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Significant correction: On p. 104, the gloss given for Yorùbá the left−hand example in (53a) i.e. without the pluralizer *àwọn* should not include the definite plural 'the dogs'. The excluded reading is in fact available in a similar example of Mandarin, as reported on p. 29 of R. Yang [2001] *Common nouns, classifiers & quantification in Chinese* (Dissertation, Rutgers University, New Jersey), but the two examples are nonparallel: the Mandarin crucially lacks a sortal classifier which arguably corresponds to little *n*, and in the Yorùbá example the notional noun has a closed−class prefix which again arguably corresponds to little *n*. The interpretive difference disproves any structural equation between the bare noun root of Chinese and the minimal free form of Yorùbá; the latter is structurally a bare singular as discussed below, and allows a plural reading if either indefinite or inanimate, as preciently noticed by Welmers [1973] *African Language Structures* (University of California Press, Berlekey), p. 220.

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Aspectual Licensing and Object Shift

Victor Manfredi

voor Pieter Muysken

1. What causes nonfinite OV in Kwa and Kru?*

OV constructions abound in Niger-Congo, but they aren't uniformly distributed across the family. FINITE OV (S O V-Tense) is restricted to Ịzọ̀n (Williamson 1965).[1] AUXILIATED OV (S Aux O V) predominates in Mandekan (Koopman 1992, Zribi-Hertz & Hanne 1994, Hutchison 1995) and Kru (§3 *infra*) and occurs sporadically across Kwa (§2); in most Kwa examples, the 'verb' is a bound quasi-nominal. CONTROLLED OV, i.e. in a biclausal structure, also employs a bound nominalisation strategy. The commonest OV type in Kwa is a free GERUND formed by reduplication.[2]

In principle, any one of these OV types could be either archaic or innovative. Both Givón (1979) and Williamson (1986) reconstruct finite OV to proto-Niger Congo, but this is unpersuasive if finite OV occurs in only one Niger-Congo language (Ịzọ̀n). Accepting that the separation of Mandekan is older than that of Ịzọ̀n (Welmers 1973, Williamson 1989), finite OV would have to have been independently lost several times, which is less probable than its having been innovated once.

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[1]Finite OV also occurs in Gur, e.g. Bàtɔ̀nu, but Welmers' (1952) description suggests reasons to believe that this order is derived: second-position auxes exist alongside sentence-final auxes in the language, and every verb in OV has nonunderlying tone. Also, double object order is rigidly Goal-Theme (I. Sàánúsí, p.c.), which is quite atypical for Tense-final languages.

[2]*Ijaw* and *Ijọ* are anglicisations of *Ịzọ̀n*, just as *soza* is the Niger Delta rendition of *soldier* (cf. Saro-Wiwa 1985 and 1995, pp. 5, 54). Williamson (1983, p. xvi) restricts *Ịzọ̀n* as a glossonym to 27 out of 36 total '*Ijọ*' localities. *Ijoid*, the historical macro-term, also includes Defaka (Jenewari 1989). My usage of *Kwa* in this paper maintains the (1963) Greenbergian reference.

Starting from original VO, there are two logically possible ways of deriving auxiliated OV. Both have been proposed, albeit for different subgroups: object-preposing for Mandekan and Gbè (Heine 1980), (1a); verb-postposing for Kru (Marchese 1981), (1b).

(1) a. S Aux $\mathbf{O}_i$ [V t_i]
    b. S Aux [t_i O] $\mathbf{V}_i$

With regard to Heine's view that [S Aux O V] arises via object-preposing, there are two gaps in his otherwise convincing survey. First, he accepts Westermann's view that OV order in Gbè gerunds reduces to the prenominal order of possessors. But this correlation fails in Ìgbo and Yorùbá which have OV gerunds but lack prenominal possessors (Williamson 1986). This doesn't prove that the Gbè parallel between OV and Poss-N is accidental, since Gbè has [S Aux O V] but Standard Ìgbo and Yorùbá don't, but granting that Kwa OV gerunds aren't necessarily possessive NPs, it is unlikely that Ìgbo and Yorùbá OV gerunds are archæological relics.

§2 gives a synchronic analysis of Gbè OV via object shift from underlying VO, and extends the same mechanism to Ìgbo and Yorùbá. The proposal, that object shift is aspectually conditioned, is framed in a configurational approach to event composition (Verkuyl 1972, 1993): in a durative (nonterminative) sentence, object preposing is motivated by a principle—call it SCOPOPHOBIA—that forces an object out of the verb's c-command domain (§3).[3] The specific trigger of object shift varies: in Gbè, it is a progressive Aux (but not always) or a closed set of matrix control verbs; in Standard Ìgbo and Yorùbá, only control verbs trigger OV; nonstandard Ìgbo and Yorùbá varieties have future and perfective OV constructions respectively, but not OV progressives.

The question of whether the aspectual trigger of object shift is semantic or morphological poses itself insistently for Kru (§4). Kru is the second gap in Heine's account; he may have assumed that Kru OV phenomena are comparable to those in Kwa, but available descriptions suggest otherwise. Koopman's (1984) verb-movement analysis sets up [S Aux O V] in complementary distribution with [S $\mathbf{V}_i$ O t_i], but there remains the fact that Auxes occur in both OV and VO contexts. Koopman herself records apparent instances of [S Aux V O], and finds scant evidence for underlying OV which is not theory-internal in character. This situation opens the door to a reanalysis of Kru as underlyingly VO, plus object shift. While a V-movement analysis expects the VO examples to form a natural class based on the absence of Aux, an object shift analysis predicts that OV examples should have something in common, namely durativity. For the latter view, it is encouraging that Marchese (1981) explicitly ties the Kru Aux/non-Aux distinction to aspect.

