



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF LANGUAGE STUDIES
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

INTERROGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN HADIYYA

BY
DAGNACHEW DEGU

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF
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**BY
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EXAMINER

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other universities and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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June 2010

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CONFIRMATION

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as thesis advisor.

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Advisor

June 2010

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ABSTRACT

This study attempts to identify and describe interrogative constructions in Hadiyya. The language uses yes-no questions, alternative choice questions, tag questions, content questions and echo questions. Yes-no questions are derived from declarative sentences by suffixing the question morpheme *-nniyye* or by applying a rising intonation. Alternative choice questions are formed by suffixing the reduced question morpheme *-nnii* on the first alternative; the lengthened final vowel also serves as disjunction. Tag questions can be formed using the tag marker *-lla* or by posing yes-no questions on declarative or imperative sentences. Tag questions are mostly confirmative.

Content questions are constructed using one of the wh-words and are mostly cleft. Wh-words are basically found in situ. However, wh-movement, such as fronting is allowed for contrastive focus reading. Clefting is the main device for focus; focus can also be marked by the suffix *-du(yye)*. Morphologically wh-words inflect for case and number, and marked for focus. The basic wh-words can also be the base for the derivation of other wh-words.

Another question types are echo questions. Pure or wh-echo questions can be formed based on declarative, interrogative and imperative sentences. Echo questions have similar syntactic structure to the corresponding echoed sentences. Hence echo questions are distinguished by the accompanying lengthened rising intonation.

List of Abbreviations and Symbols

1 first person

2 second person

3	third people	NMLZ	nominalizer
ABL	ablative	NOM	nominative
ACC	accusative	P	person
ADV	adverb	PF	perfective
AG	agentive	PL	plural
CIT	citation	PRPF	present perfect
COM	comitative	PPROG	present progressive
COMP	complimentizer	PROG	progressive
COP	copula	PURP	purposive
CVB	converb	Q	question morpheme
DAT	dative	QU	question
DEF	definite	S/SG	singular
F	feminine	VD	voiced
FOC	focus marker	VL	voiceless
GEN	genitive	VOC	vocative
IMP	imperative	()	optional
INS	instrumental	??	acceptability problem
IPFV	imperfective	∅	zero morpheme
LOC	locative	→	becomes
M	masculine	↘	falling intonation
NEG	negative	↗	rising intonation

CHAPTER ONE

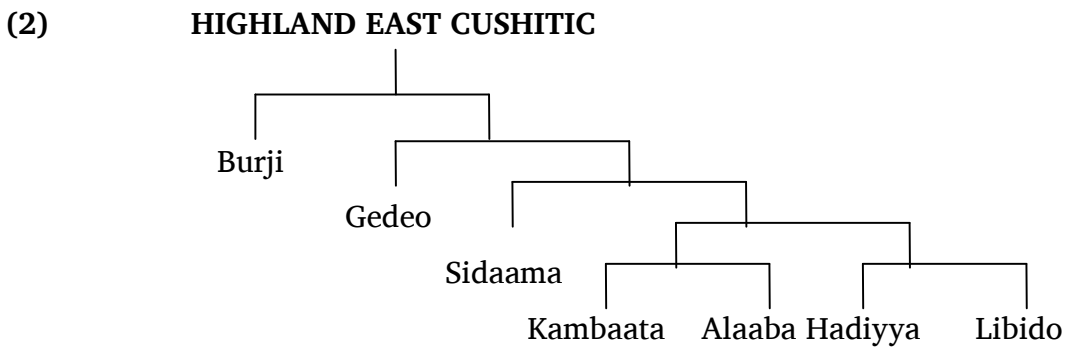
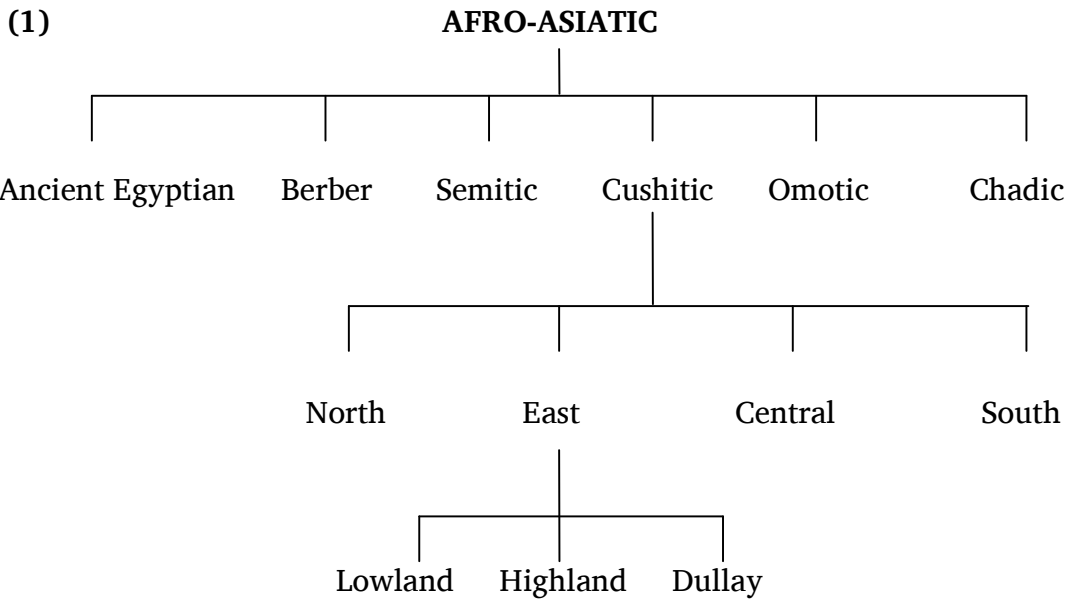
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The People and the Language

The speakers of Hadiyya live in the Hadiyya zone, the capital and biggest town being Hossana (Hudson 1976:233). The neighboring people are Silt'e in the north, Wolayta in the south, Kambaata in the east and Yem in the west across the river Gibe. The Hadiyya people are farmers. They grow crops and inset and breed domestic animals. Most of the Hadiyya are Christians, but there is also a large number of Muslims. According to the 2007 census of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Population Census Commission, Hadiyya is spoken by more than 1.2 million people.

Hudson (1976:232) classifies Hadiyya into the Highland East Cushitic group (HEC). According to Hudson HEC comprise five languages, namely Burji, Gedeo, Hadiyya, Kambaata and Sidaama. Korhonen et al. (1986) as cited in Perrett (2000:40) classify HEC languages in a more detailed manner and includes Alaaba and Libido. Perrett explains the rational behind the new classification as: “the close affinity of Ala[a]ba with Kambaata, and Libido with Hadiyya, and to a lesser extent of these two pairs of languages with each other, along with their northern location when compared to Sida[a]m[a], ... (Gedeo) and Burji, led Korhonen et al. (1986) to propose a cover term ‘northern Highland East Cushitic (nHEC)’ for this group”. In the literature Hadiyya is the name of both the people and the language. However, according to Tadesse (2007:3) the people call their language ‘Hadiyyisa’.

The following diagram shows the position of Hadiyya within the Afro-asiatic family.



(Adopted from Perrett (2000:39ff) and Tadesse (2007:3))

According to Tadesse (2007:3) Hadiyya consists of five dialects. These are 1) *Leemo* spoken around the town of Hosanna, 2) *Shashogo* to the northeast of Hosanna, 3) *Sooro* to the south east of Hosanna, 4) *Badawacho* to the south of the main land (a pocket of Hadiyya speakers separated from the main land and surrounded by Kambaata, Alaaba and Wolayta peoples) 5) *Libido* to the north of Hosanna. Hudson (1976:233) excludes the *Badawacho* dialect. *Libido* is not as close as the other four dialects; it is also classified as an independent language in Perrett (2000:39), and Crass (2007:13-25) also treats *Libido* as an independent language. Also the Libido people do not consider themselves to be Hadiyya (p.c J. Crass).

1.2 Review of Previous Works

There are relatively few publications dealing with Hadiyya. Some of the publications are reviewed in the following.

Hudson (1976:232-277), provides a comparative study of the five languages of HEC. In the morphological part he describes interrogative pronouns and “question forms of Hadiyya verbs”. He claims that the interrogative pronouns of Hadiyya are *ayye* ‘who’ *maha* ‘what’, *hanno* ‘where’ *hinka* ‘how’ and *me?i* ‘how many’. Concerning the “question form of verbs” he claims that “in Hadiyya a suffix *-n* or *-nnihe* is added to the verbs of yes/no questions” (Hudson 1976:261).

Stinson (1976:148-154) provides a short grammatical sketch. He reviews the phonology, “word shape”, “grammar” to which he included major word class and grammatical categories, and the syntax of Hadiyya. He explains that Hadiyya has SOV word order in a normal order of simple sentence. Concerning the interrogative construction he points out that questions do not involve a change in word order, but are formed by suffixing *-nihe* to the verb, as well as by intonation.

Haile Eyesus (1984) deals with the phonology of Hadiyya. He identifies 23 consonant phonemes and five vowel phonemes, with their long counterparts and several allophones. In addition he explains the suprasegmental features of the language.

Moges (1984) describes the verb morphology of Hadiyya. He explains the inflectional and derivational properties of the verb and gives detailed analysis of the different types of aspect. He does not include interrogatives as mood types.

Sim (1985) presents the morphological structure of some main verb forms in Hadiyya and deals with the morphophonemic properties of verbs. He presents

the canonical forms of the root, simple stem verb paradigms, morphophonemic processes in simple stem verbs and derived stem verbs. He briefly revises the positive and negative question paradigms in simple stem verbs. The monograph gives very short but very important explanations.

Yirga's (1986), main focus is determining the types of structural constituents and the transformational processes in simple declarative sentences. Yirga concludes that the simple declarative sentence in Hadiyya consists of at least an NP and a VP in its deep structure. In addition he describes the obligatory and optional constituents of noun and verb phrases, and explains the transformational processes which are supplied to the deep structure of simple declarative sentences to produce the surface structure.

Desta (1989) describes the nominal derivation in Hadiyya. He claims that nominalization in the language thus follows a pattern in which different derivational morphemes are attached to the root form in order to derive nominals. He identifies the morphemes that are used for nominal derivation, and states that Hadiyya nouns can be derived from roots of verbs, adjectives, and other nouns.

Sim (1989) is the most comprehensive work on Hadiyya. He uses the Head Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG). The basic aim of Sim's study is outlining some of Hadiyya's basic syntactic chainings (Serializations) and other aspects of clausal coordination. In addition to the syntax, Sim reviews the phonology and provides an extensive description to the morphology. He revises polar and content questions very briefly and claims that polar questions suffix the marker *-nnihe* to the final verb of the sentence. The form can also be a "converb, subjunctive or complement of a non-verbal clause". Sim (1989:173 ff) also points out that "intonation alone can be used to pose a question, with syntax otherwise that of the declarative sentence".

In addition, he illustrates “verbal content questions” using exemplary sentences and claims “that there is no node, such as COMP or QU outside the sentence, with a corresponding gap within S; in that sense, no move-WH rule is warranted”. And he adds that any NP (nominative, dative and ablative constituents) can be the focus of a question. While concluding his discussion he mentions that cleft sentence construction is frequently used to form a question, and compares relative clauses, wh-questions and cleft sentences.

Perrett (2000) is another comprehensive work which gives a detailed analysis on the tense system of Hadiyya. The main aims of this work are to explore the tense system in the language and to use the available mechanisms for representing tense in the Labelled Deductive System to develop ways of representing not only the deductive facts about Hadiyya tense system but also of providing an explanatory syntactic account of the various structures different tense forms come to occupy. Perrett categorizes the available forms into those where tense/aspect is at work and those where other factors which have to do with sentential aspect come into play. She distinguishes the role of tense from that of aspect, in some forms. She also gives a detailed theoretical analysis to the tense system of Hadiyya based on the representation in the Labelled Deductive System for natural languages.

Tadesse (2007) deals with the morphology. His main objective is to analyze and to describe the various aspects of the morphological system of Hadiyya. In addition to the morphology, he describes the phonology. In dealing with the morphology of pronouns, he identifies interrogative pronouns which are similar to those which Hudson (1976) and Sim (1989) describe. However, Tadesse adds *hink-ammane* ‘which time/when’. Furthermore dealing with the verb inflection he identifies the interrogative mood and explains that the suffix *-nnihe* marks the interrogative mood and this morpheme is used to form the interrogative counterparts of both the affirmative and the negative verbs.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Hadiyya is one of the better described languages relative to the other HEC languages, (e.g. Gedeo and Burji). As outlined in 1.2 some important works have been undertaken on the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language. These works have contributed considerably to the description of the language. However, there are still parts of the grammar to be described in more detail. One of the subjects is interrogative constructions. Except some preliminary attempts to describe wh-questions and yes-no questions no detailed work has been done on interrogative constructions. Therefore, this study will thoroughly describe interrogative constructions and will contribute to the description of Hadiyya grammar.

1.4 Objective of the Study

The main objective of the study is to identify and describe interrogative constructions in Haddiyya. The study also investigates the derivation of interrogative constructions, the constituents that occur in interrogative constructions and attempts to identify whether Hadiyya is a Wh-fronting or Wh-in situ language.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The study attempts to describe interrogative constructions and presents the result in a simple manner, which helps any interested person to understand the way interrogatives (different types of questions) are constructed and used. The study is also assumed to contribute a step in the description of the Hadiyya grammar; it can also serve as additional reference material for teaching the language, developing curricula and teaching materials. It can also serve as resource material for further studies on the language.

