



International Journal of Current Research Vol. 6, Issue, 11, pp.10276-10281, November, 2014

RESEARCH ARTICLE

INTERROGATIVE CONSTRUCTION IN EKITI DIALECT

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ARTICLE INFO

Article History:

Received 11th August, 2014 Received in revised form 23rd September, 2014 Accepted 08th October, 2014 Published online 30th November, 2014

Key words:

Interrogative Construction, Dialect, Mechanism, Question Markers.

ABSTRACT

Interrogative construction in Yoruba has been widely discussed by the scholars of Yoruba. Our observation is that though the structures of interrogative construction in Yoruba language and Èkìtì dialect are identical. The only area of difference is that question markers in interrogative construction in Èkìtì are fewer than what we have in Yoruba language. This paper examines the mechanism for derivation of interrogative construction in Èkìtì dialect. It also claims that interrogative marker is not completely absent in the dialects of Yoruba. Considering what operates in Èkìtì dialect of Yoruba.

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INTRODUCTION

Many Yoruba scholars have worked on interrogative construction in Yoruba language. Awobuluyi (1978), Bamgbose (1967, 1990), Yusuf (1995, 1997), Ademiluyi (2005) and Ajiboye (2006). Bamgbose (1990: 183) defines interrogative construction as a device to make an enquiry by employing interrogative markers. Awobuluyi (1978: 123) explains that we employ interrogative sentences as questions. He points out two basic kinds of interrogative sentences; the one that contains question words and the other that does not contain question words. He describes the interrogative sentences without question words as the ones pronounced with raised eyebrows. The afore-mentioned Yoruba scholars point out that interrogative construction in Yoruba language is marked by the interrogative markers. It is also derived by adjunction, insertion and by movement transformation. Interrogative construction is derived by adjunction when the interrogative markers are added to a declarative sentence or noun phrase either at the initial position or at the final position as shown below:

- **1a** Olú ti jeun Olú Perf eat Olu has eaten
- b Şé Olú ti jeun? Qm Olu Perf eat Has Olu eaten?
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- a. Njé Olú ti jeun? Qm Olu Perf eat Has Olu eaten?
- **b.** Olú ti jeun Bí? Olú Perf eat Qm Has Olu eaten?
- 2a Olú Dà? Olú Qm Where is Olú?
- b Olú Ńkó? Olú Qm Where is Olu?

The interrogative markers §é and Njé in examples (ib and c) above are added to the declarative sentence Olú ti jeun "Olu has eaten" at the initial position while the question marker Bí is added to the same declarative sentence at the final position in example (1d). The interrogative marker Dá and Ńkó are also added to NP Olu at the final position in examples 2(a and b). Interrogative construction in Yoruba is also derived by movement transformation by moving wh-words from their original positions to the initial position of the construction. The movement is always accompanied by the focus marker-ni as demonstrated below.

3a Olú rí Şadé Olú see Şadé Olú saw Şadé

- bi Olú rí Ta? Olú see Qm Olú saw Who?
- ii Ta ni Olú rí? Qm Foc Olú See Who did Olú See?
- iii Ta ni ó rí Ṣadè?
 Qm Foc RSP see Ṣadé
 Who saw Ṣadé
- **4a** Olú kó mèjí Olú take two Olú took two
- b Olú kó Mélòó? Olú take Wh Olú took how many?
- c **Mélòó** ni Olú kó? Wh Foc Olú take How much did Olú take?
- **5a** Olú ra oúnje Olú buy food Olú bought food
- b. Olú ra Kí? Olú buy Wh Olú bought What?
- c Kí ni Olú rá? Wh Foc Olú buy What did Olú buy?

Our observation is that there are lots of works on the interrogative construction in Yoruba language whereas; little attention is paid to the research work on the interrogative construction in the dialects of Yoruba. This paper will be a contribution to the existing few works on the interrogative construction in the dialects of Yoruba. Three sub-dialects shall be selected to represent other sub-dialects of Ekiti in this paper. The reason is that the sub-dialects of **Èkìtì** are many and it will not be possible to touch all of them in a work like this. Since **Èkìtì** dialect is mutually intelligible, we believe that the selected dialects; Adó, Òmùò and Isàn dialects will be good representatives of the other sub -dialects of Ekiti as earlier noted. This paper discusses the mechanism for the derivation of interrogative construction markers in Ekiti dialect and argues that the question markers in the content question with Wh-words in Ekiti dialect are fewer than what are obtainable in Yoruba language. We also argue in this paper that focus marker is not completely absent in the content question in Ekiti dialect. The paper is examined in three sections. Section one is the introductory part of the paper. Section two consists of Yes/No questions. This section is divided into two parts; the first part contains Yes/No questions in Yoruba language and the second part contains Yes/ No question in Ekiti dialect. We look at content questions with Wh- words in section three. This section is also considered in

