





- (1b) **Akwụkwọ** **kà** Àda òzùùlà Èmekà < **akwụkwọ** >  
 BOOK FOC Ada PRE.buy.PERF Emeka  
 ‘Ada bought Emeka a book’
- (1c) **Èmekà** **kà** Àdá òzùùlà <**Èmekà**> akwụkwọ  
 Emeka FOC Ada PRE.buy.PERF book  
 ‘Ada bought EMEKA a book’

The sentences in (1b & c) are focused sentences since they contain focused constituents and those that do not include focused elements such as (1a) are known as neutral/underived sentences. Since focusing involves the movement of a maximal projection like an NP in Igbo, we follow ideas put forward by Rizzi (1997) and Aboh (2004) to note that the focus strategy in the language requires leftward movement of the focused category in the specifier or head position of a functional projection, FocP whose head Foc is specified as [+F]. We further propose that Igbo focused constituents like Gungbe (Aboh 2004) are subject to a licensing condition, which is satisfied in overt syntax. Igbo requires that every category that is specified as [+F(ocused)] should be in spec-head configuration with a [+F] head. In such a symmetrical checking relation, the focused phrase must raise in overt syntax to check its focused features (Aboh 2004; Rizzi 1990, 1997; Brody 1990, 1995a, 1995b; Chomsky 1995). The focused constituents in (1b) and (1c) both which appear in displaced positions on the left edge of the neutral sentences left behind empty traces at the extraction site which are theta-governed by their respective verbs that subcategorized them. The traces are also antecedent governed by the focused constituents as shown in (2a) and (2b) respectively.

- (2a) **Akwụkwọ**<sub>i</sub> **kà** Àda òzùùlà Èmekà t<sub>i</sub>  
 BOOK FOC Ada PRE.buy.PERF Emeka  
 ‘Ada bought Emeka a book’
- (2b) **Èmekà**<sub>i</sub> **kà** Àdá òzùùlà t<sub>i</sub> akwụkwọ  
 Emeka FOC Ada PRE.buy.PERF book  
 ‘Ada bought EMEKA a book’

However, in this paper, we have treated the movement of the focused constituents as a process of copying the same constituent into a focused position, thus deleting the phonological features of the moved constituent in its extraction site while preserving all the features in the landing site. The deleted

phonological features of a moved and focused constituent have been indicated throughout this paper by enclosing them within the ‘less than’ and ‘greater than’ symbols (<>). As has been stated earlier, the Igbo sentences in (1b-c and 2a-2b) exhibit a syntactic process that moves the focused constituent to the left periphery of the clause. Thus, the focused maximal projections (i.e. the NP constituents of the type XP), occur to the left-adjacent position to the morpheme *kà* and leaves a copy in the TP-internal position, as in (2). The occurrence of focused maximal projections to the left-adjacent position to the morpheme *ka* is analyzed as evidence that Igbo focused constituents may not always be analyzed in terms of cleft constructions. The Igbo focus constructions are equivalent to focus constructions in Gungbe (Aboh 2004), Italian (Rizzi 1997), Hungarian (Brody 1990), Basaa (Bassong 2014) because these manifest the same left peripheral structure.

This paper is organized as follows: section 1 is the introduction while section 2 provides the characteristic features of focus in Igbo. Section 3 highlights the interaction between focus and wh-movement in Igbo, while section 4 examines the constituents that can be focused in Igbo. Section 5 discusses focus in Igbo as movement to the [spec, FocP]. In section 6, we examine focus in relative clauses in Igbo. While Section 7 examines focus projection recursion and simultaneous focus in Igbo, section 8 is the conclusion. The high tone has been left unmarked through this paper.

## 2. Characteristics of Focus in Igbo

Sentence (1a) is a neutral sentence; it displays the SVO pattern and contains no focus marker. Sentences (1a, 1b, 2a and 2b) are instances of sentences with focused constituents. The direct object *akwụkwọ* ‘book’ in (1a and 2a) has moved leftward to the position immediately to the left of *ka* and the word order is object *kà* subject verb (O-*kà*-S-V) in (1b) In example (1b and 2b), the indirect object (IO) *Èmeka* has also moved immediately to the left of *kà* giving rise to the word order IO- *kà*- S- V. In all the cases (1b-1c, 2a-2c) the focused constituent received a focus interpretation and the movement in each is seen as salient. The ungrammatical sentence (3a) shows that the focus marker *kà* cannot precede the focused constituent *akwụkwọ* ‘book’ while (3b) shows that constituent focusing cannot occur in the absence of *kà*. Also, the ungrammatical (3c) shows that multiple focusing of NP objects in simple clauses is prohibited in Igbo.

