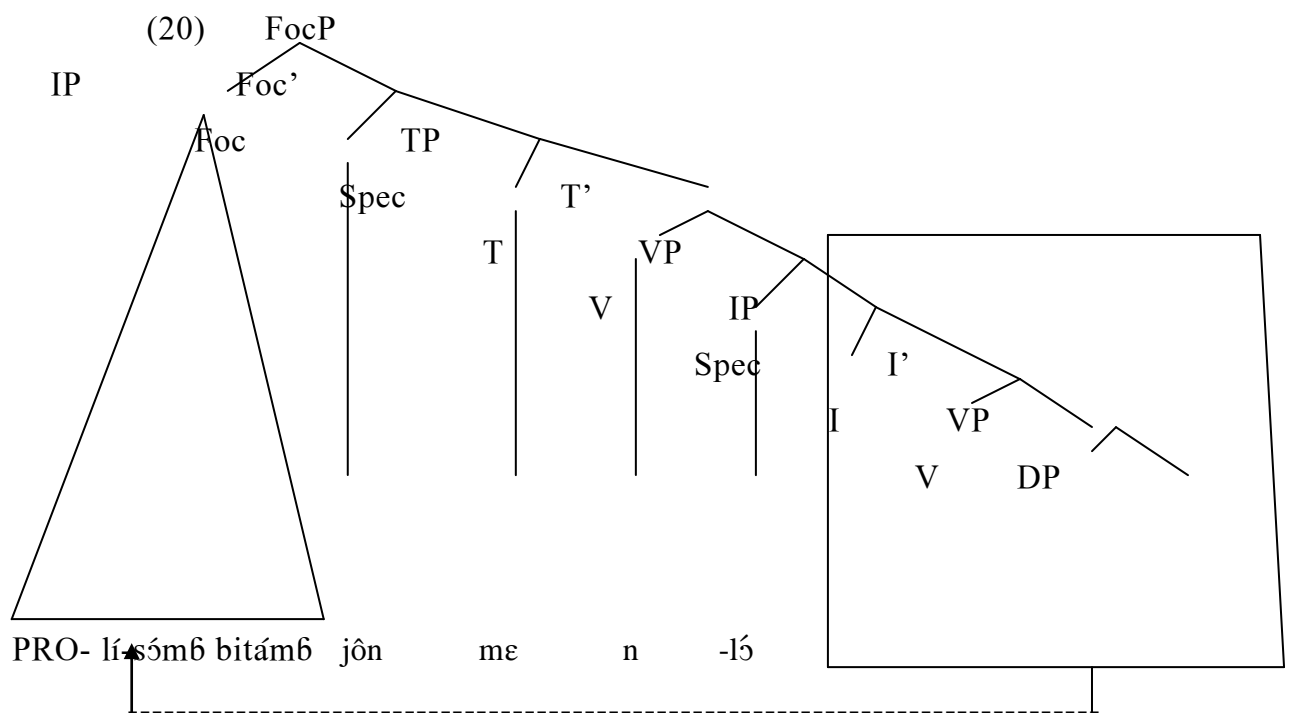
category. In order to account for the well-formedness of (17b), we shall say that the seemingly subjectless clause contains an understood null subject called PRO; so that the matrix verb *-lô* “come” functions as a control predicate as can be seen below:

(19) *mɛ n-lô* [PRO *lí-sómɓ bitámɓ*]

I P1 come PRO Inf. buy shoes

“I have come to buy shoes”

Now, if we agree that the infinitive clause in (17b) is endowed with a null PRO, then we shall get a full-fledged XP category i.e. an IP so that by merging the I-bar projection *lí-sómɓ bitámɓ* “to buy shoes” with PRO, we get an IP. The resulting IP [PRO *lí-sómɓ bitámɓ*] is now licensed to get moved into Spec-FocP. By so doing, we are in conformity with the structure preserving constraint and the chain uniformity principle. The P-marker below is the derivation of (16b) or (19): VP is simplified.



As we mentioned earlier, V-fronting is disallowed in Basa’a because of the violation of some principles of UG. It is clear that in (17c-d), whether the verb *sómɓ* “buy” moves alone (17c) or drags its complements along with it (17d), there is ungrammaticality. When the head verb *sómɓ* “buy” is fronted in (17c) for instance it skips over T° , which is another X°

category, and therefore violating the HMC. In the same vein, if we further consider local relations that should hold between some given elements as indicated by Rizzi (2004b: 2)

(21) Y is in a minimal configuration (MC) with X if there is no Z such that :

(i) Z is of the same structural type as X, and

(ii) Z intervenes between Z and Y,

Then we realize that in (17c) for instance, local relations do not hold in a minimal configuration. The moved verb *-lɔ* “come” is not in a minimal configuration with its trace because of the intervention of T° which is also of the same structural type as the verb i.e., both V and T are heads. The trace of the moved verb cannot be antecedent governed because T° is a potential bearer.

If V-fronting is banned in Basa’a focus constructions, things are rather different in Tuki, Gungbe, JC, Yorúbá including Kabiye, a neighbouring language to Gungbe (cf Collins and Essizewa 2007). It is widely said in the literature that in these languages, V-focusing is substitution for the specifier position of FocP i.e. at the left periphery of the clause. Reduplication of the focused verb in post verbal position seems to be the common denominator of these languages (18a, c, e, and g). In other words, when the verb undergoes focusing, it should leave a copy in *-situ*. A gap in sentence-internal position leads to ungrammaticality (cf. 18f-h). Another characteristic which is common to Tuki and Gungbe for instance is that V-focusing does not drag its complement at clause initial position. Again, the focused verb may not carry tense or aspectual morphology as we can see from the illicitness of (18d). It is shown that on its way to the focus domain, the verb does not adjoin to intervening tense and aspect elements. Without any deep analysis of V-focusing in the above mentioned languages, let us propose that the V-copying process in clause internal position enables us to postulate that in these languages the verb does not undergo visible movement, and that the verb in Spec-FOCP is base-generated in that position and bound to another copy in-situ. The idea that V-focusing does not respect the copy trace theory is exemplified in Yoruba and Gungbe (18f,h) where the presence of a trace in V-focusing leads to ungrammaticality. Along similar lines, let us say that V-focusing is approximately the same with topicalization with resumptive pronoun (Clitic Left Dislocation) in many languages. Although Basa’a and languages like Gungbe, Tuki and Yorùbá seem to exhibit different structural properties concerning V-focusing, it seems to be some likeness between them. Let us consider the following examples:

(22) a. maŋgé nú a n-jé jé

child Dem SM Pres eat the eating

“That child EATS(eats a lot)”

b. ø-jé wón maṅgé nú a n-jé hálaa ?

the eating FOC child Dem SM Pres- eat so

“That child is EATING (eats at this degree)?

c. a yè ṅkéṅí

he be big

“He is big”

d. *ṅkéṅí_i nyén a yè_{ti}

big Foc he be

e. bikéṅi gwón a ṅkéṅèp_{ti}

stoutness Foc he become stout

“He is very STOUT”

A close look at (22) reveals to us that focus differs as we move from one lexical category to another. In (22b) we can realize that the nominalized verb *-jé* “the act of eating” has been moved from the posverbal position into Spec-FocP so as to check [+class and number] features against the the features carried by the focus marker *wón* which also embed nominal-features that can only be checked via movement of the nominalized verb - *jé* “ the act of eating”. In fact we should notice that focus in this case is realized on the nominalized verb *-jé* which undergoes doubling rightwards without dragging along its tense marker /n-/(Present tense marker). It should be noted that it is only after nominalization that the verb undergoes clefting in (22b) and generates the focus marker *wón* with which it shares class and number features. In (22d) we realize that the adjective *ṅ-kéṅí* “stout” cannot be clefted because it is not nominalized. Just like the verb, the adjective cannot undergo leftward focus. In order to be clefted, the adjective, like the verb, must be nominalized. After nominalisation, it is endowed with nominal features which enable it to belong to a specific noun class and by so doing to be able to undergo clefting as in (22e). More concretely, the adjective *-kéṅí* “stout” when attached to the class marker *bi-*(class8 marker in Basa’a) becomes the noun *bi-kéṅi* “stoutness” and therefore loses its [+Adj]-features. The overall idea is that as the adjective is not accessible for movement into Spec-FocP, it needs to be pied-piped along with the

nominal features in Spec-FocP. Nevertheless, we notice that as opposed to natural nouns i.e. non derived nouns, the adjective, like the verb needs to be bound clause-internally with a phonetically realized copy as in (22e). Overall, we can suggest that in Basa'a, in order to be fronted at the left edge of the clause the adjective, like the verb needs to be nominalised so as to be endowed with nominal features. It is just after nominalization that they can be pied-piped along with the class marker to Spec-FocP like natural nouns. The sole difference between the nominalised verb and adjective and the natural noun is that while the former are bound clause-internally with a phonetically realized copy, the latter are rather linked to a gap. Things are virtually different in languages like Aghem and Mambila as can be illustrated below:

23) a. fíl á mò á' zóó zí kǐ-bé

friends 3P Pst yesterday eat cl-fufu

“The friends ate fufu (not yams) yesterday”

b. fíl á mò bé- kǐ zí á' zóó

friends 3P Pst fufu-cl eat yesterday

“The friends ate fufu yesterday (not two day ago)”

c. fíl á máá bé- kó á' zóó zí

friends 3P Pst PF fufu-cl yesterday eat

“The friends did not eat fufu yesterday”

(Aghem;Watters 1979: 149; 148; 150)

24) a. mè ngeé maâ cògò

1s buy Pst cloth

“I bought cloth” or “I was cloth that I bought”

b. mè léilé ngeé maâ cògò

1s yesterday buy Pst cloth

“It was cloth that i bought yesterday”

c. mè ngeé maâ cògò léilé

1s buy Pst cloth yesterday

“It bought cloth yesterday”

d. mè cògò ngeé maâ léilé

1s cloth buy Pst yesterday

“It was yesterday that I bought cloth”

e. mè maâ cògò nge

1s Pst cloth buy

“I bought cloth” (assertive verb focus)

(Mambila; Perrin 1994:233)

The data in (23) and (24) above show how focus is rendered possible in Aghem and Mambila. In Aghem, focus is realized via verb attraction; that is when a given constituent is focused, it is attracted towards the verb i.e. at its right. So, the landing site for focus is the post verbal position whereas preverbal is used for less prominent participants. In (23a), for instance, we can see that the exclusive focus is on the direct object *ki-bé* “fufu” while the time adverbial *á’zɔɔ* “yesterday” is attracted towards the verb where it is assigned the features [+ focus] whereas the direct object is defocused by occupying the preverbal position. However, when both the time adverbial *á’zɔɔ* “yesterday” and the direct object *bé-kó* “fufu” are extrafocal i.e. defocalised, they occur in preverbal position as can be seen in (24c), and by so doing, the verb ends up in clause-final position where it is stranded. The data from Aghem allow us to posit that the verb is endowed with a certain force which is responsible for focus features assignment and that the landing site for focused constituents is rather clause-internal and not clause-initial.

The data from Mambila are proximately similar to what we have in Aghem; but with a slight difference. The landing site for focused constituents is the position after the verb and precisely I°. So when an element is focalized, it is attracted towards I° which seems to be an assigner of focus. This is illustrated in (24a). In case of multiple foci like in (24c), it is the last element i.e. the time adverbial *léilé* “yesterday” that would be more prominent; the direct object *cògò* “cloth” being less prominent. In (24b), the time adverbial is extra focal i.e. it appears before the verb and the tense marker *na-â* (past tense marker). Similarly, the object *cògò* “cloth” in (24d), by virtue of being defocalized, occurs in preverbal position whereas the time adverbial *léilé* “yesterday” is focused. In (24e) we have an instance of assertive focus whereby only the verb is focused. The situation is rather different in Nen, a Bantu language spoken in Cameroon. According to Mous (1997) the preverbal position for an object is unmarked and conveys assertive focus on this argument as can be seen in (25a). It is the postverbal object which is associated with contrastive focus. In this case, the post-verbal object is preceded by a particle such as *á* as can be seen in (25b) below:

(25)a. *aná moné índì*

3s PST money give

“S/He gave money”

b.àná índi á **moné**

3S: PST give? Money

“S/He gave MONEY” (Mous, 1997:126)

Whereas in Aghem and Mambila the preverbal object position is associated with extra focal constituents, in Nen, this position is intended for assertive focus. But the unifying criterion between the three languages is that the preverbal object is pragmatically less prominent as opposed to its post verbal counterpart.

5.1.5. Multiple foci and discourse-linked focus

In this section, we are going to analyse multiple foci and discourse-linked focus. We are going to see that whereas multiple foci are licensed in Basàá, multiple foci fronting is not. Again, we shall examine focus from a discourse perspective i.e. where focus represents new information, that is, information not previously mentioned in the discourse and assumed to be unfamiliar to the hearer. This type of focus in Basàá involves movement of the constituent in the left periphery of the clause. Let us consider the following examples:

(26) a. Tonye: malět a bí- níga bés yaaní

teacher SM P2 teach us yesterday.

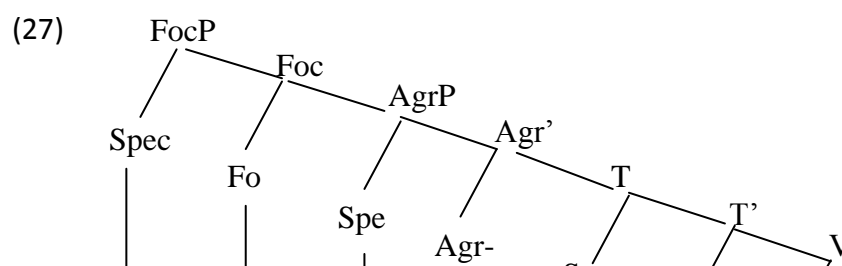
“The teacher taught us yesterday”

b. Ntogue: gwóm gwóbisɔna [malět a bí- níga bés]

things every teacher SM P2 teach us

“Everything the teacher taught us”

The foregoing examples are instances of a conversation between two speakers. We realize that the bold printed quantifier phrase *gwóm gwóbisɔna* “everything” has not been mentioned in the previous discourse (26a), so it is not presupposed; better still it is a new information brought by the second speaker, who wants to lay emphasis on the fact that “everything was taught by the teacher”. Given that the bracketed clause follows the displaced quantifier phrase in bold, and given the implication from a discourse perspective, the quantified phrase undergoes ex-situ focus by moving into Spec-FocP. As can be seen below:



An additional argument in support of the claim that the quantified phrase **gwom gwóbisóna** “everything” moves to Spec-FocP is that it cannot co-occur with any cleft construction, as we can see from the ungrammaticality of (28a-b).

(28) a *Gwom gwóbisóna_i malět_j nyén_j a bí- níga bés t_i
 Things every teacher Foc SM P2 teach us
 “Everything, it is the teacher who taught us”

b *malět_j nyén gwom gwóbisóna_i a bí- níga bés.
 teacher Foc things every SM P2 teach us
 “It the teacher who, everything taught us”

c. malět nyén a bí- níga bés gwom gwóbisóna_i
 teacher Foc SM P2 teach us things every
 “It is the teacher who, taught us everything”

d. gwom gwóbisóna_i malět nyén a bí- níga bés gwó
 things every teacher Foc SM P2 teach us them
 “Everything, it is the teacher who taught them to us”

The impossibility of moving two constituents into the same slot i.e. Spec-FocP disqualifies (28a-b). So we should either cleft one constituent and leave the other one in-situ (28c) or simply use a D-linked focus with one and leave the other in-situ. Otherwise, if both constituents should move, one should rather resort to topicalization i.e. where the topicalized quantifier phrase is bound to a resumptive

pronoun clause internally. Multiple foci fronting is thus banned in Basa'a as can be further illustrated below:

(29) a. maŋgé nyén mɛ bí tí máná makebla (hɛ mapɛ bé)

child Foc I P2 give these presents (not other present)

"It is the child that I gave these presents (and not other presents)"

b *makebla môn maŋgé_i nyén mɛ bí- tí t_i t_j

presents Foc child Foc I P2 give

(30)a. [Me PALIES mihanɛs]; dhen kséro pósì ravun tóra pia ti

With OLD sewing machines not know- I how many sew-they still

"I don't know how many people still sew with OLD sewing machines"

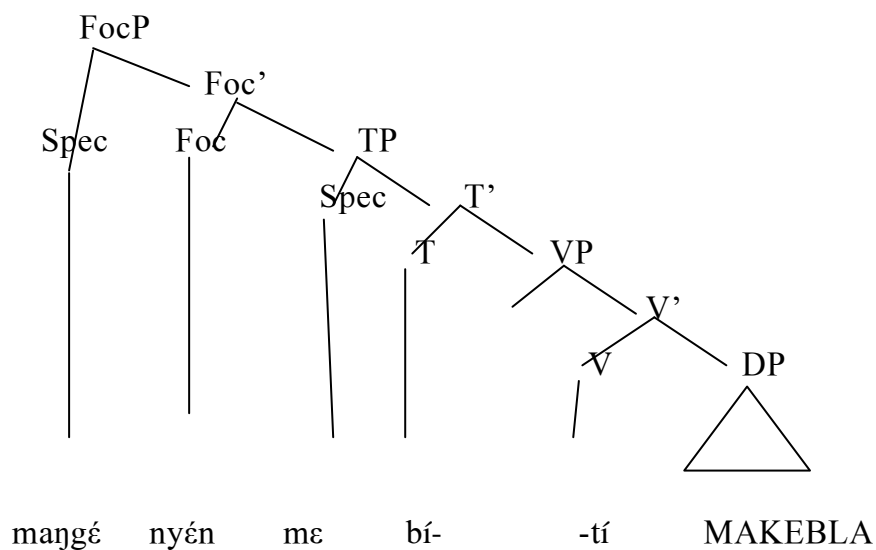
b. *Me ti MARIA dhen milise O YANNIS (álá...)

With the MARIA not talked- he the YANNIS

"YANNIS did not talk with MARIA (but...).

Keep once more in mind that Basa'a is an SVO language whereas MG is a VSO one. A closer look at (29) enables us to see that only one constituent must undergo overt movement in Basa'a; then it lands in Spec-FP as can be seen from the well-formedness of (29a) and represented in (31) below:

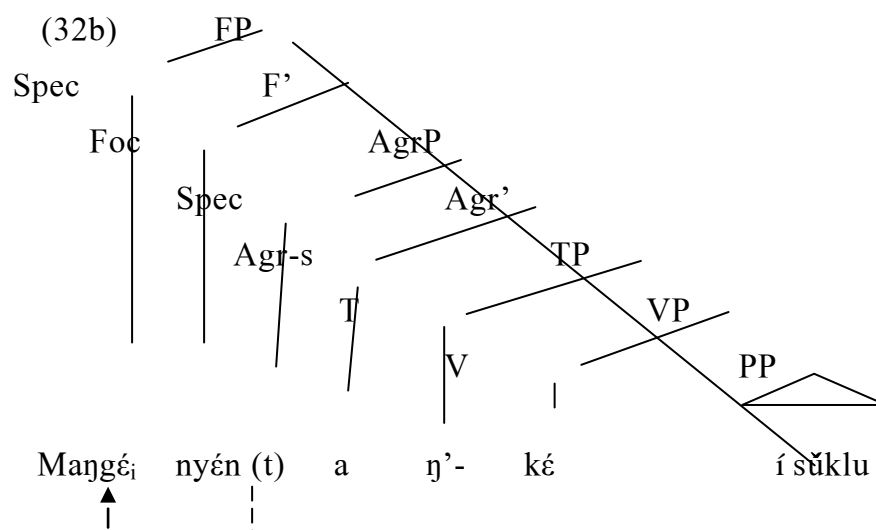
(31)



On the contrary, multiple foci fronting is disallowed (30b). Unlike Basa'a, only and only one constituent can be focused in MG. So there is no multiple foci. This reminds us of the cross-linguistic variation with regard to the Wh phenomenon. In English for instance multiple Wh-constructions are licensed although multiple Wh-fronting is banned. Knowing that multiple foci are licensed whereas multiple foci-fronting is banned, the question is the following: what theoretical evidence helps us account for this striking issue?

Let us first of all recall that within the minimalist framework movement operation is always motivated by the need to check features that are carried by lexical categories and their functional counterparts. Feature checking is the only way that triggers movement, which movement takes place between a target position called **goal** and a source position referred to as **probe**. So given that a probe carries an uninterpretable feature, it attracts the goal which has an interpretable feature. When both features match, then there is feature erasure and the derivation converges. In like manner, if we agree that there is only one specifier position for FP and that the moved constituent should be hosted in this position in order to check the specifier features carried by Foc, then it is plausible to postulate that when the first constituent moves into Spec-FP, it checks its features against those carried by Foc. To illustrate our view, let us reconsider example (1b) as (32) below:

- (32) a. maŋgé nyén a ŋ'-ké í sũklu
 child Foc SM P₁ -go to school
 "It is the child who has gone to school"



5.1.6. Negation, verbal extensions and focus

(33) a. maŋgé a n-téhé malět

“The child has seen the teacher”

b. maŋgé a n-téhé 6é malět

child SM P_1 see Neg teacher

“The child has not seen the teacher”

c. malět 6é nyén maŋgé a- n- téhé
teacher Neg Foc child SM P₁ see

“It is not the teacher that the child has seen”

d. maŋgé bé nyén a n-téhé malět

child Neg Foc SM P₁ see teacher
 “It is not the child who has seen the teacher”

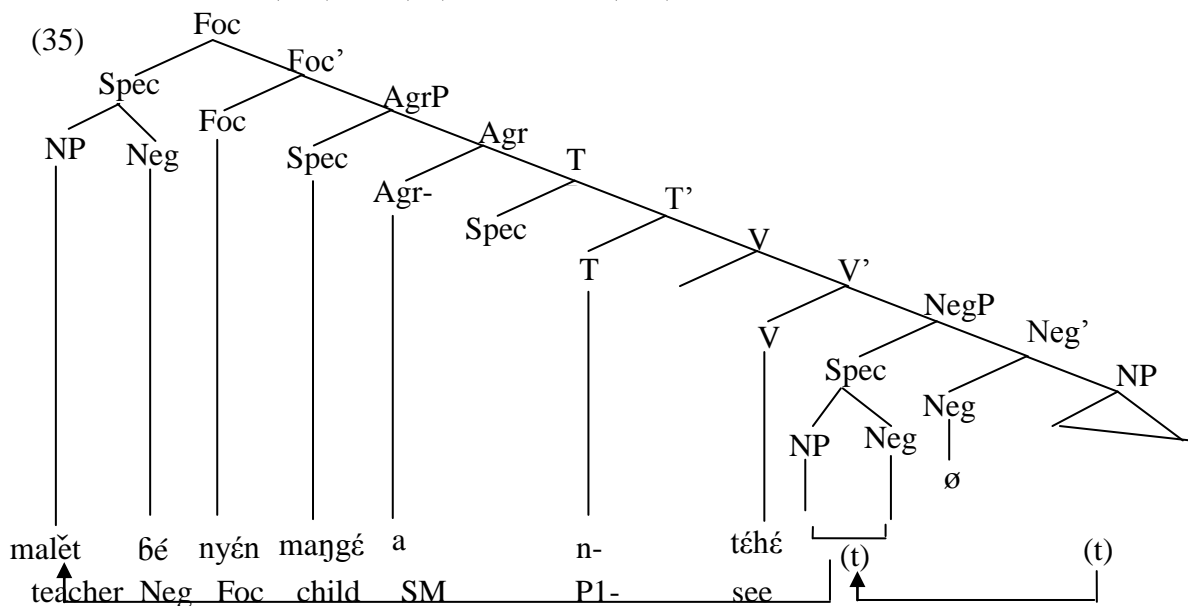
(34) a. *maṅgé a n- téhé maľět 6é

child SM P₁ see teacher Neg

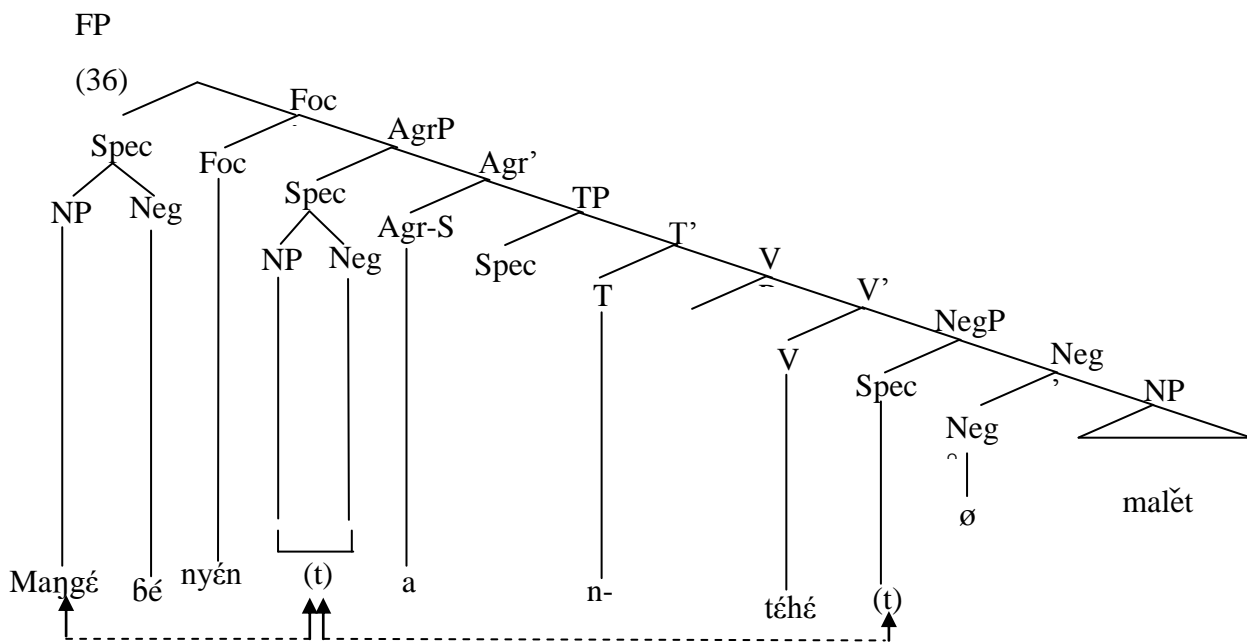
b. *maṅgé 6é a n- téhé maľět

child Neg SM P₁ see teacher.