two parts as well. Part one contains content questions in Yoruba language while part two will consist of content questions in **Èkìtì** dialect. The review of the interrogative construction in Yoruba language is very necessary; this will enable us to see the similarities and the differences between Yoruba language and its dialects, especially **Èkìtì** dialect. We shall use descriptive approach in this paper. This will enable us to describe and analyze our data comprehensively.

2a Yes/No Questions in Yoruba Language

Yes/ No questions, otherwise known as "Polar questions" are questions that take Yes/No for an answer. They are derived by adjunction and insertion. That is, the interrogative markers are added either at the initial position or final position of the interrogative construction. The interrogative markers employed for Yes/No questions are: Njé, Bí, Sé, Ndan and Ha. The interrogative markers Njé and Sé occur at the initial position of the interrogative construction while Ndan and Bí are added at the final position. The interrogative marker Ha intervenes between the subject and the verb. Our explanations above are illustrated below.

- 6a Olú ti lọ sí ilé Olú Perf go Prep house Olú has gone home
- **b Şé** Olú ti lọ sí ilé ? Qm Olu Perf go Perf house Has Olu gone home?
- c Njệ Olú ti lọ sí ilé? Qm Olú Perf go Prep house Has Olú gone home?
- d Olú ti lọ sí ilé **Bí** ? Olú Perf go prep house Qm Has Olú gone home?
- e Olú ti lọ sí ile **Ndan**? Olú Perf go Prep house Qm Has Olu gone home?
- f Olú Ha ti lọ sị ile? Olú Qm Perf go Prep house Has Olú gone home?

All the examples above take "Béè ni or Béè kó" as answer in Yoruba language. Among all the afore-mentioned interrogative markers, Ha can be considered as a preverb because it precedes verb. The reason for this claim is that it occupies the same position that the negative marker kò occupies in the declarative sentence, (Bamgbose 1967:10).

2b Yes/No Questions in Ekiti Dialect

The derivation of Yes/No questions in Ekiti dialect differs from what is obtainable in Yoruba language in the sense that only leftward adjunction and insertion are attested in Ekiti dialect. That is, there is no rightward adjunction. Apart from that, the

question marker for Yes/No has two forms **Sé** and **À** in **Èkìtì** dialect. **Sé** occurs at the initial position while **À** occurs at the middle position as demonstrated below:

7 Adó dialect

- a Olú lọ sí ulé Olú go Prep house Olú went home
- **b** Şé Olú lọ sí ulé ? Qm Olu go Prep house Did Olú go home ?
- c Olú à lọ sí ulé? Olú Qm go Prep house Did Olú go home?
- 8a Ón ti jeun alé 3pl Perf eat night They have eaten supper
- b **Şé** ón ti jeun alé Qm 3pl Perf eat night Have they eaten supper?
- c On à ti jeun alé 3pl Qm perf eat night Have they eaten supper?

The response to the above questions is either **en** or **én-èn-én**. Examples 7(c) and 8 (c) above may sound like sentencial questions that Awobusuyi (1978: 123) claims to be pronounced with a high raised eyebrow. The presence of the question marker à in example 7(c) and the tonal change of the 3pl on to mid tone in example 8 (c) have marked the distinction between them and examples 7(a) and 8(a). They have also made 7(c) and 8(c) to sound like interrogative sentences. The mid-vowel /à/ as a question marker may look strange in Yoruba syntax because it does not begin with a consonant sound unlike other interrogative markers. Our position to /à/ as a question marker in **Èkìtì** dialect is that it shows the cross linguistic variation between Yoruba language and its dialect. Since the occurrence of /à/ has differentiated examples 7(c) and 8(c) from the declarative sentences in examples 7(a) and 8 (a), we therefore postulate that /à/ is an interrogative marker. It is possible to view the interrogative marker à in another dimension. We consider it as a reduced form of the interrogative marker Ha found in Yoruba language. It is derived by deleting the initial consonant sound /h/. This type of deletion is not new in **Èkìtì** dialect. For instance, the negative markers è/è are derived from kè/kè which are attested in Mòbà, a sub-dialect of Ekiti, by deleting the initial consonant sound /k/, (Salawu 2001). The difference between examples 7(c) and 8(c) is that /à/ assimilates the nasal feature of the subject NP on adjacent to it in example 8(c).