- (3a) \*kà akwùkwọ̀ Àda òzùùlà Èmekà <akwùkwọ̀>  
 FOC book Ada PRE-buy.PST.PERF Emeka
- (b) \*Akùkwọ̀ Àda òzùùlà Èmekà <akwùkwọ̀ >  
 book Ada PRE.buy.PST. PERF Emeka
- (c)\*Akùkwọ̀ Èmekà Àda òzùùlà <Èmekà> <akwùkwọ̀ >  
 book Emeka Ada PRE.buy.PST.PERF

Sentences (4a-b) clearly indicate that Igbo does not allow focus in situ strategy at object position because no focus interpretation can be given to *Èmekà* (indirect object) or *akwùkwọ̀* (direct object) in such constructions (4a) and (4b) respectively.. In addition, unlike the English case '*PETER eats everyday*', whereby the focused subject PETER bears focal stress (cf. Culicover 1992), no prosodic mechanism arises in the Igbo focus strategy for the object position. Focusing is realized only through movement of the focused object NP constituent to the left- adjacent position to *kà*, as shown by examples (1a-b, 2a-b).

- (4a) \*Àda òzùùlà ÈMEKA akwùkwọ̀  
 Ada PRE.buy.PST.PERF Emeka book
- (b) \*Àda òzùùlà Èmekà AKWUKWỌ̀  
 Ada PRE.buy.PST.PERF Emeka book

Similarly, focusing of constituents at subject position in Igbo with or without the focus marker *kà* is not a possible grammatical option. This accounts for the following ungrammatical constructions in (4c) compared with (1a) on one hand and with (1b-c) on other hand.

- (4c) \* Àda kà òzùùlà Èmekà akwùkwọ̀  
 Ada FOC PRE.buy.PST.PERF Emeka book

The impossibility of subject focusing in Igbo may be due to the fact that the subject position is pragmatically and syntactically unmarked focus position and therefore, requires no further raising for focus checking purposes. As can be seen from the sentences in (5), focus movement is also available in subordinate

clauses. Example (5a) is a neutral subordinate clause which does not contain focused constituent and does not receive the interpretation of a focus phrase. On the hand, sentences (5b-c) are instances of embedded focus sentences. In (5b) the direct object *akwukwo* has moved to the position immediately to the left of *ka*, while in (5c) it is the indirect object *Èmekà* that has moved to the focus position.

(5a) Echè        m̀ nà    Àda    òzùùl̀à                      Èmekà    akwukwò  
 PRE.think I that Ada PRE.buy.PST.PERF Emeka book  
 ‘I think that Ada bought Emeka a book’

(b) Echè        m̀ nà    **akwukwò** kà    Àda òzùùl̀à        Èmekà <akwukwò>  
 PRE.think I that book FOC Ada PRE.buy.PST.PERF Emeka  
 ‘I think that Ada bought A BOOK for Emeka’

(c) Echè        m̀ nà    **Èmekà** kà    Àda òzùùl̀à <Èmekà> akwukwò  
 PRE.think I that Emeka FOC Ada PRE.buy.PST.PERF book  
 ‘I think that Ada bought a book for EMEKA’

The examples so far presented in (2-5) show that focusing in Igbo requires the leftward movement of the focused constituent to a specific position, the focus site, a position which is immediately to the left of the low tone morpheme *kà*, the focus marker, the morphological realization of the focus feature [+F] (cf. Aboh 2004).

### 3. Focus and Wh-Questions in Igbo

Sentences (6a-b) show that the Igbo movement of the wh-phrase to the left periphery of a clause in wh-question formation is very similar to the focus process involving non-wh elements in (7a-c), as it involves movement of the wh-phrase to the left position of the FM *kà*.

(6a) **Gini** kà    Àda òrĩrĩ                      <**gini**>  
 What FOC Ada PRE.eat.PST <what>  
 ‘WHAT did Ada eat?’

(b) **Ònye** kà    Ezè nkwùrù <**onye**>  
 Who FOC Eze PRE.talk.PST  
 ‘WHO did Eze talk about?’

- (c) **Èbee** kà Ngozi ngàrà <èbee>  
 WHERE FOC Ngozi PRE.go.PST  
 ‘Where did Ngozi go to?’
- (7a) **Ùwe** kà Àda nzùùlà Obìnnà <ùwe>  
 Cloth FOC Ada PRE-buy-PERF Obinna  
 ‘Ada bought Emeka A CLOTH’
- (b) **Egō** kà nnà ya nnyèrè Òbi <egō>  
 money FOC father his PRE.give.PST Obi  
 ‘His father gave Obi SOME MONEY’
- (c) **Òbi** kà nnà ya nnyèrè <Òbi> egō  
 Obi FOC father his PRE.give.PST money  
 ‘His father gave OBI some money.’

However, unlike in languages like the English language where the movement of the wh-element is obligatory (compare (7d) with (7e)), the movement of the wh-phrase in wh-questions to the position immediately to the left of the FM *kà* is not obligatory in Igbo because Igbo also allows wh-in situ strategy in which case the wh-elements can remain at their base-generated object positions as shown in (7f-7h) or at their base-generated subject position as in (7i -7j). Wh-in situ strategy however, is not within the scope of the present paper.