1.6 Delimitation of the Study

This is a purely descriptive work and no theoretical explanation is given. Only direct questions are described; indirect questions are out of the scope of this study. The description is based on the *Shashogo* dialect.

1.7 Research Methodology and Procedures

In conducting this study first the relevant literatures regarding the interrogative constructions and the appropriate descriptive approaches were consulted. Then data was collected from native speakers (by elicitation) and from publications. In order to make the data more natural some short scenarios are also used. The collected data is analyzed and presented in regard to all types of interrogative construction analysis. And finally the findings are summarized and conclusion is drawn.

1.8 Some Points to the Phonology of the Language

1.8.1 Consonant Phonemes

According to Tadesse (2007:16) Hadiyya has 23 consonant phonemes. The following table shows the consonant phonemes of Hadiyya.

Manner of articulation	Point of articulation					
	Labial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vl		t		k	ʔ
	vd	b	d		g	
Fricatives	vl		f	s	š	h
	vd			z		
Affricates	vl			c		
	vd			J		
Ejectives	p'		t'	c'	k'	
Nasals	m		n			
Lateral			l			
Tap			r			
Glides	w			j		

Table 1: The consonant phonemes of Hadiyya (adopted from Tadesse 2007:16)

According to Tadesse consonant gemination is phonemic in Hadiyya. Consonants except /r, h, ʔ, z/ can be geminated. Perrett (2000:43) points out that geminate /r/ is realized as /ll/ and /h/ as /kk/. Tadesse further explains that geminated consonants occur only word medially. Regarding consonant distribution he explains that /ʔ, r, c, p'/ do not occur word initially; all consonants occur word

medially and no consonant occur word finally. Consonant cluster is allowed only word medially, which can contain a maximum of two consonant cluster.

1.8.2 Vowel Phonemes

Sim (1989), Perrett (2000) and Tadesse (2007) identify five vowel phonemes with their long counterparts (i.e. vowel length is phonemic). The following table presents the vowel phonemes.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Table 2: The vowel phonemes of Hadiyya (adopted from Tadesse 2007:18)

Tadesse identifies that all vowels occur word initially and word medially both in their short and long forms; except /u/ and /i/ all can occur word finally. However, sequence of two different vowels is not allowed. Perrett (2000:24) claims that “before pause, except sentence final, vowels are shortened and almost voiceless making it difficult for the non-native speakers to distinguish case endings, for example between a nominative masculine singular /i/ and an absolute marked by /e, a, o/.”

1.8.3 Syllabic Structure

According to Tadesse (2007:24) the following are the possible syllabic structures.

- (1) v *a-ma* ‘mother’
 vv *ee-be* ‘bring’

vc	ag-ga	‘drink’	
vvc	ee-y-a	‘yes’	
cv	an-ga	‘hand’	
cvc	gun-da	‘short’	
cvv	suu-me	‘mouth’	
cvvc	gaan-je	‘neck’	[Tadesse 2007:24ff]

1.8.4 Morphophonemic Processes

Morphophonemic processes, such as vowel deletion, epenthesis, metathesis and assimilation are usually undertaken at the edge of verb stems, when there is a suffix (Tadesse 2007:25).

Regarding vowel deletion he explains that terminal vowels of nouns and adjectives are deleted at morpheme boundaries as in 2(a) and when there happen sequence of two different vowels as a result of suffixation, the terminal vowel of the base is deleted as in 2(b).

(2) a. *mine-co* → *minco*

house-SG ‘the house’

b. *bat’o-aanco* → *bat’aanco*

work-AG ‘worker’

[Tadesse 2007:26]

Furthermore Tadesse claims that terminal vowel deletion can be used for case marking. However, as mentioned in 1.8.2 Perrett (2000) handle this situation a bit differently. Also see 1.9.2.

Regarding epenthesis Sim (1985) and Tadesse (2007) explain that an epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted to prevent an impermissible consonant cluster at word boundaries as in (3).

(3) *mass-i-n-u-mmo*

take-EP-1PL-PF-1P

‘We took’

[Tadesse 2007:26, with some modifications]

According to Tadesse Hadiyya exhibits nasal metathesis and glottal metathesis. Nasal metathesis occurs, for example when the first person plural marker /-n/ transposes with stem final obstruent in order to preserve the sonority structure of the consonant sequence. Consider the following examples where the first person plural perfective suffix *-nummo* is added to verb stem.

(4) Verb stem

/bat’-/ ‘work’ → [bant’-ummo] ‘we worked’

/it’-/ ‘eat’ → [int’-ummo] ‘we ate’ [Tadesse 2007:27]

Regarding glottal metathesis he explains that “glottal metathesis is a process where by the glottal feature of the reflexive (autobenefactive) formative, /-ʔ/ is permuted with stem final sonorant.” The following examples illustrate the process.

(5) Verb root

tum- ‘hit’ tuʔm- ‘hit for oneself’

keen- ‘measure’ keeʔn- ‘measure for oneself’ [Tadesse 2007:27]

Another morphophonemic process is assimilation. According to Tadesse Hadiyya exhibits different types of assimilations. The first is homorganic nasal assimilation, which is undertaken after nasal metathesis. Consider the following examples where the first person plural perfective suffix *-nummo* is added to verb stem.

(6) Verb stem

/sab’-/ ‘refuse’ → [samb’-ummo] ‘we refused’

/koc’-/ ‘insert’ → [koñc’-ummo] ‘we inserted’ [Tadesse 2007:28]

The second type of assimilation is sonorant assimilation; for example, the first person plural marker /-n/ is assimilated to stem final sonorant /-l/. Consider the following example.

(7) *mar-nummo* → *marr-ummo* → *mall-ummo* ‘we went’ [Tadesse 2007:29]

1.9 Some Points on the Grammar

Perrett (2000:46ff) explains that Hadiyya is a strongly head-final language. The verb phrase comes at clause final position; the noun head is found at NP final position and dependent clauses precede nominal heads or main clauses. Other constituents within an NP have relatively free order.

The language is rich morphologically; suffixes mark case and postpositions on nouns, and tense/aspect and subject agreements on verbs. Pro-drop of both subject and object arguments is possible and a sentence may contain only an inflected verb (Perrett 2000:46). In the following I will briefly revise the number, gender and case marking systems on nouns.

1.9.1 Number and Gender on Nouns

Sim (1989:105) and Perrett (2000:47) claim that there is a four way distinction of number: indefinite, singular, plural and paucal/diminutive. However, Tadesse (2007:37) explains that there is only a three way distinction of number: singular, plural and generic or collective forms. He claims that paucal does not exist in Hadiyy. The citation forms of nouns refer to the generic and collective forms. Singular form is shown by *-ččo* or by its allomorph *-čo*. Plural form is expressed by suffixing the morpheme *-wwa* to the citation forms. In the present analysis I will follow the way Tadesse analyzed number.

Regarding gender Perrett (2000:33) explain that “[g]rammatical gender only distinguishes singular nouns with human female referents and becomes visible through case marking and subject-verb agreement.” The same way of gender marking is adopted in the present study.

1.9.2 Case

Nouns in Hadiyya end either in *-a*, *-e* or *-o* in their unmarked citation form (Perrett 2000:48 and Tadesse 2007:47). According to Tadesse (2007:47ff) nouns inflect for nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, ablative, locative, comitative and instrumental cases. He claims that the nominative case is marked by terminal vowel deletion; in the accusative nouns have the same form as in the citation and for accusative case marking terminal vowels are devoiced. On the other hand Perrett (2000: 43, 48) claims that except feminine singular nouns, which keep the citation (absolute) form, all nouns in nominative case end in *-i*. However, similar to Tadesse she points out that “... these final vowels are phonetically short and voiceless. They will not normally be transcribed though the gloss will indicate where a word is understood to be in Nominative case.” Also she suggests that the unmarked citation form is used as a default case for accusative case. She adds that in the genitive the final vowel of the possessor is dropped leaving a bare stem to precede the head noun. The remaining oblique cases, other than nominative, accusative and genitive are marked based on either the nominative or the citation stem.

According to Tadesse the genitive case is shown by juxtaposition of nouns (the possessor noun is positioned before the possessed noun). Genitive case is also expressed by possessive pronouns. The dative case is marked by *-na*. The ablative case indicates the source or direction of something and is marked by *-iinse*. The locative case is marked by *-nne*. The comitative case is marked by *-inne*, which is identical to the instrumental case marker.

In the present analysis I have adopted the way Perret and Tadesse treated case. Therefore, in the nominative case except feminine singular, which keep the citation form, all nouns end in *-i*. However, since these vowels are phonetically short and almost voiceless before pouse they are not transcribed and nominative case is shown in the gloss. In the accusative nouns remain as in their citation form but the final vowels are shortened and devoiced. In the remaining oblique cases case markers are suffixed on the nominative or accusative stem and for the moment I analyze terminal vowels together with the case markers, following Tadesse (2007).

CHAPTER TWO

2. YES-NO QUESTIONS

Interrogative constructions are an important part of language description and therefore need the necessary attention. According to Radford (1988:462ff) there are several question types in natural languages. One major typological division is between yes-no questions and wh-questions; another major typological division is between echo questions and non-echo questions. A third division is between direct and indirect questions. Huang (1996:264) however, claims that in most languages interrogative constructions are classified as general questions, which include yes-no questions and alternative choice questions, and special questions, which are also known as content questions or wh-questions.

In most typological divisions we find yes-no questions (polar questions), tag questions, and content questions (in English they are known as wh-questions), and alternative choice questions (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:178ff, Ultan 1978:211ff). Some scholars include echo questions (Radford 1988:462ff). These questions are introduced using different devices. Palmer (1986:30ff) explains that in many languages questions can be introduced by syntactic devices, by particles and enclitics, by intonation and other devices. Hadiyya has yes-no questions, alternative choice questions, tag questions, content questions and echo questions, and uses some of the question introducing devices that Palmer mentions. In the following section I will describe the constructions of yes-no questions, alternative choice questions and tag questions. These three question types have much in common.

According to Radford (1988:462) yes-no questions are so called because such questions permit yes or no as appropriate replies. Sadock and Zwicky (1985:178ff) explain that “[p]erhaps the most basic interrogative type, and the

most widely distributed, is the YES-NO (or NEXUS) question, one that seeks a comment on the degree of truth of the questioned proposition.” Yes-no questions usually do not involve or use independent interrogative words, as wh-interrogatives (Nkemnji 1995:150, Perlmutter 1979:253). Under the scope of yes-no questions some scholars include yes-no questions, tag questions, alternative choice questions and echo questions (Nkemnji 1995:149ff); others drop alternative choice and echo questions out of the yes-no questions category (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:178ff).

In the present analysis neutral yes-no questions, non-neutral yes-no questions, alternative choice questions and tag questions are treated under the scope of yes-no questions, because these question types have derivational similarity and need either a yes or no response or selecting a choice from given alternatives.

2.1 The Derivation of Yes-No Questions

According to Hudson (1976:261), Sim (1985:21), Sim (1989:173), Perrett (2000:40) and Tadesse (2007:94) the question morpheme in Hadiyya is *-nnihe*; Stinson (1976:154) claims it is *-nihe*. In the *Shashogo* dialect, the question morpheme appears to be *-nniyye*, and now onwards I use *-nniyye*. In actual use the reduced (contracted) form *-nni* is preferred to the full morpheme. Both the unreduced and the reduced forms are shown in 8(a) and (b) respectively.

- (8) a. *anšis* *meera* *mar-Ø-u-kko-nniyye?*
 Anshiso.NOM market go-3MS-PF-3MS-Q
 ‘Did Anshiso go to the market?’
- b. *anšis* *meera* *mar-Ø-u-kko-nni?*
 Anshiso.NOM market go-3MS-PF-3MS-Q
 ‘Did Anshiso go to the market?’

In Hadiyya a yes-no question is derived in two ways. The most common way is morphological, by suffixing the question morpheme *-nniyye* on the verb at clause

final position of a declarative clause. It is accompanied by a rising intonation followed by a quick final fall (Stinson 1976:154). The second method of deriving a yes-no question is by applying only a rising intonation on the declarative clause (Sim 1989:176). The distribution of the question morpheme and the rising intonation is complementary; they can not appear together playing the same role.

In the derivation of yes-no questions no constituent changes its original (base generate) position and the derivation is not syntactically overt. Consider the following examples:

- (9) a. *anšis* *sayya* *bita?-Ø-aa-kko*
 Anshiso.NOM cow.ACC buy-3MS-PRPF-3MS
 ‘Anshiso has bought a cow.’
- b. *anšis* *sayya* *bita?-Ø-u-kko-nni(yye)?*
 Anshiso.NOM cow.ACC buy-3MS-PF-3MS-Q
 ‘Did Anshiso buy a cow?’
- c. *anšis* *sayya* *bita?-Ø-aa?*
 Anshiso.NOM cow.ACC buy-3MS-PRPF
 ‘Has Anshiso bought a cow?’

The yes-no questions in 9(b-c) have the same word order as the corresponding declarative clause in 9(a). The derivation of the interrogative in 9(b) involves the addition of the question morpheme *-nniyye* on the declarative clause.

Likewise the question in 9(c) has the same word order with the corresponding declarative clause except the reduction of the morpheme *-kko* (it is unacceptable to ask a yes-no question by a rising intonation using a verb in perfective aspect and inflected for the second agreement marker, such as *-kko* except in echo questions). The change to the interrogative mood is the result of the change in the pattern of the intonation; the pattern has been changed from a falling

intonation on the statement to a rising intonation on the interrogative. Therefore, a rising final intonation in Hadiyya marks interrogative mood. In fact, according to Sadock and Zwicky (1985:181), and Grice (2006:787) a rising final intonation contour is a widely observed property of yes-no questions of the world's languages.