3a Content Questions with Wh-words in Yoruba Language

Content questions are derived in Yoruba language by movement transformation. The question markers which are interpreted as Wh-words in English language (Radford 1988) are moved to the initial position of the interrogative construction. Underlyingly, the question markers may be grouped under different lexical categories. For instance, some are nouns which occupy subject or object position. Examples of the question markers under nouns are; Ta, Kí, Èwo, Mélòó and **Èló**. These question markers take NPs for answers. The question markers like **Dà** and **Ńkó** behave differently, they are examples of intransitive verbs and they are always in-situ. These question markers, Dà and Ńkó, take declarative sentences for answers. Other question markers are modifiers. They either function as an adjunct of verbs or qualifier of nouns. Examples are Wo and Bá. wo. For instance, Wo is a qualifier while Bá wo is a modifier or an adjunct. As earlier noted, the interrogative sentences in this group except Dà and $\acute{N}k\acute{o}$, are derived by moving the question markers from their original positions to the initial position after which they are accompanied by the focus marker ni as exemplified below.

- 9a Omo je iyan Child eat pounded yam The child ate pounded yam
- b. Omo je **Kí**? Child eat Wh The child ate what
- c Kí ni omo je t_i?Wh Foc child eatWhat did the child eat?
- 10a Omo rí Olú Child see Olú The child saw Olú
- b. Omo rī Ta?Child see WhThe child saw who?
- c Ta ni Qmọ rí t_i?
 Wh Foc child see
 Who did the child see?
- d **Ta**_i ni ó_i rí ọmọ? Wh Foc RSP see child Who saw the child?
- 11a Şolá mú méjì Şolá take two Solá took two?
- b. Şolá mú Mélòó ?Şolá take WhŞolá took how many?
- c. Mélòó ni Sola mu t_i? Wh Foc Ṣolá take How many did Ṣolá take?
- 12a Şolá san şílè méjì Şolá pay shilling two Şolá paid two shillings

- b Şolá san Èló? Şolá pay Wh Şolá paid how much?
- c Èló ni Şolá san t_i? Wh Foc Sola pay How much did Solá pay?

13a. Şolá mú ìyen Şolá take that Solá took that

- b. Şolá mú Èwo?Şolá take WhŞolá took which one?
- c. Èwo ni Şolá mú t_i? Wh Foc Şolá take Which one did Solá take?

The examples under (a) above are the underlying structures where the interrogative sentences in examples under (b) and (c) above are derived. The examples under (b) are echo questions which serve as bases for the examples under (c). Yusuf (1998: 95) explains; Echo questions are used to feed the mechanism of question derivation. Echo questions are used when the listener wants his interlocutor to repeat some chunk. Since they have not been preposed as is normally the case in questions, technically, the question markers are in-situ. What Yusuf (ibid.) is saying is that echo questions are in-situ out which another questions are derived having moved the whwords to the initial positions. What we are trying to say is that the examples under (c) above are derived from (b) having moved the question markers from the object position to the initial positions. The positions where the question markers are moved from are marked with the empty trace (t_i) as indicated in the examples above. The question markers Wo and Bawo are modifiers of nouns and verbs respectively. For instance, Wo qualifies nouns, hence, it comes after the noun it qualifies. Bawo modifies verbs and it occupies an adjunct position. Our explanations above are illustrated in the examples below.

- 14a. Olú rí omo. dúdú Olú see child black Olú saw a dark in complexion child
- b. Olú rí omo Wo?Olú see child WhOlú saw which child?
- c. [Omo Wo]_i ni Olú rí t_i? Child Wh Foc Olú see Which child did Olú see?
- 15a. Olú ń se jàùjàù Olú Prog do Adv Olú is restless
- b. Olú ń se **Báwo**? Olú Prog do Wh Olú is behaving how?

c. **Báwo** ni Olú şe ń şe? Wh Foc Olu do Prog do How is olu behaving?