- (7d) ? He likes eating **what**?
- (7e) **What<sub>i</sub>** does he like eating t<sub>i</sub>?
- (7f) Àda nrìrì **gìni** ?  
 Ada PRE.eat.PST what  
 ‘WHAT did Ada eat?’
- (7g) Eze nkwùrù **ònye** ?  
 Eze PRE.talk.PST who  
 ‘WHO did Eze talk about?’

(7h) Ngozi ngàrà èbee ?  
 Ngozi PRE.go.PST where  
 ‘WHERE did Ngozi go to?’

(7i) Ònye mbiara ?  
 who PRE.come.PST  
 ‘WHO came?’

(7j) Gini mmere?  
 What PRE.do.PST  
 ‘What happened?’

It is observed from sentences in (6a-c) that the wh-phrases *gini*, ‘what’ *ònye* ‘who’ and *èbeē* ‘where’ occur before the FM *kà*, in the same way, the focused non-wh elements *ùwe* ‘cloth’, *egō* ‘money’, and *Òbi* also occur before the FM *kà* in (7a-c). A much closer look at the data in (6a-c) and (7a-c), raise the question of whether it is possible for a focused non-wh- category *ágwó* as in (8a) to co-occur with a wh-phrase *gini* as in (8b) in a focused position within the same clause. This is however, not possible as shown by the ungrammatical (8c & 8d).

(a) **Agwọ** kà Ezè nhùrù <agwọ>  
 snake FOC Eze PRE.see.PST  
 ‘Eze saw A SNAKE’

(b) **Gini** ka Ezè nhùrù <gini>?  
 what FOC Eze PRE-see-PST  
 WHAT did Eze see?

(8c) \* **Agwọ** kà **gini** kà Ezè nhùrù <agwo> <gini>  
 Snake FOC what FOC Eze PRE.see.PST

(d) \* **Gini** kà **agwọ** kà Ezè nhùrù <gini> <agwo>  
 What FOC snake FOC Eze PRE.see.PST



In the ungrammatical (8c), the focused object *agwọ* ‘snake’ occurs to the left, adjacent to the FM *kà* and precedes the wh-phrase *gīnī* ‘what’ which also occurs at the left position, adjacent to the FM. In (8d) the order is reversed but the sentence is still ungrammatical. However, sentences (8a-b) are grammatical because it is only the non-wh constituent *agwọ* or *gini* that is focused, without a preposed wh-phrase in the same clause. We therefore, conclude that the Igbo focused non-wh constituents and the preposed wh-phrases compete for the same focus site which lies immediately to the left of the FM *kà* (cf. Aboh 2004).

#### 4. What Constituents can be Focused in Igbo?

Like some other languages, focusing in Igbo apart from affecting wh-elements may involve constituents of different types, as clearly indicated by the sentences in (1a-b), (2), (5b-c), (7a-c), and (9-12). In sentences (9a-c), the bracketed elements at the edge of the constructions show that the target of focus movement is generally NPs (DPs).

(9a) **Akwukwọ** kà Àda òzùùlà Èmeka < **akwukwọ** >  
 book FOC Ada PRE-buy-PERF Emeka  
 ‘Ada bought a BOOK for Emeka’

(a) **Èmeka** kà Àda òzùùlà < **Èmeka** > akwukwọ.  
 Emeka FOC Ada PRE.buy.PERF book  
 ‘Ada bought a book for EMEKA’

The copies of the focused /moved constituents which lack phonological representations are highlighted in bold prints in (9a-b). Focusing in Igbo can also affect adverbial phrase (10a-b), adjectival phrases (11a-b) and prepositional phrases (12a-b).

(10a) **ntàkiri-ntàkiri** kà Èzè nrùrù ụlọ ya < **ntàkiri ntàkiri** >  
 small-small FOC Eze PRE.build.PST house his  
 ‘Eze GRADUALLY built his house’

(b) **Ùnyiahù** kà Àda ògàrà ahia < **ùnyahù** >  
 yesterday FOC Ada PRE.go.PST market  
 ‘Ada went to the market YESTERDAY’

(11a) **Mpekele** kà Àda<sub>i</sub> ndị <**mpekele**> m̀gbè ọ<sub>i</sub> b̀jàrà n'ụlò anyị  
 little FOC Ada PRE.be when 3SG come.PST PREP-house our  
 'Ada was YOUNG when she came to our house'

(b) **Ogologo** kà Àda ndị <**ogologo**>  
 tall FOC Ada PRE.be  
 'Ada is TALL'

(12a) **n'ùtùtù** kà Àda ngàrà ahia <**n'ùtùtù**>  
 PREP-morning FOC Ada PRE.go.PST market  
 'Ada went to the market IN THE MORNING'

(b) **n'ụlò** kà Àda òdòtèrè àkpà ya <**n'ụlò**>  
 PREP-house FOC Ada PRE.keep.PST bag her  
 'Ada kept her bag IN THE HOUSE'

The data in (9-12) suggest that the focus position in Igbo is not specified for a unique type of constituent, since it can host any focused XP. This is strong evidence that focus movement is not case-driven even though the focused movement so far examined in Igbo involves only non-verbal categories, which appear to the position immediately to the left of the morpheme *kà*.

