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## Relational subject / non-subject asymmetries in Igbo

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We present new data from  $\bar{A}$ -constructions in Igbo (Benue-Congo, Nigeria) that exhibit subject / non-subject asymmetries: If a non-subject is questioned ex-situ, the presence of the marker *ka* next to the displaced constituent is required; however, questioned subjects must not co-occur with *ka*, see (1):

- (1) Short questions (simple wh-phrase):
- a. Òbí hùrù Àdá n'-áhiá  
*Obi saw Ada P-market*  
“Obi saw Ada at the market.” *declarative*
  - b. Ònyé hùrù Àdá n'-áhiá  
*who saw Ada P-market*  
“Who saw Ada at the market?” *SU question*
  - c. Ònyé kà Òbí hùrù n'-áhiá  
*who FOC Obi saw P-market*  
“Who did Obi see at the market?” *OBJ question*

Furthermore, Igbo exhibits the *that*-trace effect under subject extraction and disposes of several repair strategies (resumption, C-drop, special C-form). We argue that these subject / non-subject asymmetries are relational in nature, i.e. they are not due to some inherent property of subjects. Rather, it is the structural configuration that singles out *local* subjects. We present empirical arguments that suggest that the structurally highest argument (in SpecTP) cannot move to SpecCP in focus / question constructions. We will present an anti-locality based approach to model these findings. The Igbo facts are also interesting from a comparative perspective because they run counter the empirical generalization in Fiedler et al. (2010) according to which in languages that exhibit a (morphological) subject / non-subject asymmetry, it is (local) subjects that have to be marked for focus, while focus marking is not obligatory for non-subjects.

**Literatur:** • Fiedler, I., K. Hartmann, B. Reineke, A. Schwarz & M. Zimmermann (2010): Subject focus in West African languages. In: *Information structure from different perspectives*, Oxford: OUP, 234–257.