PREPOSITION STRANDING AND PIED-PIPING IN YORUBA FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS

by

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ABSTRACT

The thesis examines P-stranding and pied-piping in focus constructions in Yoruba language, one of the Benue-Congo languages spoken in Western part of Nigeria. This research is unique given the fact that while existing literature and theories on P-stranding and pied-piping have solely hammered cross-linguistic differences, the thesis discovers intra-linguistic features of P-stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba. According to literature, a language is either a P-stranding or pied-piping one. On the contrary, Yoruba exhibits both P-stranding and pied-piping features in similar environments in focus constructions. It is discovered that a number of prepositions can only strand while some others can solely pied-pipe. The thesis further examines another behavioral patterns of prepositions in Yoruba focus constructions. Interestingly and quite strangely, it is discovered that some prepositions drop, or pied-pipe with the occurrence of resumptive pronouns in Yoruba focus. These multifarious behavioral patterns of prepositions in Yoruba focus pose a great challenge as to how to account for these patterns within the existing literature and theories which rather deal with P-stranding as cross-linguistic affairs. The thesis, however, tackles this challenge by extracting two different theories to account for these preposition features in Yoruba focus as each of the theories (Abels 2003 Phase Theory and Law 1998 Incorporation Thoery) cannot, in isolation, capture the features. The thesis proves that the behavioral patterns of the preposition in Yoruba focus with respect to stranding, pied-piping and dropping are inherent in the prepositions themselves rather than the syntactic configurations of the focus constructions in which they appear.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Over the years, studies done on the development of extraction constructions involving the object of a preposition have revealed differing patterns in various languages. For most languages, however, the two options available are pied-piping (PiP) and preposition stranding (Haegeman 1995). These constructions, as revealed by existing literature on syntactic movements, are readily observed in wh-constructions derived by wh-movements. Few works, if any, have stepped out of restrictions to wh-constructions to consider the options of pied-piping and preposition stranding in focus constructions. Though focus constructions in languages have richly attracted scholars' attention, the volumes of analysis on such constructions shy away from discussions on prepositional phrase pied-piping or preposition stranding. This explains why the study is unique and innovative.

This study is equally important because the P-stranding theory, which is my major concern in this thesis, highlights certain theories that are borne out of Head-Complement Relations such as Anti-locality Constraint (Grohmann 2000), Phase Impenetrability Condition by Chomsky and Relativised Minimality by Rizzi (1990). Whether or not these sub theories constrain or permit P-stranding accounts for why there are parametric variations when it comes to P-stranding or pied-piping. Linguists should be concerned about P-stranding because apart from grounding the sub-theories above in the study of syntax of languages, it underscores the study of movements especially in relation to A'-movements and A-movements. As I will explain later, in some languages, P-stranding is not allowed under A-movement while it is in some other languages, and vice versa.

While P-stranding plays a role in formulating sub theories about Head-Complement Relations as noted above and the possibility or not of the movements of the complements out of their heads, it equally assists in establishing the kind of structural relationships between focus and wh-constructions of languages. Given the fact that P-stranding occurs in focus and *wh*- movements, as well as in both argument and non-argument constructions, it is no surprise that its study has led to formulating Stranding Generalisations which constitute the platform on which Abels (2003), for instance, constructs his phase theory of P-stranding.

In the light of the foregoing, the study intends to bridge this linguistic gap by analysing varying patterns of prepositions in Yoruba focus constructions. Though some linguists have observed a kind of parallelism between wh-constructions and focus constructions because they are both periphery constructions, the two derivations are set apart by scope-discourse functions they perform (Rizzi 2010). Examples (1) and (2) illustrate both wh- and focus constructions:

(1) Ta ni Fémi so wípé Ó je isu?
Who Q Fémi say that RP eat yam
Who did Fémi say ate yam?

(2) Sadé ni Fémi so wípé Ó je isu
Sadé FOC Fémi say that RP eat yam
It was Sadé that Fémi claimed ate yam

As seen in the examples (1) and (2), while the movement of wh-element to the left periphery is made possible by Q, the functional head that acts as a probe attracting wh-phrase, the preposing of

focus element is courtesy of the Foc, which is equally a functional head that acts as a probe attracting elements bearing focus features (Cinque and Rizzi 2016). With this demarcation line between these two constructions, my task of analysing behaviors of prepositions in Yoruba focus constructions becomes a bit easier especially given the fact that in Yoruba focus, a criterial head is audibly realised. What, however, makes this study unique is the fact that there were no prior analyses of P-stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus constructions, though part of the problems this study intends to tackle, as I will later discuss, is how to theoretically account for these patterns within the general models of P-stranding and pied-piping.

The motivations for this study come, not only from lack of sufficient literature on pied-piping or preposition stranding in focus constructions of languages, but also from the interesting fact that the patterns of Yoruba focus reveal more than the two options of pied-piping and stranding as suggested by Haegeman. Due to mainly to morphological features, Yoruba prepositions in focus constructions behave differently. While some can only be pied-piped, another set can only be stranded in the same focus context. In some cases, some prepositions disappear completely. However, under different circumstances, some focus structures are grammatical when prepositions are pied-piped after undergoing some syntactic processes while others are unacceptable when stranded after undergoing same syntactic processes. These are illustrated in (3), (4) and (5) respectively:

Stranded Preposition

(3) a. Iná$_i$ ni Fémi gbé omi kà t$_i$

Fire FOC Fémi put water on

It was on fire that Fémi boiled water

b. * Ka iná$_i$ ni Fémi gbé omi t_i

On fire FOC Fémi put water

It was on fire that Femi boiled water

Pied-piped Preposition

(4) a. Nítòsí ojà$_i$ ni Tólá ti na Péjú

Near market FOC Tólá PERF beat Péjú

It was near market that Tólá beat Péjú

b. *Ojà$_i$ ni Tólá ti na Péjú nítòsí

Market FOC Tólá PERF beat Péjú near

It was near market that Tólá beat Péjú

Dropped Preposition

(5) a. Ojà$_i$ ni mo ti rí Túndé t_i (Mo ri Túndé **ní** Ojà)

Market FOC I PERF see Túndé

It was at the market that I saw Túndé

b * Ní ojà$_i$ ni mo ti rí Túndé t_i

At market FOC I PERF see Túndé

It was at the market that I saw Túndé

The above highlighted characteristics of Yoruba prepositions in focus constructions raise certain questions to which this study attempts to proffer solutions. How can we account for the possibility of both pied-piping and stranding in the same language when in many languages, it is either stranding or pied-piping? For instance, while pied-piping is common to languages, stranding may be limited to Indo-European languages, primarily to Dutch, English and the Scandinavian languages (Van Riemsdijk 1978). And according to Hornstein and Weinberg (1981), Romance languages generally do not allow P-stranding, but have pied-piping. The major problem this poses for Yoruba language is how to theoretically account for these possibilities within the general models of P-stranding and pied-piping. While a basis for theoretic explanation for these dual possibilities of stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus can be found in similar explanations for English possibilities, the disappearance of certain prepositions in Yoruba focus and fitting of some into both pied-piping and stranding in the same focus context provides further challenge of finding appropriate theoretical tools to account for these behaviors.

Why are certain focus structures grammatical when Ps are pied-piped after undergoing some syntactic processes and similar focus structures barely acceptable when Ps are stranded after undergoing same syntactic processes? What is the role of Resumptive Pronouns in these P-stranding in Yoruba focus? Why is perfective 'ti' imperative in pied-piped prepositions in Yoruba focus? These and a number of other questions are what I am preoccupied with in this study.

To address the questions above, I present sufficient data on Yoruba focus constructions where virtually all Yoruba prepositions are applied. In explaining the syntactic configuration, which is also part of the scope-discourse approach to focus analysis, I will describe the stranding and pied-piping of prepositions in Yoruba focus using Abels (2003)'s Phase Theoretic Approach and Law (1998)'s Incorporation Principle. I am going to show that the preposition is a phase head in Yoruba in both stranding and pied-piping circumstances. In stranding cases, I will argue that objects of prepositions

stop off at [Spec PP] where they escape to the focus site. This is possible in Yoruba because the language lacks an Anti-locality Constraint which Abels claims prevents such movements in some languages. However, in pied-piped instances, I will equally prove that the pied-piped prepositions are two independent prepositions which incorporated, in line with Law's Incorporation Principle, before being pied-piped to the focus site along with the complements of the prepositions. I will show that the movements arising from these incorporating prepositions before pied-piping block the objects of prepositions from stopping off at the [Spec PP], hence, the necessity for the whole PPs to be pied-piped.

The paper equally examines the grammatical unacceptability of pied-piping the prepositions that are often left stranded and stranding the ones that are meant to be pied-piped in the language. In the third category of patterns whereby the preposition '*ní*' disappears completely in the focus construction, I suggest that '*ní*', unlike its monomorphemic counterparts, lacks the capacity to strand. And because it cannot strand like the others, it has to drop in the process of focusing while its complement moves to the focus site.

While showing in this study that some Yoruba prepositions can both be stranded and pied-piped in the language within the same constructions, I show that when such prepositions are left stranded, it is seen that resumptive pronouns take over the vacated position of the NP that has moved to the focus site. But when these same prepositions are pied-piped, there is no need for the resumptive pronouns.

1.1 SCOPE AND OBJECTIVE

While there exist extensive syntactic analyses of the Yoruba focus constructions, no attention has been specifically given to prepositions in analyses of Yoruba focus constructions. This study,

therefore, will restrict itself to the analysis of behavioral patterns (P-stranding and pied-piping) of prepositions in Yoruba focused constructions. The study will examine different prepositions in Yoruba and how they behave when nominal elements, of which they are part, are moved to the sentence initial positions in focused constructions. Given also that very few previous studies have analysed Yoruba focus from Minimalist perspective, I equally intend to approach my analysis of prepositions in Yoruba focus with minimalist analytical tools, using general models of P-stranding and pied-piping. The paper will examine the role of focus features in the movement of prepositions and noun phrases to the sentence initial position. In describing these patterns in the light of the sub-fields of linguistics, however, Abels (2003)'s Phase-based theory and Law (1998)' Incorporation theory will be used as analytical guides.

The goal of this study is to describe these patterns and find out the extent to which they can be accounted for within these P-stranding and pied-piping models. In a bid to briefly explain Yoruba focus constructions within the scope-discourse approach, the thesis, making a recourse to cartographic study, will analyse how each syntactic head has a simple featural specification and can enter into simple relations with its associates (Rizzi & Cinque 2010). And one area where cartographic studies, as claimed by Rizzi & Cinque, seem to fruitfully implement general simplicity guidelines which are proper of minimalism is the study of elements of syntactic computation. Cartographic work is thus guided by the principle of "one (morphosyntactic) property-one feature-one head", though this guideline, Rizzi & Cinque opine, does not exclude the possibility that featurally complex heads may arise in syntax, but that they cannot be "atoms" of syntactic computations. They can only arise through head movement which may create complex features by moving featurally simple heads into other heads. The simplicity of featural elements in syntactic computations makes application of cartographic study to Yoruba focus a perfect match. Yoruba focus, which accommodates different patternings of prepositions, involves simple heads with non-complex featural configurations.

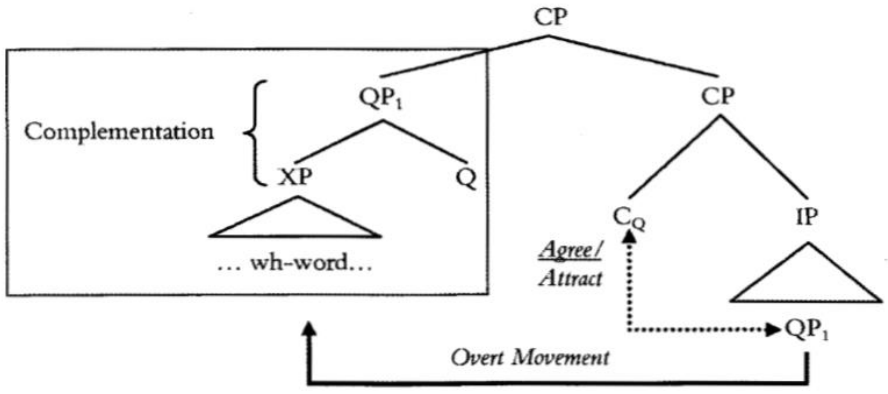
Since this study of focus constructions in Yoruba, and specifically P-stranding and pied-piping in focus constructions of the language make me cross the boundaries of syntax to semantics and pragmatics, the conception of A' configurations which makes possible a very transparent approach to the interface between syntax and semantics-pragmatics equally makes cartographic theory an ideal one for this study. This conception of A' configurations implements, in a very straightforward way, the minimalist guideline according to which movement is a device to express an interface effect by which linguistic computations are driven by the satisfactions of certain expressive needs of the interface systems (Fox 2000, Reinhart 2005). In this case, the interface effects as characterized by different behaviors of prepositions in Yoruba focus can be viewed in the light of satisfaction or otherwise of certain expressive needs of the interface systems. But while this may be a tangential focus of our analysis, the semantic and pragmatic properties of Yoruba focus and how prepositions behave differently in same focus position and how all these equally inform our understanding of its syntactic properties make this thesis a unique one.

The purpose of my scope-discourse view of this thesis is the fact that Yoruba focus belongs to one of the many languages in which criterial heads are overtly expressed. Yoruba, for instance, has '*ni*' as focus particle while Gungbe have *ya* and *we* as particles (Aboh 2004). Another language with such overt topic particles is Japanese, *ka*, (Endo 2007, Saito 2010). According to Rizzi & Cinque (2016), the fact that these criterial heads are overtly expressed in some languages offers straightforward evidence supporting this structural approach to scope-discourse properties. And since Yoruba focus provides this strong support for criterial approach to scope-discourse semantics, there can be no better framework for the analysis of P-stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus constructions than the general models of P-stranding and pied-piping. In fact, the overt realisation of *'ni'* as a criterial head with minimal feature and syntactic configuration will simplify our interpretive processes at the interfaces with meaning.

It is also the aim of this study to prove that, unlike in other languages where it is either prepositional pied-piping or stranding, Yoruba combines the two features, and even demonstrates further strange behaviors which the paper will critically analyse.

The paper will be limited to the analysis of these patterns in focus constructions alone. I will limit my analysis to how these prepositions pattern only in focus constructions in both short and long distance constructions. Wh-construction, equally a left periphery construction, which attracts cartographic studies alongside topic and focus constructions, will not be given treatment in this paper. Wh-movement is more complex and it involves structures that are difficult to account for. Illustrating this complexity is Cable (2010a)'s Q-based analysis. Cable proposes a novel theory of wh-movement in *wh*-questions, which he claims, contain three key syntactic elements: the *wh*-word, the interrogative complementizer $C_{Q,}$ (formerly $C_{[WH]}$) and a so-called Q-particle as illustrated in (6) below:

(6)



Cable (2010a:38, Cable 2010b: 567)

Cable assumes that the Q-particle merges with some phrase containing the wh-word, taking the phrase as complement. The interrogative complementizer C_Q is assumed to probe and agree with the QP projected by this Q-particle, and not with the *wh*-word itself. Based on this Agreement, usual theory

of Agree-driven movement demand that the QP move to SpecCP. According to Cable, since the QP, by assumption, contains the *wh*-word, the *wh*-word is brought along into SpecCP as an epiphenomenal consequence.

Motivated by the grammar of wh-questions in Tlingit, an endangered Na-Dene language of Alaska, Cable argues that wh-questions in Tlingit must receive the Q-based analysis because they are not amenable to the standard assumption that wh-movement targets the wh-word directly. Just as ni in Yoruba focus is physically realised in focus, *sa* is Q-particle in Tlingit wh-questions which Cable claims is a kind of 'satellite' of the *wh*-word which must always accompany the wh-word to a higher, c-commanding position as illustrated in (7) below:

(7) [QP [NP [CP **W**á**a** kwligeyi] xaat] **s**á] i tuwáa sigóo?

how it.is.big.REL fish Q do.you.want (Cable 2010)

Cable argues further that the trigger/target of the movement in a Tlingit wh-question is the QP projected by **s**á, and not the wh-word itself. The same way **s**á triggers movement in Tlingit is the same way *ni*, as a criterial head, triggers focus movement in Yoruba focus. In other words, Yoruba and Tlingit are similar in that they have particles aside wh- word and/or focus-word which, by tenets, should trigger movements. Cable presents principal evidence for the above claim with a contrast between illustration (7) above and illustration in (8) below:

(8) * [NP [CP [QP **W**á**a** **á**] kwligeyi] xaat] i tuwáa sigóo?

How Q it.is.big.REL fish do.you.want (Cable 2010)

Based on some locality reasons, Cable claims that in Tlingit pied-piping structure, the moved phrase does not properly contain the target/trigger of the movement, that is the Q-particle **sá** which must be located outside the moved phrase. In this light, Cable says the pied-piping structures of Tlingit do not actually qualify as true cases of pied-piping.

1.2 THE YORUBA LANGUAGE FAMILY

Yoruba language is a member of the Benue-Congo branch of the Niger-Congo language family. It is one of the small groups of languages that comprise the Yoruboid cluster of the Defoid sub-branch of the Benue-Congo. The remaining Yoruboid languages include Igala and Itsekiri. Yoruba is spoken by roughly 30 million people in Southwestern part of Nigeria, and parts of Benin and Togo. It is equally spoken in the United Kingdom, USA and Brazil. Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa languages are the quasi-official languages that serve as *lingua francas* for Nigeria. In the Southwestern part of Nigeria where it is predominantly spoken, it is used by government administrators, print and electronic media, in literature as well as film and entertainment industries and at all levels of education. Yoruba has many dialects, but the development of a standard written Yoruba did not start until 1884 when Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther translated the Bible into Yoruba.

Earlier efforts at standardizing written Yoruba language were initiated by English missionaries and priests. History has it that an early system of Yoruba dating around 17th century was written in Ajami script and developed by members of the Christian Missionary Society working among the Yoruba. Compilation of vocabulary lists and development of notes regarding Yoruba grammar were the early works in the development of a written Yoruba language. All the works done at this time were later expanded by Bishop Crowther who translated the Bible into Yoruba language using a Latin alphabet.

Apart from translating the Bible into Yoruba, Bishop Crowther, a fluent Yoruba speaker, further led the movement toward a standardized written Yoruba by publishing the first Yoruba grammar. However, the 1884 translation of the Bible by Bishop Crowther was seen as a landmark event in Yoruba written development because it was in Latin alphabet rather than in the old Ajami script. Crowther's Yoruba Bible, today, serves as the standard form for the written Yoruba. This standard written Yoruba is used in most Yoruba language literature, taught in schools and used by media outlets, including Yoruba language newspapers, television broadcasters and radio stations.

1.3 DATA COLLECTION

The data for this research were collected from native speakers of Yoruba I had contact with. The focus constructions were extracted from statements uttered by the people in their natural conversations. In addition, the focus expressions were culled from pure Yoruba movies which portray actual Yoruba culture and values. Verbal communications in these movies are made with Standard Yoruba language.

1.4 DATA ANALYSIS

Patterns of prepositions in Yoruba focus constructions will be analysed in this research using cartography as the theoretical framework. In doing this, the data, which are in form of focus constructions, will be restructured into declarative statements for better understanding of Yoruba syntax. From these simple clause constructions, we understand the position occupied by prepositions in Yoruba, and how such prepositions behave when simple clause constructions are restructured into focus statements. With focus as our periphery operator, the scope-discourse properties of the focus will be analysed. These include the prepositions themselves, the focus arguments and the focus particles '*ni*'.