The derivation of negative yes-no questions is similar to the derivation of positive yes-no questions. The only difference is that in negative yes-no questions the negative morpheme *-yyo* appears preceding the question morpheme as in 10(a). It is also possible to derive a negative yes-no question by posing only a rising intonation on the negative declarative sentence as in 10(b). When a rising intonation is posed on the negative declarative clause, the final vowel on the negative morpheme is almost omitted as in 10(b).

- (10) a. *anšis sayya bita?-Ø-u-kko-yyo-nni(yye)?*
 Anshiso.NOM cow.ACC buy-3MS-PF-3MS-NEG-Q
 'Did Anshiso not buy a cow?'
 b. *anšis sayya bita?-Ø-u-kko-yy?*
 Anshiso.NOM cow.ACC buy-3MS-PF-3MS-NEG
 'Did Anshiso not buy a cow?'

A positive reply, may begin with *eeyya (ooyya)* which means 'yes,' followed by the appropriate proposition, which in most cases contains only an inflected verb as in 11(a), or it is possible to drop *eeyya* 'yes' and use only a declarative proposition as in 11(b). For the negative question the most appropriate answer contains only the proposition. Consider the following positive replies for the question raised in 9(b-c):

- (11) a. *eeyya bita?-Ø-aa-kko*
 yes buy-3MS-PRPF-3MS
 'Yes, he bought it'

- b. *bita?-Ø-aa-kko*
 buy-3MS-PRPF-3MS
 ‘He bought it’

If the reply is negative mostly involves only the negative proposition as in 12(a). However, in actual natural dialogue, to disagree with some idea or action people sometimes use the negative interjection *?a?a* ‘no’ before the proposition, a proposition opposite to the proposition in the question, as in 12(b) for question 9(b-c).

- (12) a. *bita?-Ø-u-kko-yyo*
 buy-3MS-PF-3MS-NEG
 ‘He did not buy it’
 b. *?a?a bita?-Ø-u-kko-yyo*
 no buy-3MS-PF-3MS-NEG
 ‘No, he did not buy it.’

The above replies show that in Hadiyya a reply for a yes-no question, if positive, may consist *eeyya* ‘yes’, and an inflected verb; if the reply is negative it contains a negative proposition. However, in both cases the propositions mostly contain only inflected verbs¹. The following sections deal with the different types of Hadiyya yes-no questions.

2.2 Types of Yes-No Questions

2.2.1 Neutral Yes-No Questions

In Hadiyya positive yes-no questions are usually neutral with no predisposition to expect an affirmative or a negative response. Neutral yes-no questions are

¹ Like Oromo (Amanuel 2006 :21), Hadiyya has a subject referent suffix on the verb, which allows to drop the surface subject (Perrett 2000:47).

marked either by the question morpheme *-nniyye*, or by a rising intonation alone. Consider the following scenario where a possible neutral yes-no question can be asked.

Scenario 1: In the morning before leaving to work Anshiso tells Erbeeto to wash his shirt. When he comes back home in the evening he asks his younger son the following question:

(13) a. *erbeet ii šamiza aanš-Ø-u-kko-nni(yye)?*

Erbeeto.NOM my shirt.ACC wash-3MS-PF-3MS-Q

‘Did Erbeeto wash my shirt?’

b. *eeyya aanš-Ø-aa-kko*

yes wash-3MS-PRPF-3MS

‘Yes, he did wash it.’

c. *aanš-Ø-u-kko-yyo*

wash-3MS-PF-3MS-NEG

‘He did not wash it.’

(14) a. *anšiš meera mar-Ø-aa?*

Anshiso.NOM market go-3MS-PRPF

‘Did Anshiso go to the market?’ [based on example 1]

b. *eeyya mar-Ø-aa-kko*

yes go-3MS-PRPF-3MS

‘Yes, he did go.’

c. *mar-Ø-u-kko-yyo*

go-3MS-PF-3MS-NEG

‘He did not go.’

Since the questions in 13(a) and 14(a) are neutral yes-no questions, both the positive and the negative replies in 13(b-c) and 14(b-c) are equally appropriate accordingly. There is no predisposition to expect one of the responses. In most

cases in order to be neutral the question need to be positive and not uttered in a loud and stressed manner. If it contains the negative morpheme *-yyo* and is uttered in a loud and stressed manner, it shows some sort of expectation of a predisposed response. Such kinds of non-neutral yes-no questions are discussed in the following section.

2.2.2 Non-neutral Yes-No Questions

Non-neutral yes-no questions are usually posed with predisposed expectation of an affirmative or a negative response. Hadiyya non-neutral yes-no questions expect a response of confirmation. Non-neutral yes-no questions can be marked in different ways. The first types of non-neutral yes-no questions are tag questions (cf. 2.4). The second types of non-neutral yes-no questions are reduced yes-no questions. Non-neutral yes-no question can be formed by reducing some parts of the corresponding declarative clause (arguments such as subject, object, etc are dropped). The question is asked in a context where the listener first declares some information about a topic and if the speaker does not expect the information to be true, he poses the non neutral reduced yes-no question. This strategy is shown in the following examples:

(15) a. *anšis* *waččamo* *mar-Ø-aa-kko-na?e*
 Anshiso.NOM Wachchamo go-3MS-PRPF-3MS-FOC
 ‘Anshiso has gone to Wachchamo.’

b. *mar-Ø-u-kko-nni(yye)?*
 go-3MS-PF-3MS-Q
 ‘Did he go?’

(16) a. *erbeet* *kii* *šamiza* *aanš-Ø-u-kko-yyo-na?e*
 Erbeeto.NOM your shirt.ACC wash-3MS-PF-3MS-NEG-FOC
 ‘Erbeeto did not wash your shirt.’

- b. *aanš-Ø-u-kko-yyo-nni?*
 wash-3MS-PF-3MS-NEG-Q
 ‘Did he not wash it?’

The questions in 15(b) and 16(b) are formed by reducing all the nominal arguments that exist in the corresponding declarative clauses. A positive reduced question is derived from a positive statement and a negative reduced question is derived from a negative statement by suffixing the question morpheme on the verb. Non-neutral reduced yes-no questions are mostly used in actual conversation seeking for confirmation from the hearer about what has been said. Therefore, the replies, for example, for 15(b) and 16(b) are expected to be parallel to the propositions in 15(a) and 16(a) as in 17 (a-b).

- (17) a. *eeyya mar-Ø-aa-kko*
 yes go-3MS-PRPF-3MS
 ‘Yes, he has gone’
 b. *eeyya aanš-Ø-u-kko-yyo*
 yes wash-3MS-PF-3MS-NEG
 ‘Yes, he didn’t wash it’

The third type of non-neutral yes-no question is formed by suffixing the copula -*tte* on clause final verb; it is closely related to tag questions but instead of tag marker or tag it uses a rising intonation to pose question (regarding the copula see Sim 1989:234ff).

When the copula is suffixed to a declarative clause and marked by a rising intonation it poses a question of surprise which seeks for confirmation. Consider the following scenarios and the possible non-neutral yes-no questions:

Scenario 4: Erchaafe knows that her father, Anshiso will arrive at home in the afternoon and when she came back from school she asked her sister eagerly:

- (18) a. *anšis waččam-iinse waar-Ø-u-kko-tte?*
 Anshiso.NOM Wachchamo-ABL come-3MS-PF-3MS-COP
 ‘Anshiso has come from Wachchamo, isn’t it?’
- b. *eeyya waar-Ø-aa-kko* (expected)
 yes come-3MS-PRPF-3MS
 ‘Yes, he has come.’
- c. *waar-Ø-u-kko-yyo* (possible)
 come-3MS-PF-3MS-NEG
 ‘He did not come.’

Scenario 5: when Moollito woke up in the morning he observed that a good amount of unexpected rain has fallen during the night. When he met Anshiso he uttered the following:

- (19) a. *lud-hii?mo?o t’een danaam-isa ga?n-Ø-u-kko-tte?*
 last-night rain.NOM good-ADV to rain-3MS-PF-3MS-COP
 ‘A good amount of rain has fallen last night, isn’t it?’
- b. *eeyya eer-isa ga?n-Ø-aa-kko*
 yes well-ADV to rain-3MS-PRPF-3MS
 ‘Yes, it has rained well.’

The interrogatives in 18(a) and 19(a) are formed by suffixing the copula *-tte* and by applying a rising intonation on informative declarative statements. The questions show surprise and need confirming responses. Therefore, the questions have predispositions to expect affirmative responses.

2.3 Alternative Choice Questions

According to Nkemnji (1995:160) “alternative choice questions consist of a question that presents alternatives from which an answer has to be selected.” Sadock and Zwicky (1985:179) claim that alternative choice questions are

closely related to yes-no questions. The same is true for alternative choice questions of Hadiyya, that they resemble to yes-no questions; the difference is on the structure of the questions and on the types of the answers. Unlike yes-no questions in alternative choice questions the hearer is provided alternative choices, which he has to choose one. Also in alternative choice questions the question morpheme is found at clause medial position; a rising intonation is not used instead of the question morpheme.

Alternative choice questions are mostly formed with the reduced question morpheme *-nnii*, which is followed by a rising intonation with quick final fall. The final vowel on the question morpheme is lengthened. This is because of its function as disjunction. Sim (1989:296) notes that the question morpheme *-nnii* or *-nnih* appears as intrusive in normal or cleft disjunctive questions. The accompanying intonation rises with quick final fall on the first alternative identical to a yes-no question and falls on the second alternative identical to a statement.

The question morpheme always attaches to the first alternative. If the choice is between nouns the question morpheme attaches to the first noun, and if the choice is between clauses the question morpheme attaches to the final verb of the first clause. The existence of the question morpheme on the first alternative is very interesting phenomenon, because as Sim (1989:297) notes “this is a little unexpected in a strongly V-final language like Hadiyya, which the polar question marker comes sentence finally, suffixed to the final verb.” Consider the following examples:

Scenario 6: While Erbeeto was going to Wachchamo a group of gangs caught him and when he tried to defend him self, one of the gangs shouted at him:

- (20) *kii diinate-nnii kii fore doʔil-i-t-oo?*
 your.NOM money.ACC-Q your life.ACC chose-EP-2SG-IPFV
 ‘Which do you prefer your money or your life?’

It is observable from (20) that the question morpheme attaches to the most right position of the first alternative. In alternative choice questions it is possible to repeat the identical portions, but not necessary. For example the question in (20) can have the following form:

- (21) *kii diinate doʔil-i-t-oo-nnii kii fore doʔil-i-t-oo?*
 your.NOM money.ACC chose-EP-2SG-IPFV-Q your life.ACC chose-EP-2SG-IPFV
 ‘Do you prefer your money or do you prefer your life?’

What is different in these constructions is that since the choice is between clauses the question morpheme and the accompanying rising intonation shifted from the noun to the verb; the question morpheme always appears between the two clauses. In alternative choice questions the question morpheme *-nnii* plays double functions as the question morpheme and as disjunction (i.e. or). Here are more examples of alternative choice questions:

Scenario 7: Anshiso and Moollitto intended to meet in the afternoon. Hence, Moollitto wants to know where Anshiso will wait for him and asks:

- (22) *mine-nne-nnii abuulli beyyo-nne ikk-oo?*
 house-LOC-Q field place-LOC exist.2SG-IPFV
 ‘Will you be at home or in the field?’

- (23) *erbeeto-tte-nnii anšiso-tte waččamo mar-Ø-oo-kko-k?*
 Erbeeto-COP-Q Anshiso-COP wachchamo go-3MS-IPFV-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
 ‘Is it Erbeetto or Anshiso that will go to wachamo?’ [based on Q 11]

Note that if the alternatives are proper nouns, which do not intrinsically show masculine gender, can attach the copula *-tte*, irrespective of the referent gender as in (23).

2.4 Tag Interrogatives

Jacobson (1978:326) states that “[t]he tag is an explicit invitation to the hearer to confirm what the speaker believes to be true ...” Regarding the structure of English tag questions Culicover (1976:131) explains that tag question contains two parts, the tag and the main clause. One can observe that some of Hadiyya tag question types are similar to English tags and some are different. Structurally Hadiyya tag interrogatives can be classified into three types. These are tag interrogatives formed by *-lla*, tag interrogatives on declaratives and tag interrogatives on imperatives. Functionally tag interrogatives formed by *-lla* and tag interrogatives on declaratives are confirmative; tag interrogatives on imperatives strengthen command. Hence, tag questions are non-neutral questions.

2.4.1 Tag Interrogatives Formed by *-lla*

According to Sim (1985:21) the form *-lla* is the tag question marker, and the question presupposes a positive answer. Mostly tag questions have negative forms which are derived using the morpheme *-lla* followed by the negative marker *-yyo*, and the question morpheme *-nniyye* or a rising intonation. Such kinds of questions seek for confirmation or agreement (verbal or non verbal agreement). Consider the following scenarios where a possible tag question can be used.

Scenario 8: In the morning Anshiso is in a hurry to go to Wachchamo, but when he checks his pocket he does not find his money. Hence, he asks his brother:

(24) a. *kaa ii diinate mass-i-t-aa-tto-lla-yyo-nni?*
2SG.VOC 1SG.GEN money.ACC take-EP-2SG-PRPF-2SG-TAG-NEG-Q
‘You have taken my money, haven’t you?’

b. *mass-Ø-aa-mmo* (expected answer)

take-1SG-PRPF-1SG

‘I have taken it.’

c. *mass-Ø-u-mmo-yyo* (possible answer)

take-1SG-PF-1SG-NEG

‘I did not take it.’