In example 14(b) above, **Wo** qualifies the noun **omo** "child". Since it is not possible to move the head alone without its complement, the NP '**omo** Wo' "which child" are moved at the same time to the initial position as exemplified in 14(c). **Bawo** in example 15(b) is an adjunct functioning as an adverbial. Hence, it is easy to be so moved as exemplified in 15(c).

3b Content Questions with Wh-words in Ekiti Dialect

The derivation of content question with Wh-words in **Èkìtì** dialect differs from what operates in Yoruba language. The movement of Wh-words to the initial position is not always accompanied by the focus marker. But that does not mean that focus marker is completely absent in the content question in **Èkìtì** dialect as earlier noted. Apart from that, the question markers in content question are fewer than what we have in Yoruba language. They are **Kí/Rí**, **Sí**, **Kàri**. **Òlú/Èló/ Èlú** and **Síkó**. The question markers are illustrated as follow.

16 Işàn /Adó dialects

- a. Òjó ra uşuÒjó buy yamÒjó bought yam
- b. Òjó ra **Kí**? Òjó buy Wh Òjó bought what
- c. Kí Òjó rà? Wh Ojo buy What did Ojo buy?

17 **Òmùò dialect**

- a . Òjó ra uṣu Òjó buy yam Òjó bought yam
- b. Òjó ra Rí?Òjó buy WhÒjó bought what?
- c. Rí ki Òjó rà? Wh Foc Òjó buy What did Òjó buy?

18 Işàn/Adó/Omùò dialects

- a. Olú rí ÒjóOlú see ÒjóOlú saw Òjó
- b. Olú rí **Ìsí**? Olú see Wh Olú saw who
- c. [Ìsí] Olú rí t_i? Wh Olú see Who did Olú see?

- 19 Isàn/Adó dialects
- a. Olú lọ sí oko
 Olu go Prep farm
 Olú went to the farm.
- b. Olú lọ sí ibi **Sí**Olú go Prep place Wh
 Olú went to where?
- c. Ibi **Sí** Olú lọ? Place Wh Olú go .Where did Olú go?

20a. Olú gba ònà kàn Olú take path one Olú took a certain place

- b. Olú gba ònà Sí?
 Olu take path Wh
 Olu passed which place
- c Ònà Sí Olú gbà ? Path Wh Olú take Which way did Olu take?
- 21a. Òkàn kàn ó One concern 2sg One concerns you
- bi. Òkàn Sí ó kàn ó Işàn dialect One Wh RSP concern 2sg Which one concern you
- ii. Òkàn Sí è kàn ó Ado dialect One Wh RSP concern 2sg Which One concerns you?
- 22a. Olú ra oní sílè méjì Olú buy shilling two Olú bought two shillings
- b. Olú ra Èló/Èlú (Sí)
 Olu buy much
 Olú bought How much
- c. Èlú Sí Olú rà?(Adó dialect) Much Wh Olú buy How much did Olú buy?
- d. Èló Olú rà?(Iṣàn dialect)
 Much Olú buy
 How much did Olú buy?

Examples 16 and 17 above show that the question marker **ki** has two forms; **Kí** and **Rí**. **Kí** is selected by other sub-dialects of **Èkìtì** while **Rí** is selected by **Òmùò** dialect, a sub-dialect of **Èkìtì**. It is also note worthy that **Èlú** has different forms in the sub-dialects of **Èkìtì**, the use of which depends on the form that is being selected by the dialects. This selection shows one of the linguistic variations in **Èkìtì** dialect in spite

of the mutual intelligibility. Due to this variation, some dialects used to delete the question marker Sí after Èló as indicated in example 22(d) above. Sí is considered as a question marker because it occupies the position after the moved NPs in interrogative construction. If we compare the occurrence of Sí in interrogative construction in Èkìtì dialect with what operates in Yoruba language, we notice that the question marker Wo occurs in this same position in Yoruba language. Our claim here is that Sí and Wo are synonymous as shown below

23 Yoruba language Èkìtì dialect

a. Ìgbà Wo?	Ùgbà Sí
Ònà Wo?	Ibi/ònà Sí
È-Wo?	Òkàn Sí
Èló	Òlú/Èló
Ta	Ì Sí
Bá Wo?	Bée Sí?

Our observation is that **ì** and **Sí** which are synonymous to **Ta** are written together as a single morpheme, Ademiluyi (2005) and Ajiboye (2006) as exemplified below.

24a **Ìsí** ọ rí? Wh 2sg sg Who did you see?

b. **Ìsí** ọ mú kỏ? Wh 2sg give to Whom did you give it?