Still within the scope-discourse approach, the analysis of P-stranding and pied-piping in the language will be guided by Abels (2003)'s Phase theory and Law (1998)'s Incorporation theory. The two theories, which cannot each capture the patterns of P-stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus in isolation, complement each other in my systemic description of the behavioral patterns of prepositions in the language.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

This research will inform our understanding of Yoruba syntax. While some other African languages like Gungbe equally have focus markers like Yoruba, the unique patterns of prepositions in Yoruba focus constructions seem peculiar to Yoruba (Adesola 2005), and offer interesting tools for syntactic investigation.

The research will equally strengthen the scope-discourse approach to the analysis of the left periphery which is the driving force of cartographic studies of languages. Since Yoruba is one of the languages where criterial heads are overtly realised, our study of focus in Yoruba may support the claim that the scope-discourse method to the analysis of the left periphery, among which is focus constructions, is an ideal one even for languages where such criterial heads are not overtly realised. The study, therefore, will be a useful contribution to the study of cartography whose main preoccupation is analysis of the periphery in languages beyond the mere properties of syntactic structures.

This research will also fill the missing gap in the study of Yoruba focus constructions. The missing gap here is the patterning of prepositions in Yoruba focus. No work has been done on this interesting segment of Yoruba focus constructions. Besides, the fact the this research will analyse Yoruba focus from cartographic perspectives makes it a novel academic exercise. Many studies on Yoruba focus mainly adopted X'bar theory.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW & GENERAL MODELS OF P-STRANDING

2.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, attention will be focused on relevant literature on focus constructions in Yoruba language as well as on recent works on P-stranding and pied-piping across languages. The first part of this chapter will take care of early and recent studies of scholars on focus constructions in Yoruba. I will try as much as possible to harmonise these ideas using the Minimalist Program which is the analytical framework of the thesis. The second part, however, will be devoted to reviewing recent theoretical works on P-stranding and pied-piping in all languages.

2.1 FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS

Focus is a linguistic way of rendering a constituent of a sentence emphatic. Focusing is aimed at bringing a piece of information to the fore. Jackendoff (1972: 230) observes that focus denotes the information in the sentence that is assumed by the speaker not to be shared by him and the hearer. Lambrecht (1994: 206) defines focus as "the new knowledge hitched to the topic post", i.e new information conveyed about a topic.

In the past decades, scholars' attention on focus constructions has often shifted to its syntactic structures. Linguists have been concerned with the relationship between the complex syntactic structures of focused sentences comprising a matrix clause and an embedded clause and the global simple meanings of clefts (Cruschima 2014), bringing up debated questions on the real nature of the

embedded clause, the function of the expletive pronoun 'it' and the role of the copula (Akmajian 1970, Prince 1978, Heggie 1988, Smits 1989, Hedberg 1990, 2000, Reeve 2011, 2012, Hartmann and Veenstra 2013). In line with Chomsky (1976)'s suggestion, Focus has been analysed in terms of Syntactic Operator, substituting into the Specifier (Spec) position of an extra-sentential maximal projection binding a variable (Franscarelli 2000). Since splitting the original CP node into different functional projections (Rizzi 1997), many authors have suggested a specific maximal projection for focus movement and interpretation, namely the Focus Phrase (FP) which may immediately dominate TP/IP node (Franscarelli 2000, Horvath 1986, Brody 1990). A focus constituent, the authors note, can be realised both fronted and in situ, according to parametric variation.

Some of the early literature on focus identified two types of focus. These include broad (or presentation focus) and narrow focus. While broad focus sentences carry 'all new' information, the structures in narrow focus restrict informative content to a part of the constituents (Frascarelli 2000). Defining further, Frascarelli says narrow focus is generally defined as a construction which lexically, syntactically or phonologically marks the new or contrastive element of a sentence. Using other terminology, Ambar (1999) identifies contrastive focus (narrow focus)-the one where new information is viewed in contrast with other specific or new information and presentational focus (broad focus)-the one where the focused constituent simply introduces new information without contrasting it with any other type of information, either old or new. Ambar claims that just like in any other languages, these two groups exist in Portuguese.

Characterising the focus in terms of formal properties of each construction brings about finer classification which, according to Ambar, include: (I) those in which just a marked focal stress is assigned to the focus element without any visible movement. Here, both the verb and the focused element appear in their canonical order:

(9) A MARIA beijou o Pedro

MARY kissed Peter

(10) A Maria beijou o PEDRO

(11) A Maria BEIJOU o Pedro

The focus element in the above is contrastive in the sense that the new information introduced in the discourse presupposes an opposition with other possible old information, against which the new information is placed, and it is restrictive/exclusive because the new information is exclusive or restricted to the entity or entities the focus element denotes. (II) those in which, besides a particular stress assigned to the focus constituent, focus-licensing is crucially syntactic i.e movement is visible (Ambar 1999).

Kiss (1998) introduces new terms to capture the same concepts as the above in the representation of the typology of focus. Established on the basis of Hungarian and English materials, Kiss introduces identificational focus (often called contrastive focus) and information focus (or presentational focus). Kiss claims that identificational focus expresses exhaustivity and occupies the specifier of a functional projection. While criticising that in language description, identificational focus and information focus are mingled together, leading to contradictory statements on focus, Kiss argues that identificational focus has to be distinguished from a mere information focus because the former has semantic and syntactic properties which the latter does not share. For Kiss, identificational focus bears the following semantic-communicative role:

(12) The function of identificational focus: An identificational focus represents a subset of the set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold; it is identified as the exhaustive subset of this set for which the predicate phrase actually hold

Semantically, Kiss argues that the constituent called identificational focus represents the value of the variable bound by an abstract operator expressing exhaustive identification. Syntactically however, the constituent called identificational focus itself acts as an operator moving into a scope position in the specifier of a functional projection, and binding a variable.

On the other hand, it is an information focus, and not identificational focus, when a sentence part conveys new, non-presupposed information marked by one or more pitch accents without expressing exhaustive identification performed on a set of contextually or situationally given entities (Kiss 1998). Arguing that English, like Hungarian, is a language with visible identificational focus movement, Kiss maintains that identification focus is realised as a cleft constituent in English. While comparing the feature content of identificational focus of Hungarian and English with feature contents of its Italian, Romanian, Catalan, Greek, Arabic, and Finnish counterparts, Kiss discovers that identificational focus is not uniform across languages; it is associated with different subsets of a set of semantic features.

Some other scholars who, along with Kiss (1999) have made pragmatic functions of focus their subjects of inquiries, agree on the focusing function of Cleft Constructions (CC) with the assumption that CC involves a Focus functional projection (Frascarelli 2000a, Belleti 2005, 2008, 2009, 2014, among others). Lambrecht (1994) specifically claims that clefts are argument-focus sentences which, as the name suggests, put an argument into focus. Lambrecht (2001: 488) distinguishes three major types of grammatical devices used to mark the argument-focus articulation:

(13) I PROSODIC SHIFTS (changes in the unmarked position of focus accents)
II SYNTACTIC SHIFTS (changes in in the unmarked position of focus constituents)
III CLEFT FORMATION (biclausal coding of a proposition with concomitant changes in prosody, constituent order and grammatical relation)

2.2 EARLY PROPOSALS OF SYNTACTICIANS ON YORUBA FOCUS

Focus as a process has attracted the attentions of Yoruba syntacticians due to its high productivity in the language. Noun phrases, prepositional phrases, predicates, verb phrases and complete clauses can be focused in Yoruba language (Awoyale 1983, Awobuluyi 1978: 47). Yoruba syntacticians have taken a look at focus in Yoruba from two slightly different angles which, in current Minimalist models, can been collapsed into one.

Bamgbose (1967:36), Welmers (1973: 435), Owolabi (1981:4), Awoyale (1985) and Awobuluyi (1977: 41), mainly relying on X' bar theory, postulate that Yoruba focus arises from movement and copy/deletion rules. Though the scholars differ in their opinions on these rules, based on early syntactic theory, the current Minimalist theory, which the study is relying on for the analysis of Yoruba focus, can merge the two rules.

In Yoruba focused constructions, all non-verbal heads can freely be preposed to the sentence initial position in what Awoyale (1985) terms "Focus as an Unbounded Movement Rule in Yoruba". Non-verbal elements such as noun, preposition, adjective, adverb, wh-question marker, among others, can be moved to the sentence initial position, the place Awoyale (1985), Bisang and Sonaiya (2000), Aboh (2003) and Dechaine (2002) describe as Specifier of Focus Phrase (Spec FP). While examining the characterisation of Yoruba focus, Bamgbose (1967:36) maintains that "a **ni**-clause may be derived from a basic clause by taking out part of the basic clause, and emphasising it by shifting it to the initial position of the clause and putting **ni** after it". Bamgbose equally enumerates syntactic units that can be focused: subject, object, verb, adverb, adverbial, noun qualifier and even a whole clause. Jones (2006) puts the Yoruba focus construction in the following tree:

(14) [XP]F ni […...]

Since Bamgbose's analysis of Yoruba focus in descriptive grammar, a number of scholars have applied a transformational analysis to focus constructions in Yoruba (Awoyale 1985, Jones 2006, Dechaine 2002, Aboh 2003, Bisang and Sonaiya 2000, Carstens 1985, Awobuluyi 1978, 1979, 1982, Baiyere 1999, 2004, Yusuf 1990). Some of these works on Yoruba focus have equally postulated that Yoruba focus is a kind of structural focus with predicate raising as a syntactic consequence of the preposed elements.

Back to early proposals on Yoruba focus which, today, can be unified with Minimalist Approach to focus constructions, Awoyale (1985:75) argues that focus is a movement rule in Yoruba and that it has to be an unbounded movement rule. In Chomsky (1977, 1981), focus is seen as a subcase of wh-movement which, equally, is an unbounded operation. Awoyale lists familiar examples illustrating the movement pattern as follows:

(15) Bàbá ra bàtà fún Òjó ní ilé 1
Father buy shoes give/for Òjó at home
'Father bought shoe for Òjó at home'

The application of focus yields the outputs in (17a-e):

(16) a. Bàbá ni **ó** ra bàtà fun Òjó ni Ile
Father FOC he buy shoe for Òjó at house
'It is father who bought shoes for Òjó at home'

b. Rírà ni bàbá **ra** bàtà fún Òjó ní ilé

buying FOC baba buy shoe for Òjó at home

'It is buying that father did of shoes for Òjó at home'

c. Bàtà ni bàbá rá [e]² fún Òjó ní ilé.

Shoe FOC father bought for Òjó at home

'It is shoes that father bought¡ for Òjó at home'

d. Òjó ni bàbá ra bàtà fún [e] ní ilé

Òjó FOC father buy shoe for at home

'It is Òjó that father bought shoes for t¡ at home'

e. Ilé ni bàbá ti ra bàtà fún Òjó [e]

House FOC baba PERF buy shoe from Òjó

'It is from home that father bought shoes for Òjó'

The first assumption for sentences (16c-e), Awoyale states, is that one can relate them to their source (15) by simple leftward movement of the focused category, leaving behind the empty category [e] at each vacated spot. In example (16a) where movement seems difficult to prove due to lack of gap, subjecting the sentences to Island constraint diagnostics appears to be a solution. Taking a critical look at the sentence, we can see that the resumptive pronoun '**ó'** occurs in the subject position of the sentence which is a non-island violation environment, though it can be assumed that movement still takes place. And in view of Ross (1967:126), on complex NP constraints, which posits that ''no

element contained in a sentence dominated by a noun phrase with a lexical head noun may be moved out of that noun phrase by a transformation'', the movement of 'bàbá' from the place occupied by the resumptive pronoun '**ó'** is not out of the locality referred to above. In 16 (b-e), however, there are gaps as movements create focus constructions. In other words, while movements take place in all (16a-e), only (16a) lacks gap and this lack of gap has been compensated for by the presence of resumptive pronoun which doesn't occur in an island violating environment. I will discuss details of resumptive pronouns in chapter four of this thesis. The second assumption of a movement analysis, according to Awoyale, is that focus is not base-generated but rather designated on a particular element in surface structure. Third, Awoyale states that for a movement analysis to be maintained, one has to account for the additional meaning of focus introduced to the basic meaning of (15).

On the assumptions of copying/deletion analysis, Awobuluyi (1978:105) states: "All focus constructions are derived *mutatis mutandis* from sources like

(17) O kò ń se bàtà ni bàbá rà bàtà
It not PROG be shoes FOC father buy shoes

According to Awobuluyi, the negative sentence in (17) is the source from which other sentences in (18a-e) are derived. Awobuluyi maintains that what is obtainable in sentences (18a-e) is copying:

(18) a. O se bàbá ni ó ra bàtà fún Òjó ní ilé
It be father FOC RP buy shoe for Òjó at home
'It is father who bought shoes for Òjó at home'

b. O se rírà ni bàbá ra bàtà fún Òjó ní ilé

It be buying FOC father buy shoe for Òjó at home

'It is buying that father did of shoes for Òjó at home'

c. O se bàtà ni bàbá ra bàtà fún Òjó ní ilé

It be shoe FOC father buy show for Òjó at home

'It is shoes¡that father bought t¡ for Òjó at home'

d. O se Òjó ni bàbá ra bàtà fún Òjó ní ilé.

It be Òjó FOC father buy shoe for Òjó at home.

'It is Òjó¡ that father bought shoes for t¡ at home'

e. O se ilé ni bàbá ti ra bàtà fún Òjó ní ilé

It be home FOC baba PERF buy shoe for Òjó from home

'It is from home that father bought shoes for Òjó'

In the above sentences, according to Awobuluyi, each nominal immediately preceding **'ni'** gets there by copying. 'Bàbá', 'rírà', 'bàtà', 'Òjó', 'ilé' all get to their positions respectively by copying. However, the following deletion rules (I) and (II) as well as deletion of the main verb '**se'** apply to (18a-e) to derive sentences (16a-e) which Awoyale, on the contrary, sees as movement rules. These deletion rules, Awobuluyi states, apply "by (I) obligatorily deleting **o '**it' by means of a general rule which deletes the noun before negative morpheme *ko* 'not'; (II) deleting the object NP of the constituent sentence under identity with the head noun **bata…..**" Awobuluyi (1978: 105).

The assumptions of Awobuluyi's analysis are, first, that focus, unlike movement rule, is base-generated, and second, that the absence of duplicate NPs in focus position in (18c-e) is the result of deletion rather than trace left by movement.

From a Minimalist perspective, the argument as to whether Yoruba focus is a movement rule or copy/deletion rule pales into insignificance with the operations of Merge and Move which Minimalist introduced into the analysis of syntactic structures. It is against this backdrop that this study is analysing Yoruba focus with the lens of Minimalist theory.

However, subsequent syntacticians on Yoruba focus constructions took relatively modern steps by analysing the syntactic elements as well as semantic/pragmatic properties of Yoruba focus constructions. However, available works on Yoruba focus constructions reveal that nothing has been done on behaviors and patterns of prepositions in Yoruba focus constructions. This study, therefore, intends to bridge this gap in the study of focus construction in Yoruba language.

Let us review these few relevant works to see where this study can rightly bridge the gap in the study of Yoruba focus constructions.

2.3 RECENT LITERATURE ON YORUBA FOCUS

Aside from early thoughts on Yoruba focus as highlighted above, there have been recent attempts by syntacticians towards approaching Yoruba focus with the lens of latest syntactic theories, chief of which is the Minimalist Program. As a matter of fact, some of these new syntacticians, like their counterparts across the world who concentrate on focus constructions, went beyond the syntactic confinement of earlier analysts into the pragmatic/semantic imports of Yoruba focus.

2.3.1 Aboh on Focus in Gungbe and Yoruba

Aboh (2003) analyses Gungbe and Yoruba languages which both belong to Kwa family of languages. The paper specifically pays attention to verb and non-verb focus in the languages. In the two languages, which are almost structurally similar, Aboh claims that non-verb focus targets maximal projections: a DP or a bare noun, e.g a postnominal locative phrase, adjectival or adverbial phrase as illustrated in Gungbe below:

(19) a. [(DP) Wema ɖe] wɛ Sɛna xia bo hu alɛ
book DET FOC S. read. PERF COORD open-PEFR madness
Sɛna read A [SPECIFIC] BOOK and became mad

b. [(DP) Wema lɔ] wɛ Sɛna xia bo hu alɛ
book DET FOC S. read PERF COORD open-PEFR madness
Sɛna read THE [SPECIFIC] BOOK and became mad

Aboh equally maintains that assuming movement is a last resort; focus movement to the left of the focus marker is not motivated by case-checking. The is illustrated in examples in (20) below:

(20) a. [PP Tavo lɔ ji] wɛ Sɛna ze go lɛ ɖo.
Table DET P. FOC S. put.PERF bottle NUM P.
'Sɛna put the bottles ON THE TABLE'.

b. [ADJP Kpɛvi taun] wɛ e te bo ye yi-i

small very FOC 3sg COP and 3PL take.PERF.3sg

'He was very YOUNG/SMALL when they adopted him'

c. [ADVP Bleun] wɛ Sɛna gba xwe etɔn

quickly FOC S. build.PERF house his

'Sɛna built his house QUICKLY'

Moreover, non-verb focus in the two languages, he states, is not restricted to any particular clause type; it can involve embedded contexts, injunctive mood, interrogatives, etc. That the focused category may be extracted from various embedded contexts, he maintains, suggests that non-verb focus in Yoruba and Gungbe is not sensitive to island constraints as long as the focus targets argument. For example, in (21), no focus-island arises where the focused object of the most embedded verb *xia* 'read' moves to the matrix clause across *Kofi,* the focused subject of the intermediate embedded clause:

(21) [Wema lɔ]ⱼ wɛ un se t″ⱼ ɖɔ [Kofi]***k*** *we* t***k*** ɖɔ t'ⱼ ɖɔ Sɛna ni xia t'ⱼ

book DET FOC 1sg hear.PERF that K. FOC say.PEFR that S. INJ read

'I heard that KOFI said that Sɛna should read THE BOOK'

Assuming Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990), Aboh draws interesting conclusion from (21) above: the lower focus positions are not used as an escape hatch for long extraction. If that were the case, he maintains, the focused category *wema lɔ* 'the book' could not be moved to the matrix clause due to intervening focused subject *Kofi.* Building on Rizzi's schemata, Aboh proposes that subsequent

focus movement to the matrix clause proceeds through Spec, ForceP i.e the highest maximal projection of the C-system.

On verb focus, Aboh maintains that the focused verb in Gungbe moves to the focus field, leaving a copy *in situ*. While there is no lexical or semantic constraint on verb focus in Gungbe, movement raises to the verb, unlike in non-verb focus, to check its focus feature in a local relation to the focus head (Foc°). This shows that the verb alone moves, in this category, without bringing along any of its arguments as illustrated in (22):

(22) Gbaį *xwe* lɔ [IP Sɛna (gbaį)....]
build house DET S. build

Unlike in Gungbe, a focused verb in Yoruba must be nominalised: a gerund formed by prefixal reduplication plus a high tone:

(23) Ri-raį *ni* Aje raį iwe
GER-buy FOC A. buy book
'Aje BOUGHT a book'.

Aboh posits that Yoruba focused verb allows long extraction as it can move across indicative complementizer *pe*, which occupies Force°. Aboh's analysis reveals two major focus strategies across Kwa (Gungbe and Yoruba): One involves movement of any non-verb XP to Spec, FocP. This may also include a nominalised verb whose feature [+V] has been annihilated. In such contexts, focus, he maintains, reduces to simple XP-movement: where movement is cyclical, i.e neither clause bound nor sensitive to negative islands. The second strategy involves head movement: either V-to-Foc° movement

or else generalised pied-piping of the sequence containing the verb to the nearest Spec, FocP. Here, pied piping is understood as head-movement.