Scenario 9: Anshiso and his older son are arguing on a certain issue. Anshiso’s wife is observing the situation patiently; finally she got out of control and shouts on her son. Here a submissive response is needed.

(25) *kaa kii-anni-na macc’eessim saabb-Ø-aa-tto-lla-yyo-nni?*

2SG.VOC your-father-DAT to hear refuse-2SG-PRPF-2SG-TAG-NEG-Q

‘You have refused to listen to your father, isn’t it?’

Both of the above questions can be uttered with a loud and stressed manner, which show strong desire or expectation of confirmation. However, the absence of the supra-segmental features does not make the questions neutral.

2.4.2 Tag Interrogatives on Declaratives

Tag interrogatives on declaratives are formed from two types of sentences: a normal or a cleft declarative sentence and a yes-no interrogative sentence. The declarative can be positive or negative, focused or unfocused. The interrogative is mostly a non-neutral reduced yes-no question, which is always formed based on the main verb in the declarative, having opposite value. The tag is posed in a context where the listener shows some doubt on the truth of the proposition. Hence, the question is asked in order to confirm that the proposition is true. Consider the following examples which are based on question 9 and 15 respectively.

- (26) a. *anšis sayya bita?-Ø-aa-kko. bita?-Ø-u-kko-yyo-nni?*
 Anshiso.NOM cow.ACC buy-3MS-PRPF-3MS buy-3MS-PF-3MS-NEG-Q
 ‘Anshiso has bought a cow, didn’t he?’
- b. *anšis waččamo mar-Ø-aa-kko-na?e. mar-Ø-u-kko-yyo-nni?*
 Anshiso.NOM Wachchamo go-3MS-PRPF-3MS-FOC go-3MS-PF-3MS-NEG-Q
 ‘Anshiso has gone to Wachchamo, didn’t he?’

The tag questions in 26(a-b) are constructed from unfocused and focused declarative sentences and reduced negative yes-no questions respectively. The focused declarative implies the speakers confidence on the truth of the proposition. The questions are asked to confirm that the propositions are true. The expected responses are similar to the propositions, and mostly contain a yes/no answer followed by the main verb in the declarative. Hence, tag interrogative on declaratives is non-neutral. It can be observed from the examples that the tag is always opposite to the proposition in the declarative, in that if the proposition is positive then the tag will be negative and vice versa.

2.4.3 Tag Interrogatives on Imperatives

Although tag interrogatives on imperatives are formally interrogatives, functionally they are imperatives that intend to increase the strength of the command; the questions do not necessarily need verbal response. The derivation of tag interrogatives on imperatives is similar to the derivation of tag interrogatives on declaratives. It is formed from an imperative sentence and mostly a reduced yes-no question, which can be followed by a second person vocative pronoun. The interrogative is accompanied by a rising intonation with a quick final fall. The tag is asked in the context where the listener doesn’t react actively to the command, and the purpose is to add extra pressure on the listener. Consider the following examples:

(27) a. *kaa meera mar-Ø-e! mat-t-oo-yyo-nni kaa?*
 2MS.VOC market go-2SG-IMP go-2SG-IPFV-NEG-Q 2MS.VOC
 ‘Go to the market, don’t you?’

b. *taa daaj-ii wo?o eeb-Ø-e. eeb-Ø-oo-yyo-nni taa?*
 2FS.VOC spring-from water.ACC bring-2SG-IMP bring-2SG-IPFV-NEG-Q 2FS.VOC
 ‘Bring water from the spring, don’t you?’

The first parts in the above examples are imperative sentences marked by the imperative marker *-e* (see Tadesse 2007:94). The tag is formed based on the main verb in the imperative followed by the negative and interrogative markers. The vocative pronoun which is on the tag final gives extra power to the command.

Tag interrogatives can also be formed based on negative imperatives. According to Tadesse (2007:94), negative imperatives suffix *-titte* in singular forms, and *-takkotte* in plural forms. Semantically in addition to the command the tag expresses a need for agreement (or obedience). The tag on negative imperatives is positive and contains the present continuous marker *-lla*. Note that the form *-lla* stands for two morphemes, the first is the tag marker as in 24(a) and the other is the progressive marker as in (28); the two morphemes are differentiated by use. Consider the following examples.

(28) *kaa ee k’ure mass-i-titte. mass-i-t-oo-lla-nni(yye)?*
 2SG.VOC that pot.ACC take-EP-2SG-IMP-NEG take-EP-2SG-IPFV-PPROG-Q
 ‘Do not take that pot, do you?’

From the above examples we can observe that a positive imperative is followed by a negative tag, and vice versa. Functionally both types of tags convey command; however, the negative tag imperative additionally seeks for agreement.

So far we have seen that Hadiyya has three types of tag interrogatives; these are tag interrogatives formed by *-lla*, tag interrogatives on declaratives and tag interrogatives on imperatives. Functionally tag interrogatives formed by *-lla* and tag interrogatives on declaratives are confirmative, and tag interrogatives on imperatives pose extra power to the command.

To sum up I can mention some significant characteristics of tag questions identified in the above discussion. These characteristics of tag questions are also observed in English (Culicover 1976:133), and in the following I use the words of Culicover with some adjustments and additional characteristics. There can be at most one instance of negation shared between the tag and the main clause; the verb in the tag is identical to the one in the main clause; there must be an affix in the tag that agrees with the subject of the rest of the sentence in person, number and (gender); the tag should be marked either by the question morpheme or a rising intonation.

2.5 The Role of Intonation

According to Ultan (1978:218) and Grice (2006:786) intonation plays a great role in introducing questions. Ultan claims that for most languages terminal falling intonation contour expresses an attitude of finality or conclusiveness. On the other hand terminal rising contour shows questioning, suspension, incompleteness, etc. Ultan points out that intonation on questions is often accompanied by other question markers. Grice also explains that polar questions are often marked with a final rise intonation.

Hadiyya employs intonation in its syntax to distinguish questions from declarative sentence. This phenomenon is also observed in Oromo (Amanuel 2006) and Awngi (Aregawi 2009). According to my analysis the intonation contour in Hadiyya can be classified into two: a falling and a rising contour. If a

statement is accompanied by a final falling intonation, then it indicates that the statement is a declarative sentence. In the following examples as well as in chapter four I use the symbols ↗ to indicate final rising intonation and ↘ to indicate a final falling intonation. Consider the following example.

- (29) *anšis* *mine* *bita?-Ø-aa-kko* ↘
 Anshiso.NOM house.ACC buy-3MS-PRPF-3MS
 ‘Anshiso has bought a house.’

The above sentence is uttered with a final falling intonation which indicates an attitude of finality. This shows that the sentence is a declarative sentence. The second category contains a final rising intonation. This is mostly associated to questions. As mentioned in the previous sections a rising intonation in Hadiyya mostly indicates question. Rising intonation can be classified into three. These are a rise with a quick final fall, a final rise and a lengthened final rise. Yes-no questions formed using the question morpheme *-nni(yye)* are accompanied by a rising intonation followed by a quick final fall (Stinson1976:154) as in (30).

- (30) *anšis* *mine* *bita?-Ø-u-kko-nni(yye)?*
 Anshiso.NOM house.ACC buy-3MS-PF-3MS-Q
 ‘Did Anshiso buy a house?’

Yes-no questions can also be formed using a final rising intonation as in (31).

- (31) *anšis* *mine* *bita?-Ø-aa?* ↗
 Anshiso.NOM house.ACC buy-3MS-PRPF
 ‘Has Anshiso bought a house?’

A lengthened final rising intonation is used in echo questions as in 32(b).

(32) a. *anšis* *mine* *bita?-Ø-aa-kko* ↘
Anshiso.NOM house.ACC buy-3MS-PRPF-3MS
'Anshiso has bought a house.'

b. *anšis* *mine* *bita?-Ø-aa-kko?* ↗
Anshiso.NOM house.ACC buy-3MS-PRPF-3MS
'Anshiso has bought a house?'

In the above examples the final rising intonation indicates that the utterances are questions. A rising intonation also associates with the first alternatives of alternative choice questions, tag questions and wh-questions.

CHAPTER THREE

3. CONTENT INTERROGATIVES

In the previous chapter I described one of the two canonical question types of Hadiyya, namely yes-no questions. I also tried to go through alternative choice questions, which are closely related to yes-no questions, and finally we have seen tag questions.

Yes-no questions and tag questions are marked either by the question morpheme or a rising intonation; alternative choice questions are marked by the question morpheme. These questions do not seek for elaborated answers. The answers could be simple yes or no (possibly followed by a positive or negative proposition), selecting one choice from the given alternatives, or confirming or denying a proposition. In the derivation of the above type questions there is no word order change and independent question words do not occur. In the following sections we will see the second canonical question types in Hadiyya, content questions.

Wh-questions or content questions are named after the letters 'wh' found in most of the English wh-interrogatives (Carnie 2003:282, Radford 2004:484). Carnie explains that the responses to content question are different from the responses given to yes-no questions; the responses to content question must be informative phrases. Similarly Jacobson (1978:320) explains that a speaker of content question seeks information about one or more variables.

3.1 General Description of Content Interrogatives

Hadiyya content interrogatives are formed using one of the interrogative pronouns. Five of these are basic and the remaining are their derivatives. The pronouns are:

(33) <i>ayy</i>	‘who’	<i>meʔi</i>	‘how many’
<i>maha</i>	‘what’	<i>hink-ide</i>	‘how’
<i>hinka</i>	‘which’	<i>hink ammane</i>	‘which time /when’
<i>hanno</i>	‘where’	<i>mah-ina</i>	‘why’

There are also some alternative wh-pronouns. These are *maruččo* and *maruwwa* for ‘what’, *hink balla* for ‘when’, *hinkazn* for ‘how-much’.

Tadesse (2007:75) lists all the above wh-words except *meʔi*. However, Hudson (1976:259) and my analysis shows its existence. Hudson claims that the interrogative pronouns of Hadiyya are *ayye* ‘who?’, *maha* ‘what?’, *hanno* ‘where?’, *hinka* ‘how?’, and *meʔi* ‘how many’. He does not include *mah-ina* ‘why’, *hink-ide* ‘how’ and *hink ammane* ‘which time’. However, he explains that “the word for ‘why’ in all five languages is the word for ‘what’ plus the dative suffix (as in Amharic lə-min ‘for what’, ‘why’). In Hadiyya, for ‘when,’ I recorded the compound expressions ‘what-time’ and ‘how-time’.”²

According to Tadesse (2007:75) and my analysis, Hudson’s ‘how’ *hinka* should be translated ‘which’, and the compound *hink ammane* should be translated ‘which-time’ rather than ‘what-time’; ‘what-time’ is not widely used as temporal pronoun; the common temporal pronouns are *hink ammane* ‘which time’, which he terms as ‘how-time’, and *hink balla* ‘which day’. Hudson’s *ayye* ‘who’ is not a simple pronoun, rather it is a copular construction because it stands for ‘who is it?’ without the addition of any other copula. This is because of the final vowel which I suggest is a copula (see 3.2.1).

² The five languages Hudson refers here are the Highland East Cushitic Languages. See Abebe et al. (1985) for farther discussion.

The content interrogatives formed by the above pronouns seek for information about the identity of participants, the spatial and temporal location of an event, the nature, the reason, the manner, the instrument and some more information about an action, an event or a state expressed in a sentence. Baye (2000:343ff) claims that the target phrases of the interrogative pronouns can be categorized into four groups. These are the doer (the subject), the patient (the complement) the modifier (the attributive) and specifier (the determiner). Hadiyya uses only simple wh-questions; multiple wh-questions are not natural in the language.

Here is a sentence which contains most of the above phrase types; the following content interrogatives target each of these constituents. In actual conversation the responses to these questions mostly contain only the specific information needed.

- (34) *anšis beballa meer-iinse sayya bita?-Ø-aa-kko.*
 Ansiso.NOM yesterday market-ABL cow.ACC buy-3MS-PRPF-3MS
 ‘Yesterday Anshiso has bought a cow from the market.’

The forthcoming questions may target the noun phrases, *anšis* and *sayya*, the adverbial phrases, *beballa* and *meeriinse* or the verb phrases, *meeriinse sayya bita?aakko*. Notice that in Hadiyya content interrogatives are mostly formed using cleft constructions (fore example 35 (a, c and d) are cleft). Consider the following examples:

- (35) a. *ayye-tte beballa meer-iinse sayya bita?-Ø-u-kko-k?*
 who.NOM-COP yesterday market-ABL cow.ACC buy-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
 ‘Who is it that bought a cow from the market yesterday?’
- b. *anšis beballa meer-iinse maha bita?-Ø-u-kko?*
 Anshiso.NOM yesterday market-ABL what.ACC buy-3MS-PF-3MS
 ‘What did Anshiso buy from the market yesterday?’

- c. *anšis hink balla meer-iinse sayya bita?-Ø-u-kko-k?*
 Anshiso.NOM which day market-ABL cow.Acc buy-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
 ‘When is it that Anshiso bought a cow from the market?’
- d. *anšis beballa hann-iinse sayya bita?-Ø-u-kko-k?*
 Anshiso.NOM yesterday where-ABL cow.Acc buy-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
 ‘From where is it that Anshiso bought a cow yesterday?’
- e. *anšis beball ma(ha) iss-Ø-u-kko?*
 Anshiso.NOM yesterday what do-3MS-PF-3MS
 ‘What did Anshiso do yesterday?’