Let us recall that Basàá is an SVO language, and that this word order is not rigid i.e. it can change due to some syntactic requirements. In a negative sentence, the negative particle *6é* “not” always follows the verb as can be seen in (33b). When this particle follows another element apart from the verb in a declarative sentence, we end up with ungrammaticality (34a-b). Now, how a given participant is negated in focus constructions? When a given participant is negated in focus constructions, this participant always precedes the negative marker *6é* as can be seen in (33c-d). However a more striking issue is to understand how it comes about. In other words if the negative marker follows the verb in a declarative sentence (33b) how does it end up after the object *maľět* “teacher” in (33c) and the subject *Maṅgé* “child” in (33d)? To account for this state of affairs, we propose that the negative particle *6é* “not” has been subject to movement in (33c-d). We propose that the negative *6é* “not”, due to its quantificational and modificational role (Rizzi 2004 b), occupies the specifier position of NegP, with an empty head. Due to the affixal nature of his particle, the focalised arguments in (33c-d) attached to it respectively before moving to Spec (FocP as can be seen below: (35) is the P-marker of (33c) and (36) the P-M of (33d).



The P-M above shows that the object argument *malět* “teacher” moves and attaches to the negative particle *bé* in Spec-NegP, therefore forming a complex NP: *malět bé* “teacher+not”. After that the overall complex NP gets moved in Spec-FocP where it is in a Spec-head configuration with the agreeing focus marker *nyén*. This analysis shows that the negative marker *bé* is not capable of blocking agreement between the focalised NP *malět* “teacher” and the focus marker *nyén*. This is simply due to the fact that the particle *bé* is affixal in nature, and it is simply attached to the displaced NP to form a complex NP. Along similar lines, (33d) shall have the following representation:



In (36) above, the negative particle *bé* moves to Spec-AgrP where it is attached to the argument subject *mangé* “child” to form a complex NP *mangé bé* “child+not” via incorporation. The resulting complex NP now moves to Spec-FocP where it is in a spec-head configuration with the focus marker *nyén*. Movement operations in (35) and (36) involve movement of maximal projections. We militate for this approach because if we consider the particle *bé* as a head i.e. hosting in Neg°, then we will be facing a theoretical problem. If we

were to consider the particle *bé* as occupying Neg° i.e. being an affixal head, the combination of the moved NP *malět* “teacher” and *bé* in (35) for instance would give rise to a complex head *malět bé* “teacher+Neg”. In the same vein; the complex head *malět bé* would now move to Spec-FocP. This analysis does not hold because when the so-called complex head moves; it skips over V°, T° and Agr-S, which are respectively occupied by the lexical verb *-téhé* “saw”, the tense marker *n-* (past tense one) and *-a* (agreement marker underlying subject verb agreement between the noun *Manǵé* ‘child’ and the verb *-téhé* “saw”). If we militate for the headness of the negative *bé*, then the movement of the complex head *malět bé* “teacher+Neg” would violate the Head Constraint Movement (Travis 1984), Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990) and the Minimal link Condition (Chomsky 1995). In this analysis, we suggest that the particle *bé* is affixal in nature and occupies Spec-NegP. This affixal particle cannot be used in isolation like an independent word, so it needs to be attached to a lexical element to form a meaningful unit. This is reminiscent of the clitic *n’t* in English which needs to be attached to the auxiliary “does” in I° with whom it forms a complex head like in “*she doesn’t like him*” (Bilota 2004:115). However; it should be recalled that in English the clitic *n’t* occupies Neg° and not Spec-NegP. By occupying this position, it can attach to the auxiliary *does* in I° with whom it forms the complex head “*doesn’t*”.

In addition, it seems that for theoretical motivations, the particle *bé* in (36) for instance, moves on its own in order to satisfy the principle of **Greed** i.e. it should be suffixed to an appropriate element in order to be well interpreted. So, the particle *bé* moves to satisfy its own morphological requirements. Overall, the association of the negative particle *bé* and the NP *malět* “teacher” and *Manǵé* “child” gives a complex XP category which should also move into an XP position i.e. Spec-FocP.

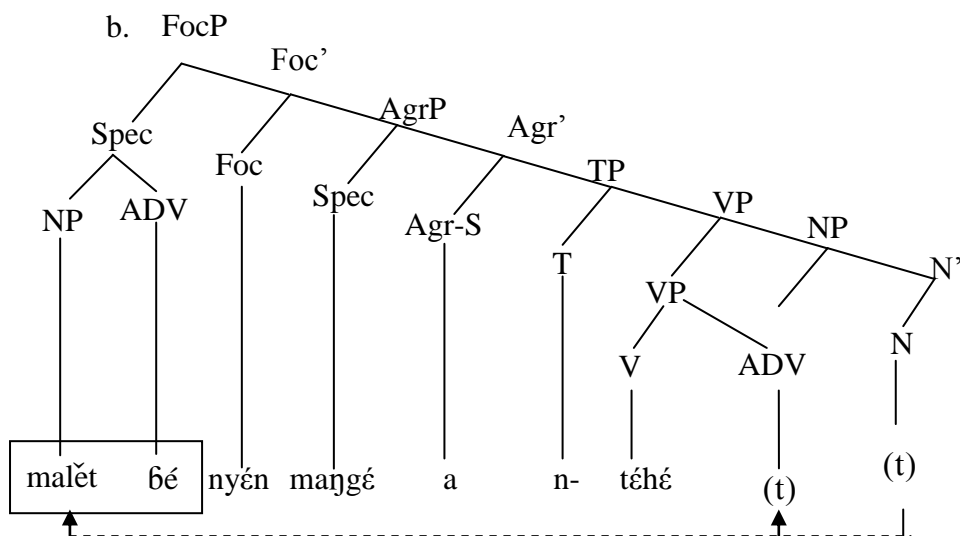
However, if the foregoing analysis seems to account for the syntactic computations between negation and focus, let us say that such an analysis is simply suggestive and not conclusive, since it does not respond to the minimalist requirements. In other words, minimalism requires that linguistic theory should provide grammars which make use of the minimal theoretical apparatus to provide a descriptively adequate characterization of linguistic phenomena: syntactic computations should be as simple as possible in order to break away from the excessive complexity of grammar. To put our discussion in a more concrete footing, let us say that the aforementioned representations are likely to complexify language acquisition and therefore cannot minimize learnability. So, instead of proposing an entire NegP as above, we shall appeal to Radford (1997:223-224) proposal that NEG is a VP-adjoined adverb. In this

perspective, the negative particle *bé* “not” shall be right-adjoined to VP, as opposed to its English counterpart “not” (Early Modern English) as can be seen below. (35) and (36) are repeated as (39) and (40).

(39) a. *maļět bé nyén maᅇgé a n-téhé*

teacher Neg Foc child SM P₁ see

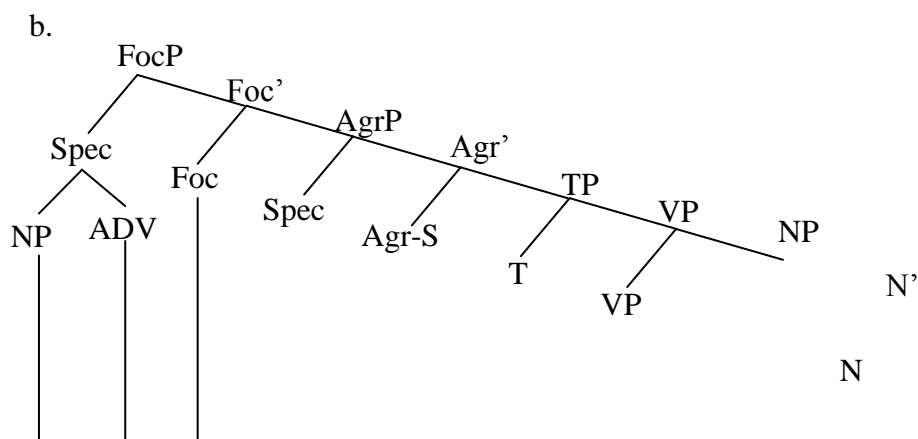
“It is not the teacher that the child has seen”.

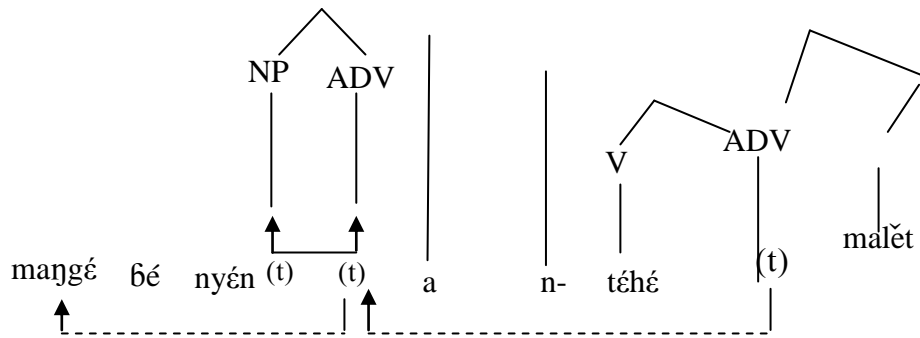


(40) a. *maᅇgé bé nyén a n-téhé maļět*

child Neg Foc SM P₁ see teacher

“It is not the child who has seen the teacher”





In (40b) above the NP *malět* “teacher” moves and adjoins to the particle *bɛ* “not” through incorporation (Baker 1988), then the complex negative NP *malět bɛ* “teacher+Neg” gets moved into Spec FocP. Movement of the NP *malět* “teacher” is motivated by greed i.e. its selfish desire to check the negative features on its own. In (40b) it is the negative particle *bɛ* “not” that first moves to Spec-AgrP where it is suffixed to the subject NP *maŋgé* “child”. Finally the resulting negative NP *maŋgé bɛ* “child+Neg” moves to Spec-FocP. As the NPs *malět* “teacher” and *maŋgé* “child” cannot be interpreted as being focused, their movement is relevant for focus interpretation. So, they have to move; on the contrary no focus interpretation is possible. Our proposal of postulating an adjoined adverb to VP is a reaction to the excessive complexity of the representations in (35) and (36). We can see that projecting a NegP renders the derivation superfluous, whereas an adjunction of ADV to the right of VP is more economical. Faithful to the minimalist approach, we realize that syntactic structures in (39) and (40) are minimized by suppressing the whole NegP. This approach helps us break away from the multiplication of levels of representations and retain only relevant structures for easier learnability.

Now, let us say something about the behaviour of verbal extensions and focus. In order to pave the way for our analysis, let us consider the following sentences:

(41)a. *maŋgé a n-sómɓ bitámɓ nsómɓɔk*

child SM P₁ buy shoes simply buy

“The child has simply bought the shoes” / “The child bought the shoes”

b. *mut a m-ɓɔŋ mé m- ɓɔŋɔk*

man SM P₁ do me cl3-do-caus

“The man has DONE (not something else) me

Recall straight away that the units *nsómɓɔk* which can be translated as “simply buy” (41a) and *mɓɔŋɔk* “done” are derived from the verbs *sómɓ* “buy” and *ɓɔŋ* “do”. The hormoganic

nasal in both cases assimilates the following consonants /S/ in *sómɓ* “buy” (41a) and *ɓɔŋ* “do” (41b). The suffix -ɔk is a causative suffix. Now, the question to be asked is whether *nsómɓɔk* and *mɓɔŋɔk* are verbs, nouns or something else.

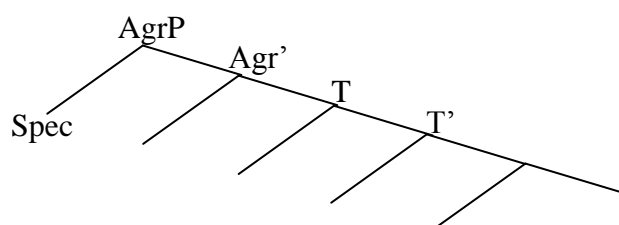
First of all, if both units are nouns, we have to postulate that the verbals *n-sómɓ* and *m-ɓɔŋ* have been nominalised during reduplication. In this perspective, the homorganic nasal will be a class marker; and precisely class₃ in Basàá noun classification. By considering nominalization, the unit *n-sómɓɔk* should be rendered as “the one that is bought” and *m-ɓɔŋɔk* as “the one that is done”. In this case, since focus is realized on *n-sómɓɔk* and *mɓɔŋɔk*, we propose that the verbals *n-sómɓ* and *m-ɓɔŋ* have undergone doubling rightwards, by being nominalized. As a consequence of this while the focused verb occurs sentence-initially in Gungbe and Tuki for instance, it surfaces sentence-finally in Basàá through nominalization as can be seen below:

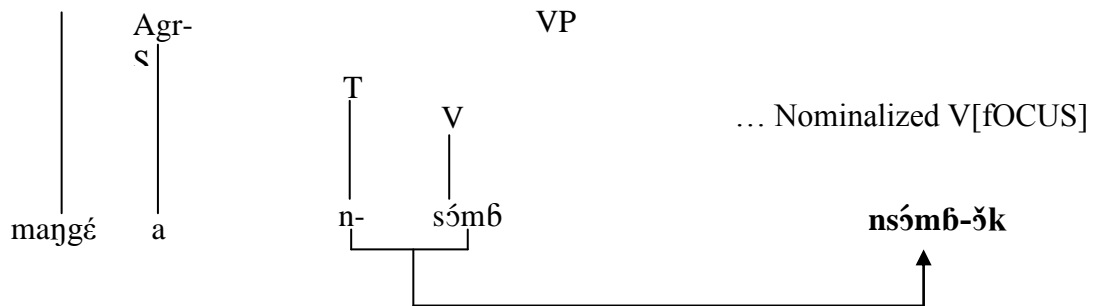
- (42) a. *maŋgé a n-sómɓ biámɓ nsómɓɔk*
 child SM P₁ buy shoes the one that is bought
 “The child has simply bought the shoes”
- b. *Dà %wé yéti dà àvlántò*
 cook Foc Yeti cook plantain
 “Yeti cooked plantain” (Gungbe, Aboh 2007:100)
- c. *o-suwa owu Puta a-mu-suwa tsono raa*
 inf-wash Foc Puta SM-P₁ wash clothes her
 “Puta WASHED clothes” [Tuki, Biloa. 1997:10]

The Basàá data are reminiscent of Nweh another Bantu language spoken in Cameroon. In this language verb focusing is movement to the right as can be seen below:

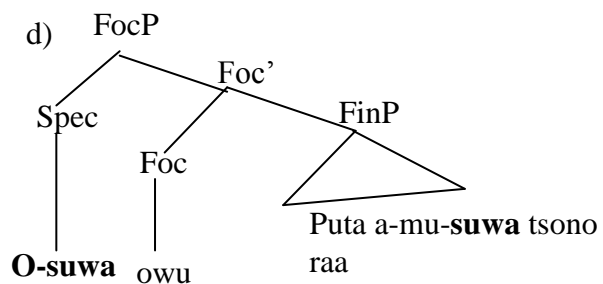
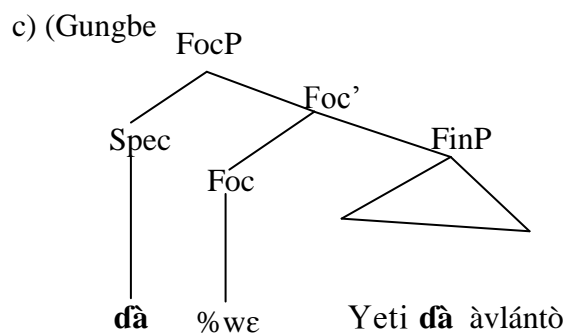
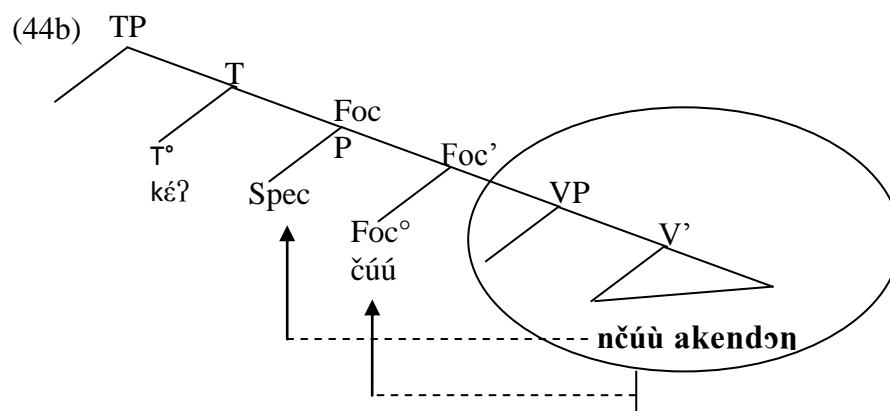
- (43). *Atem a ké? nčúù akendɔŋ čúù*
 Atem Agr P₁ boil plantains Ø-boil
 “Atem BOILED plantains” [Nweh, Nkemnji 1995:138 quoted by Aboh 2007:100]
- Although in Nweh, the focused verb is not nominalised (43) we can see that V-focusing involves a rightward movement like in Basàá (42a). We can therefore propose the following representation of V-focusing in the above mentioned languages.

(44a) (Basàá)





Nkemnji(1995) proposed that the focused verb moves into the head of a low focus phrase followed by raising of VP to Spec-FocP probably at S-structure level as in (44b) below:

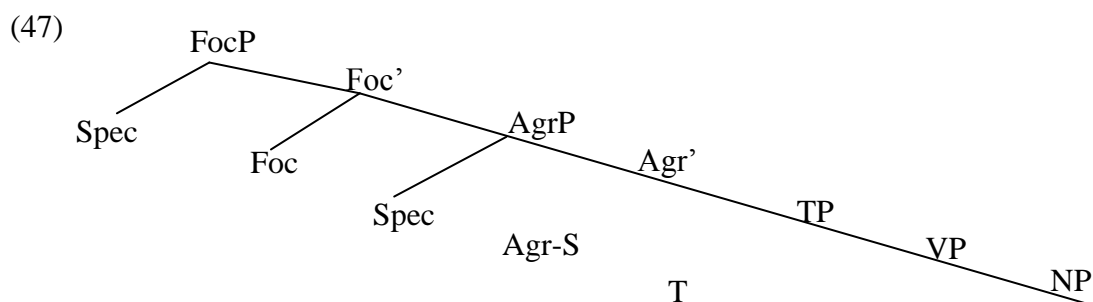
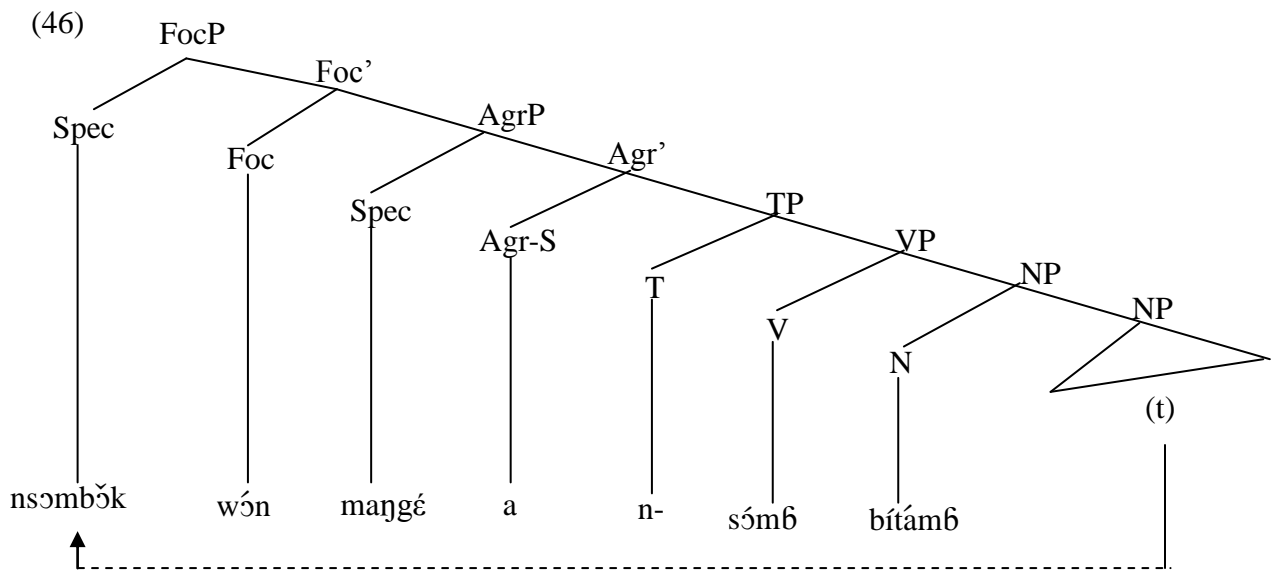


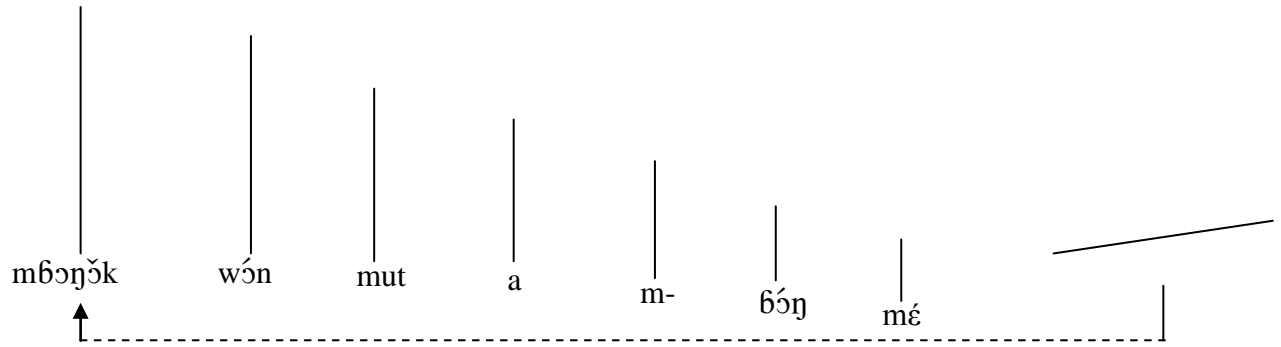
The common denominator between the four languages is that whether the focused verb moves rightward or leftward, it undergoes doubling within VP. Secondly, what makes us think that the elements at the right edge of the sentences in (42a) i.e. *n-sɔmbɔk* and *mɔɔŋɔk* are nouns, is that when they undergo movement to the left periphery of the clause they generate a focus marker which is that of class₃ in Basàá. Let us consider the following sentences:

- (45) a. **nsómbǔk** wón manǵé a n-sómb bítámɔ
 the one that is bought Foc child SM P₁ buy shoes
 “The child HAS BOUGHT the shoes”

- b. **mɔɔŋɔk** wón mut a m-ɔ́ŋ mé
 the one is that is done Foc man SM P₁ do me
 “The man HAS DONE me”

The above sentences show that there has been movement to the left edge of the clause. The moved constituents *nsɔmbɔk* “the one that is bought” and *mɔɔŋɔk* “the one that is done” are hosted in Spec-FocP whereas the focus word *wón* is hosted in Foc° as can be seen below:





In (45) we propose that the verbs *-sɔmb* “buy” and *-ɓɔŋ* “do” are not reduplicated. In Basàá, constructions like (45) imply that *nsɔmbɔk* and *mɓɔŋɔk* behave like NPs whereas their counterparts in (42) behave like adverbs. When used as adverbs they simply indicate how the actions in (42a) are performed. We cannot provide a good equivalent of these adverbs in English but it is said that the interpretation of the sentence enables us to consider the displaced elements as adverbs.