2.3.2 Arokoyo's Syntactic Analysis of Focus in Owe

Arokoyo (2017) is a purely syntactic analysis of focus constructions in Owe, a dialect of Yoruba. Placed in the framework of Government and Binding Theory, the paper examines various types of syntactic constituents that can be focused in Owe. Arokoyo notes that only maximal projections i.e phrases and heads are focused in Owe. These, she observes, occupy the specifier of CP position. While agreeing that verbs, VPs and CPSs can be focused, she notes that Noun Phrases are the most easily focused constituents in Owe and these can be Subject NP, Object NP or Object of Preposition.
On Subject NP focus, Arokoyo notes that the preposed NP is followed by '*ki',* which is *'ni'* in Standard Yoruba and leaves a resumptive pronoun 'o' (same as Standard Yoruba) as an evidence of movement:

(24) a. Solá ra ìwé
Solá buy book
Solá bought a book

b. Solá kì ó [t$_i$] ra ìwé
Solá FOC RP buy book
It was Solá that bought a book

Object NP can equally be focused in Owe. Arokoyo observes that when the construction involves both Object NP and Object of Preposition as in (26b), the Object NP is focused while the

Object of Preposition remains in situ. However, the extraction site of the Object NP is indicated by a trace:

(25) a. Mo ra mótò
I buy car
'I bought car'

b. Mótò kí mo rà t¡
Moto FOC I buy
'It is a car that I bought'

(26) a. Olú gbé omi hí áwo tébù
Olú carry water on head table
'Olú put water on the table'

b. Owo tébù¡ kí Olú gbé omi hí t¡
head table FOC Olú carry water on
'It was on the table that Olú put water'

Other constituent units which, according to Arokoyo, can be focused include object of preposition focus, genitive noun phrase focus, possessor noun phrase focus, personal pronoun focus, predicate focus and interrogative focus. Arokoyo observes that when either subject NP or possessor of NP of the genitival phrase is focused, resumptive pronouns are left as traces, noting that when object NP of the verb, the object of the preposition, and the possessed NP of the genitival phrase are focused,

the permissible trace is an empty category. In the case of verb focusing, she notes that a copy of the verb is left in the extraction site while either a resumptive pronoun or an empty category is left at the extraction site of an argument.

Arokoyo concludes by saying that all the positions that can be focused in Owe can also be focused in Yoruba, and that the only difference is the focus marker which is *ki* in Owe and *ni* in Yoruba.

2.3.3 Adesola's Groupings of Yoruba Prepositions with Respect to Stranding

According to Adesola (2005), Yoruba prepositions can be divided into three groups as far as stranding is concerned. The first group, she briefly mentions, consists of the prepositions that can be stranded by moving their complement to a sentence initial position. Examples include:

(27) Kí ni Olú da omi sí__
what be Olú pour water to
'what did Olú pour water into?'

(28) Ta ni Adé ra apò fún __
who be Adé buy bag for
'who did Adé buy a bag for?'

The second group consists of the prepositions which could not be stranded. Examples include:

(29) * Ibo ni Olú ti wá láti __

where be Olú ASP come from

for: ‘where did Olú come from?’

(30) *Ibo ni Olú wà ní __

where be Olú exist at

for: where is Olú?

(31) Láti Ibo ni Olú ti wá

from where be Olú ASP come

where did Olu come from?’

(32) Ibo ni Olú wà

Where be Olú exist

‘where is Olú?’

According to him, only a pied-piping option is available for (29) and (30). However, the preposition, he says, can optionally be dropped as in example (32) where “lati” is missing (Adesola 1993).

The third group of preposition allows pied-piping and stranding. It could additionally allow resumption. Examples include:

(33) Kí ni Adé hó iṣu pẹ̀lú rẹ̀

what be Adé peel yam with it

'what did Adé peel the yam with? / what did Adé use to peel the yam?'

Adesola's classifications above only involve groupings. These are, however, not detailed as there are few examples as cited above. Besides, Adesola looks at questions while illustrating the preposition stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba. This thesis, however, concentrates on focus constructions with more detaled groupings and sufficient data.

2.4 GENERAL MODELS OF P-STANDING AND PIED-PIPING

This paper is an analysis of syntax at the left periphery and the most appropriate theoretic framework that suits this kind of analysis, especially focus analysis, is cartography, which is one of the sub-theories in the Minimalist Program. The choice of cartography for this paper is predicated on its scope-discourse approach to the study of focus. With this approach, the paper will be able to account for the physical realisation of 'ni' as a criterial head in Yoruba focus and equally explain the prosodic and syntactic configurations of focus constructions in Yoruba language. In this section also, different approaches to Preposition Stranding and Pied-piping will be discussed. This is equally very important to our analysis in this study as it will guide our analysis of pure morpho-syntactic patterns of prepositions in Yoruba focus, such as stranding, pied-piping and sluicing and complete ommission of such prepositions. Of the approaches to P-Stranding and Pied-Piping, the paper will adopt the most ideal for the analysis of patterns of prepositions in Yoruba focus. These theoretical approaches are discussed below.

2.4.1 Van Riemsdijk (1978) and Koopman (1997)'s Escape Hatch Approach to P-Stranding

Van Riemsdijk (1978a) is a detailed analysis of P-stranding which suggests that PPs are universally bounding nodes and that there exists a parameter according to which PPs either have or do not have a COMP position that can serve as escape hatch. In Chomsky's recent terminology (See Chomsky 2000; 2001a; 2001b), this would equate to a parameter as to whether phase head P° can be optionally assigned a (EP) P feature. According to van Riemsdijk, languages that permit projection of the escape hatch position allow preposition stranding while other don't. The implication of this theory is that it makes PPs in non-P-stranding languages islands. Considering that is no [Spec, PP] position in non-P-stranding languages, nothing should ever be able to escape from PP. Abels (2003) criticizes van Riemsdijk's theory because it does not capture the 'Generalization 2' of his Phase-based approach which says "Even in non-P-stranding languages, PPs are not islands". However, as noted by Abels (2003), van Riemsdijk's theory allows sub-extraction out of PP in a P-stranding language:

(34) Which building did you bungee jump off [the roof [of t]]?

Koopman (1997) equally depends on various specifiers as escape hatches. Koopman takes her prohibition of P-stranding from Ross (1967) ban against Left Branch Extraction. She opines that in non-P-stranding languages, the lexical P and its complement must move to the specifier of a higher functional head Place°. Taking examples from Dutch language (equally German), [Spec, PlaceP] can either be occupied by the lexical PP or by an R word- other items, she claims, cannot satisfy the checking requirements of Place°. R-words can use [Spec, PlaceP] as an escape hatch, but the complement of the lexical P° cannot. It is frozen in place because extraction of DP from PP would

violate the Left Branch Condition (Koopman 1997:17). And because the Left Branch Condition does not distinguish the complement of the lexical preposition from its proper subparts, Abels claims that this equally does not account for Generalisation 2 as mentioned above.

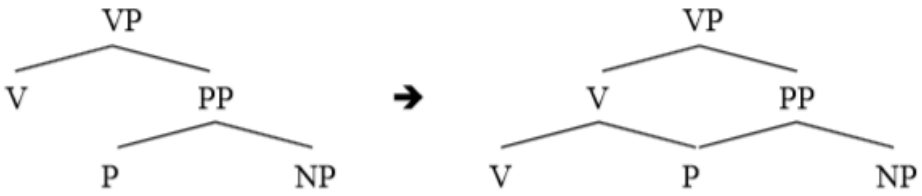
(35) a. Dutch: [PlaceP {[PP P° DP] |R-word}[Place° [AgrP [Agr° t[P° DP]]]]

b. English: [PlaceP [PP P° tDP] [Place° [AgrP DP [Agr° t[P° DP]]]]]

Koopman assumes that P-stranding in a language like English is permitted because the DP complement of the lexical preposition moves out of the lexical PP to [Spec, AgrP], then followed by movement of the remnant PP to [Spec, PlaceP]. This paves way for DP to move further without violating the Left Branch Condition. And for her, the presence or absence of movement of the DP complement of P° to [Spec, AgrP] therefore constitutes the stranding parameter. Abels (2003), however, observes that extraction out of DP as obtainable in English would appear to also constitute a violation of the Left Branch Condition and is therefore incorrectly ruled out, Abels claims that extraction out of the complement of P° should presumably be disallowed both in stranding and non-stranding languages since according to Koopman, it would involve extraction either out of PP in [Spec, PlaceP] or from DP in [Spec, AgrP]. Abels further notes that Koopman does not discuss her view of Left Branch Extraction in detail, saying it is difficult to see how the two cases could be distinguished in a principled way.

Van Riemsdijk (1978a) equally discusses P-stranding under A-movement. He suggests that prepositions can be reanalyzed under adjacency with verbs as shown in (36):

(36)



In the above tree, P does not c-command NP in the reanalyzed structure in (36). Thus the Head Constraint rule is voided because P°, the head of a=PP no longer c-commands NP. This allows NP to move out of PP without going through the escape hatch position. Van Riemsdijk assumes a definition of c-command as in (37):

(37) α c-commands β iff every node dominating α and also dominates β and α does not dominate β.

(38) Head Constraint

No rule may involve Xi (Xj) and Y in the structure …Xi … [α… Y …] … Xj … if Y is c- commanded by the head of α. α ranges over V’”, N’”, A’”, P’”

Abels observes certain virtues from van Riemsdijk reanalysis theory. The first virtue is that it captures the fact that there needs to be a close relation between the verb and the preposition to allow pseudopassives and that the relationship between the verb and the prepositions needs to be closer for pseudopassives to allow for A’-movement. The second virtue, Abels observes, is that the [Spec, PP] escape hatch position can be viewed unambiguosly as an A’-position, courtesy of the fact that it is used only for A’-movements. According to Abels, for van Riemsdijk to allow pseudopassives in some

languages and disallow in other, he assumes that some languages allow the reanalysis operation and others don't. Given this above assumption by van Riemsdijk, Abels notes that the parameter allowing P-stranding under A'-movement ([+/- [Spec, PP]]) is completely independent of the parameter allowing P-stranding under A-movement ([+/- Reanalysis]). Abels concludes that van Riemsdijk's theory fails to predict his Generalisation [3] which says "All languages that allow P-stranding under A-movement, i.e. pseudopassivization, also allow P-stranding under A'-movement".

2.4.2 Hornstein and Weinberg (1981)'s Reanalysis Account to P-stranding

Apparently dissatisfied with van Riemsdijk's theory, Hornstein and Weinberg (1981) come up with a theory of P-stranding which involves literal reanalysis. Despite attracting a great attention, including sharp criticisms from scholars (Baltin and Postal 1996; Couper-Kuhlen 1979; Cruz and Saameno 1996; Donaldson 1982; Duarte 1994; Inada 1981; Levine 1984; Maling and Zaenen 1985a, b; Newmeyer 1998; Salles 1997; Siegel 1983; Takami 1988, 1992), Hornstein and Weinberg make two important points in the paper (Abels 2003). One of the points they raise against van Riemsdijk's theory is that the possibility of having P-stranding is related only to the internal syntax of the PP. They claim that this is insufficient because the same PP may allow extraction when it shows up in one context and may not permit extraction when it shows up in another (Abels 2003). Hornstein and Weinberg (1981:59 ex. 19) give the following example to illustrate their point:

(39) a. Who did you speak to Harry about yesterday?

b. *Who did you speak to Harry yesterday about?

While claiming that many of Hornstein and Weinberg's judgments seem overly restrictive to many speakers of English, Abels notes that the environment where a PP occurs plays an important role in determining whether stranding is possible or not. Whether a DP allows extraction or not depends not only on its internal syntax, but also on its environment. The same DP may allow extraction in direct object position but disallow it in subject position (Chomsky 1986a; Kayne 1981). It may allow extraction in object position but disallow it when Heavy NP Shifted, etc, and whether a CP allows extraction or not depends largely on its position because extraction is allowed mainly from the complement position of bridge verbs but not from adjunct position (Abels 2013).

Under this approach, Hornstein and Weinberg assume that there is a reanalysis of the verb phrase (VP) which then creates a complex verb, shown in (40b-c). They assume further that noun phrases (NPs) governed by prepositions (Ps) have [+oblique] Case, and Case marking applies after reanalysis.

(40) a. John [VP [V talked [PP to Harry] [PP about Fred]]].

b. John [VP [V talked to] Harry [PP about Fred]].

c. John [VP [V talked to Harry about] Fred].

As indicated by Hornstein and Weinberg, the preposition complements shown above become the reanalyzed verb's direct objects. Hence, the preposition complements do not have [+oblique] Case and are able to undergo movement. Thus, P-stranding is possible, as is shown in (41):

(41) a. Who$_i$ did John [VP [V talk to] t_i [PP about Fred]]?

b. Who$_i$ did John [VP [V talk to Harry about] t_i]?

However, there are issues with the reanalysis approach (Law, 2006). If V and P are reanalyzed into a complex verb, the V+P complex verb should function like a syntactic unit, which is not the case. Evidence of this from Dutch is shown in (42) below:

(42) Dutch

*[V in klom]$_i$ Jan de boom niet t_i?

in climbed Jan the tree not

Did Jan not climb into the tree?

Second, when P and V are not positioned next to each other, it should be assumed that the V and P cannot incorporate into a complex verb. Thus, if V+P reanalysis is not possible in these cases, P-Stranding should also not be possible. However, this is not the case, as is shown below:

(43) Dutch

Welke boom$_i$ klom Jan [PP t_i in]?

which tree climbed Jan in

'Which tree did Jan climb into?'

Third, from a cross-linguistic perspective, the reanalysis account of P-Stranding is not sufficient because it "assume[s] that languages [without P-Stranding cannot have a] syntactic rule of reanalysis" (Law, 2006, p. 640).

According to Abels, there are other problems for Hornstein and Weinberg's reanalysis proposal as discussed elsewhere in the literature (Baltin and Postal 1996; Couper-Kuhlen 1979; Cruz and

Saameno 1996; Donaldson 1982; Duarte 1994; Inada 1981; Levine 1984; Maling and Zaenen 1985a, b; Newmeyer 1998; Salles 1997; Siegel 1983; Takami 1988, 1992 among others). One of such problems has to do with cases of multiple P-stranding. Considering the examples in (44), to derive (44a) the string *talk to Harry about* must be reanalysed as a verb. To derive (44b), *talk to* must be reanalyzed as a verb:

(44) a. Who did you talk to Harry about?

b. Harry has been talked to about this isse.

c. Which problems has Harry been talked to **t (Harry)** about **t (which problems)?**

d. Who would you like to be sung to t you by t who?

Abels notes that to derive (44c), both reanalyses must be done simultaneously, and worse still, Harry must move out of the reanalysed word *talk_to_Harry_about.*

Another major problem with Hornstein and Weinberg's reanalysis theory noted in Koster 1986 (see also Baltin and Postal 1996; Newmeyer 1998 and others), according to Abels, is that the reanalyzed strings do not behave as words for various processes such as gapping. It must be possible, he says, to reanalyze *look at* to derive example (45b). The question is then why the verb *look_at* cannot be gapped (45a):

(45) a. John looked at Mary and Bill ___ *(at) Sue.

b. Who did you look at?

2.4.3 Kayne (1981) Government-based Approach to P-stranding

Kayne (1981) adopts government approach to P-stranding while rejecting Hornstein and Weinberg's reanalysis approach. Kayne suggests a system where two parameter are involved.

(46) a. P structurally governs NP.

b. P governs NP only in the sense of subcategorization.

(47) a. P assigns structural accusative Case.

b. P assigns structural oblique Case.

The parameter in (47) is a sub-parameter of (46) in the sense that it is active (or relevant?) only in case (46a) is chosen as the value for the first parameter. (40b) is the value of the parameter found in non-P-stranding languages. In this case, Kayne rules out P-stranding by appealing to the Empty Category Principle (ECP). He assumes that the ECP is defined as in (48). The crucial notion of Percolation Projection is defined in (49).

(48) *Empty Category Principle (ECP)* (Kayne 1984:58)

An empty category β must have an antecedent α such that (1) α governs β or (2) α c-commands β and there exists a lexical category X such that X governs β and α is contained in some percolation projection of X.

(49) *Percolation Projection* (Kayne 1984:57)

A is a percolation projection of B if A is a projection of B, or A is a projection of C, where C bears the same superscript as B and governs a projection of B, or a

percolation projection of B.

Kayne assumes that 'reanalysis in terms of government' amounts to co-superscripting the two categories that are reanalyzed. He further proposes that "reanalysis between two lexical categories is possible only if the two govern in the same way" (Kayne 1984:116). Verbs govern structurally.

From the foregoing, it now follows, according to Abels, that in a language that chooses parameter setting, (46b) preposition stranding is ruled out. This is illustrated by the ungrammatical French example (57). *Voté* bears superscript i, *pour* bears superscript k. They cannot be co-superscripted because they do not govern in the same way. Therefore, the percolation projection of the preposition stops at the PP boundary. It can never go higher. But then the antecedent of the trace, *qui*, is not contained within the same percolation projection as the governor of the trace *pour* and the structure is correctly ruled out by the ECP.

(50)

Qui	as	tu	$[_{VP}$ voté^{i}	$[_{PP}$pour$^{k/*i}$	$t_{qui}]^{k/*i}]^{i}$?
who	have	you	voted	for	

Two comments are observed by Abels here. First of all, Kayne, he notes, must assume that PPs do not have escape hatches. Otherwise, the structure could be as in (51). The PP, Abels claims, cannot still be co-superscripted with the verb, but now t*qui* satisifies the ECP. It is governed by the preposition and its antecedent, t*qui* is contained within the percolation projection of t*qui's* governor, PP. t*qui* also satisfies the ECP since it is governed by the verb and its antecedent t*qui* is contained in the percolation projection of the verb.

(51)

Qui as tu $[_{VP}$ voté^{i} [t'$_{qui}$ [pour$^{k/*i}$ $t_{qui}]^{k/*i}]^{k/*i}]^{i}$?

The second remark concerns the consequences these assumptions have for Abels' Generalization [2]: "Even in non-P-stranding languages PPs are not islands". Given the fact that a percolation projection stops at the PP level and does not go up to the verb in non-P-stranding languages (50) and since escape hatches cannot be generally available as we have seen, all extraction from PP is blocked. For a P-stranding language, Abels notes, the other value of parameter (46) is chosen, i.e. P structurally governs NP. This allows co-superscripting of PP with V.

Given this assumption, according to Abels, the English equivalent of (50) is admissible with co-superscripting. Hence, the percolation projection of P may be the entire sentence, which is, therefore, predicted to be grammatical in English.

(52) who have you $[_{VP}$ voted^{i} $[_{PP}$ for$^{k/\checkmark i}$ $t_{qui}]^{k/\checkmark i}]^{i}$?

Turning to Generalization [4] which says that "P-stranding does not become licit under sluicing in non-P-stranding languages", Abels asks if Kayne's system predicts the fact that sluicing, while ameliorating island effects, does not ameliorate P-stranding violations in non-P-stranding languages. He further asks if it predicts that P-stranding violations can be ameliorated under sluicing in English but not in non-P-stranding languages. Given that the discovery of Generalization [4] substantially postdates Kayne's work, Abels observes that Kayne does not discuss these matters. As far as Abels can see, incorporating Generalization [4] into Kayne's system is a nontrivial task. He claims that the Identity Solution proposed above does not translate straightforwardly.