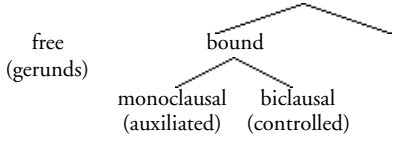
[3]This account answers Williamson's objection to an underlying VO analysis of Kwa.

Other Benue-Kwa data lack overt linear order effects, but pose morpho-syntactic puzzles which scopophobic object shift may help explain (§5): definiteness restrictions in Àkán, the Genitive case assigned by progressive and perfective verbs in Ìgbo and polysyllabic verbs in Yorùbá; the aspectual readings of Ìgbo *-rV*; the aspect-sensitivity of Focus in Èfìk-Ìbìbìò.

2. OV as object shift in Kwa

In Kwa, OV formations with the distribution of ordinary argument DPs —**free gerunds**—are morphologically distinct from those arising in a sentential domain. The latter are always bound, with two variants: as the complement of Aux—**auxiliated OV** (cf. Tesnière 1939, Déchaine 1993, p. 473)—and as the complement of a control verb, **controlled OV**, i.e. in a biclausal structure (Awóyalé 1983):

(2) OV formations



The bound/free OV distinction is respected in Gbè (§2.1). It holds weakly in Standard Yorùbá and Standard Ìgbo, which lack auxiliated OV altogether, but substantively in nonstandard varieties (§§2.2-2.3) as well as in Nupé (§2.4) and western Kwa (§2.5). This bifurcation undermines Heine's equation of [OV] with [Poss-N], but it also shows that the OV syntax of Kwa is more than a historical boneyard.

2.1. Gbè

Heine (1980) recaps the standard view of Èʋè OV, due to Westermann (1930), that pronominal objects of deverbal expressions are Genitive, whether free as in (3) or bound as in (4), hence the agentive, gerundive, progressive and prospective constructions are all noun phrases.

(3) a. mí-á ƒò-lá *Èʋè*
1P-DEF beat-AGT
's/he who beats us'

b. mí-á ƒò-ƒó
1P-DEF beat-beat.H
'our being beaten'

(4) a. É lè [mí-á ƒò-ḿ].
3S AUX 1P-DEF beat-AGR
'S/he is beating us'

b. É lè [mí-á ƒò-gé].
3S AUX 1P-DEF beat-AGR
'S/he is about to beat us'

However, Westermann himself (pp. 49, 58*ff.*) analyzes *mí-á* as a clitic plus definite article, which is not patently Genitive, and further describes it as the form used in compounds (5a) and nonpossessive appositions (5b). In a real possessive phrase, by contrast, *mí-á*—like any ordinary DP—needs the overt Genitive marker *ƒé*, (5c). It would thus be safer to characterise *mí-á* as neither nominative nor accusative.

(5) a. mí-á wò *Èʋè*
1P-DEF PL
'1P'

b. mí-á Èʋè-á wò
1P-DEF -DEF PL
'we the Èʋès'

c. mí-á *(ƒé) xɔ̀
1P-DEF GEN house'
'our house'

In (Gɛ̀n) Mínà, related to the root 'factative' (null Tense) sentence in (6), Hounguès (1996) describes the progressive constructions in (7). Morphosyntactic features of the three different variants are listed to the right.

(6) Mù ɖù nú. *Mínà*
1S eat thing
'I ate, I had a meal'

(7) a. Mù lɛ̌ ɖù nú. H-tone suffix on AUX
1S AUX-H eat thing (no object shift)
'I am/was eating' (no segmental AGR suffix)

b. Mù lè nú ɖù-ɔ. object shift to the left of V
1S AUX thing eat-AGR segmental AGR suffix on V
= stylistic variant of (7a) (no H-tone suffix on AUX)

c. Mù lè [nú ɖù-ɖǔ] jí. object shift to the left of V
1S AUX thing eat-eat-H LOC reduplicated V plus H-tone suffix
'I am/was still eating' locative construction

Mínà progressives show the following possibilities: auxiliation without object shift, (7a); auxiliation with object shift, (7b); gerundive with object shift (7c).

Note that the bracketed constituent in (7c) is identical to the free gerund in (8): there is reduplication, suffixal H tone and object shift.

(8) nú ɖù-ɖǔ (á) object shift to the left of V *Mínà*
thing eat-eat-H DEF reduplicated V plus H-tone suffix
'(the) eating/food'

This parallel is consistent with an analysis of (7c) where the bracketed material is the complement of locative *jí*, lit. 'I am at the eating".[4] The categorial identity of *jí* as P or N (Àmèkà 1995) is beside the fact that a phrasal PP projection intervenes between the gerund and the Aux:

[4]Cf. *Froggy went a-courtin'* and *I'm a-workin' on the railroad*, where *a*-V-*ing* is said to be a Middle English reduction of a PP *at* or *on* V-*ing* (Barber 1993, p. 163).

(9) …[T′ *lɛ̀* [PP [DP *nú dù-dú*] [P′ [P ∅] [NP *jí*]]]].

In contrast to (7c), neither [H *dù nú*] in (7a) nor [*nú dù-ɔ́*] in (7b) are free forms. These data conform to the split between free (gerundive) and bound (auxiliated) OV in the typological tree in (2).