### 5. Focusing in Igbo as Movement to [Spec FocP]

So far, we have shown that Igbo focus strategy involves a syntactic process that necessarily triggers movement of the focused phrase to a preverbal position immediately to the left of FM *kà*. In Igbo, like some other languages like Italian (Rizzi 1997, 2004), Hungarian (Puskas 1996) Gungbe (Aboh 2004), Baasa (Bassong 2014), etc. the landing site for focused constituents is unique and cannot be considered to be [Spec-force P]. Note from (5b-c) that the focused elements occur in a position right to the complementizer *nà* 'that', which is traditionally regarded as occurring in Force (13a). Similarly, the focus site cannot be associated with the I-system because focused elements are realized in a pre-subject position to the left of the FM *kà* (13b-c).

(13a) Echè m̀ nà ụlò<sub>i</sub> kà Èze òrùrù Àda <ụlò>  
 PRE.think I that house FOC Eze PRE.build.PST Ada  
 'I think that Eze built A HOUSE for Ada'

(b) **Uḷò** kà Èze òrùrù <**uḷò**> Àda  
 house FOC Eze PRE.build.PST Ada  
 ‘Eze built A HOUSE for Ada.’

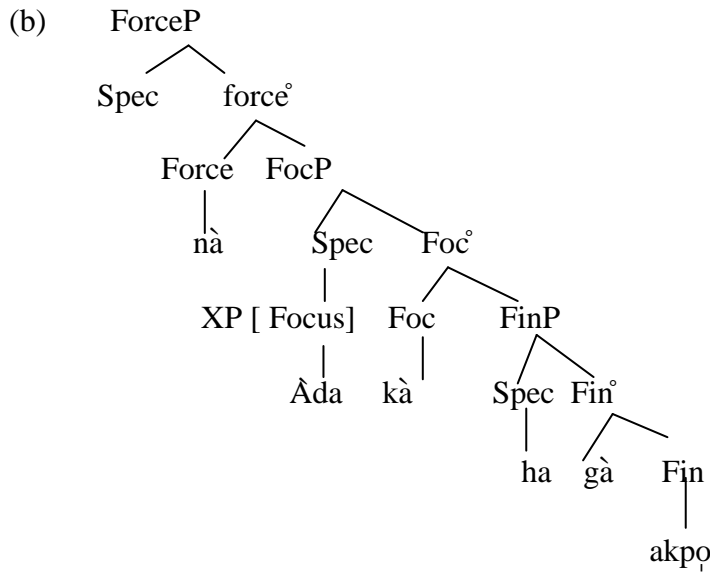
(c) **Àda** kà Èze òrùrù <**Àda**> uḷò  
 Ada FOC Eze PRE.build.PST house  
 ‘Eze built ADA a house’

Following Rizzi (2004a & b) and Aboh (2004), we argue that Igbo focus constructions are manifestations of the left periphery. The focus domain corresponds to a projection, the FocP that is integrated to the C-system. Since focused categories require the FM, we suggest that FocP is present in the structure only when there is a focus category to be sanctioned by spec-head requirement. The Foc hosts the [+F] feature which is morphologically realized in Igbo as *kà*. On the other hand, [spec- FocP] (i.e. the position immediately to the left of the FM *kà*) is assumed to be the focus site, a position which is not involved in case assignment and can therefore contain any focused element (Aboh 2004, Rizzi 1997; Brody 1990, Puska 1995). This means that the focused category is in [spec FocP] and Foc<sup>o</sup> expressed by the FM *kà*, are in spec-head configuration, and no other constituent should intervene between them. Any intervening constituent will lead the derivation to crash as can be observed from the ungrammatical (14) where the constituent *ùnyìahụ* intervenes between the focused constituent *uḷò* and the FM *kà*.

(14) \*Uḷò<sub>i</sub> ùnyìahụ kà Èze rùchàrà t<sub>i</sub>  
 house yesterday FOC Eze complete-certain.PST

In (15a) however, which is grammatical, there is no such intervention between the focused constituent *Àda* and the FM *kà* even though the focused construction is preceded by a main clause. The FocP appears between Force<sup>o</sup>, expressed by *nà* ‘that’ and Fin<sup>o</sup> realized by the subjunctive marker *gà*. We claim that when the FocP is triggered, it projects as the complement of Force<sup>o</sup> and its head Foc<sup>o</sup> takes FinP as a complement, as represented in (15b).

(15a) Aṣĩĩ m̀ nà Àda kà ha gà àkpọ  
 PRE-say.PST I that Ada FOC 3PL subj. PRE.call  
 ‘I said that they should call ADA



The fact that the subject *ha* ‘they’ intervenes between the FM and the subjunctive *gà* in sentence (15a), preclude an analysis in terms of Verb- to Finite- to Focus movement. Like Gungbe, Igbo situation is compatible with the idea that the FM is base-generated or first merged in  $\text{Foc}^\circ$  (cf. Chomsky 1995, Aboh 2004) and the focus domain should be distinguished from the ForceP and FinP in Igbo.