2.4.4 Law 1998's D-to-P Incorporation Principle

Law (1998) examines and attributes lack of P-standing in Romance languages and some Germanic to syntactic D-to-P incorporation which, according to him, manifests itself most clearly in the morphological suppletion of P+D. Law claims that Romance as well as some German and Dutch permit no P-stranding because they have D-to-P incorporation. He maintains that in contrast, English and Scandinavian allow Ps to be stranded because they lack D-to-P incorporation. As illustrated in (53), (54) and (55), P coalesces with the following D into suppletive forms in Romance and German;

(53) French

Jean a parlé du sujet le plus difficile.

Jean have talked about-the subject the most difficult

'Jean talked about the most difficult subject. (Law 1998:226)

Suppletive forms: du=de le, des=de les, duquel=de lequel, a les=aux, a le=au.

desquels=de lesquels 'of the', a lequel=auquel, a lesquels=auxquels 'to the'

(54) Italian

Gianni ha parlato del sogetto più difficile

Gianni have talked about-the subject most . difficult

'Gianni talked about the most difficult subject.' (Law 1998:227)

Suppletive forms: al=a il, 'to the', alla=a la 'to the', sul=su il, sulla=su la 'on the', nel=in il, nei=in i'in the' del=di il, dello=di lo 'of the', col=con il, 'with the'

(55) German

Hans war am Schalter.

Hans was by-the counter

'Hans was by the counter.' (Law 1998:227)

Suppletive forms: am=an dem 'by the', beim=bei dem 'at the', im=in dem 'in the', mit'm=mit einem 'with a', ubers=uber das 'about the', vom=von dem 'from the'.

Law seems to suggest that if a language has P+D suppletive forms, then pied-piping of prepositions (P-pied piping) is compulsory. Law comes up with the parameter in (56):

(56) *Syntactic constraint on suppletion*

Elements that undergo suppletive rules must form a syntactic unit X°.

The D+P suppletion fact in parameter above implies that in (53)-(55), D must incorporate into P in overt syntax, resulting in the configuration in (57):

(57) [PP [P°+D° $_i$ [DP [t$_i$ [NP [N°]]]]]]

The condition in (56), Law says, does not require that elements forming a syntactic X° necessarily undergo suppletion. Certain verbs with agreement and tense morphologies do not need to have suppletive forms, though they do at times. Hence, there are no demands that a suppletive form exists whenever D incorporates into P. Barring any contrary evidence, Law assumes the null hypothesis that all Ds incorporate into Ps in Romance and Germanic.

One important point Law makes in his study which relates to our analysis of stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus is the fact that if P-stranding correlates with the lack of D-to-P incorporation, then one should expect that P may be stranded when D does not incorporate into P, irrespective of whether the complement of P is extracted under wh-movement or NP-movement.

Law discusses lack of P-stranding in Romance under both NP- and wh-movements. Under NP-movement, Law maintains that Romance lacks P-passives, and so P may not be stranded under NP-movement as illustrated in (58):

(58) a. *Le sujej a été parlé de
the subject have been talked about
'The subject was talked about' (French)

b. [PP [[de+le] [DP t_j [NP sujet]]]]

In (58b), the head D of the DP argument of the P incorporates into the P resulting in the suppletive form *du* (cf *Il a parlé du sujet* 'they talked about the subject'). The surface form in (58a) cannot be derived since *le+sujet* is not a syntactic constituent.

Also on the lack of P-stranding in French and Italian under wh-movements, example in (59), according to Law, lends credence to this assumption:

(59) a. *Quel sujej as-tu parlé de?
'Which subject have you talked about?

b. [PP [[de+quel$_j$] [DP t_j [NP sujet]]]]

In (59), the head D *quel* 'which' incorporates into the P *de*, as a result, D+NP (or D+DP) which is non-constituent *quel sujet* 'which subject' may not be moved. This informs why (83a) is not acceptable in French.

2.4.5 Abels (2003) Phase-based Approach to P-Stranding and Pied-Piping

In his bid to justify his phase-based approach to P-stranding, Abels (2003: 230) attempts to briefly discuss certain generalizations which arise from various approaches to P-stranding. Based on the broad range of claims in the literature that bear on the nature of P-stranding, Abels decides to come up with the following generalizations:

Generalization 1: Languages that do not allow P-stranding do not allow clitic pronouns as the complement of P

Generalization 2: Even in non-P-stranding languages, PPs are not islands

Generalization 3: All languages that allow P-stranding under A-movement, i.e. pseudopassivization, also allow P-stranding under A'-movement

Referencing some literature, Abels notes that languages that allow both types of stranding (Generalization 3) include English, Norwegian (Merchant 1999; Vikner 1995), Swedish (Maling and Zaenen 1985a; Merchant 1999; Takami 1992; Vikner 1995), Vata with postpositions (Koopman 1984), Gbadi with postpositions (Koopman 1984), and Prince Edward Island French (King and Roberge 1990); Roberge 1998; Roberge and Rosen 1999) while stranding only under A'-movement is allowed in

Icelandic (Maling and Zaenen 1985a, b, 1990), Frisian, Danish (Herslund 1984; Merchant 1999; Takami 1988, 1992). There is no language, Abels notes, that allows P-stranding under A-movement but not under A'-movement.

The fourth generalization Abels talks about was discovered by Merchant (1999):

Generalization 4: A language allows P-stranding under sluicing if it allows
P-stranding under question formation.

According to him, Merchant shows on the basis of a large number of languages (German, Dutch, Greek, Russian, Polish, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovene, Persian, Catalan, French, Spanish, Italian, Hebrew, Moroccan Arabic, and Basque) that languages that do not allow P-stranding under question formation, do not allow P-stranding under sluicing. Abels cites Merchant's examples from Serbo-Croatian:

(60) a. *Kim je Ana govorila sa?
*who is Ana speak with?

b. Ana je govorila sa nekim, ali ne znam *(sa) kim.
Ana is speak with someone, but not know.1sg with whom
'Ana spoke with someone, but I don't know who?'

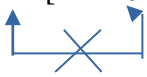
Further referencing Merchant's examples for English, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish and Icelandic, Abels maintains that languages that do allow P-stranding under question formation also allow it under sluicing.

The fifth generalization Abels mentions has to do with verbal particles:

Generalization 5: All languages that allow preposition stranding also have verbal particles (Stowell 1982a and Sugisaki 2002; Sugisaki, Lasnik and Snyder 2001; Sugisaki and Snyder 2001 for evidence from language acquisition).

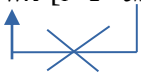
In the light of the above generalizations on P-stranding in languages, Abels postulates a phase-based parameter in accounting for preposition stranding. Abels believes that P is either a phase head or not. He argues that P is a phase head in Germanic languages where preposition stranding is not allowed, whereas P is not a phase head in languages like English (PE) where preposition stranding is free. Accounting for P-stranding Abels assumes Anti-locality Constraint as seen in (61) below:

(61) Anti-locality Constraint: $[_{XP}\ YP\ [_{X'}\ X\ t_{YP}]]$ (Abels 2003: 12)

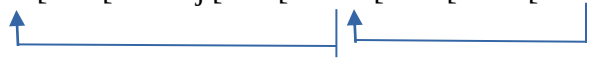


The above constraint prohibits the movement from the complement position to the specifier position within the same projection. This parameter on the phasehood of PP and Anti-locality Constraint makes it possible to account for cross-linguistic difference of preposition stranding.
In languages where PP is a phase head, therefore, the object of preposition has to stop off at [Spec, PP] when it moves out of PP. However, such a movement is ruled out of Anti-locality Constraint in (61). Hence, preposition stranding is not allowed in such languages. In contrast, in languages where P is not a phase head, preposition stranding is possible because the object of the preposition can move out of PP without passing through [Spec PP] as shown in (62b) below:

(62) a. $[_{CP}\ C\ P\ [_{TP}\ sub[_{T'}\ T\ [_{vP}\ V\ [_{VP}\ V\ [PP\ wh\ [_{P'}\ P\ t_{wh}]]]]]]]$



b. [CP *wh* [C' C [TP Subj [T' T [vP t_{wh} [vP v [VP V [PP P t_{wh}]]]]]]]]



Consequent on the above, Abels, relying on Generalization 2, says that extraction of the complement of P is strongly disallowed in non-P-stranding languages, however, extraction out of the complement of P is, in principle, possible. In stranding languages, both extraction of the complement of P° and extraction out of it are possible.

Abels sums up the whole phase-based theory of P-stranding discussed above under parameter 1, which is illustrated in (63):

(63) Paramter 1: [+/-] P° is a phase head.

There is a second independent parameter which, according to him, regulates whether prepositions optionally or obligatorily assign Case. This parameter shows whether the case assigning property of P can be suppressed:

(64) Parameter 2: [+/-] P°'s Case may be suppressed.

These two parameters together give rise to a four way typology of languages. In his words, "P stranding will be allowed if P° is not a phase head. P-stranding will be disallowed if P° is a phase head. If P° is a phase head, pseudopassives are ruled out even if P°'s Case may be suppressed. The DP complement of P° will not be able to leave PP to be case marked and such structures will be ruled out by the Case filter or some analogue thereof". He adds that Pseudopassives will therefore only be allowed if P° is not a phase head and P°'s Case may be suppressed. This, he says, correctly captures

the implicational relation from the availability of pseudopassives to the availability of P-stranding under A'-movement.

Discussing Abels' notion of antilocality, Truswell (2009) claims that movement, construed as a last resort operation, is legitimate only if it leads directly to the establishment of new feature-checking possibilities. He maintains that "if the closest possible relationship between two nodes (mutual total c-command) holds between a head H and its complement, no additional locally determined feature-checking possibilities could arise from movement of that complement to [Spec,H], and so such movement is illegitimate".

Truswell faults Abels' approach to pseudopassivisation based on its reliance purely on properties of P, and of the Case system, saying it is currently ill-equipped to address the puzzles described in its introduction. Pseudopassivisation patterns crosslinguistically with a type of A′-movement which does not involve extraction from PPs, namely extraction from BPPAs. Both of these properties, he claims, are problematic for Abels' theory as it stands: "the Case suppression mechanism that Abels proposes is irrelevant to A′-movement, where Case is assigned to the foot of the chain, and there is no automatic basis for generalising this mechanism to BPPAs, either".

Truswell concludes that, that the status of Abels' theory is the only account currently able to explain the anti-locality of extraction from PP means that it is guaranteed a place in overall theory of P-stranding.

2.4.6 Sugisaki (2011)'s Parametric Variation Approach to P-Stranding

In his article, "Preposition Stranding: Its Parametric Variation and Acquisition", Koji Sugisaki (2011) looks at various cross-linguistic generalizations by various authors concerning P-Stranding. First of these generalisations is that Sugisaki goes ahead to test the reliability of many of these generalizations with children who are acquiring first language.

Sugisaki points out that P-stranding is possible in English while pied-piping sounds odd in spoken English. On the contrary, P-stranding in Spanish is not possible while pied-piping is mandatory. The following examples illustrate:

(65) English

a. Who was Peter talking with t?

b. With whom was Peter talking t?

(66) Spanish

a. *Quién hablaba Pedro con t?

who was-talking Peter with

b. Con quién hablaba Pedro t?

with who(m) was-talking Peter

According to Sugisaki, various authors have, in the past, proposed several reasons for this cross-linguistic variations regarding the occurrence of P-stranding. For Stowell (1981), "P-stranding is possible only in those languages that permit transitive verb-particle construction(s) (especially the one

with the order V-Particle-NP). English, as illustrated below, permits this construction, but Spanish does not:

(67) a. English

Mary lifted up the box.

b. Spanish

María levantó (*arriba) *la caja*

Sugisaki (2011:3), referring to Kayne (1981), observes two cross-linguistic generalizations: Prepositional Complementizers (PC) Construction and the Double Object/Accusative Construction which, according to Kayne, are "possible only in those languages that allow P-Stranding". Kayne examples might not include Dene languages which do not allow P-strandingbut have prepositional complementizer. Examples include:

(68) PC Construction:

a. English

John wants (for) Mary to leave.

b. French

*Jean veut (de) Marie partir.

(69) Double Accusative:

a. English

John gave Mary a book.

b. French

*Jean a donné Marie un livre.

As reflected in (68) above, PC Construction is possible in English; hence, it permits P-stranding, and on the other way round, the PC Construction is not permitted in French which does not permit P-stranding. Similarly, in (69). the Double Accusative is allowed in English but not in French.

Another generalization was proposed by Maling and Zaenen (1985) as cited by Sugisaki (2011). P-stranding with A-movement (prepositional passives or psuedopassives) is possible only in those languages that allow P-stranding with [A-bar movement]"(Sugisaki, 2011, p. 3). For instance, both English and Norwegian (including Swedish, not illustrated below) allow P-stranding under both types of movement:

(70) English

a. What did they talk about t?

b. This problem was already accounted for t.

(71) Norwegian

a. Hvem har Per snakket med?

who has Per talked with

b. ..at Petter ble ledd av.

...that Peter was laughed at

Equally, Law (1998, 2006), quoted by Sugisaki (2011:4), proposed that, "Pied-piping of prepositions is obligatory in those languages that have suppletive forms of prepositions and determiners (P+D suppletive forms)". Below is an example of a P+D suppletive form (du) occurring in French:

(72) French

Jean a parlé du sujet le plus difficile

Jean have talked about-the subject the most difficult

'Jean talked about the most difficult subject'

Since the preposition and determiner have merged into the suppletive form as indicated above, the determiner phrase is no longer separable from the preposition. Hence, only pied-piping is possible in languages with P+D suppletive forms.

Sugisaki, referencing Merchant (1999), further claims that P-stranding is possible under sluicing if P-stranding is possible under wh-movement. For instance in English, P-stranding is possible under sluicing and under regular wh-movement, as shown in (73). In German, however, P-Stranding is not allowed under regular wh-movement or under sluicing, as shown in (74):

(73) English

a. Peter was talking with someone, but I don't know (with) who.

b. Who was Peter talking with?

(74) German

a. Anna hat mit jemandem gesprochen, aber ich weiβ nicht *(mit) wem.

Anna has with someone spoken but I know not with who.

b. *Wem hat sie mit gesprochen?

who has she with spoken

In Yoruba for instance, P-stranding is possible in wh-movement. Sluicing, however, is not possible in Yoruba. It is a difficult exercise in Yoruba as it leads to ungrammatical constructions. This is illustrated in (75) below:

(75) a. Kúnlé ń seré pèlú enìkan, sùgbón n kò mo *(pèlú) ta
Kúnlé (prog) play with someone, but I (neg) know with who
Kúnlé is playing with someone, but I don't know with who

b. Ta ni Kúnlé ń seré pèlú?
Who be Kúnlé (prog) play with?
Who is Kúnlé playing with?

Sugisaki (2011) equally discusses swiping, which Merchant (2002) describes as an acronym for sluiced wh-word inversion with prepositions in Northern Germanic. Sugisaki (2011,p 6), citing Hasegawa (2007), proposed that "swiping is possible only in those languages that allow P-stranding". Swiping can, for instance, be found in English and Danish, as shown below:

(76) a. English
Peter went to the movies, but I don't know who with.

b. Danish
Per er gået I biografen, men jeg ved ikke hven med.
Per is gone to cinema but I know not who with
'Per went to the movies, but I don't know who with.

CHAPTER THREE

PREPOSITION STRANDING AND PIED-PIPING IN YORUBA FOCUS

3.0 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to analyse preposition stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus constructions. Just like English, prepositions can either be stranded or pied-pied in Yoruba focus constructions. Unlike English however, while some prepositions can be pied-piped in Yoruba focus, others cannot, occupying a stranded position in the construction. In previous studies on P-stranding, most languages that allow P-stranding do not permit pied-piping and vice versa. Law (2006) echoes this in his claim that cross-linguistically, languages that allow P+D constructions do permit P-stranding. The surveys carried out by Law (1998) and Salles (1997) show that while Roman and Germanic languages do not allow P-stranding, Scandinavian languages permit P-stranding. In other words, the issue of whether P-stranding is permitted or not is a cross-linguistic concern for linguists. But in this study, P-standing and pied-piping are both features of the Yoruba focus constructions. This explains why Law's theory and Abel (2003)'s Phase-based approach cannot work in isolation for our analysis. Both theories, in addition to van Riemsdijk (1978) escape hatch approach and Chomsky's convergence principles, will be deployed in the analysis of pied-piping and stranding of prepositions in Yoruba.

3.1 The morphology of Yoruba Prepositions

In order to understand how Yoruba prepositions pattern with respect to stranding and pied-piping in focus constructions, it is important for me to discuss the morphological structures of some of the Yoruba prepositions, especially the polymorphemic ones. Since the morpheme is seen as a minimal meaningful unit of grammatical analysis, that is, a meaningful sequence of sounds which is not divisible into smaller meaningful unit, some Yoruba prepositions are divisible into smaller morphemes. Yoruba simple prepositions comprise free morphemes. However, some prepositions are morphologically complex. I call these derived prepositional words. These derived prepositional words comprise two or three morphemes. These preposition classes are presented below:

(77)

Free, monomorphemic prepositions	Derived polymorphemic prepositions
sí (to),	
lé (on),	
kà (on),	
ní (at)	
abé (under)	sábé (under)
orí (on)	lórí (on)
ipa (about)	nípa (about)
èyìn (after, behind)	léyìn (behind)
iwájú (front)	níwájú(in front of)
àárín (in-between)	làárín (in-between)

àti (from)	làti (from)
itósí (near)	nítósí (near)
ègbé (beside)	légbèé (beside)
èbá (beside)	lébàá
inú (inside)	nínú (inside)
ìgbà (during)	nígbà

In the above table, all the derived prepositions have undergone different morphological processes. For instance, while only vowel deletions occur to *sábé, nípa, níwájú, nítósí, nínú, nígbà* (e.g *sí+abé=sábé, ní+ipa=nípa , ní+iwájú=níwájú, ní+itósí=nítósí , ní+inu=, nínú, ní+ ìgbà=nígbà*), vowel deletions as well as consonant changes occur to *lórí, léyìn, làárín* and *làti* (e.g *ní+orí=lórí, ní+èyìn = léyìn, ní+àárín= làárín, ní+àti =làti*). Equally, initial vowel deletions, consonant changes as well as vowel final vowel inclusions occur to *légbèé* and *lébàá* (e'g *ní+ ègbé = légbèé, ní+èbá = lébàá*) (Adesola 2005).

For the derived prepositions which are synchronically polymorphemic, *ní* and *sí* as morphemes coalesce with other independent prepositional morphemes to form a syntactic unit which, as we shall see later in this chapter, triggers pied-piping.

As illustrated in the classification table above, the complex prepositions are derived from monomorphemic ones. The examples of monomorphemic prepositions are 'si' and 'ni' which are independent prefixes on their own. In the following sentences, 'si' and 'ni' act independently :

(78) a Tádé lo **sí** ojà lánàá

Tádé go to market yesterday

Tádé went to the market yesterday

b. Fémi pa ejò **ní** orí àpáta

Fémi kill snake at on rock

Fémi killed snake on the rock

The above examples show that these prefixes can exist independently.

It can be observed that there exist some major differences between monomorphemic prepositions and polymorphemic prepositions. The first major difference is that polymorphemic prepositions can be separated and made to occur independently in a sentence. When this happens, the two separate prepositions produce distinct locative meanings in a sentence. Examples in (79) and (80) below illustrate :

(79) a Fémi jókò **sábé** igi osàn

Fémi sit under tree orange

Fémi sat under orange tree

b. Fémi jókò **sí abé** igi osàn

Fémi sit to under tree orange

Fémi sat under orange tree

(80) a. Kúnlé fun fèrè **nítòsí** ojà

Kúnlé blow trumpet near market

Kúnlé blew trumpet near market

b. Kúnlé fun fèrè **ní itòsí** ojà

Kúnlé blow trumpet at near market

Kúnlé blew trumpet near market

In examples (79b) and (80b) above, the polymorphemic prepositions **sábé** and **nítòsí** are separated with each separated entity having its unique locative meanings.