In Fɔ̀n, Kinyalolo (1992, 1997) finds a contrast between auxiliated OV, optionally including irrealis *ná*, (10), and a free OV gerund which is reduplication except in the presence of overt irrealis or habitual aspect or negation, (11).[5]

(10) a. Ùn dò̩ [mɔ̀lìnkún dù wɛ̀]. *Fɔ̀n*
1S PROG rice eat.H FOC
'I'm eating rice'

b. Ùn dò̩ [mɔ̀lìnkún ná dù wɛ̀].
1S PROG rice IRR eat.H FOC
'I'm about to eat rice'

(11) a. [Làn dàgbè dù-*(dù) hwɛ́hwɛ́ ɔ́] nyɔ́ dín.
meat good eat-eat frequently DEF be.good much
'Eating good meat frequently is very good'

b. [Làn dàgbè má nɔ̀ dù-(*dù) ɔ́] nyálán dín.
meat good NEG HAB eat-eat DEF be.bad much
'Not usually eating good meat is very bad'

Kinyalolo argues that if IRR/HAB/NEG[6] are phrasal heads in a Pollockian exploded IP, then the bracketed strings in (10)-(11) must contain full clauses. But alternatively these heads might be adverb-like X^0-adjuncts (Déchaine 1992, 1995). Furthermore, it's unclear how a sentential analysis of gerunds could bear on the complementarity of these items with reduplication, as in (11).[7]

An alternative to analyzing these gerunds as nominalised clauses is to treat them as nominalised VPs (Fabb 1992a). Within a categorial framework that dispenses with the feature [±V] (Déchaine 1993, Wunderlich 1995) and where V is simply defined as non-nominal, it becomes X-bar theoretically possible for a VP to be directly selected by D (Hounguès 1996). Descriptively, it seems that Fɔ̀n gerunds have no

[5]Kinyalolo (1992) leaves *wɛ̀* unglossed; da Cruz (1991) and Kinyalolo (1997) label it FOC. Fabb (1990) follows Kagni (1989) in calling it a location noun comparable to Mínà *jí*. The bracketed material in (10) can be clefted (Kinyalolo 1992, p. 45), reminiscent of Awóbulúyì's (1978a) analysis, but it is still not a free nominal since it can't occupy an A-position.

[6]And a fourth item *kò* 'previously', which he glosses ANT. Perhaps the list is longer.

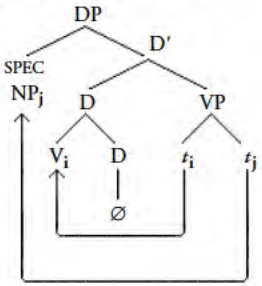
[7]Similarly, the Èvè congener of Fɔ̀n IRR is glossed by Collins (1994b, cf. Lewis 1991) as 'future' and assumed to occupy a Tense-like position. Its multiple occurrence is taken to indicate IP-level coordination. This follows only if there is no other source for multi-event readings, and commits us to positing IP-level coordination in examples like the following:

(i) John read the comics and the sports section. coordinate objects
(ii) Mary went to the movies and out to a fancy restaurant. coordinate PPs
(iii) Newt and Maddie took turns beating up on Boutros. coordinate subjects

To avoid such a *reductio*, we can adopt an aspectual view of eventhood, cf. Déchaine (1997).

syntactic H tone (apart from the optional, final ɔ́)[8], but Èvè and Mínà gerunds do have an obligatory H tone, which could be associated with the D position.[9] A perhaps related effect is that Fɔ̀n gerund reduplication can be blocked. These properties are expressed in (12):

(12) a.



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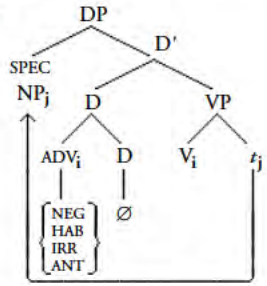


(12) comes with some ancillary assumptions. Relevant to the present discussion is Déchaine's distinction between referential and non-rereferential categories, e.g. N, D, V, T versus Asp:

(13)

	N	D	V	T	Asp
[Functional]		+		+	+
[Noun]	+	+			+
[Referential]	+	+	+	+	

[8]Avolonto (1995) labels Fɔ̀n ɔ́ "deictic" rather than DET. It precedes plural *lɛ́*, just as Mínà *a* precedes plural *wò*. If ɔ́ doesn't occupy D^0, it might identify it from a right-adjoined position (Déchaine & Manfredi 1994). Gbè has many such phrase-final (or right edge) items; e.g. in Fɔ̀n, ɔ́ interacts with *à* YES/NO FOC', *ǎ* 'NEG FOC', *ó* 'INJUNCTIVE', *gɛ́* 'not-even', *nɛ́* 'PERF NEG' and *wɛ̀* 'ASSERT FOC' (da Cruz 1991). (See footnote 23 *infra*.)

[9]A right-edge H is obligatory in Mínà nominal compounds, even if no H exists in the source items (Hounguès 1996):

(i) a. èbè 'straw' + èxɔ̀ house' → èbèxɔ̀ 'thatched house'
b. ètè 'yam' + èbà 'paste' → ètèbà 'yam-fufu'
c. àkɔ̀dú 'banana' + àtí 'tree' → àkɔ́dútí banana tree'

These compounds are the nominal counterpart of gerunds, where ∅ spells out as H, and both types of chain (XP_i and X^0_i) are posited, cf. (ii). The lack of a prefix on the head N recalls its absence in other Gbè varieties, e.g. 'house' in Peki-Èvè is pronounced *xɔ̀* (Ansre 1961).