### 6. Focusing in Relative Clauses in Igbo

It is not possible to move a relativized constituent to a focus position headed by the FM *kà* in Igbo. Sentences in (16) are instances of neutral relative clauses in which the relativized constituents are the DP object *nwannē m* in (16a) and the DP subject *nne m* in (16b). The ungrammatical sentences (16c-d) clearly indicate that neither the relativized DP object nor the relativized DP subject can be focused.

- (16a) **Nwannē m** òkè Eze nhùrù <**nwannē m**>  
 sibling my that<sub>[REL]</sub> Eze PRE.see.PST  
 ‘My sibling that Eze saw.’

- (b) **Nne m** onyē <**nne m**> mbiara n'ụlọ  
 mother my who<sub>[REL]</sub> PRE.come.PST PREP-house  
 'My mother who came to the house'
- (c) \* **Nwannē m** òkè kà Èze nhùrù <**nwannē m**>  
 sibling my that<sub>[REL]</sub> FOC Eze PRE.see.PST  
 'MY SIBLING that Eze saw.'
- (d) \* **Nne m** onye kà <**nne m**> mbìàrà n'ụlọ  
 mother my who<sub>[REL]</sub> FOC PRE.come.PST PREP-house  
 'MY MOTHER that came to the house'

Even though the relativized DP-subject can be freely extracted outside the relative clause (but not focused with the FM *kà*) and also without leaving behind an overt resumptive pronominal trace in its base-position as in (16b), such overt resumptive pronominal trace ( $\rho$  's/he) of the relativized NP subject is allowed in the base-position if the relativized subject NP is focused with the FM *kà* outside the relative clause as seen in the grammatical (17a). However, without the occurrence of the resumptive pronominal trace in the subject base-position, the resulting construction is ungrammatical as in (17b).

- (17a) **Nwannē m<sub>i</sub>** òkè azù kà  $\rho_i$  hùrù n'òkù  
 sibling my that<sub>[REL]</sub> fish FOC 3SG roast.PST PREP-fire
- (17b) \***Nwannē m** òkè azù kà <**Nwannē m**> hùrù n'òkù  
 sibling my that<sub>[REL]</sub> fish FOC roast.PST PREP-fire  
 'MY SIBLING that roasted the fish'

### 7. Focus Projection Recursion and Simultaneous Focus in Igbo

Example (18d), shows that multiple focusing is not available in Igbo; the reason being that only one specific position is available for the focusing of constituents (cf. Kayne 1994; Aboh 2004) as shown in (18b) and (18c) which are derived from (18a), showing that only the direct or the indirect object can be focused at any given time. Sentence (18e) also shows that focus recursion is not possible in Igbo.

- (18a) **Ezè** òzùlà **Àda** **akwukwọ**  
 Eze PRE.buy.PERF Ada book  
 'Eze bought Ada a book'

- (b) **Akwụkwọ** kà **Eze** ñzùùlà **Àda** <**akwụkwọ**>  
 book FOC Eze PRE.buy.PERF Ada  
 ‘Eze bought Ada a BOOK’
- © **Àda** kà Ezè ñzùùlà <**Àda**> **akwụkwọ**  
 Ada FOC Eze PRE-buy-PERF book  
 ‘Eze bought ADA a book’
- (d) \***Akwụkwọ** **Àda** kà Ezè ñzùùlà <**Àda**> <**akwụkwọ**>  
 book Ada FOC Eze PRE-buy-PERF
- (e) \***Akwụkwọ** kà **Ada** kà Ezè ñzùùlà <**Àda**> <**akwụkwọ**>  
 book FOC Ada FOC Eze PRE.buy.PERF

Aboh (2004) and Puskas (1995) have suggested similar analysis in Gungbe and Hungarian respectively. The impossibility of focus recursion in Igbo may be seen as deriving from interpretational constraints on focusing. Thus, if focusing is understood as selecting an entity in an identificational way in Igbo, there can be no multiple occurrence of separate focusing syntactically realized as separate focus projection (Aboh 2004). Igbo constructions exclude simultaneous focusing in the main and the embedded clause (see Rizzi 1997 for similar proposal). Compare the ungrammatical sentence (19a) to the grammatical examples (19b-c) where only one focus constituent is allowed.

- (19a) \***Èze** kà <**Èze**> ñsịrị nà **akwụkwọ** ka **Èmekà** kà Àda ñzùùlà  
 Eze FOC PRE.say.PST that book FOC Emeka FOC Ada  
 PRE.buy.PST <**Èmekà**> <**akwukwo**>  
 ‘Eze said that BOOK EMEKA Ada bought’
- (b) Ezè ñsịrị nà **akwụkwọ** kà Àda ñzùùlà **Èmekà** <**akwụkwọ**>  
 Eze PRE.say.PST that book FOC Ada PRE.buy.PST Emeka  
 ‘Eze said that Ada bought Emeka A BOOK’
- (c) Ezè ñsịrị nà **Èmekà** kà Àda ñzùùlà <**Èmekà**> **akwụkwọ**.  
 Eze PRE.say.PST that Emeka FOC Ada PRE-buy-PST.PERF. book  
 ‘Eze said that Ada bought EMEKA a book’