To put an end to speculations on whether the focused verb is a real verb or a nominalised verb, we posit that when the focused verb is right-adjoined to the clause it cannot drag its tense features; otherwise we end up with ungrammaticality. Since there is homography between the class marker /n/ the present tense one as well as the past tense marker (P1) in Basàá, one might be tempted to say that the focused verb at clause-final position moves along with its tense features. However when we use another tense marker in such contexts we can see that normally it is not the tense makers that move with the verb. Instead, we witness a nominalization process. To illustrate this view, let us consider the following sentences.

(49) a. mut a m-ɓɔŋ mé **m-ɓɔŋɔk**

man SM P1 do me cl3.do+caus

“The man has DONE (not thing else) me”

b. mut a bí-ɓɔŋ mé **m-ɓɔŋ-ɔk**

man SM P₂ do me cl3-do-caus

“The man DID me (nothing else)”

c. mut a gá-ɓɔŋ mé **m-ɓɔŋ-ɔk**

man SM F₂ do me cl3-do+caus

“The man will DO me (nothing else)”

50) a. **m-bɔŋɔ́k** wǎn mut a gá- ɓɔŋ mé (t)

cl- do caus Foc man SM Fut₂ do me

“The man will do me”

b. *mut a gá- ɓɔŋ mé gá- ɓɔŋ-ɔ́k

man SM F2 do me F2 do-caus

c. *mut a bí- ɓɔŋ mé bí- ɓɔŋ-ɔ́k

man SM P2 do me P2 do caus

A closer look at (50) enables us to realize that the right (adjoined nominalised focus verb *mɓɔŋɔ́k* is nothing else but a derived noun and that the bilabial nasal /m/- is nothing but a class marker after nominalization of the verb. If it were the case that the tense marker and the verb are both displaced at the right edge of the clause, then (50b-c) would be grammatical. The tense markers *gá-* (F₂) and *bí-* (P₂) cannot be used appropriately in (50). Now if it is shown that the verb does not move along with the tense maker, then we are right along the lines that the homorganic nasal in (49) especially when attached to the focused verb is nothing but a class marker.

This part of our chapter was devoted to the analysis of focus in Basàá. There is a functional category called focus which projects its own phrase. The phrase can be activated depending on the intention of communication. In cleft constructions, the focus marker stands in a Spec-head agreement with the focus constituent. In discourse-linked contexts, although there is movement of the focalised element into Spec-FocP, there is no morphological focus marking. Focus does not only occur in clause-initial position, but it is also realised through prosodic or intonational devices. Focus can also be realised rightwards; in this case it is the verb that undergoes doubling through nominalization. Negation is also important in the study of focus; the negative particle *ɓé* “not” is always attached to the focalised negated element through suffixation thereby undergoing generalized pied-piping.

5.2. TOPICALIZATION

-A bulk of literature has been written concerning the study of topicalization in human languages. This has received an ever increasing interest and led to the formulation of various proposals centering on information structure in relation to clause structure. From Baltin (1978) to Laenzlinger (2002) passing through Lasnik and Saito (1978, 1984) it has been argued in the literature that topicalization is adjunction to the boundary of IP. However, Rizzi (1997) and Haegeman (2000) argue that just like focused constituents occupy the specifier

position of the focus phrase, similarly topicalized constituents occupy the specifier position within a topic phrase. If that is the case, we might argue that in Basàá, topicalization is substitution for the specifier position of the topic phrase. Again, different proposals on different languages emerge concerning the configurational system of topics. Some views hold that topicalization is base-generation in Spec-TopP while others stand for the point that topicalization is an instance of movement operation. In this section, we would like to propose that topicalization involves either a movement operation in overt syntax or a vacuous movement through the clitic left dislocation process where there is a link between the element in Spec-TopP and a resumptive pronoun in clause-internal position.

5.2.1. TOPICALIZATION OF ARGUMENTS

There is a structural difference between topicalization of the subject and topicalization of the object in Basàá. Let us consider the following examples:

(51) a. *ḡáná ɓɔŋɓé bá gá-tí núnú malět makebla malâm*

these children SM F₂ give this teacher presents nice

“These children will give nice presents to this teacher”.

b. *núnú malět ḡáná ɓɔŋɓé bá gá- tí nyé makebla malâm*

this teacher these children SM F₂ give him presents nice

“This teacher these children will give him nice presents”.

c. *ḡáná ɓɔŋɓé núnú malět bá gá tí nyé makebla malâm*

these children this teacher SM F₂ give him presents nice

“These children, this teacher, they will give him nice presents”

d. *makebla malâm_j ḡáná ɓɔŋɓé bá gá- tí m'ɔ_j núnú malět*

presents nice these children SM F₂ give them this teacher

“Nice presents, these children will give them to this teacher”.

e. *núnú malět_i, makebla malâm ḡáná ɓɔŋɓé bá gá- tí nyé mɔ*

this teacher presents nice these children SM F₂ give him, them

“This teacher, nice presents, these children will give them to him”.

(52) a. Puta_{ti} Mbara a-mu- -batiya_{xi} na kiisini

P. M. SM P1 greet in kitchen

“Putá, Mbará greeted (her) in the kitchen (Tuki, Bilóá to appear).

b. Yestadei, da bwai (-deh), im nyam off di whole a dibammi.

yesterday that boy (top) 1st eat off the whole of the bammy (P1)

“Yesterday, that very boy, he ate up all the bammies” (Durrleman2005:119).

The data in (51) and (52) show that there is a cross-linguistic variation concerning the structural configuration of topics. In Basàá, topicalization of the subject argument involves movement of the constituent into Spec-TopP. The topicalized subject argument leaves a gap at its extraction site. On the contrary, when the topicalized argument is the object of the verb, no movement operation is attested in the syntax, as we can see in (51c). In (51c), the topicalized object argument *núnú malět* “this teacher” does not properly move overtly, so there is a kind of vacuous movement. This kind of topicalization involves base-generation of the object or subject argument in Spec-TopP. In this case, it is difficult to envisage a movement operation of the topicalized element. As we mentioned earlier, it should be noted that resumptivity in case of (51c) is not an optional device but an obligatory one. More concretely, the resumptive pronoun *nyé* “him” in (51c) is sanctioned by the illicitness of a gap at this position. In this respect the occurrence of the resumptive pronoun is reminiscent of Chomsky (1991)’s *do-support* strategy. So if movement of V^o to I^o is ruled out in English for instance, the last resort nature of both *do-support* and resumptive insertion is a consequence of the impossibility of movement. Basa’a resumptive pronouns occur only as a saving strategy for an otherwise ungrammatical derivation. Resumptives are thus allowed to occur when gaps are unlicensed, just like in Hebrew and Northern Palestinian Arabic (Shlonsky 1992: 443-468). Again, sentence (51c) poses another problem related to the structural mapping. In other words, this sentence involves a double object construction: the indirect object pronoun *nyé* “him” and the direct object DP *makebla malâm*

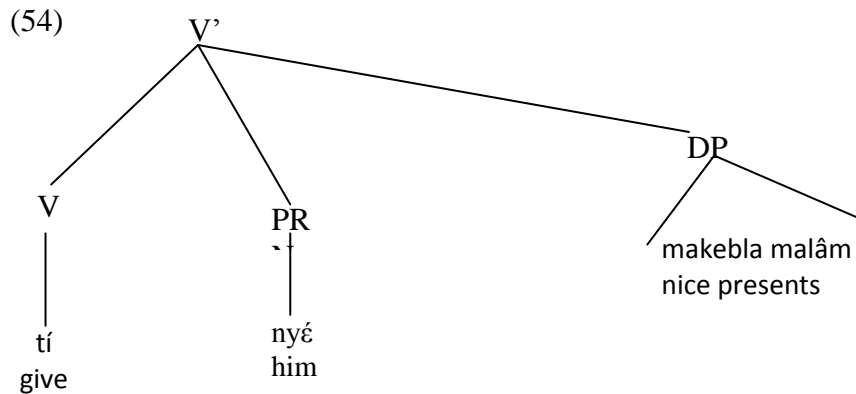
“nice presents”. In order to solve this problem, we shall adopt the VP-Shell analysis proposed by Larson (1988, 1990), Hale and Keyser (1991, 1993, 1994) and Chomsky (1995:315). We are not going to focus on the VP-Shell analysis since it is not the subject of our work. However given that we are facing a problem of structural configuration, we think that it is plausible to resort to this hypothesis in order to solve our problem. Let us reconsider sentence (51c) as (53) below:

(53). **ḡáná ḡongé,** *núnú malět* **ḡá** n-tí *nyé* makebla malâm

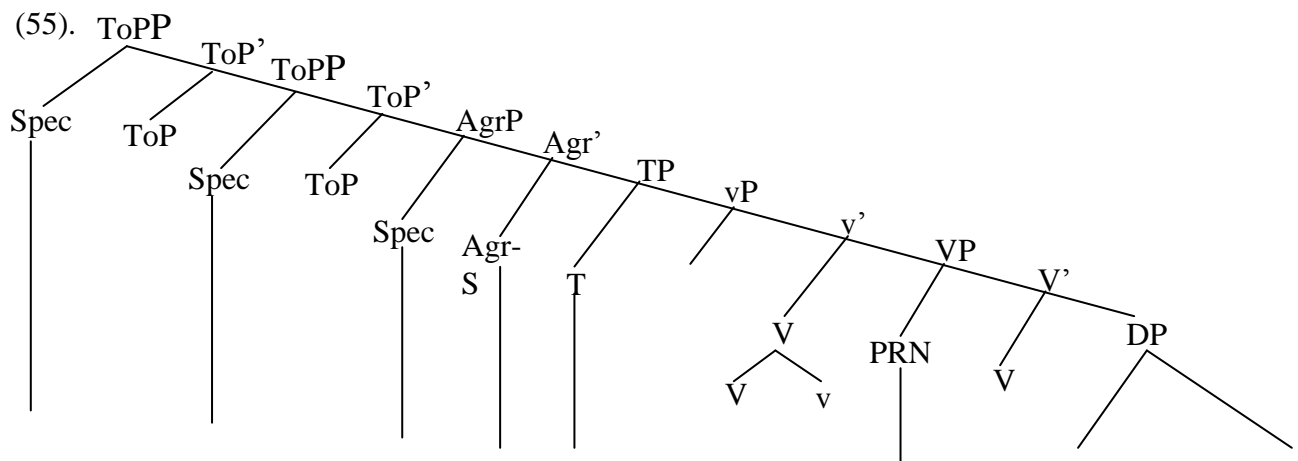
these children this teacher SM P₁ give him presents nice

“These children, this teacher, they have given him nice gifts”

We can see from (53) that the lexical verb *-tí* “give” is a ditransitive predicate since it requires two objects: the indirect object pronoun *nyé* “him” and the direct object *makebla malâm* “nice gifts”. Ditransitive predicates pose a problem to the binary branching framework adopted by the minimalist approach as can be seen below:



This representation runs counter the minimalist approach because it is neither economical nor binary. In order to provide a relevant analysis of sentence (51c) above, we have to propose the light-verb hypothesis. Chomsky (1995:15) suggests that if a verb has several internal arguments then we have to propose a Larsonian shell where *v* is a light verb to which *V* overtly moves. In the structure *bá n-tí nyé makebla malâm* “they gave him nice presents” which is part of sentence (51c) the ditransive verb *tí* “give” has two internal arguments namely the indirect object *nyé* “him” and the direct object *makebla malâm* “nice presents”. Under the light-verb hypothesis there is an abstract light-verb with a null spell-out that is hosted in the higher *vP* and that triggers verb movement. This approach is relevant because it enables us to do away with the X-bar approach which is ternary-branching. With the light-verb approach syntactic computations are built up through merger and movement as can be seen below:



excl. the-girl this she know-act wisdom excl (Dagara, Delplanque 2000:78)

“This girl, she is kind”

c. [IP *Jean*, [IP *il* est toujours en retard.]]

"Jean, he is always late"

d. [IP *Cette femme*, [IP *je* ne *la* connais pas.]]

"This woman, i do not know her"

(French, Laenzlinger 2002:142)

A closer look at (56) above enables us to see that the resumptive pronoun is realized in topicalization in Bantu as well as in Indo-European languages. In (56a), the resumptive pronoun *mó* “it” in Duala refers back to the topicalized object argument *léta* “book” in Spec-TopP. Similarly, the subject personal pronoun *u* “she” in Dagara (56b) refers back to the topicalized subject argument *a-poglé-ŋa* “this girl”. The French examples in (56c-d) obey the same configuration i.e. whereas the subject pronoun *il* “he” refers back to *Jean* (topic), the object pronoun *la* “her” refers back to *cette femme* “this woman”(topic). We can straight away see that topicalization with a resumptive pronoun does not involve visible movement, since the topicalized element does not leave a gap within the IP even if in some varieties of Arabic a resumptive pronoun is said to behave like a movement induced trace. However, evidence in support of the idea that there is no real movement come from the following:

(57) **Spell out:**

Only the highest position in a chain movement should be pronounced (spell out at s-structure).

(58) a. **Identify** (Rizzi 2004b:3)

Each position is identical to any position in internal structure. This is the copy theory of traces of Chomsky (1995) and subsequent work. Only the highest position in a chain is pronounced in the formal case, but all the positions have the same internal structure.

b. **Prominence:** defined by c-command

c. **Locality:** defined by the notion of Minimal Configuration.

Rizzi argues that if one of the ingredients in (58) is not satisfied, the definition of chain is not met. Taking into account (56) above, we can see that in each case spell-out is not respected given that both the resumptive pronoun in IP position and the

topicalized element, which is the highest position in the chain, are pronounced at s-structure. The copy theory of traces is not respected given that there is no empty category in IP position. Due to these arguments, some authors in the literature militate for a base-generation approach. In fact these kinds of topics are also referred to as hanging topics i.e. there is no real movement taking place in overt syntax.

Apart from the clitic left dislocation, there are also some cases of right dislocation whereby the topicalized element appears rightward as can be seen from Bàsàá and French examples below:

- (59)a. núnú maṅgé a ṅ-gwěs bé bóló
 this child SM pres-like Neg work
 “This child does not like the work”
- b. [IP *t(i)* a ṅ-gwés bé bóló] [DP núnú maṅgé(*i*)]
 SM Pres-like Neg work this child
 “He does not like to working, this child.”
- c. [IP Il est toujours en retard,] [DP Jean.]]
 “He is always late, Jean”
- d. [IP Je ne la connais pas,] [DP cette femme.]]
 “I do not know her, this woman.”

When the topicalized element moves rightward there is a structure building mechanism and the c-command principle is not respected. In other words, rightward movements are not substitution mechanisms rather they involve adjunction mechanisms. This is justified by the fact that wh-movement, for instance, is a substitution mechanism in Bàsàá either at LF or in the syntax; in this case the moved wh-operator substitutes for an empty Spec-CP or Spec-FOCP as landing site. But in case of rightward adjunction like in (57) above, there is no empty category acting as a potential host for the moved constituent at clause-final position. Given also that movement applies from the top to the bottom or even from the right to the left, so c-command is not respected.

5.2.2 Topicalization of adjuncts and multiple topics

Topicalization is not restricted to arguments, adjuncts can also be topicalized. Again, multiple topics are licensed in Bàsàá whereas in-situ topics are not. Topicalization of adjuncts involves simple preposing without a resumptive pronoun in clause internal position. Instead,

topicalization of the object argument gives rise to the clitic left dislocation i.e. the topic is linked to a phonetically realized resumptive pronoun within IP. Multiple topics include both arguments and adjuncts. Let us consider the following examples from Bàsàá and Peul:

(60)a. *mɛ gá-kâl b́áná bɔ́ŋgɛ́ jam lilâm yaaní*

I F2 tell these children thing nice tomorrow

"I will tell good news to these children tomorrow"

b. *Yaaní, jam lilâm, b́áná bɔ́ŋgɛ́ mɛ gá-kal b́ɔ́ jɔ́*

tomorrow thing nice these children I F2 tell them it

"Tomorrow, a good news, these children, I will it to them"

c. *ntén ɲgédá únú, líní jam, mɛ m-pót b́é jɔ́ (t)*

kind time this this thing I pres-speak Neg it

"In such circumstances, this issue I do not talk about it"

d. *Wɛ, máná makebla u n-tí mɔ́ kiŋɛ*

you these presents you F1-give them king

"You, these gifts you will give them to the king"

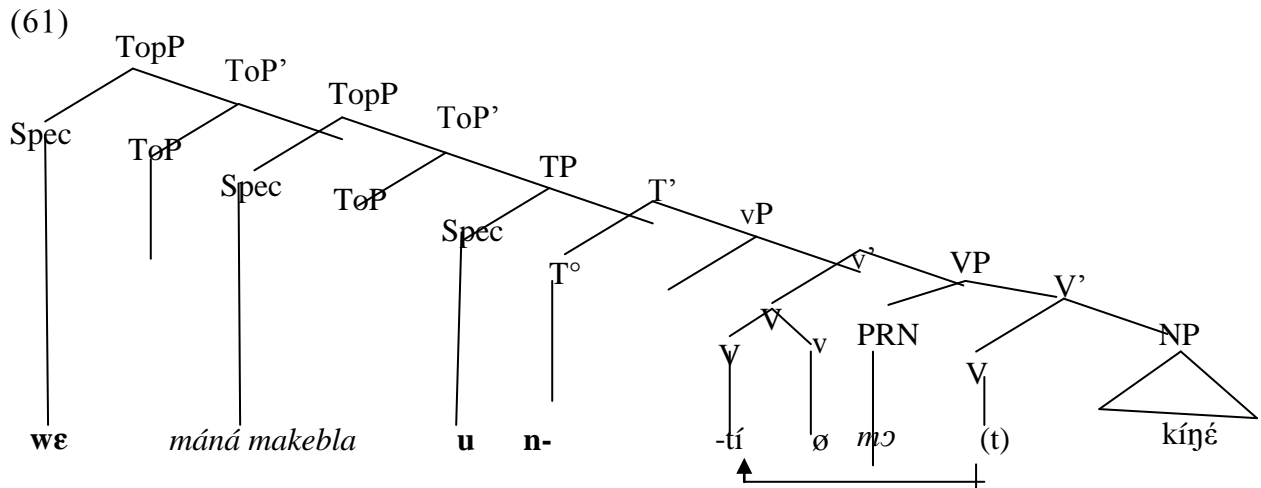
e. *Miin kam di fuu maaji, mi yi'aayno di*

me however them (misdeeds) entire from them I have not seen them

"Me, all these misdeeds, I did not consider them" (Peul, Caron, 2000:20)

In (60b-c) we have multiple topics whereby the time adverbial *yaaní* "tomorrow", the direct object argument *jam lilâm* "a good news" as well as the indirect object argument *b́áná bɔ́ŋgɛ́* "these children" have been topicalized. The topicalized adjunct *yaaní* "tomorrow" due to its virtue of not being a nominal expression, does not yield a resumptive pronoun clause-internally (60b). Whereas the adjunct undergoes simple preposing in Spec-TopP, arguments undergo clitic left dislocation. The same processes are displayed in (60c) where the adverbial phrase *ntén ɲgédá únú* "in such circumstances" undergoes simple preposing as compared to the object argument *líní jam* "this issue" which undergoes clitic left dislocation. In (60d-e), it is observed that both Basa'a and Peul topicalize the personal pronoun. However, it is noted that when we topicalize the personal pronoun, the morphology of this pronoun changes. It is the reason why in Basa'a as well as in Peul the personal pronouns in Spec-TopP (*wɛ* "you" in Basa'a and *Miin* "me" in Peul) are different from their counterparts (*U* "you" in Basa'a and *Mi* "I" in Peul). Apart from the topicalized personal pronouns mentioned we have equally topicalized the

object arguments *máná makebla* "these presents" (Bàsàá) and *fuu maaji* "all these misdeeds". The Bàsàá example (60d) shall have the following P-marker in (61).



Overall, we realize that multiple topics are licensed either with arguments or with adjuncts, some cases involve both arguments and adjuncts. The former give rise to clitic left dislocation whereas the latter involve simple preposing. In case of a double object construction like in (60b), both the direct and indirect object can be topicalized without any illicitness but each should obligatorily be linked to a resumptive pronoun within IP.

5.2.3. MORPHOLOGICALLY MARKED TOPIC

In this section we are going to examine how different languages resort to topicalization. Let us right away say that there is a cross-linguistic variation concerning the structural mapping of topicalization. We should first of all note that in Basa'a, unlike focus, which can be sometimes marked morphologically (the case of cleft constructions), topicalization is not morphologically marked i.e. the head Top of the topic phrase does not exhibit a visible marker. Let us consider the following sentences:

(62)a. Kofi **ya**, gan kpa me we kponon le su-i do

K. TOP in FM policeman the-PL shut-PERF-him LOC

“As for Kofi, the policeman put him IN PRISON.” (Gungbe, Aboh 1996:87)

b. Yesterdei, da bwai(-**deh**), im nyam off di whole a di bammi-dem

yesterday that boy (top) 1st eat off the whole of the bammy dem(PL)
 "Yesterday, that very boy, he ate up all the bammies"(Jamaican Creole, Durrleman 2005:119)

c. Wátè-n **ván** ´-mbát-ak á wrá kàw kay bissă

child-3M DEF 3M- go-PERF PRE field

"His child went to the bush, search for and found a bissa bark"

(Gidar, Frajzyngier 2008:378)

A closer look at (62) shows that the constituents *Kofi* "Kofi" (61a) ; *da bwai* "that boy" (59b) and *Wátè-n* "child"(61c), by virtue of being made prominent in their respective constructions, have been fronted in Spec-TopP. By so doing, they are immediately followed rightwards by topic markers i.e. **ya**, **-deh** and **vén**. These topic markers are devoid of semantic content. Their only role is to mark topic. It is said by Aboh and Durrleman that the topic markers **ya** (Gungbe) and **-deh** (J.C) are not compulsory in topic constructions i.e. their absence does not affect the topicalization process. However, in Gidar the topic marker is compulsory and must always appear in order to mark topicalization. This mainly concerns topicalization of the subject argument. Again, the use of the topic marker **Vén** (which is the short form of **véní**) is one of the different ways topicalization can be realized in Gidar. The explanation provided by Frajzyngier is that the topic marker **vén** is used only in a D-linked context i.e. when the subject argument has already been mentioned in the preceding discourse. The definite marker is used regardless of whether the noun is determined by some other means, for instance the use of the possessive pronouns. In addition, the use of **vén** is due to the fact that the topicalized noun is the persistent subject of the next several clauses. For further illustration on topic in Gidar (cf Frajzyngier 2008:379-389).