(ii) [DP *èbè*$_j$ [D′ [D [N *xɔ̀*$_i$] [D ∅]] [NP t_i t_j]]]

In Stahlke's (1971b) analysis of Kpando-Èvè, reduplicated verbs have an L prefix, so inherent H verbs reduplicate as LH (iii-b). If the object shifts the L disappears (iii-c), like prefix deletion in nominal compounds (i-c). In Peki (and perhaps Kpando), the gerund of a verb without inherent H has no H (iv-b), but Ansre (1961, p. 45) reports a H suffix with object shift (iv-c). Either prefix L is independent of suffix H, or else the two are complementary, with L in (b) spelling out a weak D position that becomes strong in (c), triggering head movement.

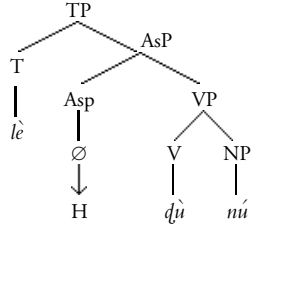
(iii) a. kpɔ́ 'see' (iv) a.. dù 'eat'
b. kpɔ̀-kpɔ́ 'vision, sight' b. dù-dù 'eating'
c. nú kpɔ̀-kpɔ́ 'a vision of something' c. nú dù-dǔ food'

Another syntactic tone effect is the prosodic unity of Èvè's four OV structures in (3)-(4).

By hypothesis, the [+R] feature of D selects a referential lexical head. But since V is not [+N], selection of V by D must be overt. This in turn can be satisfied in one of two ways: movement of V to D (12a); or pronunciation of some overt material in D, (12b).[10] I further assume that V-to-D entails spreading of the lexical content of V in the structure $[_{D0}\ V^0\ [_{D0}\ \varnothing\ ]\ ]$ —effectively rightward reduplication. Additionally, one must stipulate that the [+N] feature in the $[_{D0}\ V^0\ [_{D0}\ \varnothing\ ]\ ]$ complex is spelled out as H in Èvè and Mínà. The second type of lexical support for null D is an adverb that forms a composed lexical chain with an *in situ* V, (12b).[11] For both structures in (12), movement of NP to Spec of DP is presumably Case-driven: a noun can't assign accusative, but DP can assign nominative by Specifier-head agreement.[12]

Next consider the bound auxiliated progressive forms: Èvè (4a), Mínà (7a-b), Fɔn (10). Being nonfree, they are plausibly headed by a dependent (nonreferential[13]) functional category, call it Asp (alternatively, Agr_O). Hypothetically, Asp resembles D in being [+N, +F], but we can suppose that, being [-R] (unlike D), it must be governed by a referential functional head such as Tense.[14] Hence the specific licensing requirements of the progressive are less stringent than those of the gerund. In the Mínà progressive, it suffices to spell out the [+N] feature as H, (14a), or else to check it off by overt object shift (14b), but both operations are not conjointly necessary.

(14) a.



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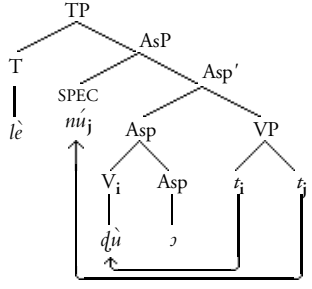


[10]In a possessive DP, assuming the representation in (9) *supra*, head-movement to D^0 is forced by the strong Spec-head agreement that Fukui (1986) posits in such structures.

[11]To maximise parallelism with (12a), (12b) has the adverb in the V-incorporation slot, making D the nominal counterpart of T. Other instantiations are conceivable. Whether/why Èvè and Mínà disallow (12b) is unknown to me, but if (12b) is unavailable in Èvè and Mínà, it would correlate with the obligatoriness of H spellout of null D in gerunds in those varieties.

[12]Kinyalolo (1997) observes that an overt agent in a Fɔn gerund can be licensed only by an independent Genitive-assigner: *sín* or *tɔ̀n*.

[13]Wunderlich (1995) has the mirror image of this feature, called [Dependent].

[14]For some reason, AsP cannot itself be the complement of D, even though the proposal in (12) is that VP can be (cf. Abney 1987, p. 195). Intuitively, no selection is possible between categories that are too 'similar', since this would be akin to categorial recursion.

Comparing optionality of object shift in the Mínà progressive contrasts to its exceptionlessness in gerunds in all three Gbè varieties, the motivation for movement seems to reflect a categorial difference. If gerundive object shift is Case-driven, something else must trigger progressive object shift. Comparing Mínà (7a) with the other progressives in the three Gbè varieties, object shift correlates with morphological (affixal) content in Asp. This points to aspect itself as the movement trigger. It is also striking that a Mínà intransitive verb reduplicates just where object shift would otherwise occur (Hounguès 1996), i.e. in (15b) but not (15c):

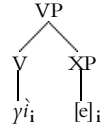
(15) a. Mù yì. *Mínà*
1S leave
'I left'

b. Mù lě yì (*yì). compare to transitive (7a=14a)
1S AUX-H leave leave
'I am/was leaving'

c. Mù lè yì-*(yì)-ɔ̀. compare to transitive (7b=14b)[15]
1S AUX leave-leave-AGR
= stylistic variant of (15b)

This too is not easily understood as a Case effect, but one can generalize from to (7) to (15) if intransitives project an XP complement (Hale & Keyser 1993, Hale *et al.* 1995). There are two possible implementations: implicit object (16a) or light verb, (16b).

(16) a.