Though these prepositions can be saparated to stand independently, they depend on each other in a sentence. Either of these syntactically independent prepositions cannot occur in a sentence and be meaningful. They are though syntactically independent, but semantically interdependent. The ungrammaticality of the examples in (81)-(83) illustrates this :

(81) a. *Tólà na Péjú itòsí ojà

Tólà beat Péjú near market

Tólà beat Péjú near market

b. *Tólà na Péjú ní ojà

Tólà beat Péjú at market

Tólà beat Péjú at market

(82) a. *Fémi pa ejò orí àpáta

Fémi kill snake on rock

Fémi killed snake on the rock

b. *Fémi pa ejò ní àpáta

Fémi kill snake at àpáta

Fémi killed snake at rock

(83) a. *Solá jókò iwájú okò Ayòká

Solá sit front motor Ayòká

Solá sat in front of Ayòká's car

b. *Solá joko ni oko Ayoka

Solá sit at motor Ayoka

Solá sat at Ayoka's motor

The above examples prove that while polymorphemic prepositions can be separated syntactically in a sentence, they, however, depend on each other in a sentence where they occur adjacently to make a complete sense in Yoruba. Any attempt to use either of them in isolation as seen in the examples above renders the sentence ungrammatical or illogical in Yoruba.

However, for pied-piping to take place in Yoruba focus, the two distinct prepositions must incorporate to form a syntactic unit. The two independent prepositions must be spelt out in a combined form as seen in (79a) and (80a), preparatory for focus constructions.

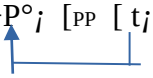
3.2 How Law's Structures Help Situate Yoruba Stranding in Phase Theory

As earlier discussed, Law (1998)'s goal was to relate P-stranding to the independent property of syntactic incorporation of D into P as evidenced in suppletive forms of D+P found in Romance and Germanic. In these languages, two independent morphemes coalesce to form new words. For instance, *de* and *le* coalesce to form *du; de* and *les* coalesce to form *des;* and *de* and *lequel* coalesce to form *dequel* in French. Similarly in German and probably Italian, the pairs of independent morphemes like *a, il*; *a, la; su, il; su, la; di, il* coalesce to form *al, alla, sul, sulla,* and *del* respectively. In the same vein, the structures of Yoruba prepositions follow the same patterns of what Law discovers in Romance and Germanic. As discussed above, two independent prepositions coalesce to form new independent prepositions in Yoruba. For instance, *ní* coalesces with *ipa* to form *nípa*, *ní* also coalesces with *iwájú* to form *níwájú,* while it also does with *itósí* to form *nítósí* and with *inú to* form *nínú* .

While Law's suppletive forms involve D-to-P incorporation just as Dene languages, which also disallow P-stranding, also have N-to-P incorporation, I maintain that Yoruba derived preposition forms involve P-to-P incorporation. However, the morphological processes of derived structures in Law's Romance and Germanic languages as well as Yoruba follow the same patterns. Just as D-to-P incorporation in Romance and Germanic satisfies Law's parameter as exemplified in (56), Yoruba prepositions equally fulfill this parameter by forming syntactic units which, like Romance and Germanic, are related to pied-piping in Yoruba focus constructions. As illustrated in (84) and (85), while Law's D raises up to join with the preposition for pied-piping to take place, Yoruba's lower P also raises up to join with the upper P to force pied-piping to take place.

(84) [PP [P°+D°$_i$ [DP [t$_i$ [NP [N°]]]]]] (Romance and Germanic)

(85) [PP [P°+P°ⱼ [PP [tⱼ [DP [D°]]]]]] (Yoruba)



However, Law's incorporation rule does not fully apply to the Yoruba situation. It is only applicable to fully pied-piping languages. Law's theory, however, as seen in (85), applies fully to pied-piping prepositions in Yoruba focus. The reason for this is that these pied-piped prepositions are morphologically complex, and have to incorporate for the pied-piping to take place. The lower P has to move to the upper P to form a complex head. The movement of the lower preposition to upper preposition 'ni' blocks the SpecPP where the P-complement is expected to land before traveling to the focus site. And because the P-complement no longer finds an escape hatch through the SpecPP, it had to pied-pipe the whole preposition as it moves to the focus site. However, the fact that Law's incorporation involves D-to-P movement while the Yoruba's one involves P-to-P calls for careful applicability to Yoruba stranding and pied-piping. To handle the analysis of Yoruba stranding situation properly, there is need to situate Law's rule in Abel's Phase theoretic approach. As noted earlier, Abels believes that P is either a phase head or not in a language. Abels maintains that P is a phase head in Germanic languages for instance where preposition stranding is not allowed. In order to account for this, Abels assumes an Anti-locality Constraint as seen in example (61). The constraint prohibits the movement from the complement position to the specifier position within the same projection. This is in line with Chomsky's labelling theory which claims there can be no movement from the specifier of the complement of the phase head to the specifier of that same phase.

In languages where PP is a phase head, Abels proposes, the object of preposition has to stop off at [Spec, PP] when it moves out of PP. However, such a movement is ruled out by the Anti-locality Constraint. Hence, preposition stranding is not allowed in such languages. In contrast, in languages

where P is not a phase head, preposition stranding is possible because the object of the preposition can move out of PP without passing through [Spec PP] as shown in example (62b).

For analytical convenience, we can assume that Yoruba is a language where P is a phase head.

With this assumption, I will be incorporating Law's theory and van Riemsdijk's escape hatch approach into the analysis of both stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba. I will be arguing that in pied-piping focus structures in Yoruba, it is impossible for stranding to occur because there is incorporation of lower P to upper P. The movement of lower P to the upper P blocks the movement of the DP. There is, therefore, no [Spec, PP] through which the DP can escape as the space is blocked. This explains why some prepositions must be pied-piped in Yoruba.

On the other hand, in instances where P is stranded in the language, the object of preposition moves out as there is no P-to-P incorporation as in pied-piped cases. The [Spec PP] space is not blocked, and so it is possible for the DP to escape through the [Spec,PP] to the focus site. So, in both P-stranding and pied-piping contexts in Yoruba, P is a Phase head.

3.3 The Limits of Abels' Theory

As earlier stated, Abel's (2003) is central to my analysis of P-stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus. However, in view of the fact that Yoruba displays complex preposition patterns as far as focus constructions in the language are concerned, Abels' theory cannot account for the complexities of prepositions in Yoruba focus without modification. The first limitation in Abels' theory as far as PPs in Yoruba focus are concerned is its postulation that P is either a phase head or not in a given language. Abels believes that P is a phase head in Germanic languages where preposition stranding is not allowed, and not a phase head in languages like English where preposition stranding is free. In other words, that P is a phase head or not is an inter-language phenomenon. But in the Yoruba case, though P

is assumed to be a phase head, the possibilities of stranding and pied-piping in the language make phase head theory by Abels a one-language affair, that is both stranding and pied-piping happening in the same language. Abels' model does not account for all of these possibilities in Yoruba. Prepositions are seen as non-phase heads in stranding languages, but in my analysis, stranded prepositions are seen as phase heads.

Another limitation of Abels' theory to this study is the Anti-locality Constraint which is exemplified in (61). The constraint prohibits movement from the complement position to the specifier position within the same projection. I will show in this thesis that Yoruba lacks Anti-locality Constraint, hence it is possible to have object of preposition stopping off at [Spec PP] in stranded cases in Yoruba focus. This kind of movement, which is ruled out in languages where P is a phase head, according to Abels, is allowed in Yoruba focus structures where prepositions are simple in configurations and where stranding occurs. The stranding cases in Yoruba where objects of prepositions stop off at [Spec PP], an escape hatch space, do not also correlate with Abels' stranding languages in which he says the object of preposition can move out of PP without passing through [Spec PP]. Due to this lack of Anti-locality Constraint in Yoruba, the DP, in stranding cases, escapes through this [Spec PP], the "edge" of the phase, to the focus site.

In spite of the above limitations, Abels phase theory is still very relevant to my focus in this study. The fact that the theory cannot account for Yoruba P-stranding and pied-piping in isolation explains why some aspects of Law (1998) are adopted in analysing patterns of prepositions in Yoruba focus.

3.4 The Limits of Law (1998) Incorporation Theory

Just as Abels theory cannot, in isolation, account for P- stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus, Law (1998)'s Incorporation theory equally cannot fully explain the intricacies of prepositions in Yoruba focus. Law suggests that P-stranding is but a syntactic correlate of theory of morphological suppletion. He specifically relates the lack of P-stranding in Romance and Germanic languages to syntactic D-to-P incorporation. Law further suggests that by contrast, languages like English and Scandinavian allow P to be stranded because they lack D-to-P incorporation. The general idea that Law seems to convey with D-to-P incorporation is that anything that is not one syntactic constituent cannot be moved. In this case, lack of P-stranding in these languages is just a special case. Cross-linguistically, in structures where D incorporates to P, D no longer forms one syntactic constituent with it NP complement. And since D and NP form a DP complement to P, they, therefore, cannot be moved, thereby stranding P. Law's theory is relevant to Yoruba in terms of morphological incorporation determining P-stranding or pied-piping. In pied-piping instances in Yoruba focus, coalescing of two independent prepositions is noticed. I assume this coalescing to be responsible for pied-piping in Yoruba focus. Also, stranded prepositions in Yoruba focus, as rightly predicted by Law for stranding languages like English, show lack of P-to-P incorporation. This is where Law's theory, syntactically now, correlates with Yoruba. However, this theory is limited because it refers to D-to-P incorporation and not P-to-P incorporation as I have observed in Yoruba pied-piping cases. While in terms of syntactic configurations the theory correlates with patterns of P-stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus, in terms of elements coalescing or incorporating, the theory differs from Yoruba patterns.

One more important factor that puts limit on Law's theory with regard to preposition stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus is its cross-linguistic postulation. Just like Abels', Law' s theory allows variation in incorporation between languages and not within languages. In other words, D-to-P

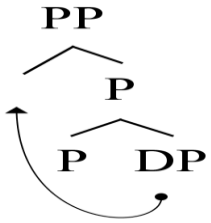
incorporation either takes place in a language or not. In Yoruba, however, some prepositions display P-to-P incorporation while some do not. Law's theory cannot account for these patterns within a language. This explains why the theory, just like Abels', cannot solely be used to analyse Yoruba patterns of prepositions in Focus constructions.

3.5 Stranded Prepositions in Yoruba Focus

In this section, my aim is to analyse stranded prepositions in Yoruba focus by synthesizing ideas from Abels (2003) phase theory and Law's incorporation theory. As mentioned earlier, neither of these aforementioned theories can work in isolation as far as P-stranding and pied-piping is concerned in Yoruba focus.

In Yoruba focus constructions, and in our analysis here, Yoruba P is treated as a phase head. In structures where prepositions are stranded in Yoruba focus, the P-complements move out of the PP. It is often easy for the P-complements to move out of PP in Yoruba focus because the focused category in the language may be extracted from various embedded contexts. The DP escapes through this [Spec PP], the "edge" of the phase, to the focus site, stranding the preposition. The edge/EPP feature on P makes the movement of the DP a possibility. Following Chomsky's (2005, 2006) proposal that all Merge operations are driven by features which he terms edge features (Efs), the movement here as exemplified in the tree diagram in (86) below, is driven by the edge/EPP feature on the preposition.

(86)



Yoruba lacks Anti-locality Constraint which Abels says rules out the stop over of the object of preposition at the [Spec, PP] as observed in example (86), and based on this, the [Spec PP] acts as an escape hatch through which the P-complement escapes to the focus site. In pied-piped cases, the position is blocked by the lower P incorporating to the upper P. I can assume that the position is not blocked by any movement here. As illustrated in (86), the DP in stranded instances of Yoruba focus escape through the position, stranding the prepositions in the process. As illustrated from examples (87)-(91), P-complements escape to the [SpecFocP] through [Spec, PP], stranding the prepositions in the processes.

(87) a. Olú gbé Omi sí orí tábìlì
Olú carry water on head table
'Olú put water on the table'

b Orí tábìlì¡ ni Olú gbé omi sí t¡
Head table FOC Olu carry water on
'It was on the table that Olu put water'

(88) a. Jídé gbé àwo lé tábìlì yìí

Jide put plate on table this

'Jide placed plate on this table'

b. Tábìlì yìí¡ ni Jídé gbé àwo lé t¡

Table this FOC Jídé put plate on

'It was on this table that Jide placed plate'

(89) a. Fémi gbé omi ka iná

Fémi put water on fire

'Fémi boiled water on fire'

b. Iná¡ ni Fémi gbé omi kà t¡

Fire FOC Fémi put water on

'It was on fire that Fémi boiled water'.

(90) a. Màmá bí Tóbi sí Miami

Mother birthed Tobi in Miami

'Mother gave birth to Tobi in Miami'

b. Miami¡ ni Màmá bí Tóbi sí t¡

Miami FOC Màmá birthed Tobi in

'It was in Miami that Màmá gave birth to'

(91) a. Kúnlé féràn láti sisé pèlú Túndé

Kúnlé love from work with Túndé

'Kúnlé likes to work with Túndé'

b. Túndé¡ ni Kúnlé féràn láti sisé pèlú t¡

Túndé FOC Kúnlé love from work with

'It is Túndé Kúnlé likes to work with'

From the examples, the prepositions *sí, lé, kà* and *pèlú* are left stranded at the extraction sites while their complements, *Orí tábìlì, Tábìlì yìí, Iná, Miami* and *Túndé* move to the [SpecFP]. Stranding of these prepositions occurs probably because Yoruba tends to move smaller constituents rather than heavy ones. From structural point of view, the edge/EPP features on these prepositions pave way for the P-complements to move out without having to pied-pipe the prepositions.

Following Law's approach, P-stranding in this section can be seen as an effect of the lack of incorporation of lower P with the upper P whose movement in the PP schemata could have blocked the movement of P-complement. For this purpose, and assuming that P equally has an edge/EPP feature, the P-complement is able to move out of the P, escaping through the [Spec PP] to the focus, stranding the preposition is the process.

Since both stranding and pied-piping occur in Yoruba, it will be wrong to apply to Yoruba the Anti-locality Constraint by Abels which makes it possible to account for cross-linguistic difference of P-stranding. In my analysis, regarding Yoruba preposition as a phase head while neutralizing the Anti-locality Constraint makes it possible for me to account for both stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus. However, unlike Abel's assumption that pied-piping occurs in pied-piped languages because the

object of preposition cannot stop at Spec PP, having been ruled out by Anti-locality Constraint, Yoruba pied-piping, as it will be seen later, occurs as a result of blockage of Spec PP by movements arising from morphological complex prepositions. The object of preposition in Yoruba pied-piping cases cannot stop at Spec PP.

And for the stranded cases as exemplified above, P still remains a phase head in Yoruba. The difference is just that the prepositions lack incorporation and as a result, there is no such movements as P-to-P incorporation that could block P-complement movement. The Ps in stranded cases are simple and the complements find escape hatch in the Spec PP. Unlike Abels' non-P-stranding languages where the complement can move out of PP without passing through the Spec PP, the complements in the Yoruba stranded cases pass through Spec PP which acts as an escape hatch, having had Anti-locality Constraint overruled as a result of the two possibilities in Yoruba focus. This is a boundary where Abels' theory crosses Law's approach in Yoruba focus constructions. The little adjustment of Abel's rule is justified by the two possibilities of stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus constructions as against Abel's account for cross-linguistic differences in P-stranding.

It is my assumption in this thesis that stranding and pied-piping options in Yoruba focus resides in the properties of the prepositions themselves is the fact that any attempt to pied-pipe any of the prepositions listed in (87)-(91) results in ill-formed structures in Yoruba language:

(92) *Sí orí tábìlì ni Olú gbé omi
On head table FOC Olú put water
It was on the table that Olú put water

.

The above example is ungrammatical in Yoruba because the position before '*ni*' may not host a PP headed by a monomorphemic preposition. This is unlike examples in 106b and 109b where pied-

piping takes place as a result of the fact that the position before 'ni', a focus marker, plays host to a PP headed by a complex P.

It is equally interesting here to draw a contrast between (87b) repeated in (93) below and (92) above:

(93) Orí tábìlì¡ ni Olú gbé omi sí t¡
Head table FOC Olu carry water on
'It was on the table that Olu put water'

Considering the ungrammaticality of (92) and grammaticality of (93), one would be tempted to draw a conclusion the position before '*ni*' in Yoruba is restricted to DP, much like the post-copula position in pseudo-cleft English as in examples in (94):

(94) a. What John bought at the store was a pencil.
b. *Where John bought a pencil was at the store.

In the above examples, (94b) is not grammatical in English because the position only plays host to DP on pseudo-cleft structures. This same reason could have been assumed in Yoruba (92) and (93) examples. However, the fact that the position before the focus marker '*ni'* in Yoruba also plays host to a PP headed by a complex P put paid to the assumption the position, as pseudo-cleft English, only accommodates DP. Examples in (95) and (96) illustrate:

(95) Lébà odò ni Kúnle ti gbàdúrà
Near river FOC Kúnle PEFR pray
It was near the river that Kúnle prayed

(96) Nínú ìkòkò dúdú ni màmá ti we omo tuntun

Inside pot black FOC mother PERF bath child new

It was inside black pot that mother bathed new baby

Given the above examples in Yoruba, I can, therefore, assume, as I earlier stated, that the ungrammaticality in (92) is simply due to the fact that the position before focus marker *'ni'* does not play host to PP headed by monomorphemic prepositions. This explains why stranding of monomorphemic prepositions in Yoruba focus occurs in the first instance.

However, in some focus constructions where certain Yoruba prepositions have dual capabilities of stranding and pied-piping as I will explain better in the next chapter, resumptive pronouns are planted on the spot where the NP-element moved to the focus site. But in the above examples, they do not fit in. Attempts to impose such in the examples below equally make the sentences illicit in Yoruba:

(97) a. * Túndé ni Kúnlé féràn láti sisé pèlú rè

Túndé FOC Kúnlé love from work with RP

It is Túndé Kúnlé likes to work with

b. *òkuta ni Olú gbé igi lé rè

Stone FOC Olú put firewood on RP

It was on stone that Olú put firewood

Another unexpected observation from the data collected on Yoruba focus is the occurrence of perfective 'ti'. Though I am going to dwell more on this in the later part of this chapter, it is necessary

to briefly discuss it in this section in order to see if its presence in stranded prepositions is grammatical or not. In all P-pied-piping cases as we shall see later, the *"ti"* is obligatory. But in stranding cases, it is completely missing. Its absence in examples (87)-(91) is a confirmation of this assumption.

Syntactically, "*ti"* seems to be a functional head situated after the subject as I will exemplify in the next chapter. As can be seen in (98) below, any attempt to impose the "ti" on the focus construction in which the preposition is stranded makes the structure an ill-formed one:

(98) a. Màmá bí Tóbi si Miami
Mother birthed Tobi in Miami
'Mother gave birth to Tobi in Miami'

b. *Miami¡ ni Màmá ti bí Tóbi sí t¡
Miami FOC Màmá PERF birthed Tobi in
'It was in Miami that Màmá gave birth to Tobi'

(99) a. Fémi gbé omi ka iná
Fémi put water on fire
'Fémi boiled water on fire'

b. *Iná¡ ni Fémi ti gbé omi kà t¡
Iná FOC Fémi PERF put water on
'It was on fire that Fémi boiled water'

3.6 Long Distance Constructions and Stranded Prepositions in Yoruba Focus

Long distance constructions are possible in Yoruba, either in form of focus constructions or wh-constructions. These possibilities in Yoruba do not change the behavior of P-stranding in Yoruba focus constructions. Examples (91) and (92) are acceptable in Yoruba:

(100) a. Kofí so wípé Yemí gbàgbó wípé Tólá féran obìnrin
Kofí say that Yemi believe that Tola love women
Kofí said that Yemi believe that Tola love women

b. Obìnrin ni Kofí so wípé Yemí gbàgbó wípé Tólá féran
Women FOC Kofí say that Yemí believe that Tólá like
It was women Kofí said that Yemí believed that Tólá liked.