5.2.4. Other forms of topics in Bàsàá

Apart from the different types of topics already mentioned, Bàsàá also resorts to other means of marking topic. First of all the topicalized element is the indefinite pronoun which undergoes syntactic movement to Spec-TopP without any resumptive pronoun clause-internally. Secondly the topicalized element is a noun phrase which is preceded by a vocative marker i.e. in case of imperative or interpellative constructions. Some examples include the following:

(63) a. **tɔ̃njéé** malět a n-la téhe (t)

anyone teacher SM Pres-can see

"Anyone, the teacher can see"

b. **tɔ̃héé** ntén ɲgéda j únú baúdú bá ɲ-kɛ ti tɔ̃

anywhere kind time this students SM Pres-go

"Anywhere, in such circumstances, the students go"

c. ***tɔ̃njéé** ntén ɲgéda únú u n-la bómá **nyé**

anyone kind time this you Pres- can meet him

"Anyone, in such circumstances, you can meet him"

d. (A) **bɔ̃ɲgé** nóg-láná balět bánân (t)

Voc.M children respect + Imp + teachers your

"Children, obey your teachers"

e. búm fu na-ted-a, tina-nyú-na ø

thing you rel-have-rel we Fut-drink-act(it)

"Whatever you have, we shall drink" (Dagara, Delplanque 2000:78)

In the above constructions, the topicalized constituents **tɔ̃njéé** "anyone", **tɔ̃héé** "anywhere" and **bɔ̃ɲgé** "children" have been fronted in order to have a wider scope over their respective constructions. When they move, they leave behind traces with which they form chains. (63c) is ungrammatical simply because the resumptive **nyé** "him" in sentence-final position should not normally appear; so the construction is unacceptable. The phoneme /a/ in interpellative constructions in Bàsàá (63d) is optional in common conversational settings. This phoneme is a vocative marker (Voc.M) used when calling somebody, and is widely spread in Bantu languages. It is used in politeness forms in Bàsàá (cf Bitja'a Kody and Mutaka 1997:55-69).

There is likeness between the Dagara example in (63 e) and the Bàsàá examples (63a-b) in the sense that the resumptive pronoun marked by the zero morpheme /Ø/ is optional, so it can be used or not. It seems that the absence of a resumptive pronoun in (63a-b) for instance is due to the fact that the topicalized indefinite pronouns **tɔ̃njéé** "anyone" and **tɔ̃héé** "anywhere" are not nominal expressions, so they do not bear nominal features such as class, gender and number and mainly because they are indefinite in nature. Due to this, they are unable to link a proform

(an element that refers back to them in previous discourse contexts) sentence internally.

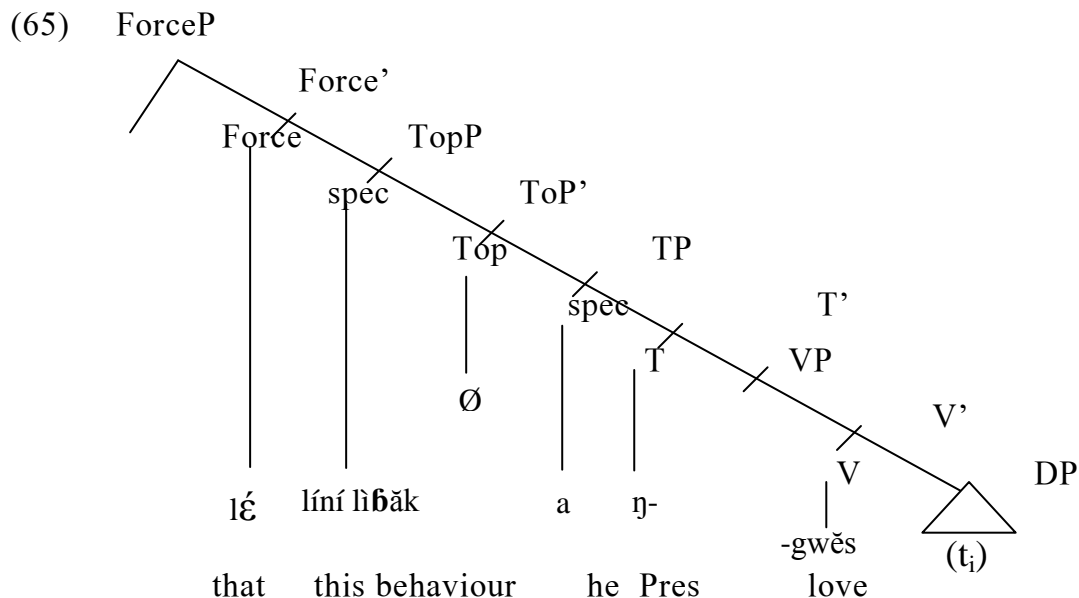
5.2.5 TOPICALIZATION IN EMBEDDED CLAUSES

Topicalization is not restricted to main clauses in Basa'a; it can occur in embedded contexts as can be seen below:

- (64) a. malēt a η-kal lé líní liḃāk a η-gwēs jǝ
 teacher SM Pres-say that this behaviour he Pres like it
 "The teacher says that this behaviour he likes it"

- b. Tonye a η- hǝǝl lé bíní bijék maḡgé nyén a-ń-jé gwǝ
 T. SM Pres-think that these food child FOC SM Pres eat them
 "Tonye thinks that these food, it is the child who ate them"

It is clear that in the above sentences, *lé* "that" is an overt manifestation of Force (to be handled later on) in Basa'a, as it appears in many cases where we have a complementizer introducing a finite clause in other languages. In (64a) the topicalized DP constituent is preceded by the lexical complementizer and directly followed by the finite clause. This can be illustrated below:



Since we have mentioned that only arguments are true topics in Basa'a like in many other languages, the presence of a resumptive pronoun in the lower VP is

compulsory because the object argument has been topicalized, otherwise, the sequence is illicit as can be seen below:

(66) a. *malět a ŋ-kāl lé líní lĩḃāk a ŋ- gwēs ḃḵ
 teacher SM Pres-say that this behaviour SM Pres- like them
 "The teacher says that this behaviour, he likes them"

b. *Tonye a ŋ- hḵŋḵl lé maŋgé nyén bíní bijék a- ŋ-jé
 Tonye SM Pres-think that child FOC TOP SM P₁- eat
 "Tonye thinks that it is the child who these food ate"

The above constructions in (66) are ungrammatical for two reasons: first of all, the resumptive pronoun has been omitted at the lower VP internal position in the (b) example, and because we have focalised the italicized DP *maŋgé* "the child" over the Topic phrase by clefting, so the construction crashes. As opposed to (64b) where we have the topic phrase dominating the focus phrase, in (66b) it seems that clefting over the Topic is banned, and that extraction over a topic leads to island violation or better still to subjacency violation. Coming to the ungrammaticality of (66a), we realize that there has not been any extraction over the topic domain, and there is a resumptive pronoun at VP-internal position. (66a) is seemingly grammatical if we limit ourselves to the fact that the topic is preceded by the lexical complementizer like in (66a) and that there is a resumptive pronoun ḃḵ "them" within the lower VP. However, (66b) is disallowed because it is not in conformity with the **c-command condition on binding**, a principle that regulates structural relations between antecedents and proforms (expressions that refer back to appropriate constituents):

(67) C-command condition on binding

A bound constituent must be c-commanded by an appropriate antecedent.

Notice that in (64a) the relevant bound constituent is the bold printed resumptive jḵ "it" and its antecedent is the topicalized constituent *líní lĩḃāk* "this behaviour" in the pre-IP position. Since the topicalized constituent dominates the resumptive pronoun, and it appropriately binds it, (the topicalized constituent is third person singular and the resumptive pronoun is alike) then, the condition outlined in (67) is met. Although in (66a) the topicalized constituent c-commands the resumptive pronoun, principle (67) fails to meet since the bound constituent, i.e. the resumptive

pronoun *ḥā* "them" in the third person plural is not appropriately bound. The antecedent *líní libāk* "this behaviour" is third person singular [and -human] and is not suitable. The resumptive *ḥā* "them" requires a singular [+human] antecedent, so it remains unbound: in violation of (67). Thus (66a) is correctly predicted to be illicit. We realize from (64) and (66) that condition (67) is defined in terms of the relative structural positions occupied by the resumptive pronoun and its antecedent. This is tantamount to saying that sentences exhibit a hierarchical constituent structure.

5.2.6 CLAUSAL-TOPICALISATION

In this section, we are going to explore topicalization of a clause. Apart from nominal expressions that can be topicalized, it shall be shown that a whole structure can also undergo topicalisation. This process is rendered possible by the means of some principles of UG. Let us consider the following sentences.

- (68) a. *mε n- sómá lé ḥáúdú bá n- yéga núnú malēt*
 I Pres-thank that students SM P1 greet this teacher
 "I am proud that the students have greeted this teacher"
- b. **núnú malēt mε n - sómá lé ḥáúdú bá n-yéga*
 this teacher I Pres-thank that students SM P₁ greet
 "This teacher I am proud that the students have greeted"
- c. *lé ḥáúdú bá n- yéga núnú malēt; mε n-sómá ti*
 that students SM P1 greet this teacher I Pres-thank
 "That the students have greeted this teacher I am proud"
- d. **ḥáúdú bá n- yéga núnú malēt mε n- sómá lé*
 students SM P1- greet this teacher I Pres-greet that
 "That the students have greeted this teacher, I am proud that"
- e. *lé núnú malēt ḥáúdú ḥān bá n- yéga nye mε n-sómá ti*
 that this teacher students FOC SM P1-greet him I Pres-thank
 "That this teacher, it is the students that greeted him, I am proud".

The above sentences provide us with very interesting data in the analysis of topicalisation. First of all, it is noticed that topicalisation of a clause does not yield

a resumptive pronoun within the lower IP, as opposed to topicalisation of an object argument which is a nominal expression; as we mentioned earlier. This can easily be explained by the fact that a clause is a broad structure that does not bear nominal features like class, number and person. In other words, a clause is not a nominal expression and therefore cannot yield a pronoun. If we simply limit ourselves to the fact that a pronoun is an expression which can stand for a noun and which has no specific content of its own i.e. the pronoun requires a suitable antecedent (present or absent in the discourse), then, we are right along the lines to justify the licitness of (68c and e). In (68 c-d) the moved clauses do not leave a resumptive pronoun sentence-internally. However, how can we account for the ungrammaticality and the grammaticality of the sentences above?

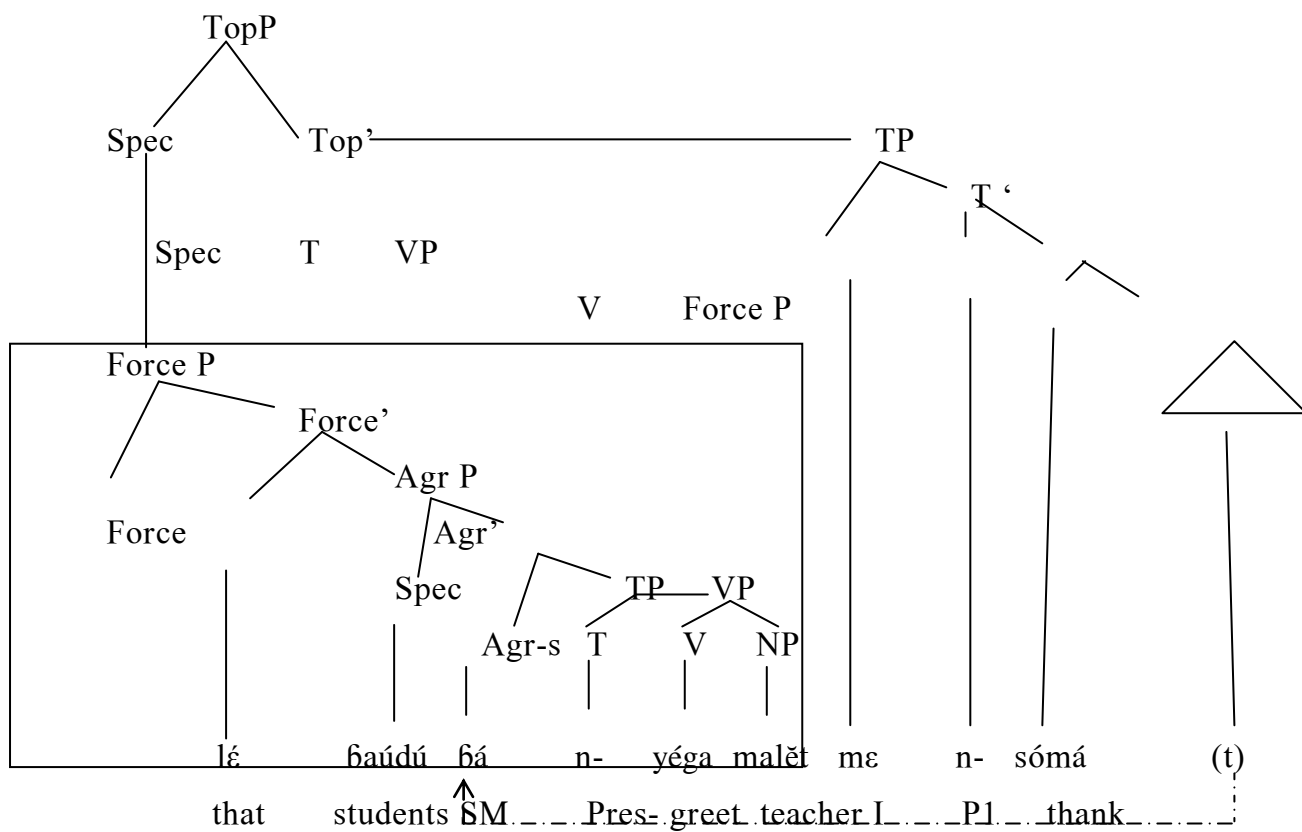
Sentence (68a) is considered as the basic sentence i.e the sentence from which the rest are derived. The illicitness of (68b and d) reveals that we can neither prepose the DP *núnú malět* “this teacher” (68b) nor the AgrP *baúdú bá n- yégá núnú malět* “the students have greeted this teacher” (68d). We realize that in both cases we have topicalized over the force-domain dominated by the complementizer *lé* “that” and since crossing over a force phrase is severely banned, this is illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (68b). Another more striking illustration is due to Chomsky (1999). Chomsky shows that there is a constraint on movement operations to the effect that a DP can be preposed but not an NP which is contained within a DP. In like manner, a CP can be preposed but not a TP which is contained within this CP. This idea is well accounted for by the constraint (69) below:

(69) Functional Head constraint/FHC

The complement of a certain type of functional head F (such as a determiner or complementizer) cannot be moved on its own (without also moving F); Chomsky (1999) quoted by Radford (2004:73).

Recall that within the split CP hypothesis framework, the functional head *lé* “that” specifies for force. We realize that in (68b) as well as (68d) we have moved the DP *núnú malět* “this teacher” and the AgrP *baúdú ...* “the student have ...” out of the functional head, and in violation (69). So it is not possible to prepose the above mentioned constituents on their own because they are complements of their functional head *lé* “that” in their respective structures. In order to highlight the above constituents, we have to move enough material needed to ensure convergence

and the PFI. The only way this can be attained is by preposing the entire subordinate clause dominated by *lê* “that” at the left periphery of the main clause. By so doing we can well account for the well- formedness of (68c) as represented in (69) below:

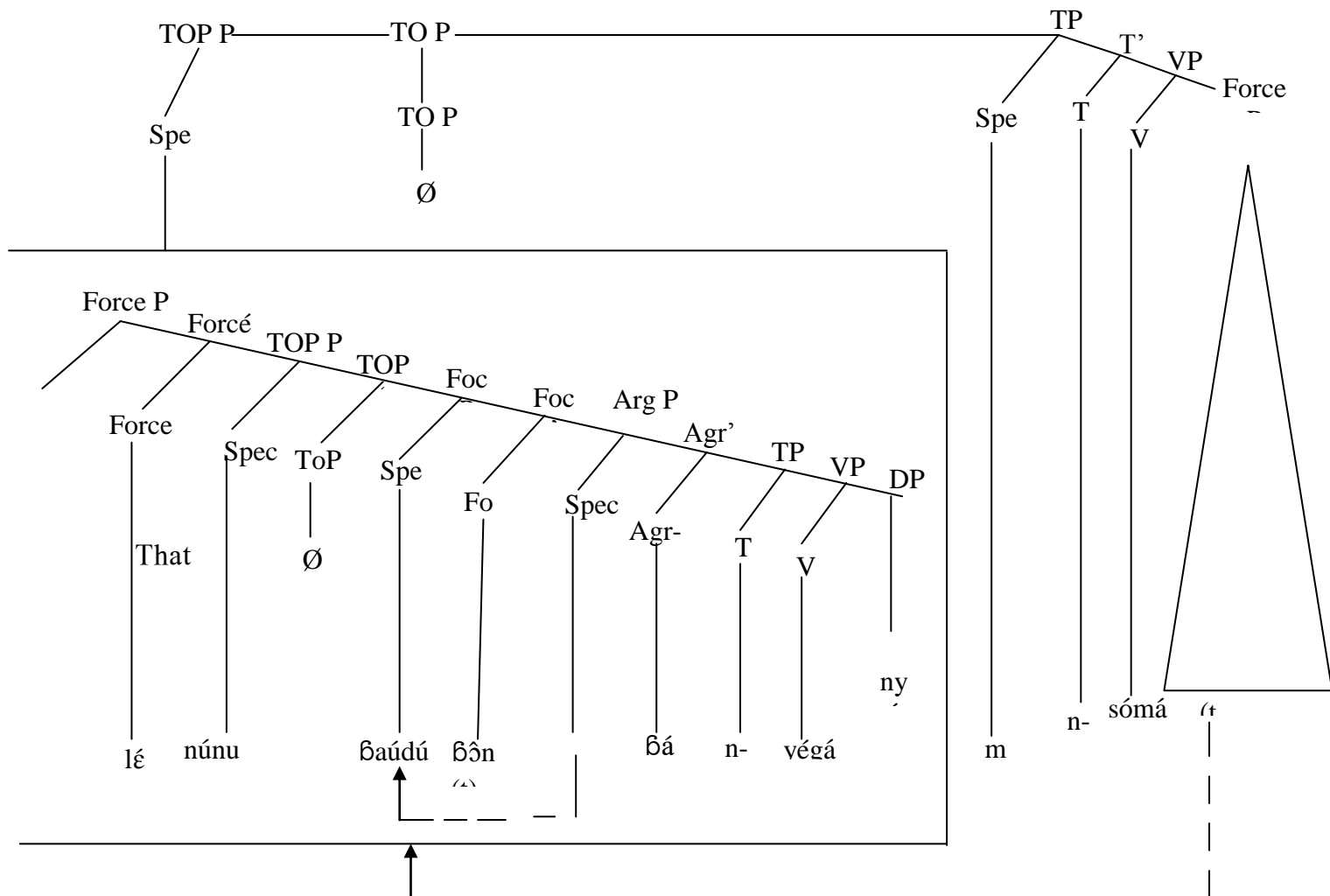


that students SM P1 greet teacher I Pres-thank
 “That the students have greeted the teacher I am proud”

Along similar lines, we can topicalise the whole structure in (68e) through heavy pied-piping, whereby a complex clause, made up of the lexical complementizer *lé*

“that”, followed by a topic and a focus undergoes movement to Spec-TopP. (68e) has the following representation.

70)



To close off this section, let us say that topicalization in Basa'a does not exhibit a phonologically realized topic marker like it is the case for Gungbe and J.C, and for the above mentioned reasons, the topicalized object argument is a hanging topic i.e. it undergoes clitic left dislocation à la Cinque be it in main clauses or in embedded ones. However, when the subject argument is topicalised, it leaves behind a trace and satisfies the copy trace principle as well as the structure preserving constraint. Topicalization involves island constraints and respects the c-command condition on binding. Referential nominal expressions and adjuncts can be topicalized as well as

indefinite relative pronouns. In more complex structures the whole clause can be topicalized through pied-piping of the entire clause. Such an operation is referred to as “super extraction” i.e. movement of the whole clause (the super-structure) along with focus and topic at the same time.

SUMMARY

This chapter was devoted to the analysis of topic and focus in Bàsàá. We have noted that both constructions are related to information structure and clause structure i.e. the way given information can affect the structure of a clause. Along the lines we have shown that focus can be marked morphologically in cleft constructions; in this case the focalized element undergoes syntactic movement to Spec-FocP. We have shown that in Bàsàá only non-referential wh-operators *ínyuúkúí* “why” and *léláá* “how” can co-occur with focused constructions whereas the other wh-expressions compete for the same landing site with focused constituents. Our analysis enabled us to say that whereas *léláá* “how” and *ínyuúkúí* “why” occupy the specifier position of the Interrogative phrase (to be handled thoroughly later on) other wh-operators occupy the specifier position of FocP. We also saw that focus can be realized in a long distance i.e. in embedded contexts. We saw that extraction of arguments in a long distance above a time adverbial is banned because the adverb in such contexts acts as a blocker to antecedent government between the moved argument and its trace. However, the time adverbial can freely move in a long distance irrespective of the presence of an argument half-way. We have examined V-focusing and have seen that this operation is strictly banned, that a verb can only be focused through prosodic devices. Each time a verb undergoes movement in Spec-FocP, it is no longer itself; it is nominalized and henceforth belongs to a noun class. Again, we saw that in case of multiple foci, only one element moves into Spec-FocP, the other elements stay in-situ. This has been justified by checking requirements.

During our analysis, we have handled focus in other languages and have noted that whereas some languages like Tuki and Gungbe have special functional heads dedicated to focus, Aghem and Mambila for instance behave differently. In the latter, the position around the verb is dedicated to focus i.e. focus can be more or less prominent depending on whether the focalized element is preverbal or postverbal. We have also examined focus in relation to negation. The analysis

revealed that negation is a VP-adjoined adverb, that there is no projection called negative phrase in Bàsàá due to economy requirements. So, when negation is involved in a focus construction, the focalised element and the negative particle *bé* come together through incorporation thereby forming a complex constituent before moving to Spec-FocP. The analysis of verbal extensions has shown that the reduplicated verb is adjoined rightward where it is nominalized altogether. So, as compared to Tuki or Gungbe for instance, where V-focusing is substitution for Spec-FocP leftward, V-focusing in Bàsàá involves nominalization and rightward adjunction.

The last section of the chapter was concerned with topicalization. It has been noted that arguments, adjuncts, indefinite pronouns as well as an entire clause can be topicalized. Whereas topicalization of the subject argument and indefinite pronouns involves syntactic movement into Spec-TopP, Topicalization of the object gives rise to clitic left dislocation. With the latter case, we said that topic are said to be hanging. Resumptivity in this case is a last resort strategy without which no licitness is possible. Topicalization of adjuncts involves simple preposing, whereas topicalization in case of vocative constructions triggers movement of the topic into Spec-TopP. In more complex constructions the entire clause can get moved into Spec-TopP. This has been referred to as “superextraction” i.e. extraction of the super-structure through heavy pied-piping. Overall this chapter enabled us to see that there are functional heads dedicated to focus and topic in Bàsàá and that these heads project their own phrases when they are activated. So far, the hierarchical order shows that the topic phrase dominates the focus phrase. In the following chapter, we shall examine co-occurrence restrictions among the different types of phrases that occupy the left periphery of the clause in Basa’a in order to provide the fine cartography of the clause in Basa’a.

CHAPTER VI

THE FINE STRUCTURE OF THE LEFT PERIPHERY IN BASA'A

6.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a unified analysis of the left periphery in Basa'a. The different types of projections occupying the left edge of the clause shall be presented so as to unveil their hierarchical configuration. In other words, we shall attempt to examine some syntactic co-occurrences of the different head projections of the CP layer in Basáa.