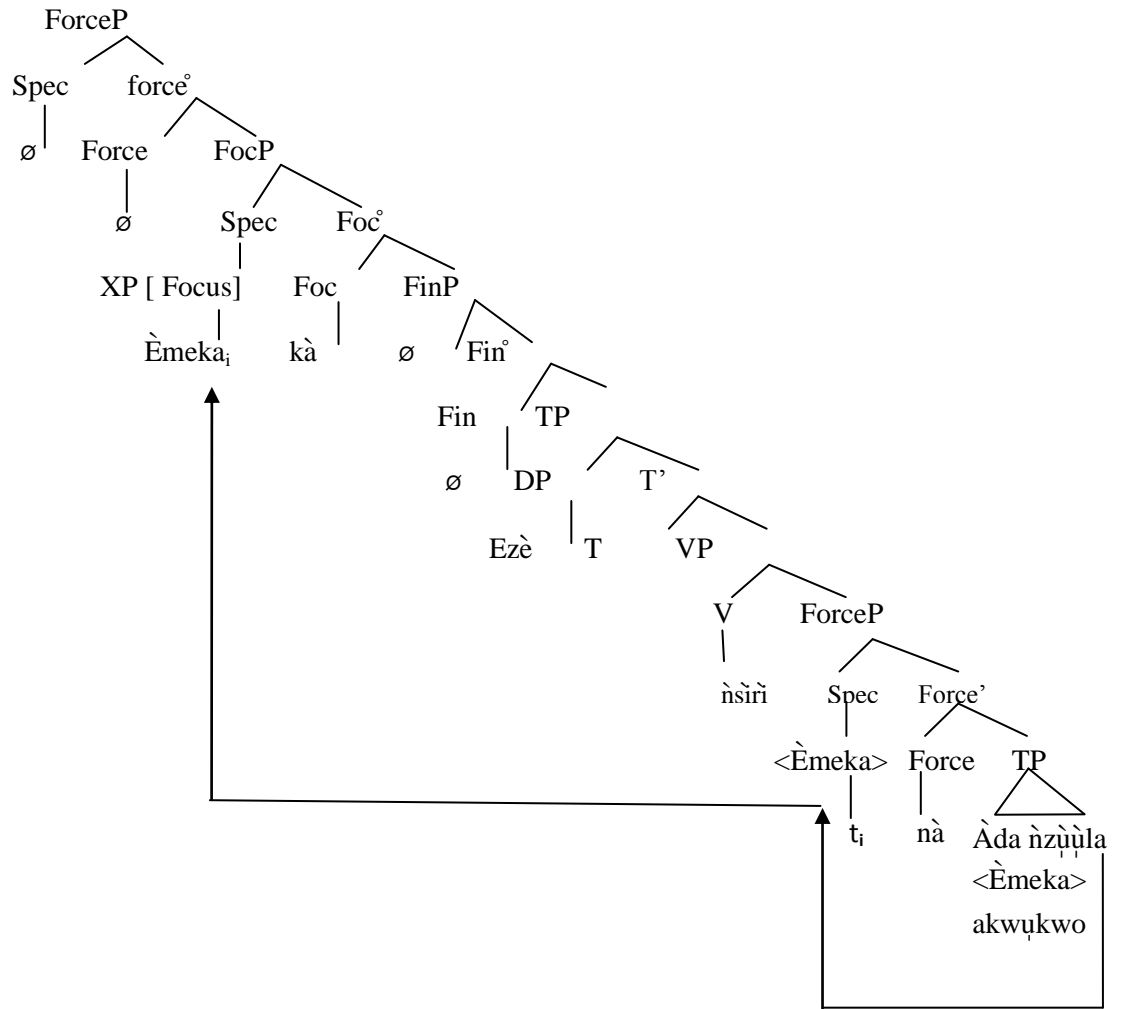
Sentence (19a) is ungrammatical because of simultaneous focusing; with a constituent focused in the matrix and another one in the subordinate clause, and this clearly shows that the position immediately to the left of the FM cannot be activated in both main and embedded clauses unlike sentences (19b-c) which do not involve simultaneous focus. In sentence (19b), the direct object *ákwúkwọ́* is focused while in sentence (19c), the indirect object *Èmeká* is focused. Sentences (20a-b) illustrate long focus-movement of the embedded objects *akwúkwọ́* ‘book’ and *Èmeká* to the main clauses respectively.

(20a) **Akwúkwọ́** kà Ezè òṣìrĩ                      nà Àda òzùùlà Èmeká <**akwúkwọ́**>  
 book        FOC Eze PRE/say.PST    that Ada PRE.buy.PST.PERF Emeka  
 ‘Eze said Ada bought A BOOK for Emeka.’