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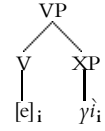
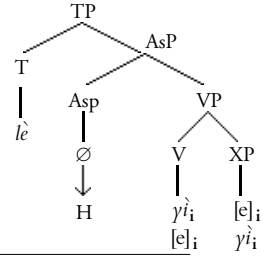


From either source, object shift (plus V-to-Asp) would yield the effect of reduplication by disturbing *in situ* identification of the empty node, thereby triggering resumptive-like doubling of the overt lexical content:

(17) a.



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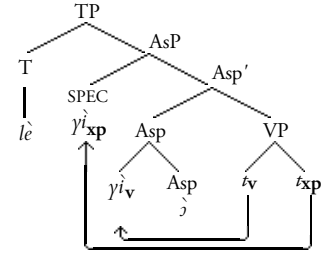


[15]The Fɔn counterpart of (15c), cited by Fabb (1990), also lacks H tone spellout, (i).

(i) Ùn dò yì-*(yì) wɛ.
1S AUX leave-leave FOC
'I am/was leaving'

This is the more revealing because the transitive version, (10), does have a syntactic H.

It remains to ask how Mínà's two nonlocative progressives—shifted and nonshifted—differ semantically. No interpretive difference has been found with a referential object, but with an quantified object, a scopal contrast emerges. If shifted, the indefinite *nú ḍé* 'a/one thing' loses its *in situ* negative polarity reading:[16]

(18) a. Nyè mú lě ḍù nú ḍé ò. *Mínà*
1S NEG AUX-H eat thing one NEG.AGR
'I am/was not eating anything'

b. Nyè mú lè nú ḍé ḍù-ɔ̀ ò.
1S NEG AUX thing one eat-AGR NEG.AGR
'I am/was not eating a (certain) thing'
'There is a thing that I am/was not eating'

A precise account of this difference depends on the structure of the right-edge, negative agreement item ò. Observe that the landing site of the object has wide scope with respect to negation, even though the shifted position is still to the right of NEG. One way to understand this is if, as suggested for Fɔ̀n gerunds in (10)-(11), Mínà NEG is an X^0-adjunct and not a phrasal head.[17] As such, would govern the complement of V in (18a), but not a Spec position above V, yielding the reading of (18b).[18]

Now, if shifting a nonfererential object takes it out of the scope of NEG, one can ask if shifting a referential object is analogous. This possibility gains interest from the preceding considerations, inasmuch as referential object shift in the progressive construction is otherwise unmotivated.

Fabb (1990) also cites Fɔ̀n OV phrases with neither V reduplication nor a final particle. These examples occur after aspectual control verbs like 'start' and 'stop' (19a), cf. Freed (1979), and also after the verb 'know' in the sense of 'know how to VP' (19b).[19]

(19) a. Ùn bɛ́/gbɔ̀ xó dɔ̀. *Fɔ̀n*
1S start/stop word say
'I started/stopped speaking'

b. É nyɔ́ nú nì bló.
3S know thing all do
'S/he knows how to do everything'

The point is that these configurations contain no morphosyntactic triggers for movement, so the only available trigger is semantic.

[16]These data have been kindly provided by D. Hounguès.

[17]Relevant to this proposal is the linear order of NEG (before Aux, presumably in Tense) and the form of the pronominal subject: a bare verb or an Aux is preceded by a clitic (15), while NEG is preceded by an independent pronoun (18). Neither property ie expected if NEG is a phrasal head, but both are plausibly related to the status of NEG as an syntactic adjunct.

[18]Technically, NEG adjoined to T would not c-command either object position, and it is c-command that licenses polarity. However, Déchaine (1995, pp. 146-49) argues that negative polarity is epiphenomenal in Kwa, and that Kwa NEG is simply a predicate operator.

[19]According to Fabb (1990), this is not the only way to say 'know how to VP' in Fɔ̀n.

2.2. Yorùbá

Although Standard Yorùbá lacks finite or auxiliated OV, it does have a couterpart to Fɔ̀n semantic biclausal OV: controlled OV with a bound verb, (20). An OV gerund formed by reduplication is also possible, (21).[20]

(20) a. Ó kọ́ [ìwé é-kà]. *Std. Yorùbá*
3S learn book NOM-read
'S/he learned (how) to read'

b. Sàlá ma [ilé é-kùn].
.AGR know house NOM-paint
'Sàlá knows how to paint houses'

(21) Ó kọ́ [ìwé kí-kà].
3S learn book NOM-read
'S/he learned the art of reading'

Object shift is optional in the complement of nonaspectual control verbs like 'want', (22); the shifted gerund is correspondingly ambiguous between control, non-control and monoclausal readings, (23).[21]

(22) a. Mo fẹ́ ẹ́-hun aṣọ. *Std. Yorùbá*
1S want NOM-weave cloth
'I want to weave [some] cloth'

b. Mo fẹ́ aṣọ ọ́-hun.
1S want cloth NOM-weave
'I want to weave [some] cloth'

(23) Mo fẹ́ aṣọ hí-hun.
1S want cloth NOM-weave
'I want to weave [some] cloth'
'I want [some] cloth-weaving to occur'
'I want [some] woven cloth'

Another candidate for semantic object shift is the event relative (24), distinguished from an object relative (25) by object doubling. By hypothesis, reconstructing the object to its A-position blocks the event reading; perhaps doubling forces object wide scope with respect to V.