Here, the study of syntactic properties is conducted under the guidance of the cartographic approach (Cinque 1999, 2001; Rizzi 1997, 2001a) which attempts to draw very detailed maps of structural configurations. Just as it is plausible to split IP into different head projections (Pollock 1989); and the VP (Larson 1988, 1990, Chomsky 1995b, Radford 1997, 2004b), in this chapter, following Rizzi (1997, 2001b, 2004b) we suggest that CP should also split into more than one projection in Basa'a like it is the case for English, Spanish, Italian etc. In this connection, we intend to present arguments in support of the idea that a number of different projections such as *Force phrase* (Force P), *Focus phrase* (FocP), *Topic phrase* (TopP); *Interrogative phrase* (Int P), *Modifier phrase* (Mod P) and Wh-phrase (Wh-P) exist in the language under study. We shall also examine the position of relative operator in the left periphery of the clause. Our objective is not to focus more on topic and focus constructions

since the preceding chapter was devoted to that. However, we can examine how topic and focus interact in given configurations. We aim at discussing more on the force phrase, the modifier phrase, the Wh-phrase and the interrogative phrase. Note that throughout our study, it shall be shown that while some phrases are instantiations of movement operations, others are rather base-generated in their respective positions.

6.1 THE SPLIT CP HYPOTHESIS

The split **CP hypothesis** proposed by Rizzi (1997, 2001b, 2003) suggests that there must be more than one type of CP projections above TP in clause structure. Rizzi points out that there must be different head projections such as **focus phrase** (FocP) **topic phrase** (TopP), **force phrase** (ForceP), **interrogative phrase** (IntP) and **modifier phrase** (ModP) at the left periphery of the clause and that these must be activated when the need arises. More concretely, Rizzi's analysis postulates a fixed component, involving the heads specifying Force and Finiteness and an accessory component involving the heads of Topic, Focus, Modifier, Interrogative, which, due to their semantic interpretation are activated when needed. For instance, when there is a focus or a modifier constituent in a given structure we have to accommodate them at the left periphery of the clause. Reasoning along similar lines, Rizzi's suggestion is that complementizers, by virtue of their role in specifying whether a given clause is declarative, interrogative, imperative or exclamative in force, should be analysed as force markers heading a **force phrase** (ForceP). He concludes from the Italian data that the left periphery of a clause is closed off upwards by the **force phrase** and downwards by **the finiteness phrase** (FinP) which specifies the finite nature of this clause.

In this last chapter, we shall confine ourselves to pointing out that the data encountered in Basa'a accommodate the Split **CP hypothesis** too. We find out that the CP layer can split in Basa'a into force phrase, topic phrase, focus phrase, interrogative phrase, modifier phrase and the wh-phrase.

Let us consider the following sentences:

- 1) a. maŋgé a- ŋ-ké í sũklu híkí kěł
 child SM Pres-go to school every day
 "The child goes to school every day"
- b. kélkíí maŋgé a -ŋ-ké í sũklu?
 when child SM Pres-go to school
 "When does the child go to school?"

c. híkí kě́l nyén mangé a ŋ- ké í sǔklu
 everyday Foc child SM pres- go to school

“It is every day that the child goes to school ”

2) a. híkí kě́l mangé nyén a ŋ-ké í sǔklu
 every day child Foc SM Pres-go to school

"Every day it is the child who goes to school"

b. mɛ m-ɓat lé tɔ́ɔ́ inyuúkí mangé nyén a ŋ-kɛ í suklu

I Pres-ask that if why child Foc SM Pres- go to school

“I wonder that if why it is the child who goes to school”

c. mɛ ŋ-kǎl lé núnú mut mangé nyén a n - tí nyé mɔ́ní

I Pres-say that this man child Foc SM Pres give him money

“I say that this man it is the child who gives him the money”

d. mɛ m- ɓat lé tɔ́ɔ́ inyuúkí ɓáná ɓɔŋgé bijék gwótámá gwón ɓa n-jé

I Pres-ask that if why these children food only Foc SM Pres- eat

“I wonder why it is only the food that these children eat”

The above data in (1) and (2) offer us a good insight into the CP layer in Basa’a. If we consider that (1a) is the basic sentence (i.e. from which other transformations occur), we realize that in (1b), the Wh-operator *ké́lkíí* “when” undergoes movement to the clause periphery i.e. to the specifier position of the complementizer phrase (CP). In like manner, it might seem plausible to postulate that in (1c) the focalised constituent *híkí kě́l* “every day” lands in Spec-CP if so far we take into account the fact that this constituent precedes the subject of the clause and if we do away with any adjunction theory. However, where the problem posed by the CP analysis of focusing in (1c) is that the focalised constituent *mangé* “child” is preceded by a proposed adverbial *híkí kě́l* “every day”. Considering the grammaticality of (1c), and if we assume that CP is the highest position above TP, then the question that arises is where does the preposed adverbial land. In the same vein, matters become more striking when we come to (2b) where we have a sequence of two lexical complementizers *lé* “that” *tɔ́ɔ́* “if” followed by a moved wh-operator *inyuúkí* “why” which is in turn followed by the focalised constituent *mangé* “child”. An additional question to ask is that if such a structure is grammatical, how can the CP analysis tackle such data? Ultimately, we realize that in (2c) the lexical

complementizer *lé* “that” is followed by the topicalised constituent *núnú mut* “this man” which is in turn followed by a focalised constituent *manyé* “child”.

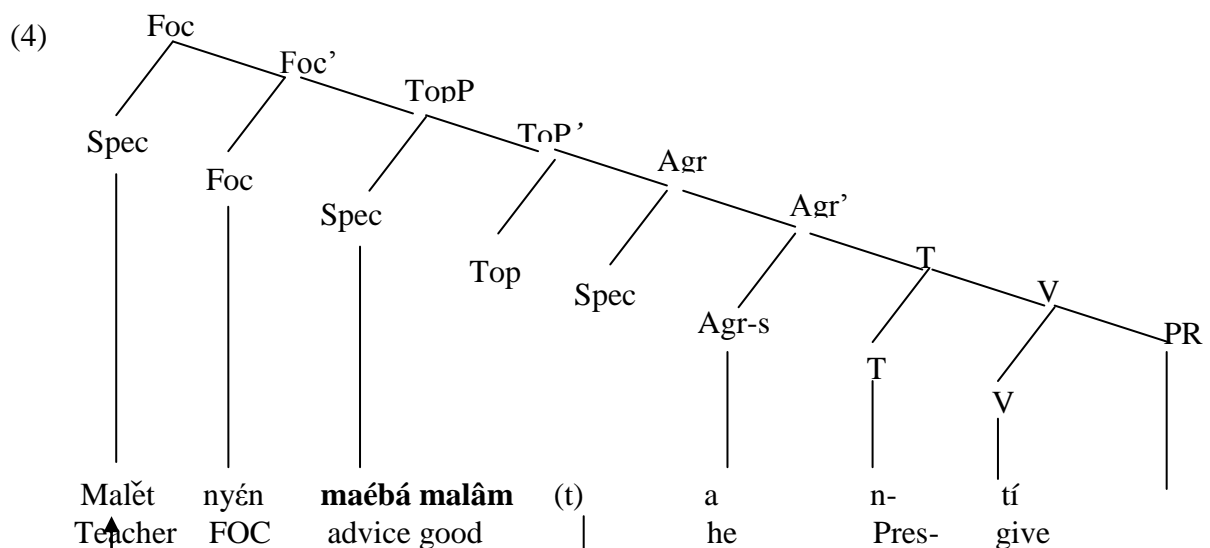
Given the well-formedness of the above structures, we suggest following Rizzi’s analysis that the complementizer system be split into different head projections in the same manner that IP was split (Pollock 1989, Chomsky 1991). Following Rizzi’s proposal, we realize that the CP system is very productive and that in order to avoid any attempt to stack many CPs, we should rather adopt the split CP hypothesis to account for the interesting data above. In the following sub-sections we are going to explore in a very detailed way the structure of the left periphery in Basa’a.

6.2. The topic-focus interaction

In a given syntactic configuration, where topic and focus interact, the topic phrase is higher than the focus phrase as can be seen below:

- (3) a. *maéba malâm, malět nyén a n-tí mó*
 advice good(Top) teacher Foc SM Pres-give them
 “Good advice, it is the teacher who gives them”
- b. **malět nyén maéba malâm a n-tí mó*
 teacher Foc advice good(Top) SM Pres-give them
 “It is the teacher who gives good advice”

The configuration in (3b) fails because the topic phrase is dominated by the focus phrase. Focalization over a topic is banned because the topic acts as a barrier to government. The focalized constituent *malět* “teacher” in (3b) cannot antecedent govern its trace because of the intervention of the topic phrase. This is illustrated below:



A closer look at (4) above enables us to see that in Basa'a, the topic is a preposed element characteristically set off from the rest of the clause by “comma intonation and expressing information of some kind; somehow available and salient in previous discourse whereas, the focus is phonetically realized in this context. So, the focus-topic system is integrated into the CP layer when they are activated and needed i.e., when a given constituent bears focus or topic features to be sanctioned by the Spec-head criterion.

As for the topic-focus interpretation of the specifiers in (3a), we assume that a constituent endowed with topic or focus features must end up in a Spec/head configuration with Top or Foc respectively. In other words, there are topic and focus criteria, reminiscent of the wh-and Neg criteria (Rizzi 1991, Haegeman 1995). So, focus and topic movement are then brought to line to the view that movement is “not a random affair”, that it is a last resort” and is triggered by the satisfaction of feature checking à la Chomsky (1993). Additional support to the idea that topic is always higher than focus is the use of some wh-operators in Basa'a. Recall that in the previous chapter, we mentioned that wh-operators land in different positions in Basaa. Whereas the non referential adjuncts *léláá* “how” and *ínyuúkíí* “why” and the like occupy the specifier position of IntP(we shall see it later on), argument operators such as *njéé* “who”, *kíí* “what” land in Spec-FocP when they are subject to movement. By so doing, the idea that TOP > Foc is further illustrated in (5) below:

- (5) a. *bijék bilâm, njéé me gá-tí gwó*
 food nice(Top) who(m)(Foc) I F2 give them
 “Nice food, whom will I give them to?”
- b. **njéé bijék bilâm me gá tí gwó*
 who Food nice I F2 give them
 “To whom, nice food I will give them?”
- c. *léláá bijék bilâm me gá- tí gwó*
 how food nice I F2 give them
 “How nice food, I will give them?”

The structural position of wh-operators in relation to topic show that depending on whether the wh-operator conveys interrogative or focus interpretation, its distribution shall vary. The sentence in (5a) is licit because the topic *bijék bilâm* “nice food” dominates the focused wh-

phrase *njée* “who”. Wherever this structural order is reversed, we have ungrammaticality (5b). In (5c) on the contrary, the wh-operator *léláá* “how” dominates the topic *bijék bilâm* “nice food” without any fear of illicitness. That the operators *njée* “who” and *léláá* “how” occupy different positions is further illustrated below:

(6) a. *léláá njée* mɛ n-tí mákebla?
 how who I Pres-give presents
 “How who I give presents?”

b. **njée léláá* mɛ n-ti mákebla?
 who how I Pres-give presents
 “To whom, how I give presents?”

Although focus and topic constructions are similar in several respects as A’ constructions involving the left edge of the clause, they differ in a number of respects, which highlight a fundamentally different nature.

First of all, a topic in Basáa can involve a resumptive clitic within the clause à la Cinque (1990:63) whereas a focalized constituent is inconsistent with the clitic left dislocation as in (7) below:

(7) a. *malět núnú*, mɛ n-yí nyé
 teacher this I pres-know him
 “This teacher, I know him”

b. **malět núnú nyén* mɛ n-yí nyé
 teacher this foc I pres-know him
 “It is this teacher, I know him”

Secondly, quantificational elements such as *tɔjǒm* “nothing” *tòmùt* “nobody”, *tɔnjée* “anybody” cannot be topics in CLLD (clitic left dislocation) constructions, while they easily allow clefting.

(8) a. *tɔnjée_i* mɛ gá -sebél_{ti}
 anybody I F2 call
 “Anybody, I shall call”

b. **tɔnjée_i* mɛ gá -sébél nyé_i

anybody I F2 call him

“Anybody I shall call him”

c. tɔmùt mɛ gá- téhé bé

nobody I F2 see neg him

“Nobody shall I (not) see”

d. *tɔmùt mɛ gá- téhé bé nyé

nobody I F2 see Neg him

“Nobody shall I (not) see”

(9) a. tɔnjéé nyén mɛ gá- sebél

anybody Foc I F2 call

“I shall call anybody”

b. tɔmùt bé nyén mɛ gá- sebél

nobody Neg Foc I F2 call

“I shall call NOBODY”

We can see from (8) and (9) that quantificational elements are not consistent with the clitic left dislocation but are consistent with clefting. Thirdly, a clause can contain as many topics as possible (arguments and adjuncts) whereas there is a unique structural focus position. This is only possible when movement has taken place in the syntax, but this does not exclude multiple foci. So, retain that there can be multiple foci but not multiple foci-fronting. The left periphery of the periphery of the clause can host many topics but only one focus. This is referred to as “uniqueness” (Rizzi (1995:9). Let us consider the following example to illustrate “uniqueness”.

(10) a. ɓáná ɓɔŋgé, núnú malět ɓá n-yí nyé

these children(Top) this teacher(Top) SM pres-know him

“These children, this teacher, they know him”

b. hikí kěl, ɓáná ɓɔŋgé, núnú malět ɓá n-téhé nyé

every day these children this teacher SM pres-see him

“Every day, these children, this teacher, they know him”

c. *ɓáná ɓɔŋgé ɓón núnú malět nyén ɓá n-yí

these children Foc this teacher Foc SM pres-know

A focus and one or more than one topic can interact in the same structure. Even in that case, the focus phrase is always dominated by TopP one something that is sometimes different in Italian when a focus phrase can at the same time be preceded and followed by topics (Rizzi 1995:9);

(11) a. ntěn ɲgédà únú malět ɓɔɲgέ ɓón ɓá n-la téhé nyé

kind time this teacher children Foc SM pres-can see him

“In such circumstances, the teacher, only the children can see him”

b. *ntěn ɲgédà únú ɓɔɲgέ ɓón malět, ɓa n-la téhé nyé

kind time this children Foc teacher SM pres-can see him

c. A Gianni, QUESTO, domani, gli dovrete dire.

“To Gianni, THIS, tomorrow, you should tell him” Rizzi (1995:9).

Another difference between focus and topic is their syntactic position in relation to interrogative operators *léláá* “how” *ínyuúkú* “why”. In this context, a topic can either precede or follow the interrogative operator; whereas a focus can only follow and not precede it.

(12) a. ɓáná ɓɔɲgέ léláá u n-tí ɓó mɔní?

these children how you pres-give them money.

“These children, how did you give them the money?”

b. léláá ɓáná ɓɔɲgέ u n-tí ɓó mɔní?

how these children you pres-give them money

“How these children, did you have give them the money?”

c. léláá ɓɔɲgέ ɓón u n-tí mɔní?

how children Foc you P1 give money

“How it is the teacher that you gave the money?”

d. *ɓɔɲgέ ɓón léláá u n-tí mɔní?

children Foc how you P1 give money.

In (12) above we can see the degree of compatibility of focus and topic with interrogative operators. In (12a) we have the mapping Top>Int>IP; in (12b) we have Int>Top>IP, whereas in (12c) we have the structures *Int>Foc> IP, and Foc>Int>IP (which are unacceptable).

Again, topic and focus differ in the sense that while topic is only realized at the left edge of the clause; focus can be realized either clause initially, internally or finally as can be seen below:

- (13) a. ɓaúdu ɓóɓásôná, malět a gá- tehé ɓó
 students all teacher SM F2 see them
 “All students, the teacher will see them”
- b. *malět a gá- tehé ɓaúdu ɓóɓásôná (TOP)
 teacher SM F2 see students all
- c. ɓaúdu ɓóɓásôná ɓón malět a gá- tehé
 students all Foc teacher SM F2 see
 “It is all the students that the teacher will see”
- d. malět a gá- tehé ndik ɓaúdu ɓána (hé bátăn ɓé)
 teacher SM F2 see only students four (not five)
 “The teacher shall only see four students (not five)”

The foregoing analysis shows how focus and topic interact in a given configuration, and how they differ. We have seen that topic is always superior to focus although both function as scope markers in clause structure. Whereas topic is consistent with clitic left dislocation, focus is not. Focus licenses a null empty category within the clause whereas topic is clause bound by a phonetically realized bindee, which is the anaphoric pronoun. This anaphoric pronoun must be chain connected to an antecedent in order to fulfill the identification requirement of the ECP, exactly as any other trace. Whereas topic can be recursive leftwards i.e. it can be reiterated in a given clause, focus cannot. So, recursion of focus at the left edge is severely banned by the interpretative clash that would arise. No such interpretative problem arises in the case of topic recursion. The interrogative operators *léláá* “how” and *ínyuúkíí* can precede or follow a topic, but they only dominate but not subordinate the focus.

6.3. THE FORCE PHRASE (ForceP)

Within the framework of the split **CP hypothesis** proposed by Rizzi (1997, 2001b, 2004b) it is suggested that the CP layer should be split into a number of different projections. More

concretely, Rizzi suggests that complementizers, by virtue of their role in specifying whether a given clause is declarative, interrogative, imperative or exclamative in Force should be analysed as Force markers heading a phrase termed Force phrase (ForceP). From a discourse perspective, human beings utter sequences with the intention of accomplishing something. The notion of illocutionary force can be explained from this perspective, that is, according to the act the speaker accomplishes by saying something, and because of the meaning of what he says. Bayer (2003) even assumes that illocutionary force is primarily a root phenomenon, and that the embedded clause primarily does not have a layer force at all. This idea is supported if we consider that each clause is the manifestation of force and that the force marker is always present, be it overt or covert. So, since the embedded clause is introduced by a matrix clause, then the illocutionary force is first of all attested in the main clause even if the force marker has a null spell out. So, the importance of the complementizer system still retains the attention of language analysts. Rizzi (1997) thinks that the complementizer system is the interface between a propositional content expressed by the IP and the superordinate structure; which is the higher clause or, possibly the articulation of discourse, if the root clause is considered. By so doing, the complementizer layer is expected to express one information facing the outside and the other one facing the inside i.e. the left periphery and the right periphery. Complementizers express the fact that a given sentence is a question, declarative, relative, comparative, or an adverbial of certain kind etc. and can be selected by a higher selector. This is what is referred to as “the clausal type selector”(Cheng 1991), or the specification of Force (Chomsky, 1995). In the preceding section we have argued that there is the lexical complementizer *lé* “that” in Basa’a that appears in pre-IP position. Notice that this lexical complementizer is declarative in nature by virtue of specifying the declarative force of the embedded clause, and by marking the illocutionary force (i.e semantic / pragmatic function) of the clause it introduces. This force marker is compulsory in embedded contexts in the Basa’a language, so it cannot be omitted (as it is the case for the French “*que*” (*that*)). Let us consider the following examples:

(14) a. Ntogue a ŋ- kāl lé nsán a bí -lɔná mákebla

Ntogue SM Pres-say that father SM P₂ bring presents

“Ntogue says that his father brought the presents”

b. Ntogue a ŋ-kāl lé máná makebla nsán nyén a bí- lɔná mɔ

Ntogue SM Pres-say that these presents (TOP) father FOC SM P₂ bring them

“Ntogue says that these presents it is his father who brought them”

(15) a. *Ntogue a ɛ́-hɔ́ɔ́l makebla malam lé nsáɲ nyén a bí- lɔ́ná mɔ́

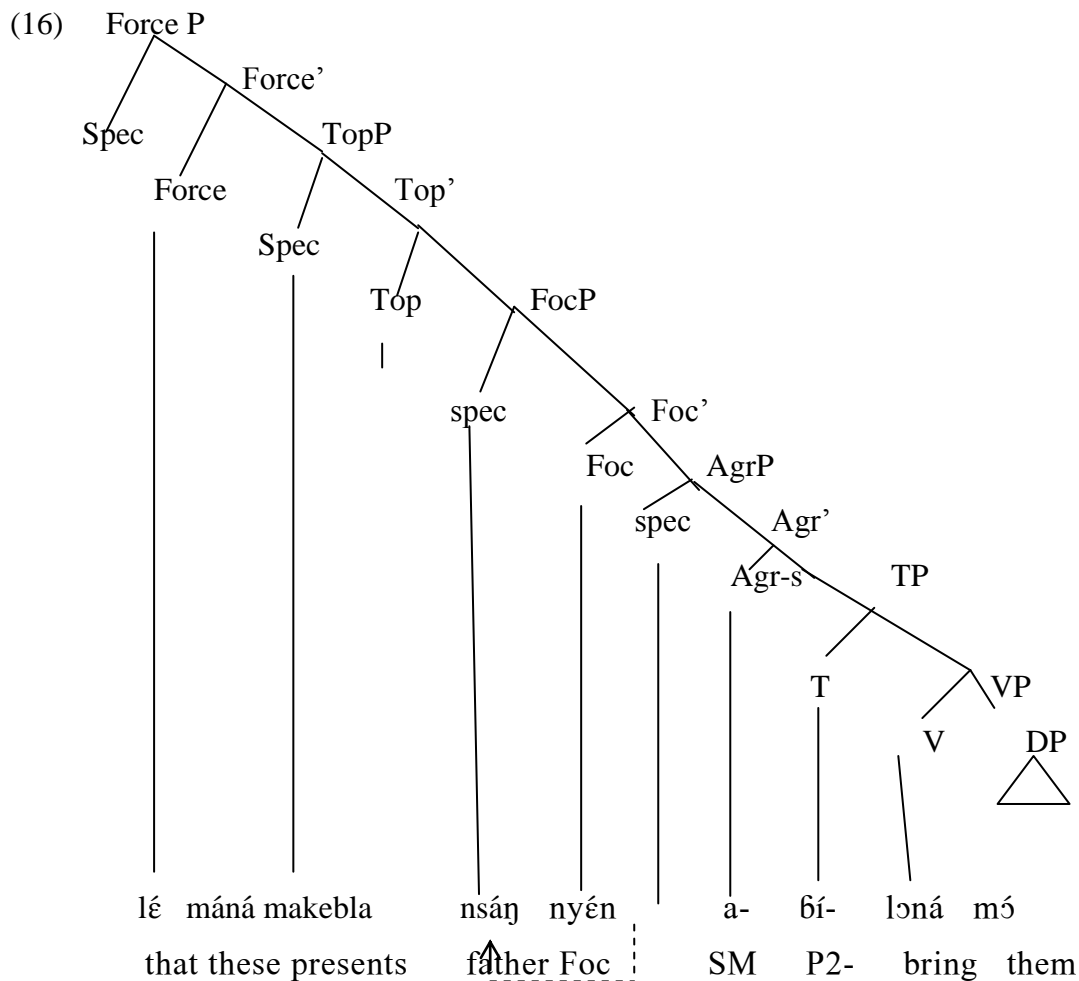
Ntogue SM Pres-think presents nice (TOP) that father FOC SM P2 bring them
 “Ntogue thinks nice presents that it is his father who brought them”

b. *Ntogue a ɛ́-hɔ́ɔ́l nsáɲ nyén lé makebla malam (t)a bí -lɔ́ná mɔ́

Ntogue SM Pres think father Foc that presents nice SM P₂ brought them”
 “Ntogue thinks it is his father who that nice presents brought them”

Within the pre-Rizzi framework, (14a) is a CP projection whose head is occupied by the lexical complementiser *lé* “that” followed by the lower agreement phrase (AgrP) headed by agreement subject (Agr-S) i.e. the subject marker whose specifier is the subject DP *nsáɲ* “father”. However, where the shoe pinches is (14b), which seems difficult to be appropriately represented in the CP projection. More specifically, in (14b) we have topicalized and focalised constituents that are preceded by the lexical complementiser *lé* “that”.