The interrogative pronouns in 35 (a-b) ask about the nominal phrases, the doer and the patient respectively. The appropriate answers for 35(a-b) are nominal phrases. The targets in 35 (c-d) are adverbial phrases that refer to temporal and spatial locations respectively. The question in 35(e) asks about the whole verb phrase; here the interrogative pronoun is accompanied by the verb *issukko* ‘did’, which is used to ask about the action, and can appear instead of any action verb. It is similar to the Amharic verb *adərrəgə* ‘did’, which Baye (2000:345) terms as interrogative verb. Here I want to raise some points about the verbs used with the interrogative pronouns.

The verbs are *issukko* ‘did’, *yukko* ‘verb of saying’ *ihukko* ‘verb of event and state’ and *he?ukko* (*yokko*) ‘verb of existence’. Similar to the Amharic *adərrəgə* ‘did’ (Baye 2000:345), *issuko* ‘did’ can substitute any action verb; also *yukko*, *he?ukko* and *ihukko* can appear in the appropriate contexts. Consider the following examples:

- (36) a. *kabeeč leh-Ø-u-kko*
 leopard.NOM die-3MS-PF-3MS
 ‘The leopard died.’
- b. *kabeeč ma(ha) ih-Ø-u-kko?*
 leopard.NOM what be-3MS-PF-3MS
 ‘What happened to the leopard?’

- (37) a. *anšis* *sayya* *bita?-Ø-aa-mmo* *y-Ø-aa-kko*
 Ansiso.Nom cow.Acc buy-1SG-PRPF-1P say-3MS-PRPF-3MS
 ‘Anshiso said I have bought a cow.’
- b. *anšis* *ma(ha)* *y-Ø-u-kko?*
 Ansiso.NOM what say-3MS-PF-3MS
 ‘What did Anshiso say?’
- (38) a. *anšis* *mine* *he?-Ø-u-kko*
 Anshiso.NOM house exist-3MS-PF-3MS
 ‘Anshiso was in the house.’
- b. *anšis* *hanno* *he?-Ø-u-kko?*
 Anshiso.NOM were exist-3MS-PF-3MS
 ‘Where was Anshiso?’

In the above examples the combination of the interrogative pronouns and the verbs are used to ask about the state of the referent in 36(b), what is said in 37(b), and the spatial location in 38(b).

The discussion indicates that we can construct content interrogatives using interrogative pronouns and verbs. The interrogative pronouns ask about the doer of an action, the patient, the modifier and the specifier; the replies for these questions contain noun phrases or adverbial phrases. Content interrogatives that target action, event, state etc. contain verbs.

As it is pointed out above, content interrogatives can be classified based on the information they seek. Therefore, in the following sections they are described in this manner.

3.2 Classification of Content Interrogatives

3.2.1 Identity Interrogatives

The interrogative pronouns *ayy* ‘who’ and *maha* ‘what’ are used to enquire about the identity of the participant in question. These pronouns can refer to a subject or object noun. The participant interrogated by *ayy* is mostly a human referent; *ayy* is also used for asking name as in 39(c). The participant asked by *maha* is mostly a non human animate or non animate referent. Consider the following examples:

- (39) a. *ayy sayya bicc'-i-nne app'is-Ø-u-kko?*
who.NOM cow.ACC stick-EP-INS beat-3MS-PF-3MS
‘Who beat the cow with stick?’ [Sim 1989:177, modified]
- b. *kuk maha?*
this.NOM what
‘What is this?’
- c. *ki sum ayye-tte?*
your name.NOM who-COP
‘What is your name?’

In the examples the specific information sought are the identity of the referents. The appropriate response for 39(a) is mostly a human participant as in 40(a) and non human participant for 39(b) as in 40(b), and name of the referent for 39(c) as in 40(c). Consider the following replies for the above questions.

- (40) a. *erbeeto-tte sayya app'is-Ø-u-kko-k*
Erbeeto.CIT-COP cow.ACC beat-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
‘It is Erbeeto who did beat the cow.’
- b. *kabeeččo*
leopard.CIT
‘It is leopard.’

c. *ii sum ercc'afe-tte*
 my name.NOM Erchchafe-COP
 'My name is Erchchafe.'

However, *maha* 'what' can be used for human participants when the status of the participant is unknown or for some pragmatic purposes, such as when the speaker aims to undermine the referent. In this context the most appropriate form is *maruččo* 'what (thing)'. In actual conversation it is possible to mention only the identity of the referent in question, and delete all the other parts of the response.

The determiner in a noun phrase can be substituted by *hinka* 'which', that acts as wh-determiner. As it is expressed in the following sections *hinka* can be the base for the formation of other interrogative pronouns. Consider the following examples:

- (41) a. *anšis hinka sayya beballa meer-iinse*
 Ansiso.NOM which cow.ACC yesterday market-ABL
bita?-Ø-u-kko-k
 buy-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
 'Which cow is it that Anshiso bought yesterday from the market?'
- b. *ee k'adalla sayya anšis bita?-Ø-u-kko-k*
 that white cow.ACC Ansiso.NOM buy-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
 'It is that white cow that Anshiso bought.'

In the above example *hinka* appears as determiner of the object noun *sayya* 'cow' substituting the determiner phrase *ee k'adalla* 'that white', which is found in 41(b). The wh-phrases in the above example may appear in different positions. However, wh-fronting shows relative focus prominence. Consider the following examples:

- (42) a. *ayye-tte* *kabeeččo* *ših-Ø-u-kko-k*
 who.NOM-COP leopard.ACC kill-3MS-PF-NMLZ.NOM
 ‘Who is it that killed the leopard?’
- b. *kabeeččo* *ših-Ø-u-kko-k* *ayye-tte?*
 leopard.ACC kill-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM who.NOM-COP
 ‘Who is it that killed the leopard?’

Since Hadiyya is an SOV language, the subject gets focus by virtue of its position in a normal sentence as in 42(a). In 42(b) the pronoun which refers to the subject has moved to clause final position and the verb phrase is fronted in the cleft construction, which indicates that the verb phrase is relatively prominent in terms of focus.

Both *ayy* ‘who’ and *maha* ‘what’ can be used as indefinite pronouns. Similar to Amharic (Girma 2005a:85), in Hadiyya wh-words need a morphological element in order to be used as indefinite pronouns. Girma explains that in Amharic, “[t]he enclitic *m*, a negative polarity element (cf. Demeke 2003, ch.9), is the one, which is added to the *wh*-words to form quantifiers.” In Hadiyya the morphological element, which is added to the wh-words to form indefinite pronouns, is similar to the Amharic enclitic *m*, both in form and function. Consider the following examples:

- (43) a. *ayye-tte* *mine* *ag-Ø-u-kko-k?*
 who-NOM-COP house enter-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
 ‘Who is it that entered the house?’
- b. *ayyi-m* *ag-Ø-u-kko-yyo*
 who.NOM-NEG enter-3MS-PF-3MS-NEG
 ‘No one entered the house.’

- (44) a. *maha* *ub-Ø-u-kko-k?*
 what fall-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
 ‘What is it that fallen down?’

- b. *mahi-m ub-Ø-u-kko-yyo/ matluwwi-m ub-Ø-u-kko-yyo*
 what-NOM-NEG fall-3MS-PF-3MS-NEG/ one.thing-NEG fall-3MS-PF-3MS-NEG
 ‘Nothing has fallen down.’

The examples in 43(b) and 44(b) show that the enclitic *-m*, appear as negative polarity element, and the indefinite pronouns that are formed using this element have a negative value. The enclitic *-m* can be suffixed to some other wh-words being a negative polarity element.

3.2.2 Temporal Interrogatives

The temporal interrogative is used to question about the time of an event or an action expressed in a clause. Temporal interrogatives are formed using *hink ammane* ‘which time’ or *hink balla* ‘which day’. These complex temporal pronouns are formed by combining the wh-word *hinka* ‘which’ and the temporal nouns *ammane* ‘time’ or *balla* ‘day’. In Hadiyya there is no simple independent temporal wh-word.

hink ammane is used to ask about the specific temporal location of an event or an action. On the other hand *hink balla* is used to ask about the date or the section of a day an action or an event happened. However, *hink ammane* seems to have a wider scope, and it is the most appropriate pronoun to ask about any time in the year. Consider the following examples:

- (45) a. *erbeet hink balla kabeeččo ših-Ø-u-kko-k?*
 Erbeeto.NOM which-day leopard.ACC kill-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
 ‘In which day is it that Erbeeto killed the leopard?’
- b. *erbeet beballa kabeeččo ših-Ø-u-kko-k*
 Erbeeto.NOM yesterday leopard.ACC kill-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
 ‘It is yesterday that Erbeeto killed the leopard.’

- (46) a. *anšis hink-ammane ka waša kin*
 Anshiso.NOM which-time this story.ACC 2SG.DAT
kur-Ø-u-kko-k?
 tell-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
 ‘In which time is it that Anshiso told you this story?’
- b. *anšis ka balla dara ka waša iin*
 Anshiso.NOM this day morning this story.ACC 1SG.DAT
kur-Ø-u-kko-k
 tell-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
 ‘It is in this morning that Anshiso told me this story.’
- (47) a. *hink-balla waat-t-oo-tto?*
 which-day come-2SG-IPFV-2SG
 ‘When will you come?’
- b. *soodo waar-Ø-oo-mmo*
 tomorrow come-1SG-IPFV-1P
 ‘I will come tomorrow.’

As the examples show the temporal pronouns are used to ask about the temporal location of an action or an event expressed in the sentences. In actual conversation the response may contain only the specific information, such as *beballa* in 45(b), *ka balla dara* in 46(b), and *soodo* in 47(b), because all the other information is assumed to be known.

The wh-words can be found in different places out of their original (base generate) position; the same condition is possible to the specific temporal information. The original position of the adverbial phrase is sentence medial position. In the above examples the temporal pronoun can appear in sentence initial or final positions.

The above examples show that if the *wh*-word is suffixed by the locative or ablative markers, or the copula, then the response may also contain these morphemes. The locative pronoun is mostly found before the verb.

3.2.4 Manner Interrogatives

Manner interrogatives are formed using the manner pronoun *hink-ide* ‘how’, which is formed from *hinka* ‘which’ and the postposition *-ide*. Consider the following examples:

(51) *at hinkide ataakkaana sat-t-oo-tto-k?*
 2SG.NOM how ataakkaana.ACC make-2SG-IPFV-2SG-NMLZ.NOM
 ‘How is it that you make attaakkana?’

(52) a. *erbeet hinkid iss-Ø-a-tte kabeččo ših-Ø-u-kko-k?*
 Erbeeto.NOM how did-3MS-CVB-COP leopard.ACC kill-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
 ‘How is it that Erbeeto killed the leopard?’

b. *t’ob-Ø-a bagad-i k’asa-Ø-tte ših-Ø-u-kko-k?*
 jump-3MS-CVB spear-INS strike.CVB-3MS-COP kill-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
 ‘He jumped to the leopard and struck with spear and killed him.’

The manner interrogatives in the examples ask about the way the actions are performed. The verb *issa* ‘does’ can appear with the manner interrogative in order to question the action as in (52). The unmarked position of the manner pronoun is sentence medial position. *hinkide* can also be used to ask reason for an action or event (See section 3.2.7).

3.3.5 Instrumental Interrogatives

Instrumental interrogatives are formed using the compound pronoun *mah-inne* ‘with/by what’, which asks about the instrument used to perform an action. It is

formed from *maha* ‘what’ and the postposition *-inne*, which gives the sense of ‘by or with’. The postposition is instrumental case marker. *mah-inne* suffixes the copula *-tte* in cleft construction. Consider the following examples:

- (53) a. *erbeet mah-inne-tte kabeččo ših-Ø-u-kko-k?*
 Erbeeto.NOM what-INS-COP leopard.ACC kill-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
 ‘With what is it that Erbeeto killed the leopard?’
- b. *bagad-inne-tte kabeččo ših-Ø-u-kko-k*
 spear-INS-COP leopard.ACC kill-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
 ‘It is with spear that he killed the leopard.’
- (54) a. *erbeet waččamo mah-inne mar-Ø-oo-kko?*
 Erbeeto.NOM Wachchamo what-INS go-3MS-IPFV-3MS
 ‘By what will Erbeeto go to Wachchamo?’
- b. *makinn-inne mar-Ø-oo-kko*
 car-INS go-3MS-IPFV-3MS
 ‘He will go by car.’

The specific information sought is the instrument by which the action is performed or planned to be performed. Parallel to the question, in the response the specific information (the instrument) is suffixed by the instrument marker. In cleft constructions the copula *-tte* appears next to the instrument marker. The original position of the instrumental wh-element is sentence medial position. However, it can be found in sentence initial and final positions as well for different purposes.

3.2.6 Numeral Interrogatives

In questions about the number or quantity of things the interrogative pronouns *meʔi* ‘how many’ and *hinkaʔn* ‘how much’ occur before the referent in question as wh-quantifiers. *meʔi* is used for countable nouns, and *hinkaʔn* is mostly used

for un countable nouns. However, *hinkaʔn* can be used for a big number or plural countable nouns. Consider the following examples:

- (55) a. *meʔi* *mann* *hočč-ina* *mar-Ø-u-kko?*
 how-many people.NOM hunting-DAT go-3MS-PF-3MS
 ‘How many people did go to hunting?’
 b. *tom mann* *hočč-ina* *mar-Ø-aa-kko*
 ten people.NOM hunting-DAT go-3MS-PRPF-3MS
 ‘Ten men went for hunting.’

- (56) a. *itt'en* *hinkaʔn* *arasa* *uww-i-t-i-tto?*
 3MS.DAT how-much wheat.ACC give-EP-2SG-PF-2SG
 ‘How much wheat did you give him?’
 b. *mat* *kuntalla* *uww-Ø-aa-mmo*
 one quintal give-1SG-PRPF-1SG
 ‘I have given one quintal.’