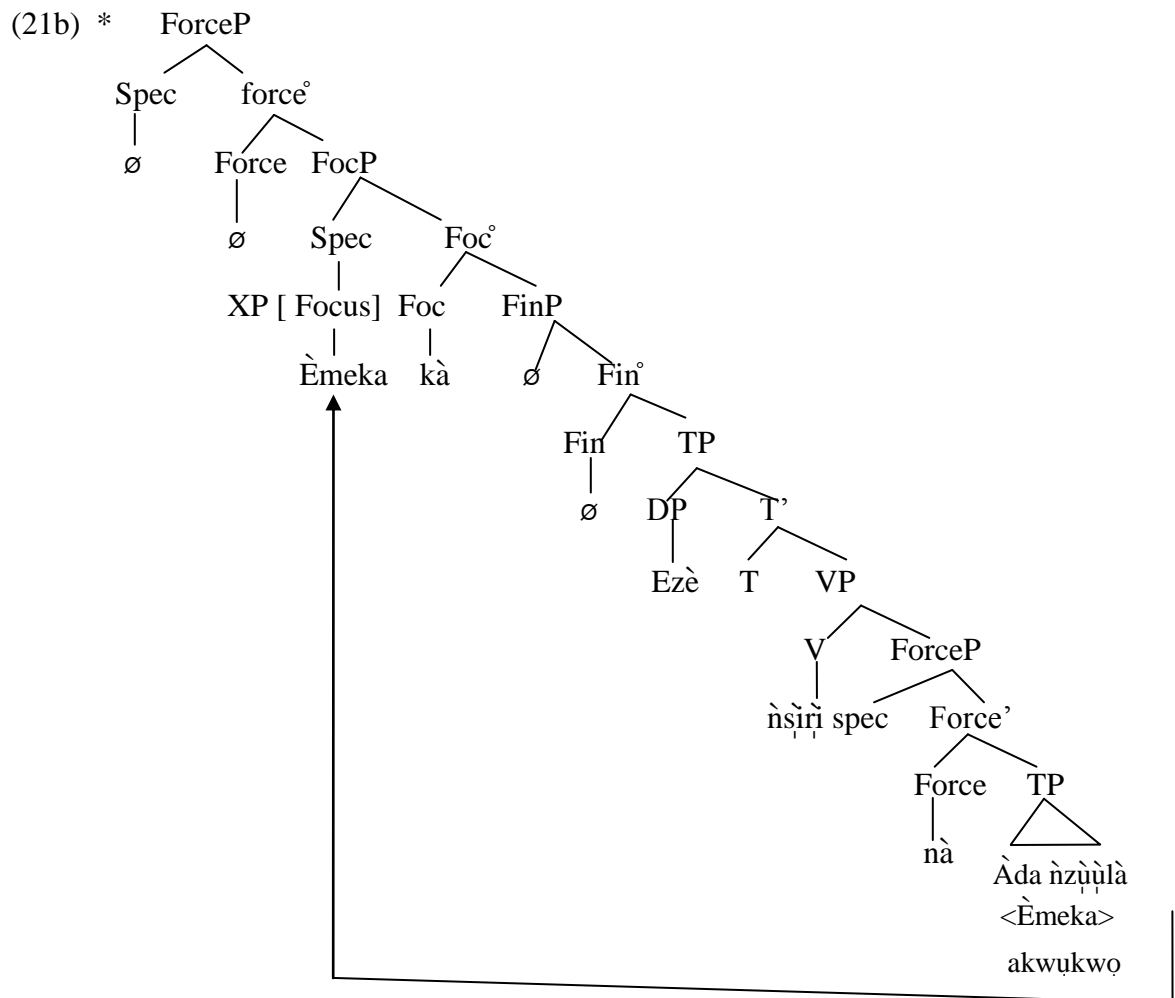
(b) **Èmeká** kà Ezè òṣìrĩ                      nà Àda òzùùlà <**Èmeká**> akwúkwọ́  
 Emeka FOC Eze PRE.say.PST    that Ada PRE.buy.PST.PERF. book  
 ‘Eze said that Ada bought EMEKA a book.’

We observe that in long focus movement as illustrated in (20a-b), the focused objects *akwúkwọ́* and *Èmeká* of the embedded clauses did not just move from their positions to the focus site of the main clauses, rather the focused constituents passed through the internal [spec Force-P] in order to reach the main clause [spec Force-P] focus site as shown in structure (21a) Evidence that the focus movement is from spec to spec can be seen from the empty trace which is left behind at the internal spec position by the focused constituent. This is unlike in (21b) where the focused indirect object *Emeka* did not pass through the internal [spec Force-P] before raising to the main clause focus site. Skipping the internal [spec Force-P] violates the shortest move principle and causes the derivation to crash at PF.

(21a)







Even though, we have noted that simultaneous focusing of more than one Object NP is not available in Igbo, it can be possible when it simultaneously involves an adverbial such as *n'ùtùtù* (*in the morning*) and an object NP *akwukwo* (*a book*) in complex sentence as in (23a) & (23b) and not in simple ones as in (23d-e) which are derived from the basic (23c).