Again, let us assume that a constituent endowed with topic or focus features must end up in a Spec/head configuration with Top and Foc respectively, in other words there are topic and focus criteria, reminiscent of the wh and Neg criteria (Rizzi 1991, Haeggegan (1995). Focus and topic movement will then be brought in line to the view that movement is triggered by greed i.e. the necessity of certain constituents to satisfy some morphological needs. Under the theory of movement, we expect that no syntactic movement leftwards may be free or optional; rather, it is triggered to satisfy some syntactic requirements. More concretely, there are functional heads expressing topic and focus that are responsible for movement of topicalized and focalized elements in their respective specifier positions. So, the heads *Top°* and *Foc°*, functional in nature and belonging to the complementizer system, project their own schemas. In a theory where adjunction is banned and assuming that CP is the only projection above IP, then we find ourselves in a situation whereby both the Topic and the focus compete for the same position. Since we cannot stack two constituents in the same positions, then the CP layer should split into different projections. The first one hosting the force marker *lé* “that” the topicalized constituent hosting in the topic phrase and the focalised constituent hosting in the focus phrase. By so doing we avoid the stacking of constituents and we appropriately present an elegant cartography of the structure in (13b), as illustrated below: Note that TP and VP are simplified.



As for the ungrammaticality of (15a), the topic phrase is above the force phrase, something impossible in Basa'a. Again, the resumptive pronoun *mó* “them” cannot be bound by its antecedent in the specifier post position of the topic phrase because of the intervention of the force marker *lé* “that”, which is a blocker. The position of the FocP poses no problem at this level since it is dominated by the force phrase. As for (15b), we realize that the argument DP *nsán* “father” in Spec-FocP has been extracted from its subject position (in Spec-AgrP) up to the higher position above the Force phrase. The complementizer *lé* “that” in force blocks antecedent government between the trace and the moved subject. Since the subject trace is adjacent to the complementiser, there is a violation of the **that-trace filter** (Chomsky and Lasnik 1977).

(17) **That-trace filter:** *The sequence of an overt complementizer followed by a trace is ungrammatical.*

TopP which acts as a potential governor.

6.4. THE MODIFIER PHRASE (ModP)

In this section we are going to explore the structural position occupied by adverbs in Basa'a. We are going to examine the left peripheral position of adverbs. We shall tackle adverbs and adverbials. Kofi (2000) uses the term adverbs to refer to a single lexical item that belongs to the category of the words that express semantic notions as time, manner, place, instrument or circumstance. On the other hand adverbials refer to any category such as a word, phrase or a clause which functions and has a distribution similar to that of lexical adverbs. In Rizzi (1997) it was assumed that left peripheral adverbs normally fill regular topic positions. Nevertheless, the assumption that preposed adverbials may be full-fledged topics is not very plausible on interpretative grounds. In other words, if the notional interpretation of a topic is "as for X (which is already present in the discourse context), a sentence with a proposed adverb does not seem to be felicitously paraphrasable in such terms. Although a topic represents old information already mentioned in the discourse, there seems to be a common denominator between a topic and a proposed adverb: Both are made prominent at the left periphery where they have a wider scope over the whole structure. Adverbs in Basa'a can occupy a dedicated position which is intonationally similar to a topic, but differs from it in the sense that the adverb does not require a connection with the previous discourse context. Given that preposed adverbs and adverbials are neither topics nor foci, we need a head of some kind to license a preposed adverb in the structural space between the force phrase and agreement phrase. If we assume modification to be the substantive relation between an adverb and the structure it relates to, let us suggest that the head of such a phrase is termed the Mod(ifier) phrase (ModP) whose head is "Mod". Cinque's (1999) analysis on adverbs, quoted by Rizzi (2005) shows that each adverb is licensed in the specifier of a dedicated head. So, the dedicated heads can host adverbs as their specifiers at the left periphery. Adverbs, in virtue of their semantic interpretation i.e. they modify the structure they precede or follow, are said to be prominent in syntactic constructions. The functional motivation for postulating a "Mod"head lies in the fact that it makes the moved adverb prominent i.e. by having a wider scope over the given structure.

Within the minimalist framework and following our theoretical approach adopted in this work, there is an important idea to borrow from the system presented in Chomsky (1993): syntactic movement (as already mentioned) is a "last resort" in the precise sense that it must be triggered by the satisfaction of certain requirements of heads. Such requirements can be

phrased in the style of Rizzi (1991), Haegeman (1995) i.e. wh, Neg, Top, Foc criteria) and Chomsky's feature checking approach. The postulation of a ModP would be that the head "Mod" bears an interpretative import that determines the category bearing it. So Mod° functions as a scope marker for the displaced adverb with the relevant semantic scope. This adverb is in a local configuration so that its role is not simply to be moved and disappear from representations. The "last resort" principle provides us with additional evidence that the postulation of a ModP is relevant because it enables us to have the fine structure of the left periphery hosting different kinds of phrases: no free preposing and adjunction to IP is permissible, rather, all kinds of movements to the left edge of the clause must be motivated by the satisfaction of some criteria, hence by the presence of a head entering into the required Spec/head configuration with the preposed phrase. So, the "last effort" principle will be instrumental in drawing the map of the left periphery of the clause in Basa'a. In all, we suggest that just like there are topic, focus, wh, Neg criteria, there is also a modification (modifier) criterion which triggers movement of the adverb in order to satisfy syntactic requirements, especially the Spec/head relation between the moved adverb and its head. Notice that in Basa'a, not all the adverbs are subject to movement into the higher position of the clause at s-structure. Let us consider the following examples:

- (19) a. 6Éběk_i malět_j nyén u bí- tēhē_{ti} t_j
 probably teacher Foc you P₂ see
 "Probably, it is the teacher that you saw"
- b. 6Éběk, 6aúdú 6áná, malět nyén bá gwēs
 probably students these teacher Foc they love
 "Probably these students, it is the teacher that they love"
- c. *mbēŋel, 6aúdú 6ón malět a bí- pódôs
 slowly students Foc teacher SM P₂ talk
 "Slowly, it is the students that the teacher talked to"
- (20) a. malět núnú 6ōŋgē bón 6á gwēs nyé siŋsiŋ
 teacher this (Top) children Foc SM love him strongly
 "This teacher, it is the children that love him strongly"
- b. 6aúdú 6ón malět a ŋ- gwēs ŋgándak
 students Foc teacher SM Pres-love much
 "It is the students that the teacher loves much"

c. **ŋgandak* *ḡaudú* *ḡṑn malět* a *ŋ- gwěs*

much students Foc teacher SM Pres-love

“Much, it is the students that the teacher loves”

(19) and (20) provide us with some insightful comments on the behaviour of adverbs in Basa’a. In (19 a-b) we realize that extraction of the epistemic adverb *ḡéḡêk* “probably” across FP and TopP is licensed, since adverb preposing at this level is not banned. This epistemic adverb can either stay in situ i-e in VP internal position or move into the specifier position of the ModP. In (20a-b), the degree adverb *siḡsiḡ* “strongly” and measure adverb *ŋgandak* “much” are always VP-internal; any movement into the left periphery of the clause at s-structure is banned, as we can see from (20c). Similarly, the manner adverb *mbeḡel* “slowly” should not be extracted from the VP-internal position as we can see from the ungrammaticality of (19c). So, adverb preposing is not licensed for any type of adverb, it is restricted to epistemic adverbs (which can cross over the Top and FP). Manner adverbs, degree and measure adverbs are banned from extraction. Before we proceed, let us say a word concerning the nature and the motivation for postulating a ModP. Notice that the cartographic approach adopted by Rizzi and others does not allow phrasal adjunction. In this vein the adverb is no longer a VP-adjoined position at every time. Concerning the approach adopted for topic focus, and other discourse-related left peripheral material, the assumption is that they are created by the usual structure building mechanism, i-e. there are special functional heads of topic and focus which give rise to their own projections, and whose specifiers are positions dedicated to topical or focal interpretation. Although there is a cross-linguistic variation as far as the nature of those heads is concerned, i.e. some languages exhibit overt Top and Foc(cf. Gungbe and Basa’a : the case of cleft constructions) and others do not. From the foregoing, we assume that other languages use analogous null heads, thus differing from the abovementioned languages in the morphological manifestation of a fundamentally uniform syntactic system. So if preposed adverbs move into the left periphery, then a word deserves to be said as concerns their distributional properties. Like Topic and Focus, preposed adverbs clearly move to the left periphery. Since they are maximal projections they land in Spec-ModP in order to be in conformity with the structure preserving constraint.

-A natural interpretation is that only referential nominal expressions are natural topics, adverbs are not, so they cannot naturally occupy topic positions. Again, time adverbs, frequency adverbs as well as what Kofi (2004) terms ideophonic adverbs can move to the left

periphery of the clause. Their earmark is that as they can be clefted ,their counterparts in (19) and (20) cannot:

(21) a. yàání, malět nyén mɛ gá- ɓɔmá

tomorrow teacher Foc I F2 meet

“Tomorrow, it is the teacher that I shall meet”

b. híkí kěl malět núnú makebla mɔn a ŋ-kôs

every day teacher this(Top) presents Foc he Pres receive

"Every day, this teacher, it is the presents that he receives"

(22) a. yàání nyén mɛ gá- ɓɔmá malět

tomorrow Foc I F2 meet teacher

“It tomorrow that I will meet the teacher”

b. *ɓéběk nyén mɛ gá- ɓɔmá malět

probably Foc I F2 meet teacher

“Probably (Foc) I will meet the teacher”

From (21) and (22) we realize that there is a higher projection above TopP and FP (21b) called Modifier phrase. We also see that while adverbials can undergo clefting, adverbs on the contrary cannot. In Basa’a, we can also have the ModP in embedded contexts; and it always has a wider scope over TopP and FP, and is preceded by ForceP as can be seen below:

(23) a. mɛ ŋ-kâl lé yàání malět núnú makebla mɔn a gá-kôs

I pres-say that tomorrow teacher this(Top) presents foc he Fut get

“I say that tomorrow, this teacher it is the present that he will receive”

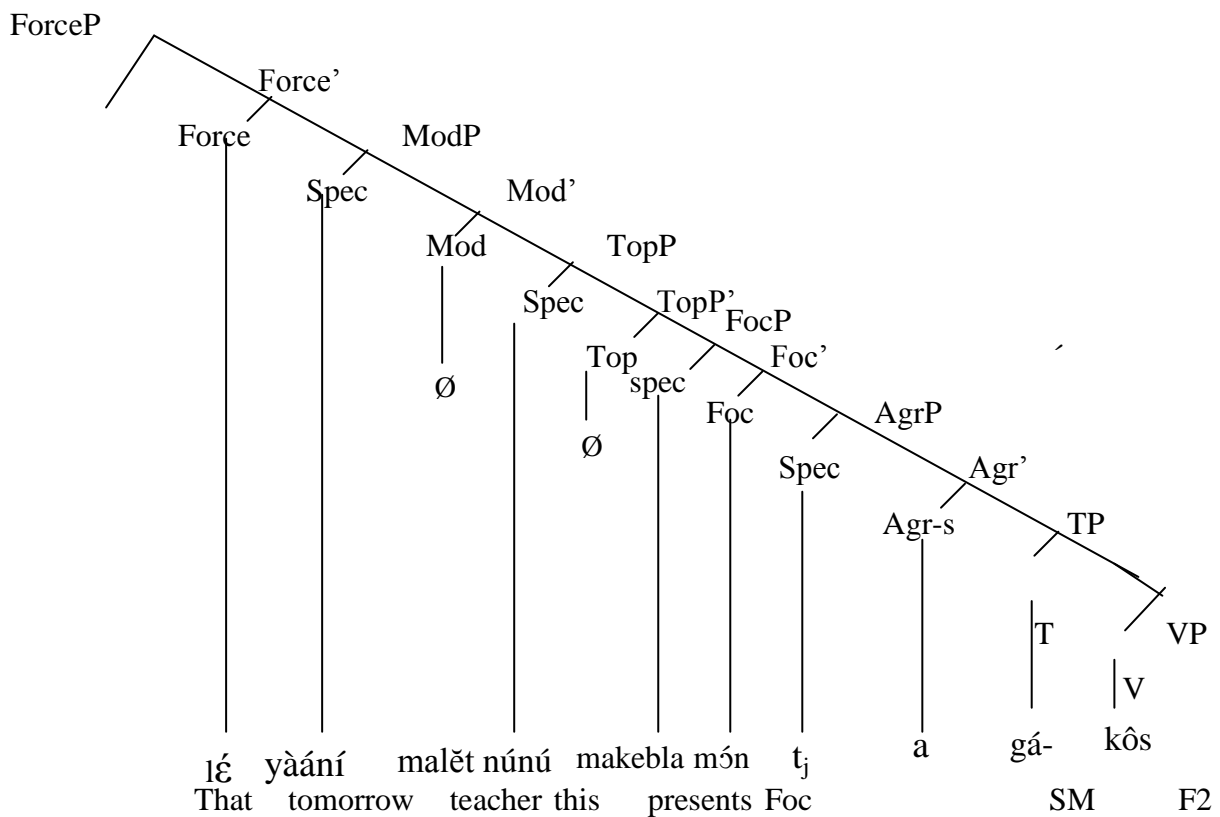
b. mɛ ŋ-hɔŋɔl lé tóbótóbó malět wěs, wěn u gá- tí nyé mɔní

I Prés-think that specially teacher our you (Foc) you Fut give him money

“I think that especially, our teacher you are the one who will give him the money”

The sentence in(23a) has the following representation:

(24)



receive

In (23) we have instances of embedded clauses introduced by the epistemic verbs *kâl* “say”, *hɔŋɔl* “think” followed by a lexical complementizer *lé* “that” marking the declarative force of the clause. So, from the top to the bottom, we have a ForceP upwards, followed by a ModP which is in turn followed by a TopP and a FP. The last type of adverb in (23b) is subject to reduplication whereby the qualificative adjective is reduplicated to form an ideophonic adverb. Notice that the structural order of phrases above is not a rigid one given that the ModP can precede or dominate a TopP. So far we can propose the following relative order of the phrases in the left periphery in Basa’a:

(25) [ForceP > ModP > Top > FocP] AgrP

or

[ForceP > TopP (ModP) > FocP (ModP)] AgrP.

Based on the foregoing data; we realize that in Basa’a, there is another projection in the complementizer’s layer system called Modifier phrase with a phonetically null head. Following Rizzi’s theory, adverbs in Basa’a substitute for the specifier position of the ModP. In the left periphery of the clause the ModP may occur with TopP or FP: all these phrases

fulfil different functions. While adverbs are banned from clefting, adverbials on the contrary are not.

6.5 THE POSITION THE Wh-PHRASE

Contrary to Tuki (Biloa: op.cit) and Italian (Rizzi: 2001b:4), where Wh-phrases land in Spec-FP, the Basa'a left peripheral material provides us with a rather different mapping. In Tuki, wh-phrase is substitution for Spec-FP and in Italian a wh-expression and a focus constituent compete for the same landing site i-e Spec-FP. In order words, in Italian a sequence of a wh-expression followed by a focus or vice-versa is ungrammatical. Let us consider the following sentences:

(26) a. ane odzu Puta a- dingam? (Biloa 1995:71)

who Foc Puta SM love

“Who does puta love?”

b. *Mi demando a chi QUESTO abbiano detto (non qualcos...)

“I wonder to whom THIS they have said (not something else)

(Rizzi 2001b:4)

c. mε mɓàt lé ínyuúkíí MANA MAKEBLA mɔn ni n-tí mε?

I wonder that why these presents FOC you P₁ give me

“I wonder that why THESE PRESENTS you gave me?”

(27) a. mε m-ɓàt lé léláá ɓáná ɓôt malɛp mɔn ɓá nyɔ?

I Pres- ask that how dem- men water Foc they drink

“I ask that how these people it is the water that they drank?”

b. *mε m- ɓàt lé malɛp mɔn ɓáná ɓôt léláá ɓá n-yɔ?

I Pres-ask that water Foc these men how SM P₂ drink

“*I ask that these people it is the water that why they drank?”

c. *mε m- ɓàt lé malɛp mɔn ínyuúkíí ɓáná ɓôt ɓá n-yɔ?

I Pres-ask that water Foc why these men(Top) SM-Pres-drink

d. mε m- ɓàt lé ɓáná ɓôt ínyuúkíí malɛp mɔn ɓá n-yɔ ndígi?”

I Pres-ask that these men(Top) why water Foc SM-Pres-drink only

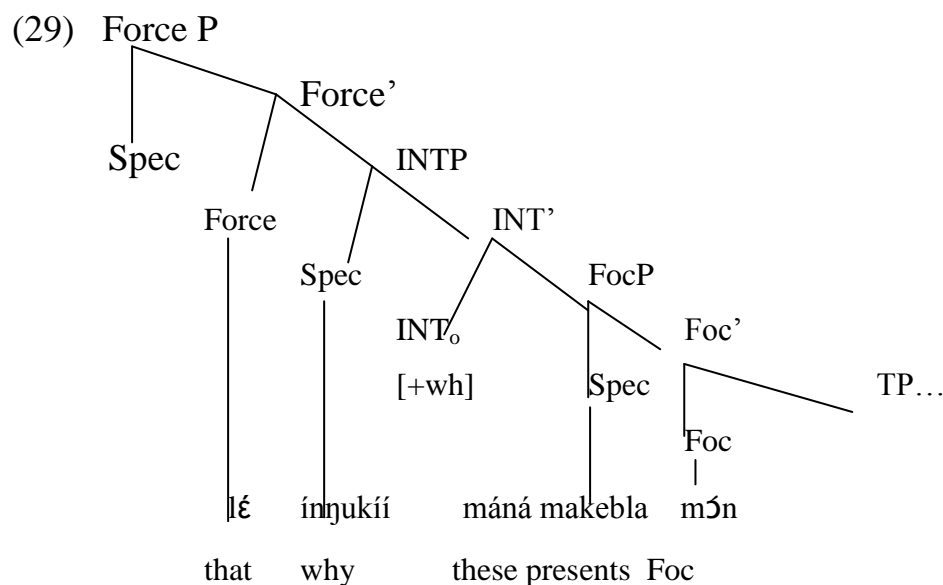
“I wonder why these people drink only water”

A closer look at (26a-b) shows that wh-phrases land in Spec-FP in Tuki and Italian, and that in Italian a wh-phrase and a focus are mutually exclusive. So, where there is a focus phrase there should not be a wh-phrase. This is tantamount to saying that wh-phrases are inherently focussed. However, notwithstanding the fact that wh-phrases are inherently focussed, and that in Tuki for instance this is sometimes morphologically realized, it is worth noting that in Basa'a, a wh-phrase is lower than the interrogative markers *ĩʒʒ* “whether” in indirect questions and *bàá* “is it that” in yes/no questions. So it is plausible to propose that wh-expressions in Basa'a project another interrogative Phrase whose head is phonetically null and whose specifier is the moved wh-expression. This reasoning is closer to that of Rizzi (2001b) where in an embedded context there is recursion of Topic phrases higher than a focus phrases. Rizzi proposes the following structural mapping for Italian:

(28) TOP..... INT..... TOP.... FOC

Along similar lines, (26c) has the following configuration:

Force INT..... FOC..... TP



The sentence in (27a) has the following mapping:

Force... Wh-phrase...Top... FOC... AgrP

A word deserves to be said as for the ill-formedness of (27b-c). In fact we realize that in a construction where there is a topic, a focus and wh- expression the focus should occupy the lowest position. Notice that the focalised DP *malěp* “water” is the canonical object of the

lexical verb *yǝ* “drink” in the lower TP. So, since Topics and wh-phrases are islands, we realize that extraction across them leads to island violation. Again, since Top and wh are potential interveners between the focalised DP and its trace the bounding relation fails. First of all the moved focalized constituent can no longer antecedent govern its trace, therefore we have an ECP violation. Again, since local relations in a given configuration within the cartographic approach should take place in a strictly minimal configuration, (27b) violates RM and the minimal link configuration. This is because Relativized Minimality is intuitively construed as an economy principle in that it severely limits the portion of structure within which a given local relation is computed: constituents entering into a local relation are as shorter as possible in that they can only target the first potential bearer of the relevant position.

Finally, the ungrammaticality of (27c) is accounted for quite the same way as in the foregoing, but to the difference that the focalised constituent *malǝp* “water” has only moved across the wh phrase *inyuúkíí* “why”, thereby violating, RM, MLC, wh-island constraint, and the ECP. Overall, notice that extraction is not banned at all but clefting over a wh-phrase and a topic phrase is severely banned in Basa’a. However, a wh-phrase can cross over a topic without any ungrammaticality as can be seen in (27a) above. In like manner, a topic can cross over a wh-phrase, as we see from the well-formedness of (27d).

6.6 THE POSITION OF INTERROGATIVE PHRASE

So far we have shown the structural mapping of the clause structure in Basa’a. The following structures are hitherto considered:

(30) a. Force...Wh-Phrase....TOP..... FOC.... AgrP

b. Force... Mod...TOP....FOC... AgrP

It should be noted that wh-expressions land in Spec-INTP given their semantic interpretation. In fact wh-expressions in Basa’a help us build up content questions, as they look for information about who does what, when and how etc. More interesting is the fact that a wh-expression can be preceded by the interrogative complementizers: *tǝ* “whether” (in indirect questions and *bàá* (in Yes/No questions) as can be seen below:

(31) a *malǝt a m-ǝàt lǝ bàá inyúúkí ǝáúdú ǝá η- kǝ?*

teacher SM Pres-ask that INT why students SM P₁- go

“The teacher asks (*that) INT why the students have left”

b. malět a m-ɓàt lé tɔɔ ínyúúkí ɓaúdú ɓà ŋ-kíl?

teacher SM Pres-ask that INT why students SM P₁-go

“The teacher asks (*that) INT why the students have left”

(32) a. *malět a m-ɓat lé ínyúúkí ɓàá ɓaúdú ɓá ŋ-ké?

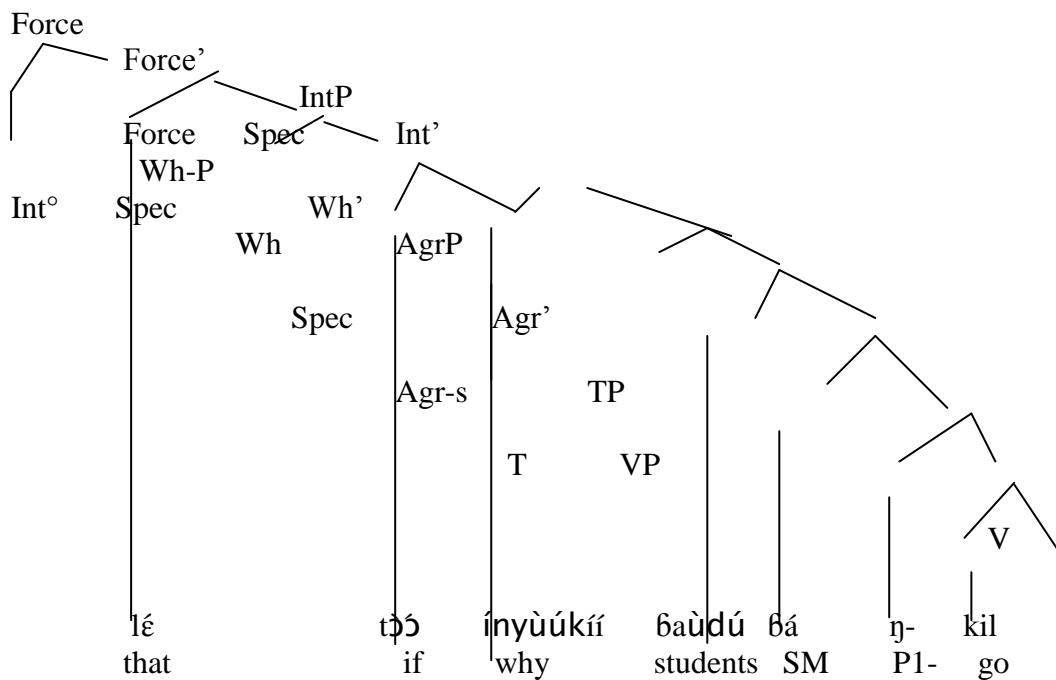
teacher SM Pres-ask that why INT students SM P₁-go

b. *malět a m-ɓat lé ínyúúkí tɔɔ ɓaúdú ɓá ŋ-kɛ

teacher SM Pres-ask that why INT students SM P₁-go

Notice straight away that the interrogative complementizers *ɓàá* “is it that” and *tɔɔ* “whether” introduce respectively a yes/no question and an indirect question. In a multiple interrogative context like (31), the interrogative markers should always dominate the wh-phrase as can be illustrated below: (33) is the P-marker of (31b):

(33)



Henceforth, the wh-phrase neutralizes the Yes/No and indirect scope of the questions above it. In other words, when a wh-phrase is preceded by the above lexical complementisers, it takes a wider scope over them in such a way that we neither answer to question (31a) by yes/no nor consider (31b) as an indirect question. Both constructions become content

question because of the intervention of the wh-phrase. However, a more striking question to ask is how does the wh-phrase take a wider scope over the lexical complementizers and why are (32a-b) ungrammatical?