As the examples show, the countable noun *mann* ‘people’ in 55(a) is interrogated by *meʔi* ‘how many’, and the uncountable noun *arasa* ‘wheat’ is interrogated by *hinkaʔn* ‘how much’ in 56(a). *hinkaʔn* can be used to quantify plural countable nouns. Consider the following example:

- (57) *erbeet* *hinkaʔn* *ooss-ina-tte* *hesso* *kur-Ø-u-kko-k*
 Erbeeto.NOM how-many boys-DAT-COP story.ACC tell-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
 ‘To how many boys is it that Erbeeto told story?’

The example shows that *hinkaʔn* ‘how-much’ can be used to quantify plural countable nouns like *oosso* ‘boys’. Therefore, the two wh-words *meʔi* and *hinkaʔn* can appear as numeral quantifiers before the quantified words.

3.2.7 Reason Interrogatives

Reason interrogatives are used to ask for the reason of an action which happened or is going to happen. The common *wh*-word used to ask for reason is *mah-ina*. However, as indicated in 3.2.4 the pronoun used for manner interrogation can be used to ask reason. Consider the following examples:

- (58) a. *erbeet mah-ina waččam mar-Ø-u-kko-k?*
Erbeeto.NOM what-DAT Wachchamo go-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
'Why is it that Erbeeto went to wachchamo?'
b. *itt'i-beš-uwwi edam-Ø-ena-tte mar-Ø-u-kko-k*
2SG.NOM.GEN-friend-PL meet-2SG-PURP-COP go-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
'It is to meet his friends that he went to Wachchamo.'
- (59) a. *kitaaba mahina mass-i-t-i-tto?*
book.ACC why.for take-EP-2SG-PF-2SG
'Why did you take the book?'
b. *k'ananaa?-Ø-ena mass-Ø-u-mmo-k*
read-1SG-PURP read-1SG-PF-1P-NMLZ.NOM
'It is to read it that I took.'
- (60) *hinkide waat-t-i-tto?*
how come-2SG-PF-2SG
'How/why did you come?'

As the examples show reason for an action can be asked using *mahina* 'why' or *hinkide* 'how'. The use of *hinkide* 'how' shows surprise in addition to reason.

In the *wh*-questions described so far focus is not treated well. In content interrogatives focus can be expressed in different ways. The following section deals with focus in content interrogatives.

3.3 Focus in Content Interrogatives

Baye (2000:423ff), Gast (2006:518) and Miller (2006:511) explain that a focused element in a sentence can be shown using different devices. Some of these devices are: uttering the element first, expressing it with a high pitch, marking it by a specific morpheme or using cleft constructions. Focus, in content interrogatives can be shown by a cleft construction, which is marked by the nominalizer *-k*. In *wh*-cleft constructions the pronoun can be suffixed by the copula *-tte*. Focus can also be shown by the suffix *-du*, especially in actual conversation. Focus can be observed both in the question and the answer.

Hadiyya is an SOV and a *wh*-in situ language. However, *wh*-movement (fronting) is allowed for the purpose of relative focus prominence, mostly in cleft constructions. In content interrogatives if the referent in question has got contrastive focus, then the *wh*-word that refers to the focused element moves to sentence initial position. However, it does not mean that a focused *wh*-element is always fronted, because the *wh*-element can be contrastively focused while it is in situ. Consider the following examples (cf. example 35).

(61)

- a. *ayye-tte* *beballa* *meer-iinse* *sayya* *bita?-Ø-u-kko-k?*
who.NOM-COP yesterday market-ABL cow.ACC buy-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
‘Who is it that bought a cow from the market yesterday?’
- b. *anšis* *beballa* *mah-du* *meer-iinse* *bita?-Ø-u-kko-k?*
Anshiso.NOM yesterday what.ACC-FOC market-ABL buy-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
‘What is it that Anshiso bought from the market yesterday?’
- c. *anšis* *hink balla* *meer-iinse* *sayya* *bita?-Ø-u-kko-k?*
Anshiso.NOM which-day market-ABL cow.ACC buy-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
‘When is it that Anshiso bought a cow from the market?’
- d. *hann-iinse-tte* *anšis* *beballa* *sayya* *bita?-Ø-u-kko-k?*
where-ABL-COP Anshiso.NOM yesterday cow.ACC buy-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
‘Where is it from that Anshiso bought a cow yesterday?’

In the above wh-questions in addition to clefting, the wh-phrases are marked for focus by suffixing the morpheme *-du* in (b) and also by wh-fronting as in (d). Therefore, focus in content interrogatives can be shown mainly by cleft construction. In cleft constructions contrastive focus can be shown by wh-fronting or by suffixing *-du*.

3.4 Wh-movement

Although Hadiyya is a wh-in situ language, wh-movement does not make a given wh-interrogative ungrammatical. In (cf. examples 35(a-e)) the interrogative pronouns are found in situ position where the constituents in question can be found. So similar to Oromo (Baye 1987:69), Hadiyya doesn't have wh-movement in its syntax (Sim 1989). However, as it is expressed in the previous section wh-fronting in cleft constructions is possible to show contrastive focus prominence. Therefore, if a wh-element is fronted it implies that the referent in question is the most prominent in terms of focus. In most cases wh-movement occurs when there is an overt or covert copular construction in the sentence. Consider the following examples:

- (62) a. *maruččo at bita?-l-i-tto-k?*
 what.ACC 1SG.NOM buy-2SG-PF-2SG-NMLZ.NOM
 'What is it that you bought?'
- b. *hink balla anšis sayya bita?-Ø-u-kko-k?*
 which-day Anshiso.NOM cow.ACC buy-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
 'In which day is it that Anshiso bought a cow?'
- c. *hink mančo gamaanč?*
 which man.CIT thief.NOM
 'Which man is a thief?' [Sim 1989:238]

In the above examples *maruččo* in (a), *hink balla* in (b) and *hink mančo* in (c) are fronted. The fronting implies that the wh-elements are prominently focused constituents.

Regarding Amharic Girma (2005b:129) claims that “[t]he in situ wh-questions are “focus-neutral”, where as wh-questions with fronted wh-phrases are marked for focus.” In the same way the in situ wh-questions are “focus-neutral” in Hadiyya unless they are marked by another focus marking device. Therefore, wh-phrases can be fronted for the purpose of contrastive focus reading. On the other hand as it is expressed above like Oromo (Amanuel 2006:21), Hadiyya has a subject referent suffix on the verb, which allows to drop the surface subject without making the sentence ungrammatical (Perrett 2000:47). In these constructions the wh-element can appear in a sentence initial position. However, this does not show wh-fronting. Consider the following example:

(63) *hink balla waat-t-oo-tto?*
 which day come-2SG-IPFV-2SG
 ‘Which day will you come?’ [Sim 1989:177]

In the example a second person subject (*at* ‘you’), which is assumed to appear at the sentence initial position is deleted, because it is denoted by a subject referent suffix on the verb. Therefore, this construction does not exactly show wh-fronting.

3.5 The Morphology of Wh-words

In the previous sections I have provided a general description of wh-words and their function in content interrogatives. The basic wh-words are *ayy* ‘who’, *maha* ‘what’, *hinka* ‘which’, *hanno* ‘where’, and *me?i* ‘how many’. The derivatives of these are *hink ammane* ‘which time’ *hink balla* ‘which day’, *hinka?n* ‘how much’, *hinkide* ‘how’ and *mahina* ‘why’.

The above wh-words have inflectional and derivational properties. Similar to nouns they inflect for case and number. Some of the basic wh-words can also be the base for the derivation of other wh-words. Before dealing with these

properties let me briefly point out some of the differences between nouns and wh-words in the case and number marking systems.

Apart from the wide similarities between nouns and wh-words there appear some differences on the case and number marking morphemes. The wh-word *ayy* does not have terminal vowel; therefore, accusative form lacks overt morphological case marker. In genitive case the element *-ne* is suffixed on the wh-words. It is almost always (at least in the data for the present analysis) preceded by the vowel *-a*. I suggest that these two elements may represent two things. The vowel may represent the genitive marker and probably *-ne* is a copula. There is a copula in Libido with the same form to *-ne* and attaches to pronouns in genitive case, having semantic function of possession (see Crass 2007:14-25). For the moment I prefer to analyze the two things together as genitive marker plus a copula. In the remaining oblique cases case markers (which are similar to those mentioned in section 1.9) are suffixed on the nominative or accusative stem and for the moment I analyze terminal vowels together with the case markers, following Tadesse (2007). Plural is shown by suffixing *-wwa*, *-am* (or *-om*), and *-keen*, which is a plural marker on demonstratives; *-am* is also a third person plural marker on verb finally. Plural can also be marked by reduplication.

Contrastive focus is expressed by suffixing *-du(yye)*, mostly in cleft constructions. The copula *-tte* can also be suffixed on the wh-words in cleft constructions, though it has a narrow distribution. The two morphemes, *-du(yye)* and the copula *-tte* are complementarily distributed. For further discussion see Sim (1989), Perrett (2000) and Tadesse (2007).

In the following I give a description of the morphology of Hadiyya wh-words. Notice that as it is mentioned in 1.8.2 before pause, except sentence final, vowels are shortened and almost voiceless. The same phenomenon is observed in interrogative pronouns, especially in the nominative case the final vowel is

almost unheard; therefore, it is not normally be transcribed and the gloss will indicate where a word is understood to be in Nominative case.

i) **ayy** ‘who’

ayy inflects for nominative genitive, dative, ablative, and comitative cases. It also inflects for number, and can be marked for focus. Consider the following paradigm.

(64)

	Singular	Plural	Gloss
NOM	<i>ayy</i>	<i>ayy-am</i>	‘who’
ACC	<i>ayy</i>	<i>ayy-am</i>	‘whom’
GEN	<i>ayy-ane</i>	<i>ayy-am-ane</i>	‘for whom’
DAT	<i>ayy-ena</i>	<i>ayy-am-ena</i>	‘to whom’
ABL	<i>ayy-eense</i>	<i>ayy-am-eense</i>	‘from whom’
COM	<i>ayy-enne</i>	<i>ayy-am-enne</i>	‘with whom’

Let us see some examples.

- (65) a. *ayy sayya bicc’-inne app’is-Ø-u-kko?*
 who.NOM cow.ACC stick-INS beat-3MS-PF-3MS
 ‘Who beat the cow with a stick?’ [Sim 1989:177, modified]
- b. *anšis ayy asse?-Ø-u-kko?*
 Anshiso.NOM who.ACC send-3MS-PF-3MS
 ‘Whom did Anshiso send?’
- c. *ku kitaab ayy-ane?*
 this book.NOM who-GEN.COP
 ‘Whose book is this?’
- d. *diinate ayy-am-ena uww-i-t-i-tto?*
 money.ACC who-PL-DAT give-EP-2SG-PF-2SG
 ‘To whom (pl.) did you give the money?’

- e. *erbeet ayy-am-enne mar-Ø-u-kko?*
 Erbeeto.NOM who-PL-COM go-3MS-PF-3MS
 ‘With whom did Erbeeto go?’
- f. *ayi-du ka hakk’a mur-Ø-u-kko?*
 who.NOM-FOC this tree.ACC cut-3MS-PF-3MS
 ‘Who did cut this tree?’

As the above paradigm and examples indicate *ayy* ‘who’ inflects for different cases and for number; it can also be marked for focus. In the accusative cases *ayy* appears in its citation form as in 65(b), or it suffixes the copula *-tte* in cleft constructions. The copula is suffixed only to the singular forms (see Sim 1989: 239ff). Dative, ablative and comitative case markers are preceded by the element *-e*, which seems to be a copula because in a copular construction it can stand substituting (or together with) the copula *-tte*. Genitive case is shown by the suffix *-ane* as in 65(c) or by noun juxtaposition. Dative case is shown by the suffix *-ena* as in 65(d); the comitative case is expressed by the suffix *-enne* as in 65(e). Ablative case is marked by *-iinse*. In the plural forms of all cases the plural marker *-am* is suffixed on the citation forms before the case markers. Focus is marked by the suffix *-du(yye)* as in 65(f).

ii) *maha* ‘what’

The wh-word *maha* inflects for nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, ablative, and instrumental cases. It can also be marked for focus. Plural is shown by the form *maruwwa* or by reduplication. However, *maruwwa* can be used in both singular and plural forms. Hence, plural can also be distinguished syntactically or by plural demonstrative pronoun. As pointed out in the previous section *maha* has three alternative forms; these are *maha*, *maruččo* and *maruwwa* (I will explain the derivation shortly). Each variant has a context it fits best. The following paradigm uses both of these forms, because of appropriacy.

(66)		Singular	Plural	Gloss
	NOM	<i>mah</i>	<i>maruww</i>	‘what’
	ACC	<i>maha</i>	<i>maruwwa</i>	‘what’
	GEN	<i>mah-ane</i>	<i>maruww-ane</i>	‘for what’
	DAT	<i>maručč-ina</i>	<i>maruww-ina</i>	‘to what’
	ABL	<i>maručč-iinse</i>	<i>maruww-iinse</i>	‘from what’
	INS	<i>mah-inne</i>	<i>maruww-inne</i>	‘with (by) what’

Let us see some examples

- (67) a. *keese mah gaʔm-Ø-u-kko?*
 2SG.ACC what.NOM beat-3MS-PF-3MS
 ‘What did beat you?’
- b. *ka hakk’a mah-inne mut-t-oo-tto?*
 this tree.ACC what-INS cut-2SG-IPFV-2SG
 ‘With what will you cut this tree?’
- c. *maručč-ina hit’e mut-t-i-tto-k?*
 what-DAT grass.ACC cut-2SG-PF-2SG-NMLZ.NOM
 ‘For what is it that you cut grass?’