(101) Ki ni Kofí so wípé Yemí gbàgbó wípé Tólá féràn
What FOC Kofí say that Yemí believe that Tólá like
What did Kofí say that Yemí believed Tólá liked.

In view of different stranding patterns Yoruba prepositions tend to show, I have considered looking at these patterns further in long distance constructions to see how the prepositions will behave. That the patterns of these categories of prepositions remain the same with short distance focus constructions as we have seen in (87)-(91) strengthens my assumption that pied-piping or stranding of Yoruba prepositions mainly depends on the morphological configurations of the prepositions in

question. The presence or absence of other constituents like adverbial, complementizer or P-complements has no influence on the behaviors of the prepositions. As reflected in (102) and (103), the prepositions *sí* and *kà* remain stranded at the extraction sites despite their complements having to travel far to the SpecFP:

(102) a. Fémi so wípé Olú gbé omi sí orí tábìlì
Fémi say that Olú put water on head table
'Fémi said that Olú put water on head table'

b. Orí tábìlì ni Fémi so wípé Olú gbé omi sí
Head table FOC Fémi say that Olú put water on
'It was on the table that Fémi said Olú put water'

(103) a. Tití gbàgbó wípé Fémi gbé omi ka iná
Tití believe that Fémi put water on fire
'Tití believed that Fémi put water on fire'

b. Iná ni Tití gbàgbó wípé Fémi gbé omi kà
Fire FOC Tití believe that Femi put water on
'It was fire that Tití believed that Femi put water on'

The complementizer "*wipe*" in the above examples has not affected the patterning of the Yoruba prepositions that have tendency of being stranded due to their non-complex or simple configurations.

3.7 Pied-piped Prepositions in Yoruba Focus

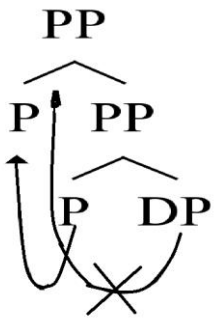
Just as stranding is a common phenomenon in Yoruba focus constructions, pied-piping is equally a regular feature in Yoruba focus. Cross-linguistically, studies have shown that a language is either a P-stranding language or a pied-piped one. Aside from English which equally has both stranding and pied-piping features, many of the languages have shown cross-linguistic variations to P-stranding. For instance, while Romance languages, French and Germanic languages are compulsorily pied-piping languages, the Scandinavian languages have proved to be stranding languages. However, exceptions do often occur to whatever P-stranding feature displayed by a language as, for instance, read in Law (1998) of German and Dutch which instances of stranding when R-pronouns and adverbials intervene in constituent structures of the languages.

Pied-piping in Yoruba focus, however, is not a matter of exceptions to general stranding patterns, but a very common feature of the language at an equal generality to stranding.

As earlier claimed, PP in Yoruba focus constructions is a phase head. Pied-piping of prepositions along with their complements occurs because the complements cannot move out of the prepositional phrase having been blocked by the movement of lower preposition to the upper preposition. This patterns correlate with D-to-P incorporation Law (1998) finds in Romance languages and Germanic. Pied-piped prepositions in Yoruba focus are morphologically complex as explained in chapter two of this study. There has to be P-to-P incorporation for these pied-piped prepositions to be realised. The lower independent preposition has to move to the upper *ní* to form a complex head. The movement of the lower preposition to upper preposition, *ní*, blocks the SpecPP where the P-complement is expected to land before travelling to the focus site. This is in line with Chomsky labelling theory earlier mentioned which states that there can be no movement from the specifier of the

complement of the phase head to the specifier of the same phase. And since the P-complement no longer finds an escape hatch through the SpecPP, it has to pied-pipe the whole preposition as it moves to the focus site. In addition, unlike in stranded cases where the edge feature on P triggers movements, the edge feature on P in the pied-piped cases doesn't allow its complement to incorporate directly. Hence, the need for pied-piping. The schemata is shown in (104):

(104)



In (104), the movement of the lower P to the upper P for incorporation blocks the movement of DP to the Specifier position of the first PP. Hence, the pied-piping of the whole PP in the focus constructions in Yoruba. An example of the above is illustrated in (105) with Yoruba PP:

(105) [PP [ní +itósí$_i$ [PP [t$_i$ [NP [Oja]]]]]]

In the above example, the head of the lower PP, '*itósí*' raises to the upper preposition *ní* to incorporate with it. The two now form a syntactic unit nítósí which pied-pipes with the NP, *Ojà* to the SpecFP:

(106) a. Tólá na Péjú nítòsí ojà

Tólá beat Peju near market

Tólá beat Peju near market

b. Nítòsí ojà$_i$ ni Tólá ti na Péjú t$_i$

Near marker FOC Tólá PERF beat Péjú

It was near market that Tólá beat Péjú

Without the incorporation of *ní* and *itósí,* it is practically impossible for either of the prepositions as a separate unit to be pied-piped. This is why Law's parameter that 'elements that undergo suppletive rules must form a syntactic unit' is very much applicable here. The ungrammaticality of (107) in Yoruba supports my assumption that the incorporation of the two prepositions is solely responsible for P-pied-piping in Yoruba:

(107) a. *Ní odò ni Fálékè ti pa eran

At river FOC Fálékè PERF kill animal

At river, Fálékè killed an animal

b. *Itósí odò$_i$ ni Fálékè ti pa animal

Near river FOC Fálékè PERF kill animal

It was near river that Fálékè killed an animal

The above examples are ungrammatical. The test of their ungrammaticality is found in (108) below where it is not sensible to make such a declarative statement:

(108) * Fálékè pa eran ítòsí odò

Fálékè pa eran near river

Fálékè killed an animal near river

The above statement is wrong in Yoruba as it lacks *ní* which is available in (106). Hence, pied-piping *ítòsí odò* as seen in (107b) is not grammatical without the incorporation and pied-piping of *ní* along with it to the SpecFP location.

Examples (109)-(114) illustrate how a measurable number of prepositions are pied-piped in Yoruba focus after undergoing incorporation and suppletion:

(109) a. Mònícà pe ago mi láti America

Mònícà call phone my from America

Mònícà called my phone from America

b. Láti America$_i$ ni Mònícà ti pe ago mi t$_i$

From America FOC Mònícà PERF call phone my

It was from America that Mònícà called my phone

c. * America$_i$ ni Mònícà ti pe ago mi láti t$_i$

America FOC Monica have called phone my from

It was from America that Monica called my phone

(110) a. Pásítò kí Alàgbà Múlíká léyìn ìjosìn

Pastor greet Elder Múlíká after service

Pastor greeted Elder Múlíká after service

b. Léyìn ìjosìn$_i$ ni pásítò ti kí Alàgbà Múlíká t$_i$

After service FOC Pastor PERF greet Elder Múlíká

It was after service that Pastor greeted Elder Múlíká

c. *Ijosìn$_i$ ni pásítò ti kí Alàgbà Múlíká léyìn t$_i$

Service FOC Pastor PERF greet Elder Mulika after

It was after service that Pastor greeted Elder Mulika

(111) a. Akéèkó jókò làárín olùkó àti alábòjútò

Student sit between teacher and supervisor

Student sat between teacher and supersivor

b. Làárín olùkó àti alábòjútò$_i$ ni akeeko ti joko t$_i$

Between teacher and supervisor FOC student PERF sit

It was between teacher and supervisor that the student sat

(112) a. Mo rí Yínúsà lébàá odò Aféjó

I see Yinusa beside river Aféjó

I saw Yinusa beside Aféjó river.

b. Lébàá odò Aféjó$_i$ ni mo ti rí Yínúsà t$_i$

Beside road Aféjó FOC I PERF see Yínúsà

It was beside Aféjó river that I saw Yínúsà

(113) a. Oba Àjàká pe àpèje nígbà odún egúngún ìlú Ayétóró

King Àjàká call feast during festival masquerade town Ayétóró

King Àjàká organized feast during masquerade festival in Ayétóró town.

b. Nígbà odún egúngún ìlú Ayétóró$_i$ ni Oba Àjàká pe àpèje t$_i$

During festival masquerade town Ayétóró FOC King Ajaka call feast

It was during masquerade festival in Ayétóró town that King Ajaka organized feast

(114) a. Akòròyìn rì owó repete nínú okò olórí òsìsé Nigeria

Journalist see money huge inside car leader worker Nigeria

Journalist saw huge money inside the car of Nigeria's labour leader

b. Nínú okò olórí òsìsé Nigeria ni Akòròyìn ti rì owó repete

Inside car leader worker Nigeria FOC journalist PERF see money huge

It was inside Nigeria labour leader's car that journalist saw huge money

From all the above examples, it is very clear that all the prepositions that pied-piped have formed syntactic units with *ní*. For instance, *láti* was formed by suppletion of *ní+àti*, while *léyìn* was unified by suppletion of *ní+èyìn*. *Lébàá* got incorporated from *ní+èbá* (with an additional vowel for lengthening). *Láàrín* equally formed a syntactic unit from *ní+àárín*. The special thing about the

suppletions of *léyìn, lébàá* and *láàrín* is that the preposition *ní* transformed to letter *l* in the process of incorporation.

The incorporation of independent lower prepositions with *ní* which suppletes at times to *l* is responsible for the movement of the preposition and its complements to the specifier of the FP because the complements cannot stop at [SpecPP] as shown in (105), having been blocked by the incorporating prepositions.

Now taking a look at (91) above where the preposition *pelu* belongs to the stranded categories, there might be temptation to think that the preposition was equally incorporated from pe+lu. This is not so. The preposition, unlike its stranded peers which have one syllable each, has two syllables as against morphemes. The syllables *pe* and *lu* are not morphemes because they do not have smallest meanings whatsoever as separate entities. The fact that *pelu* belongs to stranded category of prepositions further strengthens my assumption that pied-piped prepositions must have incorporated into a units from two independent morphological constituents. For this reason, *pelu* in (91) cannot be said to have complex morphology that pied-piped prepositions have. It carries a single morpheme despite having two syllables.

Another test to prove that pied-piping prepositions in Yoruba focus are obligatorily meant to be so comes from how ungrammatical the structures in which they are stranded appear to be in Yoruba focus as seen in ill-formed sentences in (109c) and (110c). In other words, any attempt to strand these pied-piping prepositions after they have formed syntactic units through incorporation and coalescing results in badly constructed focus structures in Yoruba.

Stranding *láti* and *léyìn* in (109c) and (110c) makes the two focus constructions ungrammatical in Yoruba. The prepositions belong to the pied-piping category and the native speakers of the language have the knowledge of this through native speakers' intuition. Other prepositions in this category like

làárín, lébàá, nígbà and *nínú* cannot equally be stranded in Yoruba focus constructions. This strengthens my belief that they cannot be stranded because they are products of P-to-P incorporation; the lower P raising to merge with the upper P which is *ní* in Yoruba focus.

3.8 Pied-piped Prepositions in Yoruba Long Distance Constructions

In this segment, the patterns of prepositions with regard to pied-piping in Yoruba focus are observed in the long distance constructions. The aim here is to see if the long distance constructions cause a disruption in the patternings. In (115) and (116), 'Nitosi oja' and 'Leba ona' have crossed more than two bounding nodes to the focus sites. They behave in a similar way as when they are pied-piped in the short distance constructions:

(115) a. Mo gbagbo wipe Lolu so fun Kike wipe Bayo ri Bayonle nitosi oja
I believe that Lolu tell for Kike that Bayo see Bayonle near market
I believed that Lolu told Kike that Bayo saw Bayonle near the market

b. Nitosi oja ni mo gbagbo wipe Lolu ti so fun Kike wipe Bayo ri Bayonle
Near river FOC I believe that Lolu PERF tell for Kike that Bayo see Bayonle
It was near the river that I believe Lolu told Kike that Bayo saw Bayonle

(116) a. Yejide salaye fun Sikiru pe mo ri Yinusa leba ona odo
Yejide explain for Sikiru that I see Yinusa beside road river
Yejide explained to Sikiru that I saw Yinusa beside the road leading to the river.

b. Leba ona odo ni Yejide ti salaye fun Sikiru pe mo ri Yinusa
Beside road river FOC Yejide PERF explain for Sikiru that I see Yinusa
It was beside the road leading to the river that Yejide told Siriku I saw Yinusa

The proof of a free movement of the pied-piped prepositions and their complements in the above example is found in the re-structured example in (117) where an additional PP is equally freely focused:

(117) a. Yejide salaye fun Sikiru pe mo ri Yinusa leba ona odo leyin igi ope
Yejide explain for Sikiru that I see Yinusa beside road river behind tree palm
Yejide explained to Sikiru that I saw Yinusa beside the river road behind palm tree

b. Leyin igi ope leba ona odo ni Yejide ti salaye fun Sikiru pe mo ri Yinusa
Behind tree palm beside road river FOC Yejide PEFR explain for Sikiru that I see Yinusa
It was behind the tree, beside the river road that Yejide told Sikiru I saw Yinusa

It is worthy of mention, at this junction, that the pied-piped prepositions behave alike in both short distance and long distance constructions. In other words, whether a preposition strands or pied-pipe is a function of intrinsic configurations of the preposition, and not the syntactic environment the preposition finds itself. However, a careful look at example (117b) reveals that in long distance focus constructions, the position before '*ni'* can play host to two prepositional phrases with each headed by a complex preposition. This is a further proof that incorporated prepositions in Yoruba focus determines pied-piping of the prepositional phrases of which they head. All the stranded prepositions are the same

in both short and long distance constructions while the pied-piped prepositions, courtesy P+P incorporation equally behave alike in both short and long distance constructions. This implies that P-stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba are not sensitive to island constraints as we have seen in Examples (16a-e).

CHAPTER FOUR

PREPOSITIONS IN DIFFERENT STRANDING FORMS IN YORUBA FOCUS

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, my attention will be focused on analysing certain prepositions that demonstrate unique stranding forms in Yoruba focus constructions as different from the ones analysed in chapter three which are either stranding prepositions or pied-piping ones. In the first segment of this chapter, I will pay attention to the prepositions that can feature in both stranded and pied-piped positions in Yoruba focus at the same time. My analysis will still be theoretically guided by Abels (2003) phase theory, Law (1998) incorporation approach as well as Shlonsky's (1992) resumptive pronoun as a rescue approach. I will, in this first section, specifically pay more attention to Shlonsky's resumptive pronouns given the fact that the occurrence of such pronouns in Yoruba focus provides solution to the problem which certain coalesced or incorporated prepositions create. This problem cannot be fully explained within the adopted phase theory parameter and Law's incorporated approach. In the second section, the behavior of *sí* as an adjoined preposition in Yoruba focus will be analysed. *Sí* stranding in constructions where other non-incorporated prepositions pied-pipe with the NP-complements will be analysed in this section. Attention will then be focused on *ní* dropping in Yoruba focus. This will be explained in the light of its capacity to drop rather than strand like other monomorphemic prepositions.

4.1 Shlonsky on Resumptive Pronouns

In some Yoruba focus sentences, certain coalesced or incorporated prepositions can be either pied-piped or stranded in the same context. When pied-piped, they do not contradict the rule of compulsory pied-piping for incorporated PPs as discussed in chapter three. But when stranded, these prepositions do contradict this rule. However, the focus expressions where they are stranded appear with resumptive pronouns as illustrated (118b):

(118) a. Bísóòbù sòrò nípa pásítò
Bishop talk about pastor
Bishop talked about pastor

b. Pásítò ni bísóòbù sòrò nipa rè
Pastor FOC bishop talk about RP
It was pastor that bishop talked abou

c. Nípa pásítò ni bísóòbù sòrò
About pastor FOC bishop talked
It was pastor that bishop talked about

The occurrence of resumptive pronouns in coalesced P-stranded constructions as seen (118b) above is significant as they save the constructions from being badly formed. Moreover, the problem of

reconciling the contradiction of this stranding possibility with the rule of compulsory pied-piping of incorporated PPs (as illustrated in 118c), is resolved by the occurrence of resumptive pronouns.

Shlonsky (1992) provides a description and unified analysis of the distribution of resumptive pronouns in relative clauses in Hebrew and Northern Palestinian Arabic. He argues that resumptive pronouns occur only as a last resort, a saving device for an otherwise ungrammatical derivation. While maintaining that resumptive pronouns, being universally regulated by last resort considerations, are never freely generated, Shlonsky posits that the parametric difference between Hebrew and Palestinian (both of which make productive use of resumptive pronouns) and English is mainly lexical in nature. Hebrew and Palestinian, he says, are endowed with complementizers with certain properties that severely restrict syntactic wh-movement.

Shlonsky believes that so long as the resumptive pronouns fail to pattern like wh-movement because their syntactic behavior vis-a-vis, say, the binding theory cannot be properly explained by attributing some special properties to them, the explanation for the contrast between them must be sought on some other difference between internal syntax of structure containing a gap and those containing a resumptive pronoun. Analysing data from Hebrew and Palestinian, Shlonsky observes that descriptively, there are three patterns of distribution of resumptive pronouns in Hebrew relative clauses, as discussed originally in Borer (1984). In certain positions, he observes that resumptive pronouns appear to vary freely with gaps while in other positions, resumptive pronouns are obligatory and gaps ruled out. Finally, there is one position where only a gap is possible. In Palestinian, relative clauses, resumptive pronouns are never optional. Rather, they are obligatory everywhere except in one position where they are impossible.

Resumptive Pronouns in Hebrew: Pronouns and gaps vary freely in direct objects, embedded subjects, and all direct object positions, as shown in (119a-c) respectively.

(119) a. ha-?is' se- ra?iti (*?oto*)

the-man that- (I) saw (*him*)

'the man that I saw'

b. ha-?is se- xasavt se-(*hu*) melamed ?anglit

the-man that- (you.F) thought that-(*he*) teaches English

'the man that you thought teaches English

c. ha-?is se- xasavt se-Dani pagas (*?oto*)

the-man that- (you.F) thought that-Dani met (*him*)

'the man that you thought that Dani met' (Shlonsky 1992:453-454)

Resumptive pronouns are obligatory and gaps are excluded from oblique object positions and from NP-internal positions as reflected in (120a-b):

(120) a. ha-?is' se- xasavti ʕal-*(*av*)

the-man that- (I) thought about-(*him*)

'the man that I thought about

b. ha-?is' se- ra?iti ?et ?ist-*(*o*)

the-man that- (I) saw ACC wife-(*his*)

'the man whose wife I saw' (Shlonsky 1992:445)

Finally, a resumptive pronoun may not appear in the highest subject position of the relative clause as shown in (120c):

c ha-ʔis se-(**hu*) ʔohev ʔet Rina
the-man that-(*he*) loves ACC Rina
'the man who loves Rina'

Resumptive Pronouns in Palestinian: Unlike in the Hebrew situation, resumptive pronouns are obligatory relative clauses in Palestinian direct objects, embedded subjects and embedded object positions as illustrated in (121a-c):

(121) a. 1-bint ʔilli sufti-*(*ha*)
the-girl that (you.F) saw-(*her*)
'the girl that you saw'

b. 1-bint ʔilli fakkarti ʔinno *(*hiy*) raayha ʕalbeet
the-girl that (you.F) thought that *(*she*) going to the house
'the girl that you thought that (she) is going home'

c. 1-bint ʔilli fakkarti ʔinno Mona habbat-*(*ha*)
the-girl that (you.F) thought that Mona loved-(*her*)
'the girl that you thought that Mona loved' (Shlonsky 1992: 454)

Just like in Hebrew, resumptive pronouns are obligatory in oblique and object-of-noun positions as shown in (122a-b):

(122) a. 1-bint ?illi fakkarti fii-*(*ha*)
the-girl that (you.F) thought on-(*her*)
'the girl that you thought about'

b. 1-bint ?illi sufti beet-*(*ha*)
the-girl that (you.F) saw house-(*her*)
'the girl whose house you saw'

As in (122) above, whenever a resumptive pronoun is obligatory, a gap is impossible; the two never overlap in their distribution in Palestinian.