[20]Data from Abraham (1958: xxvi*f*), Awóyalé (1974, 1983, p.c.), ʾW. Abímbọ́lá (p.c.). The bracketed form in (20a) cannot occupy an A-position, but that in (21a) can:

(i) *[Ìwé é-kà] -á wù mí.
book NOM-read-AGR please 1S

(ii) [Ìwé kí-kà] -á wù mí.
book NOM-read-AGR please 1S
'I like reading'

A long tradition—from Bowen (1858) to Awóbùlúyì (1978b)—derives (20a) from (21) by consonant deletion (cf. Abímbọ́lá & Oyèlárán 1975). This threatens the typology in (2) by reducing the bound/free distinction to phonology. But Awóyalé objects to a C-deletion analysis of (20a) because it is not synonymous with (21a). Bound/free forms also coexist in raising contexts, (iii). Unless the *ní* in (iv) is pure phonology, this pair does not challenge (2).

(iii) Ilẹ̀ yìí yá á-rò.
ground this be.easy NOM-hoe
'This soil is easy to hoe'

(iv) Ilẹ̀ yìí yá ní rí-rò.
ground this be.easy at NOM-hoe
'This soil is easy hoeing'

[21]Paradigms from ʾY. Awóyalé, 24.942, MIT, 9 May 1996, cf. Bámgbóṣé (1971).

(24) ìlù$_i$ tí ó ń lù (ìlù$_i$) *Std. Yorùbá*[22]
drum REL 3S PROG beat drum
'the fact that s/he is drumming' / 'the drumming that s/he's doing'

(25) ìlù$_i$ tí ó ń lù t_i
drum REL 3S PROG beat
'the drum s/he's playing'

Though Standard Yorùbá doesn't have auxiliated OV, Ọ̀wọ́rọ̀-Yorùbá does, in the perfective (Oyèlárǎn 1992b, p. 33):[23]

(26) a. Sàìbù ú ti jẹ́ iṣu .yẹn. *Std. Yorùbá*
AGR AUX eat yam that
'Sàìbù has eaten that yam/those yams'

b. Mo ti ṣọ́ ọ.
1S AUX watch 3S
'I have watched her/him/it'

(27) a. Sàìbù ó mí iṣu tibẹ jẹ. *Ọ̀wọ́rọ̀-Yorùbá*
AGR AUX yam that eat
'Sàìbù has eaten that yam/those yams'

b. Mò ó mí i ṣọ.
1S AGR AUX 3S watch
'I have watched her/him/it'

2.3. Ìgbo

Standard Ìgbo has no finite or auxiliated OV, but does have controlled OV. Compare infinitive-VO and nominalised-OV complements:[24]

(28) a. Ọ́ kụ́zhi-ri m ị-gbá igwè. *Std. Ìgbo*
3S teach-ASP 1S INF-move iron
'S/he taught me to ride a bike'

b. *Ọ́ kụ́zhi-ri m igwè a-gbá.
3S teach-ASP 1S iron NOM-move

[22]Cf. Bámgbóṣé (1992). Collins (1994a) reports similar patterns in Gbè, Ìgbo and other Kwa languages and posits a null *fact* head (cf. Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1971). But null *fact* poses two related problems: the neccessity of *wh*-movement just in Kwa languages; the unavailability of the null *fact* structure in English. Both stipulations can be dropped if Kwa but not English independently has access to an event-structure mechanism of object shift (the hypothesis of this paper). Unfortunately, object shift doesn't explain why, in Yorùbá, a relativised subject can get a fact/event reading comparable to (24), as in the following (Bámgbóṣé 1975, p. 205):

(i) [Ọ̀rẹ́ mi tí ó kú] ni kò jẹ́ kí n wá.
friend 1S REL 3S die FOC NEG allow COMP 1S come
'It was [my friend's having died] that prevented me from coming'

Ọ. Awóbùlúyì (p. c.) notes that the form *ìlù* is accidentally ambiguous between the lexical noun 'drum' and the syntactic nominalization 'beating'. If the relativized item in (24) is the latter, the chain is more complex. An open question is the base-generated position of the relativized event nominalization; for different views see Koopman (1984) and Manfredi (1993).

[23]If Ọ̀wọ́rọ̀ *mí* is not an Aux, (27a-b) might be serial constructions with an initial 'take' verb —cf. *mú* 'take hold of (in one hand)'—and resultative semantics ('The yams got eaten').

[24]Mbàisén-Ìgbo data from Ụ. P. Íhiọ́nụ́; in the Leiden workshop, E. Ézè and R.-J. Ányanwụ́ agreed that similar contrasts hold in their dialects, hence I dare to call them Standard.

(29) a. Ọ́ mára-na igwè a-gbá.
3S know-PERF iron NOM-move
'S/he knows how to ride a bike'

b. ??Ọ́ mára-na ị-gbá igwè.
3S know-PERF INF-move iron

The controlled OV form cannot occupy an A-position:

(30) Ị́-gbá igwè dị́ m ụtọ́. *Std. Ìgbo*
INF-move iron be 1S tasty
'I like bike riding'

(31) *Ígwè a-gbá dị́ m ụtọ́.
iron NOM-move be 1S tasty

Object shift is usually obligatory with control verbs, (32), but it is exceptionally optional with a nonreferential object such as *ákwà* in the light VP *kwá akwà* 'to sew/perform the action of sewing', (33).