Let us assume that the sentence structure formed by successive merger operations must ultimately map (convert) into two different interface levels of structural representation: a phonetic form (**PF**) and a logical form (**LF**). In the case of (27d) for instance, the **PF** provides us with the manner sentences are pronounced whereas the **LF** specifies what they mean, i.e. where the semantic interpretation of the sentences is processed (they are interpreted as content questions). So, the derivation of (31a-b) involves a **PF** and an **LF** representation which help us fully interpret them. So, to have a wider scope over the lexical complementizers in (31), the wh-phrase moves at **LF** over them in order to have a fully interpretable nature. This movement does not take place in the syntax. Again, once the **PF** requirements are satisfied, the derivation converges in conformity with the Principle of Full Interpretation.

Along similar lines, (32a-b) are ill-formed because the syntactic computations fail at PF. More concretely, there is an ill-formedness at the level of the phonetic form, since the sentence is not well processed at PF and the utterances are not well processed at this level. Given the failure of the PF, the resulting derivations crash and therefore violate the PFI. Ultimately, we can account for the ill-formedness of (32) following the idea that like in English for instance, indirect questions are islands, i.e. domains out of which extraction is banned. The ungrammaticality of (32) is reminiscent of the English case whereby extraction of the wh-phrase out of an if-clause is banned:

(34) * How do you wonder if he is feeling? (Radford 1997:296)

The issue is the following: if-questions have an abstract yes-no question operator (a null operator) in Spec-CP. So, if the English Wh-operator “how” in (33) moves into the higher CP, it has to stop over the if-domain, and since this domain (Spec-CP) is filled by a null operator, there is impossibility to moving. This intervening null operator is a barrier to movement. If the wh-operator moves into the higher Spec-CP, in a single step, it violates the **shortest movement principle (SMP), the ECP and RM**. We assume that the interrogative complementizers in (33) are endowed with null-operators in Spec-IntP, which are potential interveners between the moved wh-operators and their traces.

6.7. THE POSITION OF **t** “whether”

As we mentioned earlier, $\text{t}\dot{\text{o}}\text{t}$ “whether” is a marker of interrogation in indirect questions. In this section, we are going to explore its structural position in relation to other left peripheral materials. We have already seen that this interrogative marker always dominates the position occupied by the wh-phrase, and that it occupies a position lower than the force phrase. Given that the sequence of the force marker $\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}$ “that” and the interrogative marker $\text{t}\dot{\text{o}}\text{t}$ “whether” is grammatical in Basa’a this is reminiscent of the “*que si*” “if that” phenomenon in Italian (Rizzi 2001b:3) quoting Plan (1982:300) and Suñer (1994:349). As the complementizer $\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}$ “that” is hosted in force; let us say that there is a position called interrogative) phrase dominated by ForceP in Basa’a, as has been mentioned and as can be seen below:

(35) a. $\text{m}\epsilon \text{ m}\acute{\text{-}}\text{b}\grave{\text{a}}\text{t} \quad \text{l}\acute{\text{e}} \quad \text{t}\dot{\text{o}}\text{t} \quad \text{n}\acute{\text{u}}\text{n}\acute{\text{u}} \text{ mal}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t} \text{ ng}\mathfrak{C}\text{m}\acute{\text{h}}\text{n} \quad \text{a} \quad \acute{\text{n}}\text{-s}\acute{\text{a}}\text{a} \text{ ny}\acute{\text{e}}$

I Pres-ask that whether this teacher state Foc SM pres-pay him

“I wonder that (*whether) this teacher, it is the state that pays him”

b. $*\text{m}\epsilon \text{ m}\acute{\text{-}}\text{b}\grave{\text{a}}\text{t} \quad \text{t}\dot{\text{o}}\text{t} \quad \text{l}\acute{\text{e}} \quad \text{n}\acute{\text{u}}\text{n}\acute{\text{u}} \text{ mal}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t} \text{ ng}\mathfrak{C}\text{m}\acute{\text{h}}\text{n} \text{ ny}\acute{\text{e}}\text{n} \quad \text{a} \quad \acute{\text{n}}\text{-s}\acute{\text{a}}\text{a} \text{ ny}\acute{\text{e}}$

I Pres-ask whether that this teacher state FOC SM Pres-pay him.

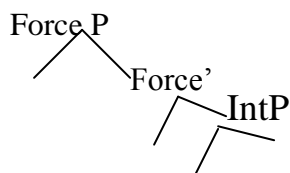
c. $\text{m}\epsilon \text{ m}\acute{\text{-}}\text{b}\grave{\text{a}}\text{t} \text{ l}\acute{\text{e}} \quad \text{t}\dot{\text{o}}\text{t} \quad \acute{\text{i}}\text{ny}\grave{\text{u}}\acute{\text{u}}\text{k}\acute{\text{i}} \text{ n}\acute{\text{u}}\text{n}\acute{\text{u}} \text{ mal}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t} \text{ ng}\mathfrak{C}\text{m}\acute{\text{h}}\text{n} \text{ ny}\acute{\text{e}}\text{n} \quad \text{a} \quad \acute{\text{n}}\text{-s}\acute{\text{a}}\text{a} \text{ ny}\acute{\text{e}}$

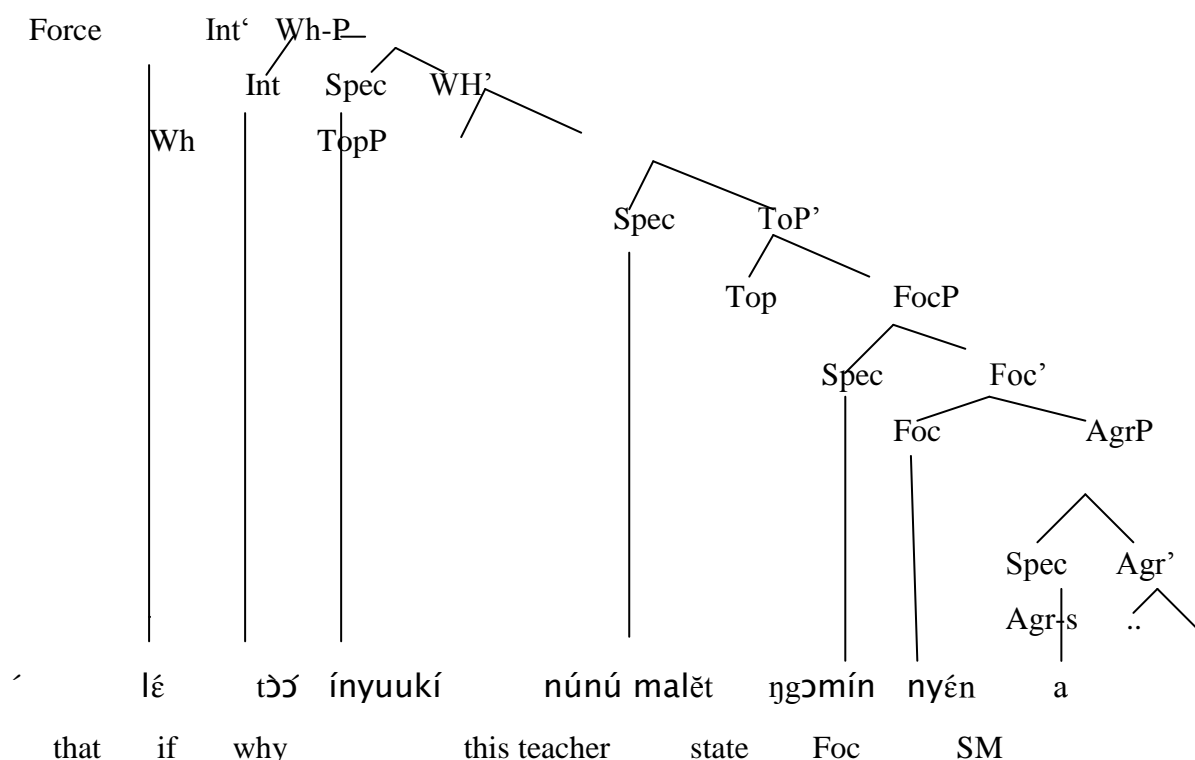
I Pres-ask that whether why this teacher state FOC SM Pres-pay him.

"I wonder (that whether) why this teacher it is the state that pays him"

From (35) above we realize that in an embedded context, the lexical complementizer $\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}$ "that" (which is compulsory) should always precedes the interrogative marker; and where this is not satisfied, we end up with an ungrammatical sentence, as we can see in (35b). The data above clearly indicate that $\text{t}\dot{\text{o}}\text{t}$ “whether” can co-occur with a wh-phrase, a topic phrase and a focus phrase; as can be seen below: (35c) is represented in (36).

(36)





The following mapping represents the phrase marker in (36) :

(37) Force... INT... Wh-phrase ... TOP... FOC

6.8. THE POSITION OF *ɓàá* (is it that)... FV (final vowel)

As stated a while ago, *ɓàá* is a marker of interrogative in yes/no questions. For a question to be interpreted as yes/no one, the sentence should be closed off downward by the final vowel. In fact the final vowel of the last word of the clause is doubled at the end in order to have a yes/no interpretation. Where this vowel is not doubled, there is no yes-no question. Instead, the yes-no nature of sequence is neutralized by an intervening wh-phrase. Consider the following sentences:

(38) a. *ɓàá mɛ́ n-là jé-ɛ*

INT I Pres-can eat-FV

“Can I eat?”

b. *ɓàá ínyúukí mɛ́ n-là jé*

INT why I Pres-can eat

“Why can I eat?”

c. *ɓàá ɓaúdú ɓá n- sâl- é*

INT students SM Pres-work-FV

“Do the students work?”

Notice that when an utterance ends with a consonant, the final vowel is generally the

phoneme /ɛ/ which is attached to the verb. The final vowel is very significant in Basa'a as it give the yes/no interpretation to the question. Where this vowel is dropped because of the intervening Wh- phrase, no yes/no interpretation is possible (38c). In case of the sequences ending with a vowel, there is complete vowel assimilation i-e. the preceding vowel completely assimilates the final vowel. Following Grimshaw (1993) and Roberts (1993) quoted by Biloa (in press), as mentioned earlier, yes-no questions as well as wh-questions are CP_s. The null operator in a yes-no question is base generated in Spec-CP. Within the framework of the **split-CP hypothesis** and adopting the foregoing arguments, the Basa'a interrogative particle *ḥàá* is going to host in Int^o, the head of IntP. Let us consider sentence (38a) as (39) below:

(39) [IntP Op [Int. ḥàá] [TP m[T ḥ] [VP [V là] [VP] [V jé] -ɛ]]]

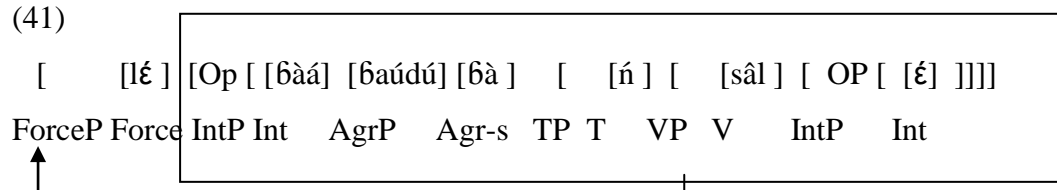
Considering that the null operator occupies the specifier position of the interrogative phrase and *ḥàá* the head of the IntP, the question to be asked is which position occupies the final vowel which is also a question marker? This vowel seems to play the role of the interrogative marker *ḥàá*. Since in Basa'a both *ḥàá* and the final vowel are interrogative markers (Notice that the final vowel can be used without *ḥàá* in yes-no question) it is plausible to postulate that the final vowel project its own interrogative phrase at sentence-final position as can be seen below: Consider (38c) as (40)

40. [Op [ḥàá] [ḥáúdú [ḥá] [ḥ] [Sál] [OP [é]]]]]

IntP Int AgrP Agr-S TP T VP V IntP Int

Given the same role and function fulfilled by both *ḥàá* and /ɛ/ (final vowel), the phrase marker projected by /ɛ/ will end up at clause-final position. With this state of affairs, a recursion of interrogative phrases is plausible in the same manner topic recursion operates in Italian and Tuki for instance. If we agree with the idea of interrogative recursion in (40) we assume that the lower interrogative phrase in clause-final position also has a wider scope over the clause. However, this is only possible at LF where the entire structure made up of the higher IntP., the AgrP and the lower IntP is moved into Spec-Force phrase so that the final vowel /ɛ/, the head of the lower IntP moves in Force^o. By so doing the question morpheme /ɛ/ has scope over the entire clause at LF as can be seen below:

(41)



It should be noted that given the fact that / \mathcal{E} / occupies a scope position above the clause; it has to move at LF into Force_o. However, if we only move / \mathcal{E} / from Int_o into Force_o, we will be violating some principle of UG. i.e. the minimal link condition and the head movement constraint (Travis 1984) which requires that a head be moved into the nearest head position, thereby avoiding to skip over an intermediate head. Relativized Minimality would also be violated in that movement did not take place in a local configuration, since the heads V_o T_o, Agr-S as well as Int_o are already filled and constitute potential interveners. Notwithstanding the fact that only the interrogative marker / \mathcal{E} / is needed in order to give a yes-no interpretation to the question, we have to pied-pipe the interrogative marker along with all the preceding material(neighbouring constituents) in order to ensure convergence at LF.

The investigation on the interrogative phrase enables us to examine certain positional properties in common with the declarative complementiser *lé* “that”. For instance, both *lé* “that” and the interrogative markers *tɔɔ* “whether” and *ɓàá* “is it that” are compatible with the focus position which must always follow and not precede them:

(42) a. *mɛ ɲ-hɔɲɔl lé mintômɓá mɔn mɛ bí sɔmɓ*

I Pres- believe that sheep Foc I P₂ buy

“I believe that it is the sheep that I bought”

b.* *mɛ ɲ-hɔɲɔl mintômɓá mɔn lé mɛ bí sɔmɓ*

I Pres- believe sheep Foc that I P₂ buy

(43) a. *mɛ ɲ-yí ɓě tɔɔ mintômɓá mɔn mɛ bí sɔmɓ*

I Pres-know Neg whether sheep Foc I P₂ buy

“I don’t know whether it is sheep that I bought”

b. **mɛ ɲ-yi ɓě mintômɓá mɔn lé mɛ bí- sɔmɓ*

I Pres-know Neg sheep Foc that I P₂ buy

“I don’t know it is the sheep that that I bought”

On the other hand, the interrogative markers can be preceded by a Topic phrase and a modifier phrase, while the declarative marker can only be followed by them:

(44) a. *líní líbâk ɓàá u bí mwas jɔ-ɔ* (yes-no question)

this behaviour INT you P₂ leave it Int

“This behaviour, (INT), did you abandon it?”

b. líní liḡâk tḡḡ u bí mwas jḡ

this behaviour INT you P₂ leave it

“This behaviour INT did you abandon it”

c. í nya ṅgeda iní tḡḡ mē n-la sāl

in such time this INT I Pres-can work

“In such moments whether I can work”

(45) a. mē m-ḡât lé líní liḡâk u bí mwas jḡ-ḡ

I Pres-ask that this behaviour you P₂ leave it Int

“I wonder whether this behaviour did you abandon it?”

b. *mē m-ḡât líní liḡâk lé u bí mwas jḡ-ḡ?

I Pres-ask this behaviour that you P₂ leave it Int

c. *í nya ṅgeda iní lé mē n-la sāl?

in such timethis that I Pres-can work

The overall gist of the sentences above constitutes additional support to the idea that topics with resumptive pronouns are base-generated at the left periphery (44); and that they are not subject to movement operation. Notice that a topic cannot precede a force phrase; as can be seen from the illicitness of (45b) at PF. This provides us with evidence that the force phrase is the highest projection at the left periphery.

6.9. THE POSITION OF RELATIVE OPERATORS

After examining the different projections at the left periphery of the clause in Basa’a, the **split CP hypothesis** raises interesting questions concerning the landing-site for Wh-operators in relative constructions. Previous studies have shown that wh-operators in relative constructions land in the specifier position of the CP where they have a wider scope over the clause. However, if the split CP hypothesis proves true along the foregoing and if the force phrase is hitherto considered as the top most projection at the left periphery, the issue to be examined here is the landing site for wh-operators in relative clauses. In this section we shall not lay more emphasis on relativization because we have already handled it in the light of the different approaches in vogue. We shall simply look at the place that relative operators occupy in relation to other maximal projection in the new CP layer system. Let us consider the following examples:

- (46) a. Sũklu i ye hɔ́má [nú [tɔ ŋgeda mbé [u ń -la téhé málět]]]
 school SM be place where even time any you Pres can see teacher
 “The school is the place where at any time you can meet the teacher”
- b. mangadzu [odzu [ee[Isomo a-ma-songo a- timbam Ibomo
 a child woman Rel that Isomo SM P₂ make love to SM possess pregnancy
 “The woman whom Isomo loves is pregnant” (Tuki, Biloa to appear)
- c.* Sũklu I yè hɔ́mà [nú [lé [tɔ ŋgeda mbê u ń-la téhé málět
 school SM be place where that even time any you pres-can see teacher

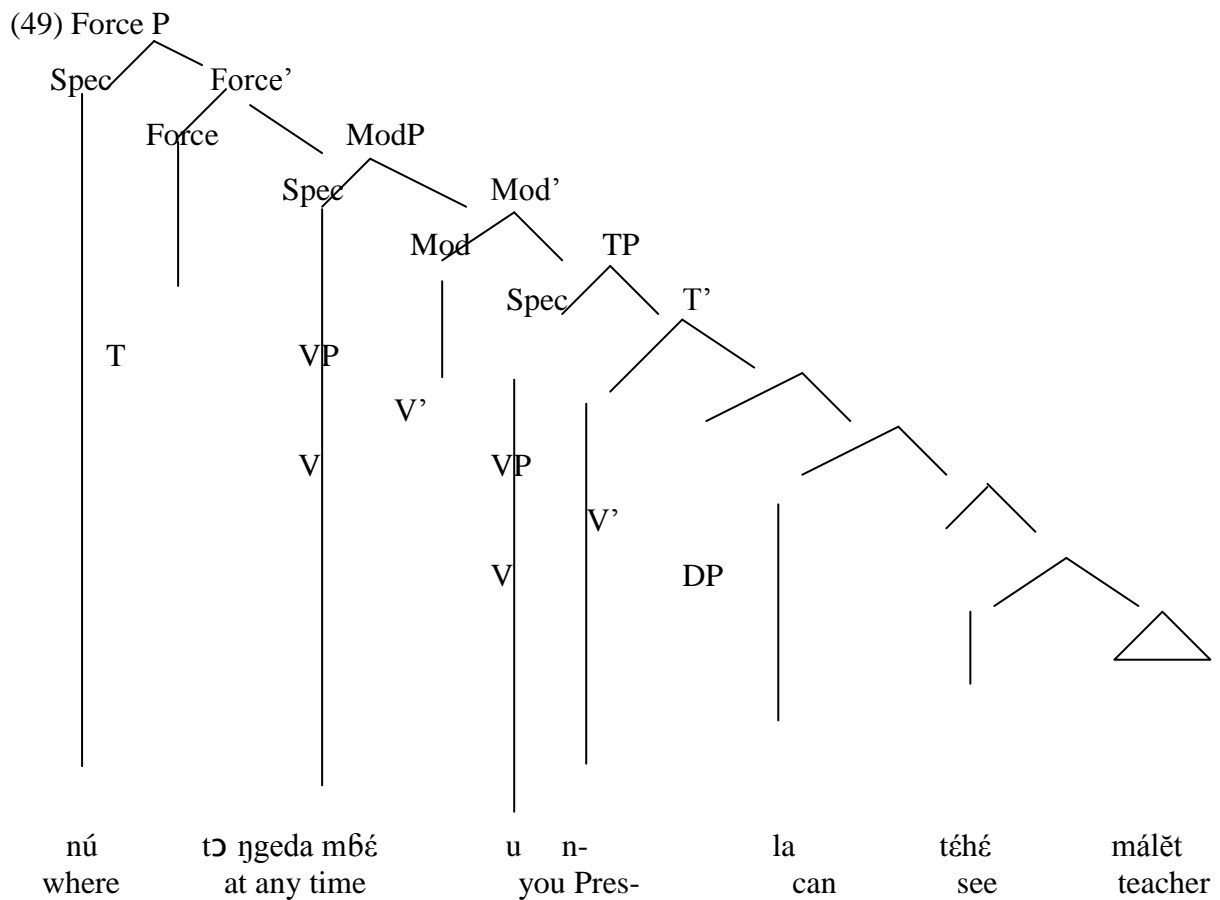
The above data offer a different insight as far as the syntax of Wh-operators in relatives is concerned. This seems to cast no doubt on the fact that the landing site for relativization is language-specific. More concretely, notwithstanding the fact that Tuki and Basa’a have each a phonetically realized relative pronoun, the structural configuration is quite different. In Basa’a, the relative pronoun (agrees in class and number with the noun) *nú* “where” dominates the ModP *tɔ ŋgeda mbé* “at any time” which in turn dominates the lower TP. In Tuki, things are virtually different in that the relativizer *odzu* “whom” dominates the force marker *ee* “that” which also dominates AgrP: such a construction is not allowed in Basa’a, hence the illicitness of (46c). So wherever a relative dominates a phonetically realized force marker, the sequence is ungrammatical. Biloa (in press) proposes the projection of a relative phrase (RelP) in Tuki. Based on the arguments that the lexical complementizer *ee* “that” is preceded by the relative marker *odzu* “whom”, and that *ee* “that” occupies Force°, and given that the relative item dominates ForceP he proposes a projection called relative phrase whose head is the relative marker with a null operator. Sentence (46b) has the following representation (ForceP and TP are simplified):

- (47) Mangadzu_i [OP_i [Odzu] [ee [Isomo [a-] [ma- [songo [....]]]]]
 RelP Rel ForceP AgrP Agr-S TP VP

The Basa’a data provides us with a different analysis. Suppose following the unsplit CP system (the pre-Rizzi framework) that relative operators land in Spec-CP. In English for instance, the wh-operators cannot co-occur with a phonetically realized complementizer “that” in COMP because the **Doubly Filled Comp Filter** would be violated. Within this framework; it is said that either C°, the head of CP is filled or Spec-CP. This is illustrated by the ungrammatical sentence below:

(48)* This is the man **to whom that** I gave the money.

The above sentence is approximately like the Basa'a sentence in (46c). It seems clear that a phonetically realized complementizer preceded by a wh-operator renders the sequence ungrammatical in standard British English (such constructions are allowed in old English: Radford 1997) and in Basa'a. We propose following the Split hypothesis that since the utmost projection above TP is the ForceP, then in (46a) the wh-operator *nú* "where" lands in Spec-ForceP with a null force marker in Force° as can be seen below:



Our analysis seems right along the lines given that apart from the interrogative complementizer *tɔŋ* "whether" and *bàà* "is it that" that have a null operator, the lexical *lé* "that" does not have any. So when the force marker has a null spell out, the relative operator freely moves into Spec-ForceP.

In addition, we posit that as wh-operators in relative have wh-features, let suppose that

Force_o, the head of the force phrase carries [EPP., wh] features that attract the wh-operators in Spec-ForceP. Partially summarizing, we can say that there is a complementizer *lé* "that" hosting in Force, but that in the process of derivation it is erased before spell out and this enables the movement of the relative operator into Spec-ForceP to be possible.