From all the data above, according to Shlonsky, the difference between Hebrew and Palestinian in the distribution of resumptive pronouns is that Hebrew allows both a gap and a pronoun in direct object, embedded subject and embedded object positions while Palestinian requires resumptive pronouns in all these positions. In all other positions, Shlonsky notes, the pattern of gaps and resumptive pronouns is exactly the same in both languages.

From the data presented by Shlonsky, it becomes apparent that Yoruba is very similar to Hebrew and Palestinian in terms of distribution of resumptive pronouns. Though there are areas of differences between Yoruba and these two languages, some areas of distribution appear the same in the languages. As shown in (119a) in Hebrew, Yoruba does not have resumptive pronoun in direct object positions as seen in illicit structure in (123) and (124):

(123) Okùnrin náà tí mo rí (**rè*)

Man the that I see (*him*)

'the man that I saw'

(124) Okùnrin náà tí o rò wípé Dani pàdé (**rè*)

Man the that you think tbat Dani meet (*him*)

'the man that you thought that Danu met'

However, as shown in (119b) in Hebrew embedded subject, Yoruba shows similar distribution of resumptive pronoun in same embedded subject as illustrated in (125):

(125) Okùnrin náà tí o rò wípé (ó) ń kó ède gèésì

Man the that you think that (he) (prog) teach language English

'the man that you thought teaches English'

The above structure, with the resumptive pronoun, is unacceptable in Yoruba. Whereas as shown in Hebrew data in (119c), it is grammatical in the language.

The area which concerns this study most and where Yoruba and Hebrew show striking similarity in distribution of resumptive pronouns is that of oblique object positions and NP-internal positions. As shown in (120a-b), resumptive pronouns are obligatory in these positions in Hebrew. Equally, in these oblique and NP-internal positions, Yoruba shows compulsory resumptive pronouns as illustrated in (126a-b):

(126) a. Okùnrin náà tí mo rò nípa *(*rè*)

Man the that I thought about (*him*)

'the man that I thought about'

b. Okùnrin náà tí mo rí ìyàwó *(*rè*)

Man the that I see wife (his)

'the man whose wife I saw'

Just like the above, in Palestinian olique and object of noun positions, resumptive pronouns are compulsory as shown in (122a-b). In other words, in Hebrew and Palestinian oblique and object of noun positions where resumptive pronouns are compulsory, Yoruba also displays compulsory RP in these positions as exemplified in (126).

I have shown above that Yoruba is similar to Hebrew and Palestinian in terms of RP in oblique positions, NP-internal positions and embedded subject positions, and that it is dissimilar to them in other positions like object and embedded object positions.

Shlonsky further argues that the obligatory occurrence of resumptive pronouns in the Hebrew and Palestinian oblique and NP-internal positions as shown in (120a-b) and (122a-b) is a direct consequence of the fact that a gap in the same positions violates some grammatical constraint. He submits that the grammars of Hebrew and Palestinian possess a constraint against preposition stranding which he assumes to be reducible to the Empty Category Principle (ECP). This means that when an oblique object is relativised, a gap in the [NP/PP] position violates the ECP. The ECP doesn't apply to my study on P-stranding in Yoruba focus, but Shlonsky's approach still applies in Phase Theory within which my analysis of P-stranding in Yoruba focus is situated. It, therefore, can be claimed that the

resumptive pronoun that occurs in place of the gap is a saving device for an otherwise ungrammatical sentence.

Since Hebrew and Palestinian possess a constraint against P-stranding as noted by Shlonsky, and in view of the fact that Yoruba displays similarity of RP in oblique positions with these languages, it is then justifiable to assume that it is the resumptive pronouns that occur in the object of the coalesced prepositions in Yoruba that account for the stranding of the coalesced prepositions as against the compulsory pied-piping such coalesced prepositions display as analysed in chapter three. In other words, as I will detail below, focus structures in Yoruba where P+P coalesced prepositions strand instead of pied-piping could have been ungrammatical sentences, save the resumptive pronouns. This then justifies the exception to the rule of compulsory pied-piping of P+P coalesced PPs as shown in chapter three of this study.

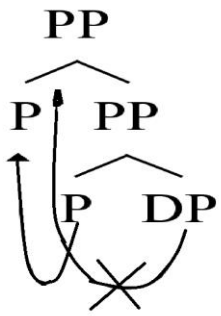
4.2 Resumptive Pronouns in Yoruba P-stranding and Pied-piping

In Yoruba focus constructions, there are two possibilities that often arise when two independent prepositions are involved in focusing process. The first possibility is when *ni* or *si* gets dropped or stranded respectively while the lower preposition pied-pipes with the complement to the focus site. This will be considered later in this chapter. The second possibility, which I am attending to in this segment, still affects the same sets of prepositions. Here, the coalesced prepositions can either be pied-piped alongside their complements or stranded in what could be described as permissive constructions helped by resumptive pronouns.

In the first possibility as will be explained later, the non-coalesced preposition split into two, with the lower one pied-piping while the upper one strands or drops. It is also possible and grammatical in Yoruba that these two prepositions are merged into a coalesced form in the course of focusing. These

coalesced prepositions are then pied-piped with the DP into the focus site. In this pied-piping phase of the second possibility, PP still retains its schemata as shown in (104) under the phase-headed principle. Because the prepositions have to incorporate or coalesce before movement to the focus phase, the movement of the lower preposition to the upper one blocks the SpecPP which the DP could have used as an escape hatch to the focus site. And since there is no escape hatch for the DP given the incorporating P, the DP has to pied-pipe with the whole coalesced PPs to the focus site. The schemata in (104) is repeated here in (127):

(127)



The above schemata explains why PPs can be pied-piped in examples (128)-(130):

(128) a. Kálámù wà ni abé àpótí ìkàwé
Chalk be at under table reading
Chalk was under the reading table

b. Lábé àpótí ìkàwé$_i$ ni kálámù wà t$_i$
Under table reading FOC chalk be
It was under the reading table that the chalk was

(129) a. Omo Àyòká ń seré ní ègbé odò

Child Ayoka (prog) play at beside river

Ayoka'child is playing beside the river

b. Légbé odò ni Omo Àyòká ti ń seré

Beside river FOC child Àyòká PERF (prog) play

It was beside the river that Ayoka'c child is playing

(130) a. Òbo je ògèdè ní orí igi osàn

Monkey eat banana at on tree orange

Monkey ate banana on orange tree

b. Lórí igi osàn ni òbo je ògèdè

On tree orange FOC monkey eat banana

It was on orange tree that monkey ate banana

From the above examples, l*ábé*, *légbé* and l*órí* pied-pipe with their respective complements after undergoing incorporation. Pied-piping becomes necessary for the PPs because it is impossible for their complements to move out of the P-phase heads as the SpecPP has been blocked by the incorporating or coalescing prepositions. Pied-piping the coalesced or incorporated prepositions along with their complements is the licit focusing construction in Yoruba. There is apparently no role for resumptive pronouns in the pied-piping cases as illustrated above. Any attempt to insert resumptive pronouns in the pied-piping cases renders the structure ungrammatical in Yoruba as evidenced in example (131) below:

(131) *Lábé àpótí ìkàwé$_i$ ni kálámù wà (*re)

Under table reading FOC chalk be

It was under the reading table that the chalk was

The above illicit structure indicates that resumptive pronouns can't exist when coalesced Ps are pied-piped. Yoruba speakers prefer the pied-piped option without the resumptive pronoun.

However, stranding these prepositions somewhat appears awkward in Yoruba focus, though acceptable with the presence of resumptive pronouns. In other words, stranding the same prepositions is another option Yoruba speakers have in focus expressions. This stranding option tends to be grammatically wrong without the help of resumptive pronouns which come to the rescue of such constructions as noted by Shlonsky. Resumptive pronouns solve the problem of why these same prepositions can't be stranded in Yoruba. Though focus constructions where coalesced PPs are stranded negate the rule of compulsory pied-piping as discussed earlier in this chapter and in chapter three, the presence of resumptive pronouns solves this problem. The constructions are rescued by RP. Just as proofs of such RP rescued constructions are found in Hebrew and Palestinian, it is equally the same story with Yoruba focus expressions where the coalesced PPs are stranded. Examples (132)-(135) illustrate such RP rescued focus constructions in Yoruba:

(132) a. Kálámù wà ni abé àpótí ìkàwé

Chalk be at under table reading

Chalk was under the reading table

b. Àpótí ìkàwé$_i$ ni kálámù wà lábé *(rè)

Table reading FOC chalk be under RP

It was under the reading table that the chalk was

(133) a. Péjú lúgo sí abé igi osàn nígbà ròg bòdìyàn ní ìlú

Peju hide to under tree orange during unrest at town

Peju his under an orange tree during an unrest in town

b. Igi osàn ni Péjú lúgo sábé *(rè) nígbà ròg bòdìyàn ní ìlú

Tree orange FOC Péjú hide under RP during unrest in town

It was under an orange tree that Péjú hid during unrest in town

(134) a. Àbèní dúró ní iwájú okò Àyòká

Àbèní stand at front car Ayoka

Àbèní stood in front of Ayoka's car

b. Okò Àyòká ni Àbèní dúró níwájú *(è)

Car Àyòká FOC Àbèní stand front RP

It was in front of Àyòká 's car that Àbèní stood.

(135) a. Yemí da omi sí inú ìkòkò dúdú

Yemi put water to inside pot black

Yemi poured water inside black pot

b. Ìkòkò dúdú ni Yemí da omi sínú *(è)

Pot black FOC Yemí put water inside RP

It was inside black pot that Yemi poured water

All the (b) examples above are focus constructions which are permitted in Yoruba language courtesy of resumptive pronouns *rè* and *è*. These resumptive pronouns ensure the PPs remain *in situ* despite coalescing in the focus constructions. This could be due to the fact that the DP replaces itself with the resumptive pronoun as it moves to the focus site. As noted by Shlonsky, since leaving a gap in the DP vacated spot would make this type of structure ungrammatical because it will violate ECP, there is the need to fill the gap. Thus resumptive pronoun comes to the rescue. The above circumstances can fully account for why the PPs remain *in situ* in Yoruba focus instead of the pied-piping associated with coalesced PPs in Yoruba focus as detailed in our explanation so far.

4.3 Resumptive Pronouns in Long Distance Constructions

This segment is aimed at ascertaining if the coalesced PPs that have stranding and pied-piping features would behave differently or not in long distance focus constructions in Yoruba. Equally, the patterns of resumptive pronouns with regard to long distance constructions will be observed. As illustrated in example (136b), the pied-piped PPs are more frequently used in Yoruba language. For (136c) where the DP, À*pótí ìkàwé*, pied-piped, leaving the resumptive pronoun, *rè* at the extraction site, there rather seems to be complexity in involving long distance constructions. This is contrary to English where, as Lau (2016: 356) notes, use of resumptive pronoun is regarded as a last result strategy for overcoming processing complexity involving long distance dependencies (Alexopoulou, 2010; Alexopoulou & Keller, 2007; Dickey, 1996; Erteschik-Shir, 1992; Ferreira & Swets, 2005; Hawkins,

2004; Kroch, 1981; Shlonsky, 1992). While the syntactic role of resumptive pronoun is the same in both short and long distance constructions in Yoruba as can be seen below, its usage as a last resort strategy for overcoming processing complexity in long distance dependencies in English is not applicable to Yoruba. The use of the resumptive pronoun makes the interface output more difficult to pronounce by the speakers. Leaving the gap, as seen in (136b), is the more acceptable and grammatical structure in Yoruba focus. This is in line certain structures in Hebrew and Palestinian where gapping, as opposed to resumptive pronouns, is preferable as noted by Shlonsky (1992):

(136) a. Kúnlé mò wípé olùkó so fún Jídé wípé kálámù wà ní abé àpótí ìkàwé
Kúnlé know that teacher tell for Jídé that chalk be at under table reading
Kúnlé knew that the teacher told Jídé that chalk was under the reading table

b. Abé àpótí ìkàwé$_i$ ni Kúnlé mò wípé olùkó so fún Jídé wípé kálámù wà t_i
Under table reading FOC Kúnlé know that teacher tell for Jídé that chalk be
It was under the table that Kúnlé knew that teacher told Jide chalk was

c. Àpótí ìkàwé ni Kúnlé mò wípé olùkó so fún Jídé wípé kálámù wà lábé rè
Table reading FOC Kúnlé know that teacher tell for Jídé that chalk be under RP
It was under the table that Kúnlé knew that teacher told Jídé chalk was.

Just as stated above, among the Yoruba speakers, example (136b) is much preferred to the (c). The (b) example, where there is gapping in the vacated spot, is an ideal way of pronouncing focus structures in Yoruba. Any native speaker of the language knows this very well. The (c) example is partially

acceptable, but not often used in Yoruba focus. It is evident from the instances that Yoruba PPs are largely pied-piping ones.

4.4 *Sí* Stranding in Two Non-coalescing Prepositions

In chapter three of this study, we talked about the fact that PP in Yoruba is a phase-head and that for pied-piped prepositions, the escape hatch, through which the complement of P is expected to pass, is blocked by *ní* and other preposition suppleting to *ní*. In stranded cases, however, we maintain that since there is only one preposition involved, the complement of P finds an escape hatch at the edge of PP, thus stranding the preposition in the process. In this segment, however, the situation is a bit complex.

In structures where there are two independent prepositions, two broad possibilities occur in the process of focusing in Yoruba. The first one is when the two PPs don't incorporate. This creates an exception to the rule binding pied-piping prepositions as treated in chapter three. The second possibility is the coalescing of these two independent prepositions. In this segment, I will treat the first possibility.

In the first possibility, the upper preposition can either be *sí* or *ní* while the lower preposition can be either of *abé*, *iwájú*, *inú*, *èbá* and *ègbé*. When *sí* or *ní* doesn't coalesce with these prepositions in Yoruba, the prepositions pied-pipe alone with the DP to the focus. In the first possibility, when *sí* occurs in non-coalescing form with the lower preposition, *sí* strands while the lower preposition pied-pipes with the DP as illustrated in (137):

(137) a. Yemí gbé omi sí abé àpótí ìkàwé
Yemí put water to on table reading
Yemí put water on the reading table

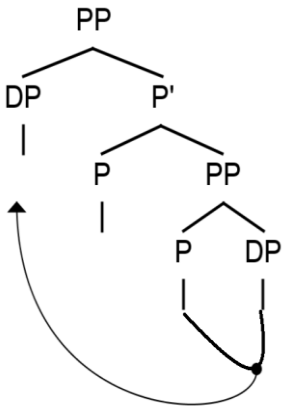
b. Abé àpótí ìkàwé$_i$ ni Yemí gbé omi sí t$_i$

Under table reading FOC Yemí put water on

It was under the table that Yemí put water

In (137b), however, when *abé* pied-pipes with its complement, *sí* remains stranded at the extraction site. Since the above behavioral patterns of PPs in Yoruba focus differ from the earlier stranding and pied-piping cases, it follows that a slightly different rule be generated within the phase-head approach and incorporation principle to account for the patterns. Because the two independent PPs do not incorporate, unlike in pied-piping cases in chapter three, the lower preposition pied-pipes with the DP, leaving the other preposition stranded or dropped as the case may be. This suggests that when the lower P doesn't move up to coalesce with the upper P, the Spec PP, an escape hatch space, is left open for the lower P to pied-pipe with the complement. In my earlier analysis, I suggested that a pied-piped preposition could not find an escape hatch in SpecPP as the place is blocked by the movement of lower P to the upper P, leading to the pied-piping of the preposition with the NP. Here, there is no such movement, therefore the SpecPP becomes an escape hatch through which the lower preposition and its complement move to the focus site. This is graphically illustrated in the schemata:

(138)



In the schemata above, the lower P moves together with the DP on their way to the focus site. The pied-piping PP finds an escape hatch through the SpecPP, leaving the upper preposition stranded. Other instances of patterning are illustrated in examples (139)-(141):

(139) a. Péjú lúgo **sí** abé igi osàn nígbà ròg̀bòdìyàn ní ilú
Péjú hide to under tree orange during unrest at town
Péjú his under an orange tree during an unrest in town

b. Abé igi osàn ni Péjú lúgo **sí** nígbà ròg̀bòdìyàn ní ilú
Under tree orange FOC Péjú hide to during unrest at town
It was under orange tree that Péjú hid during unrest in town

(140) a. Àbèní dúró **sí** iwájú okò Àyòká
Àbèní stand to front car Àyòká
Àbèní stood in front of Àyòká's car

b. Iwájú okò Àyòká ni Àbèní dúró **sí**
Front car Àyòká FOC Abeni stand to
It was in front of Àyòká's car that Àbèní stood

(141) a. Àgbè ń roko **sí** èbá ònà

Farmer (prog) weed at near road

Farmer is weeding besides the road

b Èbá ònà ni àgbè ń roko **sí**

Beside road FOC farmer (prog) weed to

It was beside the road that the farmer is weeding to

4.5 *Ní* Dropping in Yoruba Focus

As mentioned earlier, *ní* is a preposition that disappears or is dropped in the process of NP focusing in Yoruba. Whenever *ní* appears in any declarative sentence as in (142a) and (143a) below, it is dropped as its complement moves to the focus site. The major problem, as far as the dropping of *ní* is concerned, is how to account for this dropping or disappearance in Yoruba focus constructions, bearing in mind that other prepositions, as discussed earlier, either strand or pied-pipe in the focusing processes. It is rather strange that *ní*, which is expected to strand, being a non-incorporated, monomorphemic preposition, drops in the process of focusing in Yoruba. This is a bit difficult to explain syntactically. However, what seems to be the case in structures where *ní* drops is that it does not have the capacity to drop. Being a monomorphmic preposition, *ní* doesn't have the capacity to pied-pipe like other monomorphemic prepositions considered earlier. Instead, it is expected to strand. And because the doesn't happen either, it can be assumed that *ní* lacks the capacity to strand like other in its categories. This explains why it drops in the following examples:

(142) a. Mo rí Túndé ní ojà

I see Túndé at market

I saw Túndé at the market

b. Ojà ni_i mo ti rí Túndé t_i

Market FOC I PERF see Túndé

It was at the market that I saw Túndé

(143) a. Fémi kí Olùkó rè ní orí pápá

Femi greet teacher his on head field

Femi greeted his teacher on the field

b. Orí $pápá_i$ ni Femi ti kí olùkó rè t_i

Head field FOC Femi PERF greet teacher his

It was in ìbàdàn that Femi greeted his teacher.