(32) a. ??Ọ́ mára-na ị-kwá bùbá. *Std. Ìgbo*
3S know-PERF INF-sew blouse

b. Ọ́ mára-na bùbá a-kwá.
3S know-PERF blouse NOM-sew
'S/he knows how to sew blouses'

(33) a. Ọ́ mára-na ị-kwá akwà.
3S know-PERF INF-sew cloth
'S/he knows how to sew'

b. Ọ́ mára-na akwà a-kwá.
3S know-PERF cloth NOM-sew
'S/he knows how to sew'

That object shift is optional in some contexts suggests it is not Case-driven. This is confirmed by the fact that the shifted object optionally appears in the Genitive, yielding a marked reading of expert knowledge:[25]

(34) a. Ọ́ mára-na [ekpo á-tụ]. *Std. Ìgbo*
3S know-PERF mask NOM-do
'S/he knows how to carve *ékpo*'

b. Ọ́ mára-na [ahya á-zụ].
3S know-PERF market NOM-buy
'S/he knows how to trade'

(35) a. Ọ́ [mára-na ekpó] a-tụ.
3S know-PERF mask.GEN NOM-do
'S/he is expert at carving *ékpo*'

b. Ọ́ [mára-na ahyá] a-zụ.
3S know-PERF market.GEN NOM-buy
'S/he is an accomplished haggler'

[25]Genitive in (35) comes out phonetically as H+downstepped H, while the Absolutive object in (34) has citation tone (HH). Also note that the expected downstep before the nominalised bound verb occurs in (35), but not after the phrase boundary in (34).

In (35), the source of Genitive case is the Aspect-marked matrix verb (§5.3.1 *infra*), making it an ECM construction. Since object shift applies independently of ECM, this confirms that object shift is not Case-driven.

The verb that follows all these shifted objects occurs in a bound form. Such bound forms freely follow any direct object (36), but they are marginal after a Genitive-marked object (37).

(36) a. Ó rì-ri jí. *Std. Ìgbo*
3S eat-ASP eat
'S/he ate yam'

b. Ó rì-ri jí e-ri.[26]
3S eat-ASP eat NOM-eat
'S/he ate yam as expected'

(37) a. Ó rí-ele jí.
3S eat-PERF yam.GEN
'S/he has eaten yam'

b. ??Ó rí-ele jí e-ri.[27]
3S eat-PERF yam.GEN NOM-eat
['S/he ate yam as expected']

The contrast between marginal (37b) and well-formed (35) confirms that the ECM pattern in (35) arises in a bi-clausal structure.

Although Standard Ìgbo lacks auxiliated OV, some areas of southern Ìgbo have an (epistemic or deontic) obligative future construction in auxiliated OV, as in Àvụ-Igbo (38a), or Èchíè-Igbo (39a). The bound, VP-final item has a marked presupposition.[28] The nominalised verb in the ordinary VO future, is also bound, cf. (38b), (39b).

(38) a. Ọ́ gà [ríṅ ahụ̀] ṅ́-ri.[29] *Àvụ-Igbo*
3S AUX food that NOM-eat
'S/he must (certainly) eat that food'

b. Ọ́ gà e-rí [rin ahụ̀].
3S AUX NOM-eat food that
'S/he is going to eat that food' (Émènanjọ 1981, p. 198)

(39) a. Ọ́ gà ákḅụ a-tá. *Èchíè-Igbo*
3S AUX palm.kernel NOM-chew(?.GEN)[30]
'S/he must (certainly) chew palm kernels'

b. Ọ́ gà a-tá akḅụ́.
3S AUX NOM-chew palm.kernel.GEN
'S/he is going to chew palm kernels' (Ńdịmélе 1993, p. 73)

[26]The presuppositional effect of sentence-final *e-ri* recalls the Fɔ̀n 'clausal determiner' *ɔ́* (Lefebvre 1992, DeGraff 1994).
[27]This judgement reflects discussion with E. 'N. Émènanjọ and P. A. Nwáchukwu, 21/3/86.
[28]Perhaps similar to the bound, VP-final item in the past tense sentence in (36b).
[29]Nearby Òwerе́ has the construction just with pronominal objects (Émènanjọ 1981, p. 127). The same *ń-* prefix may also occur in the imperative form *Bɣá njé!* 'Come, let's be going!'
[30]The H+downstepped H tone on the nominalised verb, if accurate, might indicate Genitive.

2.4. Nupé

Madugu (1979, 1986) describes Nupé doublets where the auxiliated variant has a stative or resultative entailment, (40). (40b) recalls Ọ̀wọ́rọ̀-Yorùbá, which has auxiliated OV with the perfective, cf. (26) *supra*.

(40) a. Egi là tásа. *Nupé*
child break plate
'The child broke the plate'

b. Egi á tásа là.
child AUX plate break
'The child has broken the plate'

If the object can be nonreferential, OV is optional (Madugu 1995), (41).[31] We have already seen the effect of non-referentiality in Ìgbo, where object shift is optional with a cognate object, cf. (33) *supra*.

(41) a. Musa bi (e)ci. *Nupé*
run race
'Musa ran'

b. Musa á bi (e)ci.
AUX run race
'Musa ran off'

c. Musa á eci bi.
AUX race run
'Musa (really) ran (well)'

Auxiliated OV is excluded in locative and negative sentences:

(42) a. Egi dan kata o. *Nupé*
child be.in house LOC
'The child is in the house'

b. *Egi á kata (o) dan (o).
AUX house LOC be.in LOC

c. *Egi á dan kata o.
AUX be.in house LOC

(43) a. Musa go kaba à.
grind corn NEG
'Musa didn't grind the corn'

b. *Musa á kaba go à.
AUX corn grind NEG

c. Musa l-á go kaba à.
?-AUX grind corn NEG
'Musa hasn't ground the corn'

2.5. Western (Ivoirean) Kwa

Àkyé has VO with bare factative and irrealis verbs (44a-b, Pinsonneault 1990, Zribi-Hertz and Adopo 1991). This contrasts with auxiliated OV in

[31]In (41a-b), the parenthesised noun prefix is unpronounced, cf. footnote 8 *supra* on Èʋè.

what is traditionally called an imperfective construction (44c).