6.10. MOVEALPHA AND CHECKING THEORY

We have seen so far that some phrases are subject to movement operations at the left periphery of the clause whereas others are base-generated in their head positions. In this section we will confine ourselves to pointing out that the motivation for movement is due to features checking requirements. Let consider the following sentences:

(50) a. *mε m-bàt lé ínñũkíí ntěn ηgeda únú βɔŋgé βɔn u n-tɛhé*

I Pres-ask that why kind time this children Foc you Pres-see

"I wonder(that) why in such a moment it is the children that you meet?"

b. *mε m-bàt lé tɔɔ βɔŋgé βɔn malět a n-tí mákebla*

I Pres- ask that whether children Foc teacher SM Pres-give presents

"I wonder(that) whether it is the children that the teacher gives the presents".

c. *mε n-yí lé bíjék bíní βɔŋgé βɔn bá bí jé gwɔ*

I Pres-know that food these children Foc SM P2 eat them

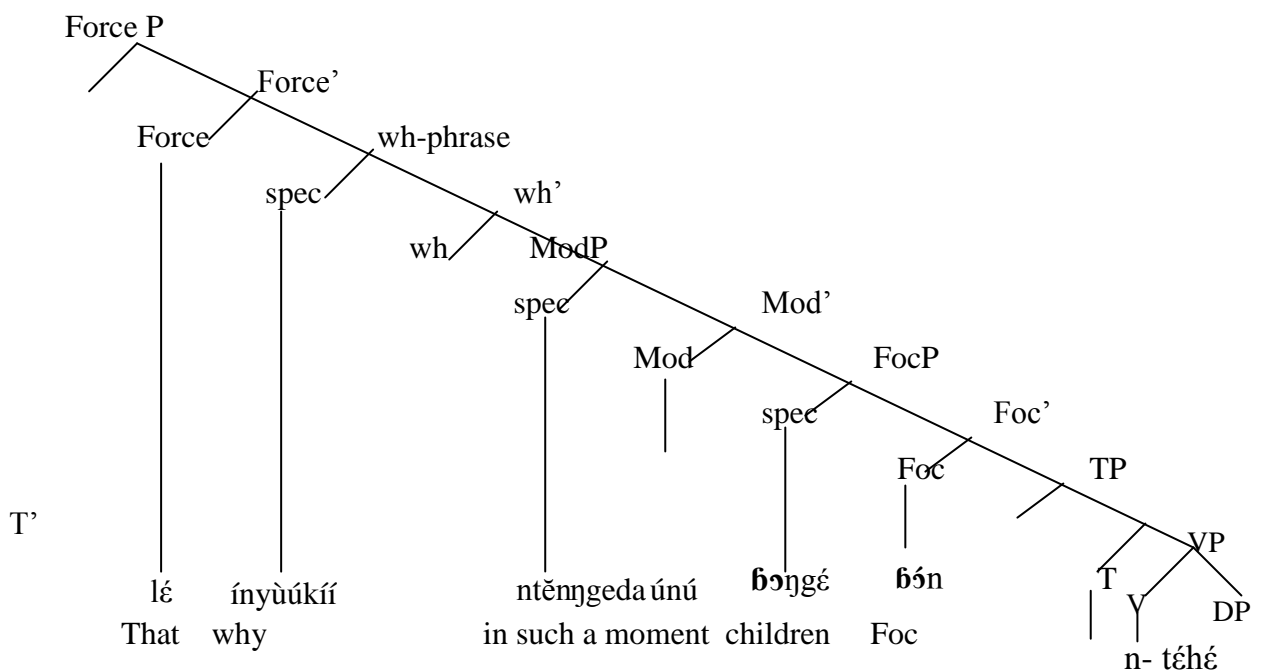
"I know that these food, it is the children that ate them"

In the above sentences, the interrogative complementizer *tɔɔ* "whether" and its declarative counterpart *lé* "that" are base-generated in their respective head positions i.e in Int^o and Force_o. In (50a) the wh-interrogative phrase *inyũkíí* "why" the ModP *ntěn ηgeda únú* "in such a moment" as well as the FocP *βɔŋgé βɔn* " it is the children that" have undergone each a movement operation. Let us generalize and posit that their movements are motivated by **greed** i.e, their selfish desire to satisfy their own morphological requirements. In fact, in order to satisfy the principle of full interpretation of the above phrases as Focus, wh-interrogative, Modifier etc. constituents are required to move into their respective specifier positions. So, movement here is referred to as **last resort** i.e, constituents should move because they have to. Otherwise we would not have their semantic interpretation; since it seems that movement operations are not a random affair in syntax. We posit within the minimalist framework that movements are triggered by the need to check features carried by

lexical and functional categories.

Following Roberts (1998: 113), "Move f(eature) corresponds to weak features and move category to strong features". Chomsky (1995: 269-270) proposes that movement should be regarded as movement of features, so a category α is moved with those features just when this is required by some principle of **UG**. an operation referred to as *generalized pied-piping*. According to Chomsky, overt movement of features always entails movement of the category associated with those features owing to properties of the **PF** component. Covert movement, on the other hand, is not subject to **PF** constraints and therefore most often involves purely the movement of features. Let us reconsider (50a) above as (51):

(51)



Pres-se

We realize that the following categories have undergone movement operations: the wh-phrase *ínyùúkíí* "why", the time adverbial *ntě̀n ɣéda únú* "in such a moment" which hosts in Spec-ModP and the focalised DP *bɔ́ŋgé* "children" in Spec-FocP. Thus, move α always carries along all other formal features of the lexical item in question. The earmark of this movement (Move F) can be summarized as follows (adopted from Chomsky 1995: 269-270):

(52) a. F is unchecked feature

b. F enters into a checking relation as a result of movement.

(53) a. All formal features of F's category are raised along with F

- b. A category α containing F moves only as required for convergence.
- c. Covert operations are pure feature raising.

Under (52b), let us propose that quite general properties of PF require "pied-piping" of α à la Chomsky. The idea of sensitivity to PF recalls the difference between strong and weak features (Roberts op.cit). So, in (51) let us propose that the wh-phrase *ínyùúkúí* "why" carries strong [wh] features that are responsible for movement. Again, the head of the Wh-phrase hosts [Wh, EPP] features that trigger movement of the constituent, enable the semantic interpretation of the phrase (as a question) and require the head of the phrase to project into a wh-phrase.

The features that are carried along with the feature that triggers movement are called "free riders" in Chomsky terminology. Again, when both the specifier and head features match, they are erased (or inactivated) and the derivation converges. In like manner, let us say by analogy that there are also [Foc] features in Foc, that attract the focalised DP constituent *ḥḥḡḡé* children" in Spec-FocP. Furthermore; as Basa'a is a Bantu language, and particularly a noun class language, let us posit that there are also class, gender and number features in Foc that require a proper constituent in Spec-FocP. The moved noun should therefore agree in class with these phi-features hosted in Foc. Following (52b) and (53b), checking will take place in a local Spec-head relation between the moved constituents and their respective heads in order to ensure convergence. In the same vein, Mod, the head of the ModP carries [Mod] features that are only checked via the movement of the time adverbials constituent in (51). In fact, the assumption is that these left peripheral positions are created by the usual structure-building mechanism, and the only mechanism that is assumed is that there are special functional heads: interrogative, topics, modifiers, focus etc. which give rise to their own projections, and whose spec's are dedicated to interrogative, topical, modifier, or focus interpretation. The functional motivation for such heads is that they make the moved constituent prominent, and it is indeed this prominence that is the common denominator of these moved categories. Under the label "modifier" Rizzi proposes that all the features: time, epistemic, evaluative, measure, frequentative etc. license adverbs at the dedicated left peripheral position and make them more prominent. Recall also that within the minimalist framework, movement takes place between a target position called (goal) and a source position called (probe). The source carries uninterpretable features (52a) that are only checked via movement of the goal (52b), in order to ensure convergence (53b). In case of in-situ Foci, movement does not take place overtly, but there is simply features raising and this

is closer to Chomsky's proposal that weak features are checked at LF. At this stage focus-features are checked before spell-out and the constituent is not required to move. Movement is thus referred in this case to movement as **least effort**; since a category is not allowed to move: property (53c) is satisfied.

Overall, we can summarize ourselves by stating that move alpha is due to the necessity to check phi-features that would otherwise remain unchecked. Pesetsky (1989) proposes that, there is an **earliness principle** which forces movement to apply as early as possible. In other words, in case of syntactic movement, we cannot postpone movement till LF. Rather, in case of in-situ foci for instance, movement is not necessary, it is therefore delayed by **procrastinate**. The overall idea is that when the feature of a category α is morphologically strong, this is reflected at the spell-out level, and the feature induces movement of the constituent. In case of a category α bearing weak features, movement is not possible and is regulated by least effort. In a nutshell, the heads Mod° , Foc° , Top° , Int° carry strong features that can only be checked via movement operations, in order to account for the PFI.

SUMMARY

In a nutshell, we have confined ourselves to pointing out that the split CP hypothesis proposed by Rizzi accommodates the data encountered in Basa'a. This is proven true and relevant because the stacking of many CP_s at the left periphery of a clause is simply done away with. The co-occurrence of different projections that formerly occupied the CP system individually proves right given the well-formedness of the structures examined. It has been shown that the Basa'a left periphery involves a force phrase (ForceP) as the highest projection above the clause, followed downwards by topic, focus, interrogative, modifier which also project their own phrases. We have seen that while the force marker *lé* "that" and the interrogative markers (*tɔɔ* "whether" *baá* "is that") are base-generated in their respective head positions, topics are rather base-generated in Spec-TopP with resumptivity as a saving device or subject to overt movement where they leave a copy trace at the extraction site. The ModP, FocP, as well as the wh-interrogative phrases are also instances of movement operations, i.e. they substitute for the specifier positions of their heads. The co-occurrence restrictions enabled us to explore the hierarchical structure within the left peripheral zone. There is a modificational (modifier) criterion which triggers movement of the adverb in Spec-

ModP so as to satisfy syntactic requirements, especially the Spec/head relation between the moved adverb and its head.

Summarizing, the following examples exhibit the fine structure of the left periphery in Basàá.

(54) mɛ m-ɓatɓá lé tɔ́ɔ́ ínyúúkíí ntén ɲgédà únú, ɓáná ɓɔɲgé mahóp món ɓá nígil

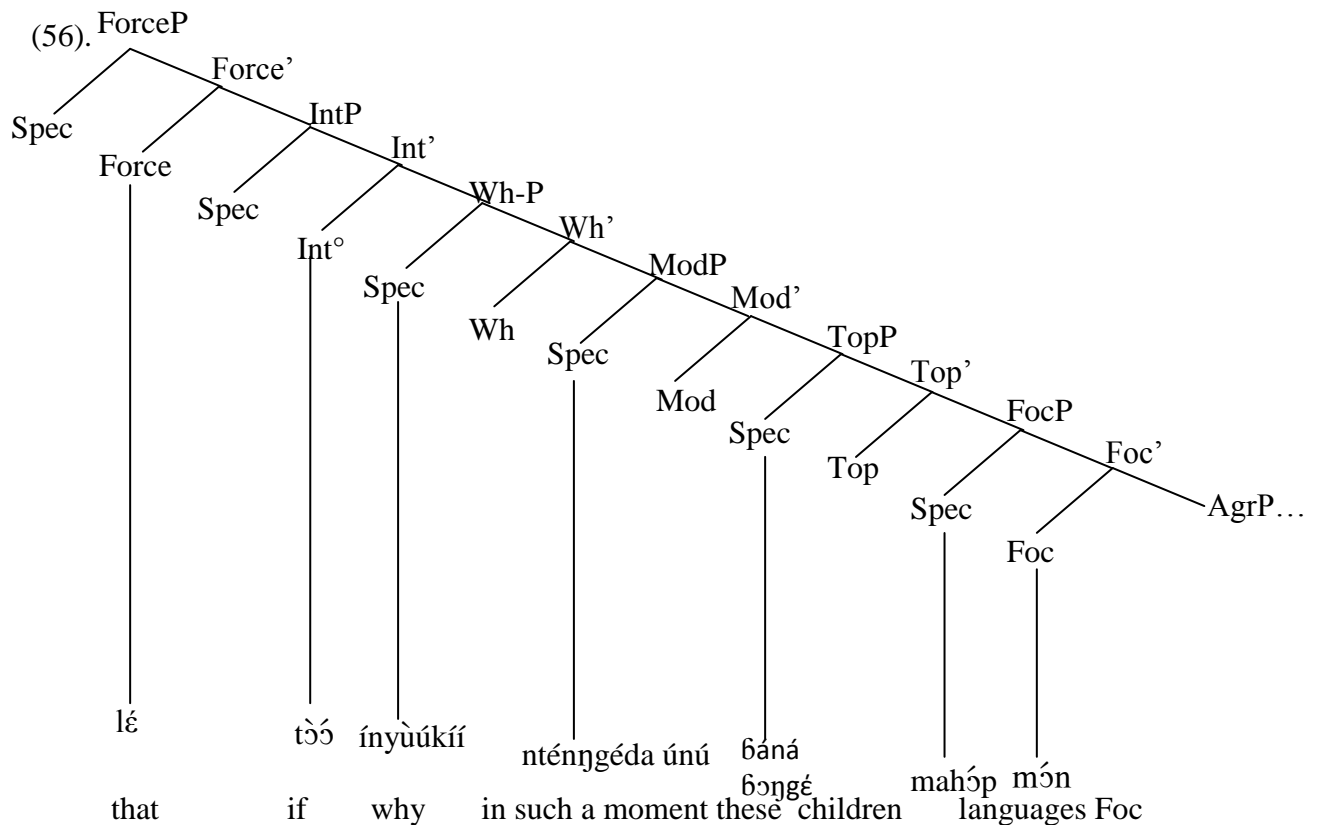
I pres-wonder that if why such time this these children languages Foc SM pres-study
 “I wonder (“that if”) why in such moments, these children; it is the languages that they study”

(55) mɛ m-ɓatɓá lé ntén ɲgédà únú tɔ́ɔ́ ínyùúkíí ɓáná ɓɔɲgé mahóp món ɓá nígil

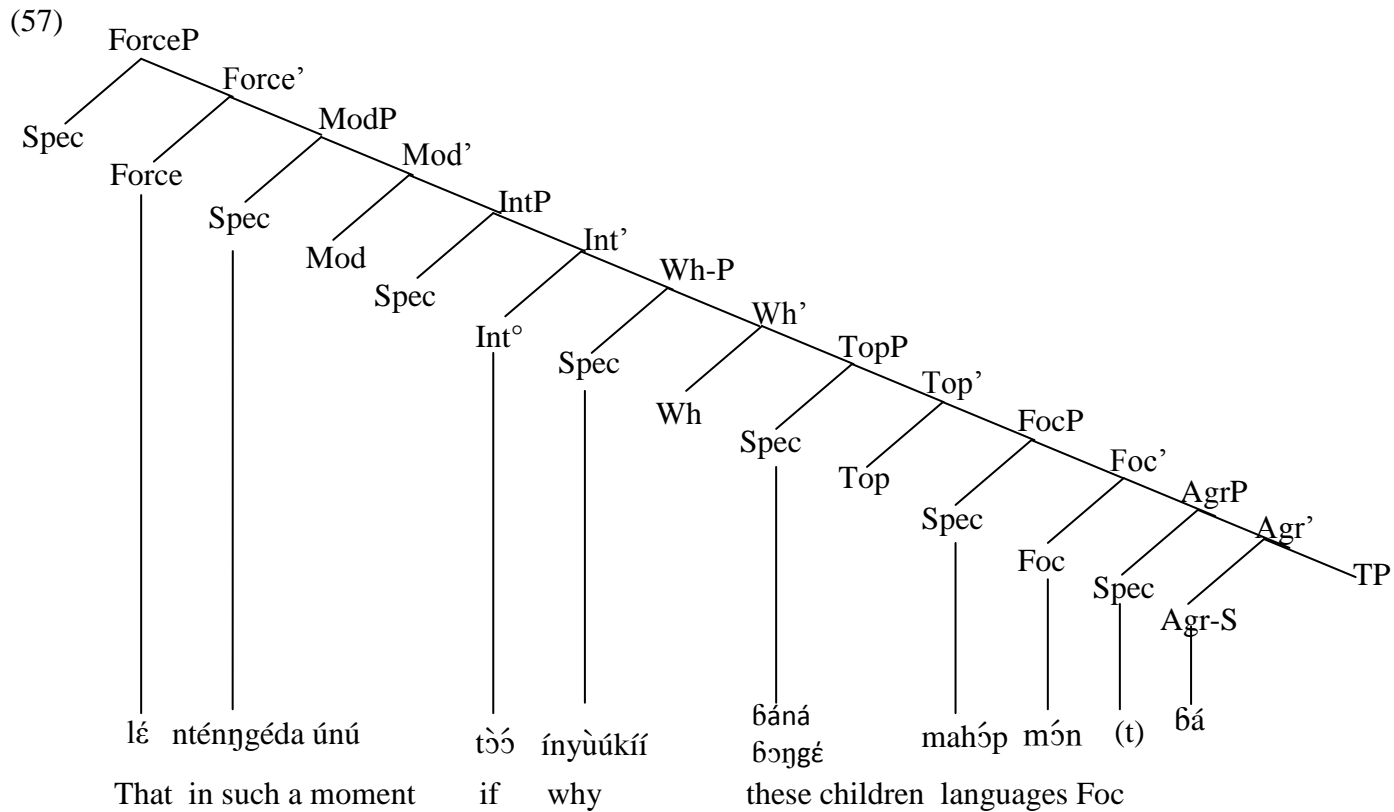
I Pres-wonder that such time this if why these children languages Foc SM study
 ??“I wonder (that) in such moments (if) why, these children it is the languages that they study”

Both sentences have the following mapping respectively

Force.....Int.....Wh.....Mod.....Top.....Foc...



-Force Mod Int Wh Top Foc.....



To sum up, our study has revealed that there are functional heads at the clausal left periphery in Basa'a. These functional heads i.e. Top, Foc, Mod, Int, as well as Force project their own phrases. Besides these heads, we have the Wh-phrase which results from the movement of the wh-operators (only non referential adjuncts) from clause internal position to the specifier position of the wh-phrase. Notice that wh- cannot be said to be a functional head because it is a maximal projection. However, we assume that there is a wh-criterion that needs to be satisfied and that triggers movement of the wh-phrase at the clausal left periphery.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

To sum up, the major goal of this study consisted in providing a syntactic account of the cartography of the left periphery of the clause in Basa'a an Equatorial Bantu language spoken in Cameroon, Central Africa. In this vein, we provided a step by step analysis of the different projections that occupy the CP layer in the language. As could be expected from any piece of research, we came out with many outcomes.

First of all, the study of interrogatives revealed that Basa'a, like many if not most languages appeals to different question formation processes. Concerning wh-questions the language is considered as an intermediary language i.e. between languages like Japanese that exhibit in-situ wh-operators in question formation and languages like English that exhibit overt movement of wh-phrases. In case of in-situ wh-phrases there is no overt movement in the syntax and features checking is rendered possible through attraction. When there is overt movement in the syntax there is general movement of the targeted wh-phrases and the features associated with these categories. Wh-movement is substitution for the specifier position of CP either at LF or PF. There is a syntactic chain between the moved operator and the trace in clause-internal position. This movement respects the Chain Uniformity Principle the Minimal Link Configuration and Shortest Movement Principle. In yes/no questions the language resorts to the interrogative particle *baa* "is it that" followed by the final vowel at clause-final position. In other cases there is only the use of the final vowel at clause-final position. Again, there is the use of the question marker *ɲga* "isn't it". Alternative questions are used through the conjunct *tolé* "or" between two phrases or clauses. Indirect questions are realised through the use of the lexical complementisers *toó* "whether" or *ibálé* "if". Subject wh-questions do not exhibit movement in overt syntax, rather, they involve vacuous movement à la Chomsky between IP and CP.

-In embedded clauses wh-movement operates in a successive cyclic fashion in conformity with the strict cyclicity condition and the shortest movement principle. In case of multiple questions movement targets the nearest wh-operator to Spec-CP. Wh-movement respects the earliness principle as far as possible since it takes place at the early stage of derivation. Where movement does not take place in overt syntax it is said to be regulated by procrastinate i.e. movement is delayed as much as possible. Pied-piping is common practice in the language whereas preposition stranding is subject to restrictions. However both are useful for the convergence principle. Features-checking is guided by the activation principle which requires that a category undergoing move/agree have an interpretable feature so as to

enter in Spec-Head configuration with the probe. When a given probe and a given goal enter in this configuration there is feature-matching and the interpretation is possible.

-The study syntactic of constraints such as the sentential subject constraint, the complex noun phrase constraint and the coordinating structure constraint reveals that NP and IP are bounding nodes and the language respects the subadjacency condition. Similarly, the language respects the wh-island constraint in the sense that no wh- movement is licensed within a domain dominated by another wh-phrase.

Relativization is another instance of wh-movement because it respects subadjacency and it leaves a copy-trace at the extraction site. The head raising approach and the matching analysis both account for relativization. In the first case the head DP or NP undergoes movement to the left edge of the clause and in the second the head of the relative clause is base-generated above CP where it enters in a predication/agreement relation with the wh-operator. The matching-analysis is proven to be the most reliable approach because it handles all types of relative clauses and shows that all of them can undergo the matching analysis. Due to economy requirements this approach is sufficient to handle relative clauses construction and that there is no need to resort to both proposals.

-Focalisation and topicalization are two syntactic processes that establish the link between information structure and clause structure. Focus can be marked morphologically in clefting where the focalised element enters in agreement relation with the focused word in FOC°. The non-referential adjuncts *léláá* “how” and *ínyuukíí* “why”, due to their competing nature with focus elements, occupy the specifier position of the focus phrase. Evidence in support of this idea is the complementary distribution exhibited between focalised elements and the adjunct wh-phrases. Overall, there is a feature [+F] that can be abstract or phonetically realised in FOC° that the focalised focused element in Spec-FocP. Focus can also be realised prosodically, in this case the focused word is marked by bearing a high tone. X°-focusing is banned so that for any zero-category focusing the targeted category (like the verb and adjective) compulsorily undergoes nominalization. Long distance foci as well as multiple foci are licensed in the language. However, multiple foci-fronting are banned due to checking purposes. Extraction of argument across a higher adverb is banned because the adverb acts as a blocker to antecedent government. However, adverb extraction over a higher argument does not lead to illicitness because arguments do not form islands.

-As far as negation and verb extensions are concerned in relation to focus, it is revealed that any negated category except the verb should adjoin to the negative particle *bé* before moving

into a higher Spec-FocP position. Similarly, there is verb reduplication rightwards when the verb adjoins to the extension morpheme.

-Topicalization applies with arguments only because they are said to be natural topics. Adjunct on the contrary occupy the position of the modifier phrase. Topicalization can be realised via visible movement of the topicalized constituent in Spec-TopP or via clitic left dislocation. The resumptive strategy is a last resort process because resumptive pronoun insertion is never a freely available grammatical strategy, but an obligatory operation without which there is no licitness. In Basa'a resumptive pronouns occur only as a saving device i.e. they intervene where gaps are disqualified. Finally it is shown that in more complex structures the whole clause can be topicalised through "superextraction" of the entire clause at the left periphery of the higher clause. This movement is due to the functional head constraint.

- Against the background of the split-CP hypothesis proposed by Rizzi until quite recently, the study shows that the Basa'a data accommodate to some extent this new development in generative syntax. The maximal projections, that were formerly handled individually, and that occupied the Spec-CP following the traditional approach, can be unified and can undergo the Rizzian hypothesis. So following the activation principle it is proven that there are functional heads such as Force, Top, Foc, Int, Mod, and Wh- that occupy the complementiser layer and that can be activated when needed. Following co-occurrence restrictions, it results from the study that the Force phrase is the highest projection at the clausal left edge followed by other projections in a hierarchical configuration. As a result, the following representations display the cartography of the left periphery of the clause in Basa'a:

(1) Force...Int...Wh...Mod...Top...Foc...or (2) Force...Mod...Int...Wh...Top...Foc...

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