As reflected in the examples above, *ní* in (142a) and (143a) gets deleted in focus constructions in (142b) and (143b). One might be tempted to attribute the dropping of *ní* to the presence of focus particle 'ni' in the same construction with belief that Yoruba might be trying to avoid doubl-*ni* usage in a sentence. But examples in doubl-*ni* occurrences in examples (16a-e) nullify the idea that the Yoruba speakers might be trying to avoid pronouncing doubl-*ni* in same structure. For whatever additional reasons that *ní* drops in Yoruba focus aside from the fact stated above that it doesn't have the capacity to strand, attempts to make it strand results in ungrammaticality in Yoruba as reflected in example (144):

(144) a. ***** Ojà$_i$ ni mo ti rí Túndé ni$_i$

Market FOC I PERF see Túndé at

I saw Tunde at the market.

b. *Ní oja$_i$ ni mo ti rí Túndé t$_i$

At market FOC I have see Túndé

I saw Tunde at the market.

It is equally interesting to see that *ní* is dropped when it occurs with any of the prepositions listed in examples (145), (146) and (147):

(145) a. Kálámù wà **ní** abé àpótí ìkàwé

Chalk be at under table reading

Chalk was under the reading table

b. Abé àpótí ìkàwé$_i$ ni kálámù wà t$_i$

Under table reading FOC chalk be

It was under the reading table that the chalk was

(146) a. Àbèní dúró **ni** iwájú okò Àyòká

Àbèní stand to front car Àyòká

Àbèní stood in front of Àyòká's car

b. Iwájú okò Àyòká ni Àbeni dúró

Front car Ayoka FOC Àbeni stand

It was in front of Àyòká's car that Àbèní stood

(147) a. Àgbè ń roko **ní** èbá ònà

Farmer (prog) weed at near road

Farmer is weeding besides the road

b. Èbá ònà ni àgbè ti n roko

Beside road FOC farmer PERF (prog) weed

It was beside the road that the farmer is weeding

In (145b)-(147b), *ní* is dropped as the prepositions *abé, iwájú* and *èbá* pied-pipe with their complements to the focus sites. The exceptional patterns of these non-coalescing prepositions in Yoruba focus as opposed to the incorporating pied-piping ones are not peculiar to Yoruba language alone. Law (1998) equally finds instances where the rule of compulsory pied-piping in Roman Languages and Germanic occasioned by D-to-P incorporation is violated. Exceptions to the lack of P-stranding in German, as earlier discussed, happen when R-pronoun, which appears to the left of P (SpecPP), cannot incorporate into P. For German, this is the only condition whereby the DP may move out of the PP, stranding P in the process. Instances are equally found in Dutch whereby R-pronouns are not incorporated into P, having been separated by an adverbial for the P selecting it as argument. The pronoun may move together with the adverb and the P or by itself stranding P. These exceptional cases to lack of P stranding found in German and Dutch justify instances found in Yoruba above. Though unlike in German and Dutch, as I said earlier in chapter three, the presence of adverbials does not cause

a shift in prepositional movements in focus constructions. But resumptive pronouns, as I analysed earlier, plays a significant role in stranding or pied-piping in Yoruba focus.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.0 Study Overview

The study has focused mainly on the behavioral patterns of prepositions in Yoruba focus constructions. With stranding and pied-piping being the overwhelming features of these patterns, there are equally instances whereby certain prepositions show different stranding forms in Yoruba focus. However, one important area which I cannot yet explain is the distribution of perfective '*ti*' in some focus constructions in Yoruba. First, the perfective 'ti' occurs in all P-pied-piped focus constructions as can be seen in examples in chapter three. While I initially assumed that it occurs in all cases where the coalesced or incorporated Ps are pied-piped, its non-appearance in yet another P-pied-piped focus construction in (113b) remains a puzzle which this study cannot really provide an answer to. Equally, the perfective '*ti*' occurs in *ní* dropping focus structures as in (142b) and (143b) where there are no pied-piped prepositions. Situating this occurrence in a particular syntactic theory remains a difficult task for my analysis.

More strangely, the perfective '*tí*' switches clauses where it appears in long distance constructions. Explaining this switch as illustrated in examples (149) and (150) in the light of existing syntactic theories seemed an impossible exercise in this study:

(148) a. Mo gbàgbó wípé Lolú so fún Kíké wípé Báyò rí Báyòńlé nítòsí ojà
I believe that Lolú tell for Kíké that Báyò see Báyòńlé near market
I believed that Lolú told Kíké that Báyò saw Báyòńlé near the market

b. Itòsí ojà ni mo gbàgbó wípé Lolú **ti** so fún Kíké wipe Báyò ri Báyòńlé
Near river FOC I believe that Lolú PERF tell for Kíké that Báyò see Báyòńlé
It was near the river that I believe Lolú told Kíké that Báyò saw Báyòńlé

c. *Itòsí ojà ni mo gbàgbó wípé Lolú so fún Kíké wipe Báyò ri Báyòńlé
Near river FOC I believe that Lolú tell for Kíké that Báyò see Báyòńlé
It was near the river that I believe Lolú told Kíké that Báyò saw Báyòńlé

(149) a. Yéjídé sàlàyé fún Síkírù pé mo rí Yínúsà lébàá ònà odò
Yéjídé explain for Síkírù that I see Yínúsà beside road river
Yéjídé explained to Síkírù that I saw Yínúsà beside the road leading to the river.

B. Èbá ònà odò ni Yéjídé **ti** salaye fun Síkírù pe mo ri Yínúsà
Beside road river FOC Yéjídé PERF explain for Síkírù that I see Yínúsà
It was beside the road leading to the river that Yéjídé told Síkírù I saw Yínúsà

c. *Èbá ònà odò ni Yéjídé salaye fun Síkírù pe mo ri Yínúsà
Beside road river FOC Yéjídé explain for Síkírù that I see Yínúsà
It was beside the road leading to the river that Yéjídé told Síkírù I saw Yínúsà

In (148b), the perfective '*ti*' occurs in a subordinate clause while in (149b) it appears in a matrix clause. This study cannot find an answer to this shift and why it occurs in the first instance in focus constructions where P is pied-piped or dropped in Yoruba language. I will, therefore, recommend that

subsequent researches on P-stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus pay attention to this area. As can be seen in (148c) and (149c), any attempt to omit the perfective '*ti*' from the P-pied-piped constructions renders the sentences ungrammatical. This indicates that the 'ti' is compulsory in such constructions in Yoruba focus. And as explained earlier, it is practically difficult to find theoretical explanation for these patterns.

Another prepositional pattern that this study cannot find answer to is *ní* dropping in long distance constructions. Though the preposition drops as it does in short distance constructions, it remains weird why this is so. As exemplified in (150b) and (151b) below, the dropping of preposition *ní* in the long structures cannot be accounted for in this study. There is need for further research on this.

(150) a. Iyàwó Túndé ri gbó wípé oré òun so fún Tólá wípé òun rí Túndé ní ojà
Wife Túndé see hear that friend her say for Tólá that she see Túndé at market
Túndé's wife heard that her friend said she told Tólá that she saw Túndé at the market.

b. Ojà ni ìyàwó Túndé ri gbó wípé oré òun so fún Tólá wípé òun ti rí Túndé
Market FOC wife Túndé see hear that friend her say for Tólá that she PEFR see Túndé
It was at the market that Túndé's wife heard that her friend told Tola she saw Tunde.

(151) a. Awon akékòó rò wípé Kólá so wípé Fémi kí olùkó rè ní orí pápá
(plural marker) student think that Kólá say that Fémi greet teacher his at on field
Students thought that Kólá said that Fémi greeted his teacher on the field.

b. Orí pápá ni àwon akékòó rò wípé Kólá so wípé Fémi ti kí olùkó rè
On field FOC (PM) student think that Kólá say that Fémi PERF greet teacher his
It was on the field that students thought that Kólá claimed Fémi greeted his teacher.

Despite my inability to provide syntactic reasons why the above patterns emerge in Yoruba focus, the study has attempted to provide a descriptive and theoretical analysis of P-stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus.

As stated earlier, Yoruba focus has received much attention from earlier scholars like Bamgbose (1967), Awoyale (1983), Awobuluyi (1978), Welmers (1973), Owolabi (1981), Carsteins (1985), Yusuf (1990), Baiyere (1990), Dechaine (2002), among others. While some of these scholars described Yoruba focus use descriptive grammar, others applied transformation grammar to focus constructions in Yoruba. Though there were disagreements among these Yoruba syntacticians as to whether Yoruba focus is a product of copying/deletion or an end result of movement rule in the language, these points of descriptive divergence became trivial with the introduction of Minimalist program into syntactic analysis. The terms copy/deletion as well as movement rules have been collapsed into Minimalist program.

Given the fact that new generation syntacticians like Aboh (2003), Adesola (2005), Jones (2006) and Arokoyo (2017) approached description of Yoruba focus not only with Minimalist theoretical tools, but also from pragmatic/semantic perspectives, it, therefore, cannot be said that any new description of focus constructions in Yoruba like this study is novel in terms of theoretical orientations. However, what makes this thesis unique and novel in its theoretical and descriptive approaches is the fact that the aspect of P-stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus has not been studied by any scholars of Yoruba syntax. Though Adesola (2005) briefly highlighted classifications of Yoruba prepositions as far as stranding is concerned, he neither went into the details of these

classifications nor cited examples from focus constructions. His illustrations, even though very few, are wh-questions and not focus constructions. While the thesis is, therefore, new with regard to P-stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus, it is, however, a further contribution to the study of focus constructions generally in Yoruba language.

In view of the foregoing, it became imperative for me to describe P-stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus using Abels (2003)'s Phase-based approach and Law (1998)'s Incorporation Principle. These analytical frameworks allowed me to do a comprehensive syntactic analysis of semantic, pragmatic and prosodic properties of P-stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus. I explained that these two theories cannot, in isolation, capture the totality of behavioral patterns of prepositions in Yoruba focus.

The limitations of Abels' Phase theory to the Yoruba situation, for instance, stem from its description of P as a phase head or not based on cross-linguistic differences. His claim that P is a phase head in languages where preposition stranding is not allowed and non-phase head where preposition stranding is free does not fully fit into the Yoruba situation. P-standing and pied-piping are both prominent in Yoruba focus. It cannot, therefore, be claimed that P in Yoruba focus is both a phase head and non-phase head at the same time. However, the syntactic structures of prepositional phrases in Yoruba favors choice of Phase head approach. I, therefore, described prepositional phrases as phase-headed phrases in Yoruba, claiming that stranding occurs in certain focus constructions because the object of preposition finds escape hatch in [Spec PP] where it temporarily stops off before moving to the focus site. And in cases where Ps are pied-piped along with their objects, I maintained that the objects of preposition cannot find an escape hatch at [Spec, PP] because the place has been blocked by movement of lower preposition to the upper preposition. For this reason, the Ps have to pied-pipe with their objects. It is important to note, here, also that Abels' Anti-locality Constraint, which forbids

objects of preposition from stopping off at [Spec PP] must be inactive in Yoruba, and this explains why P-stranding is possible in Yoruba focus.

Law (1998)'s Incorporation Principle is equally not sufficient in handling P-stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus. Its limitations in relation to Yoruba focus are equally based on its cross-linguistic relevance and the fact that the incorporation or coalesce he refers to in Roman and some Germanic languages are D-to-P incorporation and not P-to-P incorporation as we have seen in Yoruba pied-piping prepositions. Law claims that in Romans and some Germanic languages where pied-piping is mandatory, there exist D-to-P incorporations while in languages where P-stranding is allowed, such incorporations are not noticed. However, despite the above limitations, the principle gave us morph-syntactic frame with which to deal with incorporation of certain prepositions in Yoruba focus. Pied-piping prepositions in Yoruba focus, I have observed, share similar morpho-syntactic configurations as those of Romans and Germanic languages.

In my discussion on focus constructions, where incorporated prepositions unexpectedly strand rather than pied-pipe, I explained, in reference to Shlonsky (1992), that such structures are barely acceptable in Yoruba focus, despite occurrence of resumptive pronouns, and that Yoruba speakers would readily prefer constructions where such incorporated prepositions are pied-piped without use of resumptive pronouns. The role of resumptive pronouns in relation to P-stranding and pied-piping was critically reappraised in my discussion. The findings on this will be explained under summary of findings and achievements.

5.1 Answering the Questions Earlier Posed in the Thesis

At the beginning of this study, some research questions were posed and to which the study attempted to proffer answers. One of these questions, a major one for this study, is: How can we

account for the possibility of both pied-piping and stranding in the same language when in many languages, apart from English, it is either stranding or pied-piping? This research question was posed in view of the fact that in literature, P-stranding and/or pied-piping is a cross-linguistic phenomenon. A language is either a P-stranded language or a P-pied-piping language. Of the volumes of literature on P-stranding in languages (Van Riemsdijk (1978), Koopman (1997), Hornstein and Weinberg (1981), Kayne (1981), Abels (2003), Law (1998), Sugisaki (2011), none has fully resolved how P-stranding and pied-piping are possible within a language. With this study, Yoruba has appeared the first language that has been described as having this kind of structure in its focus constructions.

5.2 Summary of the Findings and Achievements of the Study

At the beginning of this study, the intention of the researcher was to analyse patterns of prepositions in Yoruba focus. This prompted the researcher to search through literature on focus constructions in Yoruba. After thorough study of existing literature, I discovered that the relative volume of literature does not treat behavioral patterns of prepositions in Yoruba focus. Most of the works address movements of determiner phrases to the focus sites. The lack of researches on P-stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus makes this study unique, innovative, and a useful contribution, not only to the study of focus constructions in Yoruba language, but also to the study of syntax and linguistics at large.

In order to explain the syntactic configurations of Yoruba focus, I highlighted the scope-discourse approach to the study of syntax at the left periphery and the importance of this approach to Yoruba focus given its physical realisation of *ní* as a criterial head. I maintained that *ní* is a foc in Yoruba that triggers the interpretation of its specifier as 'Focus' and its complement as 'presupposition'.

Second, after collecting sufficient data, I was able to differentiate prepositions in Yoruba that can only strand from ones that can also only pied-pipe. I was equally able to identify prepositions that have the capability to strand and pied-pipe within the same focus structures in Yoruba. For prepositions that can only strand, I discovered that these prepositions are not morphologically complex. They are simple structurally. And because they are simple, there is no syntactic movement that could prevent the object of preposition from escaping to the focus site, leaving the simple preposition stranded.

For the pied-piped prepositions, I found out that the prepositions consist of two independent prepositions which incorporated or coalesced to be single words. I discovered that these prepositions pied-pipe because the [Spec, PP], the place that the object of preposition could have used as an escape hatch, is blocked by the movement of the lower preposition to the upper preposition. I maintained that because the object of preposition could not find an escape hatch, because the place is blocked, it has no option than to pied-pipe the preposition as it moves to the focus site. I further maintained that the possibilities of both stranding and pied-piping of prepositions in Yoruba focus lend credence to the fact that Abels' Anti-locality Constraint doesn't apply to Yoruba situation.

Third, through data analysis, I discovered that P-stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus are not triggered by any A'-movement or A-movement. Rather, they are induced by intrinsic properties of the prepositions themselves. This differs from Abels (2003) and Van Riemisdijk (1978)'s suggestion that the kind of argument structure determines the possibility of stranding or pied-piping in some languages. In Yoruba's case, therefore, the reanalysis theory of syntax as championed by Horstein and Weinberg (1981) does not apply. Only the prepositions, whether simple or coalesced ones, determine whether they strand or pied-pipe.

Fourth, I discussed prepositions that can strand and pied-pipe within same structural environment. These prepositions are coalesced prepositions which, ordinarily should compulsorily pied-pipe in line with my discovery above. However, I found out that when these prepositions are pied-

piped in Yoruba focus, the structures appear grammatical and generally acceptable, but when these prepositions are stranded, resumptive pronouns resurface, and despite the appearance of the resumptive pronouns, the focus constructions are barely acceptable in the language. This discovery supports Shlonsky (1992)'s submission that resumptive pronouns are used to rescue what could be considered ungrammatical structures. I observed further that in the grammatical and acceptable pied-piped option, there is a gap where the object of preposition has vacated while moving to the focus site. The structure that allows the gap is preferred to the one that allows the resumptive pronoun when same preposition is stranded. With these findings, therefore, it can be assumed that resumptive pronouns in Yoruba focus, just like in Shlonsky's Hebrew and Palestinian, are used to rescue structures whereby leaving a gap in the vacated spot would make the structures ungrammatical. In Yoruba focus, however, I discovered that leaving the gap vacated by the DP as seen in Chapter four is Yoruba speakers' choice unlike in English and some other languages where gaping is the speakers' choice (Lau 2016). The rescued structures where the resumptive pronouns occur while the incorporated PPs strand are barely acceptable in Yoruba.

Fifth, I discovered that the preposition *ní* doesn't have the capacity to strand in Yoruba focus. This explains why it drops in examples where it is shown to have dropped. This, as explained earlier, does not have to do with an attempt to prevent its co-occurring with the foc particle *ni* in Yoruba focus constructions. The dropping has to do with the capacity of the preposition itself. Since it cannot pied-pipe as a result of its monomorphemic nature, it is expected to strand like other monomorphemic prepositions. And because this does not happen either, it is evident that it syntactically lacks the capacity of strand.

Finally, in my test of long distance constructions to see if Yoruba prepositions would switch patterns when they occur in long distance constructions, I observed that prepositions that strand in short distance structures maintain the status quo in long distance constructions, and ones that pied-pipe in

short distance structures equally pied-pipe in long distance structures. This further strengthens my assumption that stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba is not a byproduct of syntactic configurations at the phrasal or sentence level, but rather scenarios that are triggered by intrinsic properties of the prepositions themselves. However, it was observed that the position before focus marker 'ni' in Yoruba can play host to two separate prepositional phrases which are headed by complex prepositions,

5.3 Suggestions and Recommendations

Since the thesis has not succeeded in resolving the strange patterns of perfective 'ti' in some focus constructions in Yoruba, I will, therefore, recommend that further researches be conducted on the patterns of this 'ti' in certain short and long distance focus constructions in Yoruba. Attempts should be made, in subsequent researches on Yoruba focus, to find an apt theoretical explanation for these behaviors within the Minimalist Program. Moreover, I will suggest that future researchers pay attention to syntactic comparison between Yoruba focus constructions and wh-constructions. Though the two are in complementary distribution to each (being phrases at the left periphery), there is every tendency that P-stranding and pied-piping would behave differently in the two mutually exclusive structures in Yoruba. A comparative descriptive analysis of the two structures goes beyond the limit of this thesis.

5.4 Concluding Remarks

The thesis has, in details, analysed preposition stranding and pied-piping in Yoruba focus constructions. It is, without doubt, a significant contribution to the study of preposition stranding and focus constructions cross-linguistically. In terms of theoretical orientations, the thesis is a reappraisal of

theories on the phase-hood of prepositional phrases as well as P-stranding in languages. Existing theories on P-stranding have often hammered cross-linguistic differences of P-stranding and pied-piping, but this thesis threw up a big question as to how to account for the possibilities of both P-stranding and pied-piping in the same language, and to which it has found explanations with though extractions from parts of different theories on P-stranding.

Aside from this, the thesis has revealed how prepositions behave in Yoruba focus. It has shown the dynamism of the Yoruba language and the fact that present theories on P-stranding cross-linguistically need to be reviewed to accommodate patterns of prepositions in African languages that share same structural patterns with Yoruba. For instance, Aboh (2003) highlights some of the similarities in focus constructions between Gungbe and Yoruba languages, and more of these African languages with similar behavioral patterns, not only in P-stranding, but other syntactic areas, seek extensive researches which, in turn, will inform modifications of certain syntactic theories to account for their behavioral patterns.

In sum, the thesis bridges the gap between P-stranding and focus constructions and offers a great deal of benchmarks for future investigations of deeper role of resumptive pronouns and that of perfective ‘ti’ in P-pied-piped and dropped structures in Yoruba focus

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