In the above paradigm and examples we observe that the terminal vowel on the wh-word is omitted in the nominative case, and it is devoiced in the accusative case; genitive, ablative and instrumental cases are marked by *-ane*, *-iinse* and *-inne* respectively. The dative case form is also used in reason interrogatives. Plural is denoted by *maruwwa*. In addition, *maruwwuwwa* or the focused *maruwwuwwdu(yye)* can be used to ask about each particular members of certain group. Notice that the plural marker in Hadiyya is *-wwa*.

maruččo and *maruwwa* seem to be derived from the combination of *maha* ‘what’ plus *luččo* ‘thing’ and *luwwa* ‘things’ respectively. In the process of combination there happened phonological processes. There is deletion and assimilation of

sounds. Consider the following diagram, which simply show the steps of derivation.

- (68) *maha* + *luččo* → *maluččo* → *maruččo* ‘what thing’/ ‘what’
maha + *luwwa* → *maluwwa* → *maruwwa* ‘what things’/ ‘what’

The above derivational processes produced the alternative forms of *maha*. However, I am hesitant to deal with the specific phonological processes undertaken in these words.

iii) *hinka* ‘which’

hinka inflects for nominative, accusative, genitive and dative cases, and for number. Further more it is marked for focus. It has an alternative form, *hunk* which appears mostly in nominative case form. Consider the following paradigms and examples.

(69)	Singular	plural	Gloss
NOM	<i>hink</i>	<i>hinka-keen</i>	‘which’
ACC	<i>hinka</i>	<i>hinka-keeno</i>	‘which’
GEN	<i>hinka-nn-ane</i>	<i>hinka-kee?n-ane</i>	‘for which’
DAT	<i>hinka-nn-ina</i>	<i>hinka-keen-ina</i>	‘to which’

Let us see some examples.

- (70) a. *kakeen-iinse* *hink* *danaamo?*
these-ABL which.NOM better
‘Of these which one is better?’
- b. *ku heeč* *hinka-nn-ane?*
this rope.NOM which-PART-GEN.COP
‘Of which one’s is this rope?’

c. *erbeet hinka-nn-ina hit'e uww-Ø-u-kko-k?*
 Erbeeto.NOM which-PART-DAT grass.ACC give-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM
 'To which one is it that Erbeeto gave grass?'

In the above paradigms and examples the nominative case is marked by absence terminal vowel, accusative case is marked by terminal vowel devoicing; genitive and dative cases are marked by *-ane* and *-ina* respectively. In accusative, genitive and dative cases the particulative morpheme *-nn* appears before the case markers. Similarly in Amharic a particulative (singulative) morpheme *-ññ* appears in similar constructions (Girma 2005a:77). In cleft constructions the copula *-tte* attaches to the end of the pronoun only in dative case form. In all cases *-du* is suffixed for focus after case markers.

hinka can be the base for the derivation of other wh-words such as *hink-ide* 'how', *hink-a?n* 'how much', *hink ammane* 'which time', and *hink balla* 'which day'. The first two are formed by suffixing the postpositions to the form *hink*, which has lost the terminal vowel. The last two are formed by combining independent words to the form *hinka*.

iv) *hanno* 'where'

Spatial locative interrogatives are formed using *hanno*, which inflects for nominative, accusative, dative, ablative and locative cases. It is also marked for focus. Consider the following paradigms.

(71)	Singular	plural	Gloss
NOM	<i>hann</i>	<i>hanni-hanni</i>	where
ACC	<i>hanno</i>	<i>hanno-hanno</i>	where
GEN	<i>hann-</i>	<i>hanni-hann-</i>	for where
DAT	<i>hann-ina</i>	<i>hann-in-hann-ina</i>	to where

ABL	<i>hann-iinse</i>	<i>hann-i-hann-iinse</i>	from where
LOC	<i>hanno-nne</i>	<i>hanno-nne-hanno-nne</i>	(at/on)where

In the above paradigm all cases are marked by the usual case marking morphemes. In the genitive case the terminal vowel is omitted and the form is ready for juxtaposition. Dative, ablative and locative cases are marked by *-ina*, *-iinse*, and *-nne* respectively. In some environments the locative case marker becomes similar to the comitative/ instrumental case marker. As Perrett (2000:43) explains “high pitch ...on the stem final vowel distinguishes a locative from a comitative/instrumental case ending.” She also adds that for the comitative the suffix is applied to the nominative stem and for the locative it is applied to the citative stem. Plural is shown by reduplication. For reduplication the case markers on the first part of the pronoun are contracted before reduplication. The following examples can show the distribution of some case forms.

- (72) ?? a. *ka balla lello hann ka?-Ø-u-kko?*
 this day game.ACC where.NOM beat-3MS-PF-3MS
lemmi-nnii soor?
 Lemmo.NOM-Q Sooro.NOM
 ‘Where (which place) did won today’s game? Is it Lemmo or Sooro?’
- b. *kukeen hann-oosso?*
 these.NOM where.GEN-boys?
 ‘These are boys from where?’
- c. *at hannin-hann-ina diinate batt’ans-Ø-i-tto-k?*
 2SG.NOM where.PL-DAT money.ACC shre-2SG-PF-2SG-NMLZ.NOM
 ‘To where (which places) is it that you share the money?’
- d. *at hanno-nne-tte bat-t’oo-lla-k?*
 2SG.NOM where-LOC-COP work-2SG-IPFV-PRPROG-NMLZ.NOM
 ‘Where is it that you are working?’

In the examples inflects for nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, and locative cases. The locative pronoun can stand as complement of the postposition locative morpheme *-nne* as in 72 (d). In the context where the locative pronoun refers to a source it suffixes the ablative case marker *-iinse*. When it refers to a direction or goal it can appear in its citation form or in dative case form; the dative case form incorporates direction and goal ablative cases. Focus is marked by *-du(yye)* in all cases.

v) *hink ammane* ‘which time’/ *hink balla* ‘which day’

The temporal pronouns *hink ammane* and *hink balla* can inflect for number and case. And can be marked for focus. Nominative, accusative, genitive and dative cases are shown by the usual morphemes. Here I present the paradigms of *hink balla* ‘which day’ as follows:

(73)	Singular	Plural	Gloss
NOM	<i>hink ball</i>	<i>hink ball-uww</i>	‘which day’
ACC	<i>hink balla</i>	<i>hink ball-uwwa</i>	‘which day’
GEN	<i>hink ball-ane</i>	<i>hink ball-uww-ane</i>	‘for which day’
DAT	<i>hink ball-ina</i>	<i>hink ball-uww-ina</i>	‘to which day’

Once again the usual inflection systems for case and number are observed in the above paradigms. In cleft constructions the copula *-tte* attaches to the pronoun only in the dative case. Focus can be marked by *-du(yye)*; plural is shown by the morpheme *-wwa*. We can observe some of these phenomena in the following examples.

- (74) a. *witt'-ina hink ball danno?*
 harvest-DAT which day.NOM good
 ‘Which day is good for harvest?’

b. *hink ball-ane ku hurbaat?*
 which day-GEN.COP this food.NOM

‘Which day’s food is this?’

c. *ku beet hink ball-ina-tte kitaaba gudiss-Ø-u-kko-k?*

this boy.NOM which day-DAT-COP book.ACC prepare-3MS-PF-3MS-NMLZ.NOM

‘For which day is it that this boy prepared the book?’

In the above examples the temporal pronoun inflects for nominative, genitive and dative cases in 74 (a, b and c) respectively.

vi) *me?i* ‘how many’ / *hinka?n* ‘how much’

The numeral pronouns *me?i* and *hinka?n* are used to quantify countable and uncountable nouns. Both forms very rarely inflect for different grammatical purposes. In most occurrences the case and number markers attach to the quantified nouns; this makes the attempt to formulate a paradigm very difficult. However, the following examples may demonstrate the contexts where the numeral pronouns may inflect for case and number.

75) ??a. *hinka?n diinat ka mine bita?-Ø-een t’ann-Ø-oo-kko?*

how-much money.NOM this house.ACC buy-3MS-IPFV.3SG can-3MS-IPFV-3MS

‘How much money can buy this house?’

b. *gamaanč hinka?n diinate mass-Ø-u-kko?*

thief.NOM how-much money.ACC take-3MS-PF-3MS

‘How much money did the thief take?’

c. *me?ikeen-ne-k fore oora-nne hig-Ø-u-kko?*

how-many.PL-GEN.COP-DEF life war-LOC pass-3MS-PF-3MS

‘How many of these lives passed away during the war?’

d. *hinka?n-om-ina-tte diinate uww-i-t-i-tto-k?*

how many-PL-DAT-COP money.ACC give-EP-2SG-PF-2SG-NMLZ.NOM

‘To how many of them is it that you gave money?’

In the above examples the numeral pronouns do not inflect for nominative and accusative cases, but the quantified nouns are marked for these cases as in 75(a-b). Example 75(a) is a possible construction, though its acceptability is in doubt. Dative case is marked by *-ina* as in 75(d). Plural is shown by *-om* as in 75(d). Focus can be shown by suffixing *-du(yye)*.

Generally from the above discussion one can observe the inflectional and derivational patterns of the wh-words. Wh-words that have terminal vowel inflect for nominative and accusative cases. In most of the wh-words genitive, dative, and ablative cases are overtly marked, and some of the wh-words inflect for comitative, instrumental and locative cases.

Plural is shown by *-wwa*, *-am* (or *-om*), *-keen*, and by reduplication. Focus is shown by suffixing *-du(yye)*. Some elements and grammatical morphemes, such as *-(a)ne* in genitive case and *-a(o)m* in plural form seem to be typical to wh-pronouns. The non-basic wh-words are derived by compounding a wh-word and an independent noun, or by suffixing a postposition to the basic wh-words.

The preceding sections explore the nature of content interrogatives. The first section deals with the general description of content interrogatives. Content interrogatives are formed using the basic and the derived wh-words. The questions were classified into seven types based on the information they target. Syntactically content questions are mostly cleft constructions. Cleft construction and wh-fronting are used as syntactic devices for contrastive focus reading. The morphological device for focus marking is *-du(yye)*. Regarding wh-movement it is claimed that Hadiyya is a wh-in situ language. However, wh-movement is allowed for some purposes, for instance wh-fronting is used for contrastive focus reading. Finally the morphology of wh-words shows that wh-words can inflect for different cases and number, and can be base for the derivation of another wh-word. In the following chapter we will see echo questions.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. ECHO QUESTIONS

In chapter two I have pointed out that according to Radford (1988:462) one major typological division of questions is between echo and non-echo questions. Hadiyya is characterized by implementing both echo and non-echo questions. In the previous sections we have seen the non-echo questions. These are yes-no questions, alternative choice questions, tag questions and content questions. The first three are constructed either by using the question morpheme or a rising intonation. Content interrogatives are constructed by using the wh-words. The following sections deal with echo questions.

Blakemore (1994), Noh (1998a, b), and Ginzburg and Sag (2001), as cited in Iwata (2003), claim that echo questions are interrogatives, whereas Iwata (2003:128) claims that echo questions are not interrogatives. However, both groups agree in that echo questions are question types.

According to Iwata (2003:128), “echo questions are metarepresentational with rising intonation, with the rise alone conferring the question status; --- echo questions question the pragmatically enriched attribution.” Iwata divides echo questions into two types. These are: one in which a preceding utterance or part thereof (the stimulus) is repeated, which he terms pure echo question, and the second is that in which a wh-expression replaces part of the stimulus, which he terms wh-echo questions.

Echo questions are used in a context where the hearer does not catch all the utterances of the speaker (Culicover 1976:73), or if he is surprised by the utterance of the speaker. Hence, the hearer may use a pure or a wh-echo question.

In Hadiyya echo questions can be posed on declarative, imperative and interrogative sentences. Syntactically the echo questions and the corresponding echoed sentences are identical. This is both in pure and wh-echo questions. The only difference between echo questions and the corresponding sentences is the pattern of intonation; echo questions are accompanied by a lengthened rising intonation. The same properties are exhibited in Sidaama echo questions (Ambessa 2000:186ff). Since there is no overt syntactic or morphological marker that distinguishes between the echo and the echoed sentence, I will use an arrow (↗) to show the rising intonation on the echo question.

4.1 Echo Questions on Declaratives

Echo questions may be posed on declarative sentences by repeating the complete or part of the speaker's utterance. The difference between the two sentences is that the echo is always accompanied by a lengthened rising intonation compared to the falling intonation on the declarative. Consider the following dialogue between a father (speaker A) and his son (speaker B):

- (76) Speaker A: *an kii-na koobe?e bita?-Ø-aa-mmo*
 1SG.NOM 2SG-DAT shoe.ACC buy-1SG-PRPF-1P
 'I have bought you shoes.'
- Speaker B: *an kii-na koobe?e bita?-Ø-aa-mmo? ↗*
 1SG.NOM 2SG-DAT shoe.ACC buy-1SG-PRPF-1P
 'I have bought you shoes?'

Scenario 11: Ergooge (speaker A) is talking to her friend that she is leaving to Wachchamo in the afternoon. Her friend (speaker B) is surprised and echoed Ergooge's utterance as follows:

- (77) Speaker A: *maaro mar-Ø-oo-mmo*
 noon go-1SG-IPFV-1P
 'I will go at noon.'

Speaker B: *maaro mar-Ø-oo-mmo? ↗*
 noon go-1SG-IPFV-1P
 ‘I will go at noon?’