(Cf Ademiluyi, 2005)

25a. **Ìsí** à rí Ikúnlé? Wh 3sg see Kúnlé Who saw Kúnlé

b. **Ìsí** rìn bẹ Ikúnlé Wh Foc beg Kúnle Who is begging Kúnlé?

(Cf Ajiboye, 2006)

In this paper, we shall argue that **Ìsí** are two separate morphemes contained **ì** and **Sí** like **È** wo in Yoruba which can be analysed as **È** and **Wo**. Our position here is that the same mechanism is employed to derive both **Èwo** in Yoruba language and **Ìsí** in **Èkìtì** dialect. The vowels /e/ and /i/ are prefix which are only meaningful when they are annexed with the fixed morphemes **Wo** and **Sí**. For the fact that / i/ is a prefix, that is why it has different forms in the dialects of Yoruba and **Ìtsệkírì** language as highlighted below.

26		Variations
a	Èkìtì	Ì sí
b	Oùdó	È Sí
c	Ègbá/Ìjèbú	Lè Sí
d	Ìję̀sà	Yè Sí
e	Ìtsę̀kírì	Nè Sín
f	Ìyàgbà	Nè Ghí

An other evidence is that when Si co-occurs with other NPs like **ùgbà**' time'. Ibi, 'place' and **ònà** 'path' it occurs as a

separate morpheme. The question marker $Sik\acute{\phi}$ is a variant of $\acute{N}k\acute{\phi}$ found in Yoruba language. It is an intransitive verb with a declarative sentence as an answer. $Sik\acute{\phi}$ can be considered as two separate morphemes. Si and $k\acute{\phi}$ like \grave{E} Wo and I Si, and \acute{N} $k\acute{\phi}$ (Akintoye, 2006) $Sik\acute{\phi}$ is generated by compounding. There is evidence in the North West Yoruba dialect that $k\acute{\phi}$ sometimes functions as both question and negative marker as exemplified below.

- 27a. Àjàlà ta ní nà ó?
 Ajala Wh Foc beat 2sg
 Ajala who beat you?
- b. Èyin náà k**ợ** un 2pl DET Qm Emph Is it not you?
- Qjó òhún náà kó bí àná tí àwon òtá dìde sí e sùgbón a dúpé, gbogbo è dòrò ìtàn lónìí.

Was the day not like yesterday? When enemies ganged up against you But we are grateful, all are now a past story.

Kàrí is another question marker that occupies the initial position. This question marker cannot be said to be derived by adjunction or movement because it always co-occurs with NP. It behaves differently from the other question markers because it is always accompanied with a focus marker without a trace of movement in Omùò dialect. This marker is used in Omùò dialect where other sub-dialects use Sí. But this does not mean that Sí is not attested in Omùò dialect. Both Sí and Kàrí are attested in Omùò dialects as shown below.

29 Òmùò dialect

- a. Olú rí Şọlá Olú see Şọlá Olú saw Şọlá
- b. **Ìsí** Olú rí ? Wh Olu see Who did Olu see ?

30a. **Kàrí** Ùgbà ki Olú dé? Wh time foc Olú come When did Olú arrive?

b. Kàrí ibi ki Olú í gbé?
 Wh place Foc Olu Prog live
 Where does Olu live.

It is important to note that **Kàrí** is attested in other sub-dialects of **Èkìtì**. The way it is used in other sub-dialects of **Èkìtì** differs from how it is used in **Òmùò** dialect. For instance, it is used to ask for the location of an entity in other sub-dialects of **Èkìtì** as illustrated below.

31 Adó dialect

- a. Kàrí ọmọ òún?
 Wh Child Det
 Where is the child
- Kàrí omo ki ùwó wí?
 Wh child Rel 2sg speak
 Where is the child that you were talking about?
- c. Kàrí ulé ki ón kó? Wh house REL 3pl build Where is the house they built?

Conclusion

We have examined the structure and the derivation of interrogative construction in **Èkìtì** dialect and compared it with what operates in Yoruba language. This paper has shown that though there are areas of similarities between the interrogative construction in Yoruba language and **Ekiti** dialect, they are different in some other areas. For instance question markers are fewer in **Ekiti** dialect than what we have in Yoruba language. This work has also shown that focus marker is not absolutely absent in the content questions with wh-words in **Ekiti** dialect.

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