- (23a) **N'ùtùtù**      kà    Ezè òkwùrù <n'ùtùtù>    nà **akwukwo**    kà    Àda n'zùlà  
 PREP.morning FOC Eze PRE.say.PST that book FOC Ada  
 PRE.buy.PSTEmeka <akwukwo> Èmèka  
 'Eze said that Ada bought A BOOK for Emeka IN THE MORN

- (b) **n'ùtùtù** kà Ezè ñkwùrù <n'ùtùtù> nà **Èmeka** kà Àda ñzùùlà  
 PREP-morning FOC Eze PRE.say.PST that Emeka FOC Ada PRE-  
 buy.PST.PERF <Emeka> akwùkwọ book  
 'Eze said IN THE MORNING that Ada bought EMEKA a book'
- (c) Àda ñzùùlà Èmeka akwùkwọ n'ùtùtù  
 Ada PRE.buy.PST Emeka book in morning  
 'Ada bought Emeka a book in the morning'
- (d) \* **n'ùtùtù** ka **Èmeka** ka Ada ñzùùlà <Emeka> akwùkwọ <n'ùtùtù>  
 in morning FOC Emeka FOC Ada PRE.buy.PST book
- (e)\* **n'ùtùtù** ka **akwùkwọ** ka Ada ñzùùlà <akwùkwọ> Emeka <n'ùtùtù>  
 in morning FOC book FOC Ada PRE.buy.PST.PERF. Emeka

It is however, interesting to note that simultaneous focusing is impossible in Igbo when long focus movement involves an adverbial, as shown by the ungrammatical (24a & b).

- (24a) \* **n'ùtùtù** kà Ezè ñsìrì nà **akwùkwọ** kà Àda ñzùùlà  
 PREP-morning FOC Eze PRE.say.PST that book FOC Ada  
 PRE.buy.PST Emeka <**akwùkwọ**> <**n'ùtùtù**>Emeka  
 'Eze said that Ada bought A BOOK for Emeka IN THE MORNING'
- (b) \***n'ùtùtù** kà Ezè ñsìrì nà **Èmeka** kà Àda ñzùùlà  
 PREP-morning FOC Eze PRE.say.PST that Emeka FOC Ada PRE  
 buy.PERF <**Èmeka**> akwùkwọ <**n'ùtùtù**> book  
 'Eze said IN THE MORNING that Ada bought EMEKA a book'

It is important to observe that in the grammatical structures (23a&b) involving the simultaneous focusing of an adverbial and an NP object, each being focused at the pre-sentential position of a different clause. The sentences in (24a & b) provide evidence that movement of a constituent by focusing in complex structures must be from one [spec FOC] to the next right kind. Thus, the ungrammaticality (24a & b) can be explained in terms of intervention effects. The adverbials in both constructions (24a & b) did pass through the

[spec FOC<sub>P</sub>] of the internal clause before landing at the [spec FOC<sub>P</sub>] of the external clause.

## 8. Conclusion

In this paper, we have shown that focalization in Igbo is a syntactic process that requires movement of the focused element to a focus domain outside the minimal clause, which is the Foc<sub>P</sub>. We have noted that focusing in Igbo is realized mainly through movement of the focused element to the left adjacent position to the focus marker *kà*. This requirement is satisfied in overt syntax. Focus in-situ strategy is not allowed in the language and Igbo allows for movement of only non-verbal constituents that are specified as [+F]. Thus, Igbo focused categories involve constituents of the types: DPs, adverbials, adjectivals, and PPs. We have argued that in Igbo, focused constituents must check their focus feature against the focus head in a spec-head configuration. Furthermore, we observed that multiple foci are not available in Igbo, the reason being that only one specific focused position is allowed. It is also noted that simultaneous focusing is impossible in the language except when it involves an adjuncts. When a simultaneous focusing involves an adjunct, no long construal is permitted but short one. Finally, we observed that a focused constituent and wh-element cannot co-occur in the same focused position in a clause. We, therefore, argued that focus constituents and wh-elements compete for the same position, which is the focus site that is immediately to the focus marker *kà*.

### List of abbreviations and symbols

˘	Low Tone
ˊ	High Tone
-	Downstepped tone
[+F]	Plus focus
1SG	First Person Singular Pronoun
3PL	Third Person Plural
3SG	Third Person Singular Pronoun
A' -chain	A-bar chain
C-system	Complementizer System
DP	Determiner Phrase
Fin P	Finiteness Projection
FM	Focus Marker
FOC	Focus
Foc <sub>P</sub>	Focus Projection

ForceP	Force Projection
IP	Inflectional Projection
I-system	Inflectional System
LF	Logical Form
O kà S V	Object kà Subject Verb
PERF	Perfect
PF	Phonetic
PPS	Prepositional Phrase
PRE	prefix
PREP	Prepositional Phrase
PST	Past Tense
Spec FocP	Specifier of focus phrase
Spec-head	Specifier head
Subj.	subjunctive
SVO	Subject Verb Object
V- to Fin	Verb to finite
Verb-to-Foc	Verb to focus
XP	Any Constituent

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