In the above examples speaker (B) echoed the utterance of speaker (A) without changing any word or word order. In fact it is possible to drop arguments such as the doer in example (76). The echo is distinguished from the statement by the accompanying lengthened rising intonation. The above echo questions are more similar with yes-no questions. However, apart from the absence of the question morpheme, the echo uses a lengthened rising intonation pattern compared to the accompanying rising intonation with quick final fall or a short rising intonation on yes-no questions.

Functionally the echo questions are confirmative or may show surprise, which have the reading like ‘what do you mean’ or ‘I don’t believe this’. The replies to the above echo questions are expected to be confirmative; in this regard echo questions on declaratives resemble to non-neutral yes-no questions.

The above pure echo questions are not the only options for speaker B. He/she may use the wh-echo question as follows.

(78) Speaker A: *an kii-na koobe?e bita?-Ø-aa-mmo*
 1SG.NOM 2SG.DAT shoe.ACC buy-1SG-PRPF-1P
 ‘I have bought you a shoe.’

Speaker B: *an kii-na maha bita?-Ø-aa-mmo? ↗*
 1SG.NOM 2SG.DAT what.ACC buy-1SG-PRPF-1P
 ‘I have bought you a what?’

(79) Speaker A: *maaro mar-Ø-oo-mmo*
 noon go-1SG-IPFV-1P
 ‘I will go at noon.’

Speaker B: *hink ammane mar-Ø-oo-mmo?* ↗
 which time go-1SG-IPFV-1P
 ‘I shall go which time?’

In 78(B) and 79(B) the wh-echo questions are used to ask about the specific information replaced by the wh-expressions. The wh-echo questions are accompanied by a lengthened rising intonation. In example (79 A-B) there are no overt subjects, because the subjects are denoted by the suffixes in the verbs. Notice that the wh-expressions are found in situ. The reply to the wh-echo may contain only the specific information or the whole statement.

4.2 Echo Questions on Interrogatives

Echo questions are not limited to statements; it is also possible to echo interrogatives. The following examples illustrate echo questions on yes-no interrogatives.

(80) Speaker A: *waččamo mat-t-a lak'oʔ-Ø-o-nni(yye)?*
 Wachchamo go-2SG-CVB know.2SG-PF-Q
 ‘Have you ever gone to Wachammo?’
 Speaker B: *waččamo mat-t-a lak'oʔ-Ø-o-nni(yye)?* ↗
 Wachchamo go-2SG-CVB know.2SG-PF-Q
 ‘Have you ever gone to Wachchamo?’

Speaker B can also use wh-echo question as follows:

(81) Speaker A: *waččamo mat-t-a lak'oʔ-Ø-o-nni(yye)?*
 Wachchamo go-2SG-CVB know.2SG-PF-Q
 ‘Have you ever gone to Wachchamo?’

Speaker B: *hanno mat-t-a lak'o?-Ø-o-nni(yye) ? ↗*
 where go-2SG-CVB know-2SG-PF-Q
 'Have you ever gone to where?'

As the above examples show a yes-no interrogative can be echoed using pure echo questions as in 80(B), or a wh-echo question as in 81(B). The pure echo has identical syntactic structure with the corresponding yes-no question. The only difference between the two is the intonation pattern. The intonation pattern on the pure as well as on the wh-echo questions is a lengthened rising compared to the rising intonation, which is followed by a quick final fall on the yes-no question. The pure echo targets the whole sentence; whereas the wh-echo question targets the specific information replaced by the wh-expression.

It is also possible to echo tag questions; although it is rare, in some contexts it is possible to echo tag questions on imperatives and declaratives. However, the most plausible is on tag questions formed by *-lla*. Consider the following echoes on tag questions formed by *-lla*:

(82) Speaker A: *kaa ii diinate mass-i-t-aa-tto-lla-yyo-nni(yye)?*
 2MS.VOC 1SG.GEN money.ACC take-EP-2SG-PRPF-2SG-TAG-NEG-Q
 'You have taken my money, haven't you?'

Speaker B: *ii diinate mass-i-t-aa-tto? ↗*
 1SG money.ACC take-EP-2SG-PRPF-2SG
 'You have taken my money?'

As we can observe the sentence in (A) is a tag question which need a confirmative response. Speaker (B) echoed the tag question by slightly modifying the form. Here the echo has clearly pointed out the intended meaning of the tag. Notice that the meaning of echo question can be complicated, because it is highly influenced by social and other contexts (Culicover 1976:73).

Speaker B can also use a wh-echo question as follows:

(83) Speaker A: *kaa ii diinate mass-i-t-aa-tto-lla-yyo-nni(yye)?*
2MS.NOM 1SG.GEN money.ACC take-EP-2SG-PRPF-2SG-TAG-NEG-Q
'You have taken my money, haven't you?'

Speaker B: *maruččo mass-i-t-aa-tto? ↗*
what.ACC take-EP-2SG-PRPF-2SG
'You have taken what?'

There is a difference in the intonation pattern between the tag and the echo. As always the echo is uttered with a lengthened rising intonation pattern, compared to the rising intonation (followed by a quick final fall, if it is accompanied by the question morpheme) on the tag.

It is also possible to echo a wh-question. Consider the following scenario. In the morning Tummisso (speaker A) sends Erbeeto to the market. However, after some hours Tummisso forgot this and asked his wife (speaker B) the following question, and she echoed his question.

(84) Speaker A: *erbeet hanno mar-Ø-aa?*
Erbeeto.NOM where go-3MS-PRPF
'Where did Erbeeto go?'

Speaker B: *erbeet hanno mar-Ø-aa-tte? ↗*
Erbeeto.NOM where go-3MS-PRPF-COP
'Where did Erbeeto go?'

In the example speaker (B) repeats the wh-question posed by speaker (A). However, the echo contains a wh-question which is suffixed by the copula. The echo has a notion of surprise, which convey a meaning like 'why do you ask me while knowing the fact?' Thus, the target of the wh-interrogative is the specific information asked by the wh-expression. However, the echo targets the whole

interrogative sentence. Notice that the word order is unchanged; the difference is on the intonation pattern. The echo is accompanied by a lengthened rising intonation.

4.3 Echo Questions on Imperatives

We can also echo imperative sentences using both pure and wh-echo questions. Consider the following examples.

(85) Speaker A: *kaa ka hurbaata it-Ø-e!*
 2SG.VOC this food.ACC eat-2SG-IMP
 ‘Eat this food!’

Speaker B: *ka hurbaata it-Ø-e? ↗*
 this food.ACC eat-2SG-IMP
 ‘Eat this food?’

(86) Speaker A: *kaa ee koobe?e mass-i-titte!*
 2SG.VOC that shoes.ACC take-EP-2SG.IMP.NEG
 ‘Do not take that shoes!’

Speaker B: *koobe?e mass-i-titte? ↗*
 shoes.ACC take-EP-2SG.IMP.NEG
 ‘Do not take the shoes?’

Speaker B may use a wh-echo question as in (87) and (88) in order to find clear information about the command. Consider the following example.

(87) Speaker A: *kaa ka hurbaata it-Ø-e!*
 2SG.VOC this food.ACC eat-2SG-IMP
 ‘Eat this food!’

Speaker B: *maha it-Ø-e? ↗*
 what.ACC eat-2SG-IMP
 ‘Eat what?’

- (88) Speaker A: *kaa ee koobe?e mass-i-titte!*
 2SG.VOC that shoes.ACC take-EP-2SG.IMP.NEG
 ‘Do not take that shoes!’
- Speaker B: *maruččo mass-i-titte? ↗*
 what.ACC take-EP-2SG.IMP.NEG
 ‘Do not take a what?’

In the above examples the echo questions have the same syntactic structure to the positive and negative imperative sentences. In the wh-echo questions the unclear information is questioned by the wh-expression. As always the difference between the imperative and the echo is on the pitch level of the intonation. A lengthened rising intonation is observed on the echoes, which the imperatives lack. The intention on both the pure and wh-echo is to express surprise, or to ask for clarification about unclear information (especially this is in the wh-echo questions).

In general in Hadiyya we have seen two types of echo questions: pure echo and wh-echo questions. Both types of echo questions can be formed from declarative, interrogative and imperative sentences. All types of echo questions have syntactic similarity with the sentences they are formed from. Echo questions are distinguished from the corresponding sentences by the accompanying lengthened rising intonation.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter summarizes and concludes the attempts made so far to describe the interrogative constructions in Hadiyya. The main objective of this study is to identify and describe the interrogative constructions in Hadiyya. The first chapter contains a brief description about the people and the language, previous works on the language are revised, the research problem, the significance of the study, the limitations and the methods implemented are discussed. Finally the phonemic inventory, the syllabic structure, the morphophonemic processes and the number, gender and case marking systems of the language are briefly revised.

Chapter two identifies the question types found in the language. These are yes-no questions, alternative choice questions, tag questions, content questions and echo questions. The first three are closely related and treated under yes-no questions. The chapter gives detailed description to yes-no questions. The first section deals with the derivation of yes-no questions. Yes-no questions are derived from declarative sentences either by suffixing the question marker -*nnyye* on clause final verb, or by applying a rising intonation on the clause. The derivation is not syntactically overt; hence, no word order change occurs in the process of derivation. The answer for yes-no questions contains a positive or negative declarative clause preceded by yes or (no).

In the second section yes-no questions are classified into neutral and non-neutral yes-no questions based on the responses expected. Normal positive yes-no questions with no predisposition of an affirmative or a negative response are termed as neutral, and those that expect a predisposed affirmative or negative response are classified as non-neutral. Tag questions, negative yes-no questions,

reduced yes-no questions and those formed by suffixing the copula *-tte* expect a predisposed response. Hence, they are classified as non-neutral.

The third section deals with alternative choice questions. Alternative choice questions give two or more alternative choices that the speaker has to choose. In these questions the contracted question morpheme, which has long final vowel, is suffixed to the first alternative. The question morpheme functions also as disjunction. The accompanying intonation rises on the first alternative and falls on the second.

The fourth section of chapter two deals with tag interrogatives; tag interrogatives can be formed using the tag marker *-lla*, which is followed by the question morpheme. In negative tags the question morpheme is preceded by the negative marker. A tag can also be formed based on declarative sentence. A non-neutral positive or negative tag can be asked in order to confirm that the information in the main clause is true. The verb in the tag is similar to the verb in the main clause, but opposite in terms of value. Tags can also be posed on imperative sentences. Tags on imperatives mostly contain a reduced positive or negative yes-no question, which is formed based on the main verb in the imperative sentence. It is posed in a context where the listener reacts slowly to the command.

The final section in chapter two revises the intonation contour used in the language. A falling intonation is associated to declarative sentences, and a rising intonation is associated to questions. Especially echo questions are distinguished from the corresponding echoed sentences only by the accompanying lengthened rising intonation.

Chapter three deals with the second canonical question types: content interrogatives. The first section gives a general description of content interrogatives. Content interrogatives are formed using one of the basic wh-

words (*ayy* ‘who’, *maha* ‘what’, *hinka* ‘which’, *hanno* ‘where’, and *me?i* ‘how many’) or the derived question words (*hink ammane* ‘which time’, *hink balla* ‘which day’, *hinka?n* ‘how much’, *hinkide* ‘how’ and *mahina* ‘why’). Content questions target different phrases in a sentence. When the target is the whole clause they are used in combination with verbs such as *issukko* ‘did’, *yukko* ‘said’ *ihukko* ‘verb of event’ and *heukko* ‘verb of presence’. Hadiyya uses only simple wh-questions; multiple wh-questions are not natural in the language.

In the second section content interrogatives are classified into different classes based on the information they target. *ayy* ‘who’, *maha* ‘what’ and *hinka* ‘which’ are classified under identity interrogatives, because they are used to ask about the identity of a participant. *hink ammane* ‘which time’ and *hink balla* ‘which day’ are used to ask the temporal location of an event or an action and are classified under temporal interrogatives. *hanno* ‘where’ is the locative interrogative pronoun and used to construct locative interrogatives. The compound pronouns *hinkide* ‘how’, *mahinne* ‘with (by) what’, *mahina* ‘why’ are used to construct manner, instrumental and reason interrogatives respectively. The numeral interrogatives are formed using *me?i* ‘how many’ and *hinka?n* ‘how much’.

The third section deals with the focus marking systems in content interrogatives. Focus can be shown by cleft constructions, wh-fronting or by the morphological marker *-du(yye)*. In section 3.4 it is pointed out that Hadiyya is a wh-in *istu* language. However, wh-movement does not make a sentence ungrammatical. Wh-phrases can be fronted for contrastive focus marking mostly in cleft sentences. Section 3.5 deals with the morphology of wh-words. Wh-words inflect for case and number. The basic wh-words can be base for the derivation of other wh-words. They can also be marked for focus. The wh-words may inflect for nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, ablative, comitative, instrumental and locative cases. Plural can be shown by *-wwa*, *-am*, *-keen* and reduplication. Focus is shown by the suffix *-du(yye)*.

Echo questions are described in Chapter four. Both pure and wh-echo questions can be posed on declarative, interrogative and imperative sentences. Echo questions and the echoed sentences have syntactic similarity. The difference is on the intonation pattern. Echo questions in Hadiyya are always marked by a lengthened rising intonation.

So far in this thesis I have tried to describe the interrogative constructions in Hadiyya. The description shows that the language implements mainly yes-no questions and content questions. Alternative choice questions and tag questions are more or less similar to yes-no questions. Echo questions do not have independent syntactic form. They always reflect the structure of the sentence they echo. In addition to these it is observed that the language exhibits several interesting facts and features. I hope in the future these facts can be base for extended theoretical explanations regarding interrogative constructions.

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