(44) a. Àpí (ò) hɔ̀ɛn Yàpí. *Àkyé*
3S see
'Api saw Yapi'

b. Àpí ó hɔ̀ɛn Yàpí.
3S.IRR see
'Api will see Yapi'

c. Àpí wɔ̀ Yàpí hɔ̀ɛn.
3S.ANIM.IMPERF see
'Api sees Yapi'

Àbɛ̄ has VO in non-control environments:

(45) a. Mə́ dí sákā. *Àbɛ̄*
1S eat rice
'I ate rice' / 'I have eaten rice'

b. M̀ gɛ̄ dí sákā.
1S NEG eat rice
'I didn't eat rice' / 'I haven't eaten rice'

c. M ɛ̄ dí sákā.
1S IMPF eat rice
'I habitually ate/eat rice' / 'I'm in the process of eating rice'

d. M á dī sákā.
1S FUT eat rice
'I'm going to eat rice'

Control verbs like 'begin', 'want', 'intend' and 'like' take OV (Tellier 1986, N'Guessan & Manfredi 1989), but the OV complement of such verbs has overt nominalisation only in a negative context:

(46) a. M̀ dá [sákā dí]. *Àbɛ̄*
1S begin rice eat
'I (have) started to eat rice'

b. M̀ gé dá [sákā dí-ī].[32]
1S NEG begin rice eat-NOM
'I didn't start to eat rice' / 'I haven't started to eat rice'

Given morphosyntactic evidence for V-to-Infl in Àbɛ̄ (Manfredi 1988), the case for object shift rests on whether there is some property shared by all verbs that take OV complements in (46). If all and only control verbs take OV, then either Tellier is correct that Àbɛ̄ VPs are underlyingly head-final, or else object shift in biclausal structures is obligatory ECM.[33]

[32]N. P. N. N'Guessan (p.c.) reports that the traditional term for this overt nominalisation is an 'infinitive'; if it is actually a free form (I don't know), it goes against the typology in (2).

[33]Tellier (1986) gives examples with the matrix verb *gáyà* 'intend', but doesn't mark tone and hence may not have distinguished the two kinds of nonfinite OV in (46). When I checked her examples, it emerged that *gáyà* takes a bare verb in its complement, i.e. it goes with (46a). As it happens, Tellier did fiund an aspectually-based ordering difference in control complements, related not to the object alone but to the semantic content of the embedded V: 'learn to catch' has the opposite order from 'start catching', cf. (i) vs. (ii).

2.6. Segue to semantics

The above observations are consistent with the characterisation of OV gerunds as free OV formations, inasmuch as they occur in A-positions and have the external syntax of DPs: this accords with data from Gbɛ̀ (§2.1) and Standard Yorùbá (§2.2). The data also save an underlying VO analysis of [S Aux O V] across Kwa: in various durative (nonterminative) aspects, there is a correlation between bound deverbal phrases and a preposed object (internal argument). This effect occurs in some languages but not others, and in some aspects but not others:

	hosts for auxiliated OV	
(47) Èʋè progressive, prospective	(4)	
Mínà	progressive	(7b)
Fɔ̀n	progressive	(10)
Standard Yorùbá	(no auxiliated OV)	—
Ọ̀wọ́rọ̀-Yorùbá	perfective	(27)
Standard Ìgbo	(no auxiliated OV)	—
Àvụ-Igbo, Èchíè-Igbo	obligative	(38a, 39a)
Nupé	resultative	(40b)
Àkyé	imperfective	(44)
Àbɛ̄	(no auxiliated OV)	—

Object shift extends to (nonterminative) control contexts as follows:

	hosts for controlled OV	
(48) Fɔ̀n start, stop, know	(19)	
Standard Yorùbá	learn, know, want	(20, 22b)
Standard Ìgbo	know	(29a, 34a, 35a)
Àbɛ̄	begin, want, intend, like	(46)

Prediction of which particular aspects and matrix verbs take OV in which languages is utopian for now, but the point remains that the motivation for object shift in each language is more plausibly aspectual (i.e. semantic) than it is based on a morphosyntactic criterion such as Case.[34] The next section describes what a semantic mechanism of object shift might look like.

(i) Ńkū gáyà [òrōvì kɔ́ ɲí].
intend snake start catch
'Ńkū intended to start catching snakes'

(ii) Ńkū gáyà [òrōvì ɲí hɔ̀hɔ̀].
intend snake catch learn
'Ńkū intended to learn to catch snakes'

Tellier assumes that Àbɛ̄ VPs are left branching, so (i) has reordering of the two embedded verbs, while (ii) doesn't. But if Àbɛ̄ VPs branch to the right, then object shift has occurred in both examples, to a landing site which is all the way at the top of the complement clause (i.e. to the right of the only finite verb, consistent with its being ECM). Now, just in case (as here) the shifted object belongs to the lower embedded verb, it has to cross the higher embedded verb, which is apparently OK if that verb is aspectual (e.g. 'start'). But for an object to shift past a lexical verb (e.g. learn') is an intuitive locality violation; the output in (ii) suggests that a way to escape this dilemma is for the bottom VP to shift too—perhaps after the object has shifted locally, so that only nominal XPs ever move. Another question that (46) poses for the typology in (2) is why matrix negation requires affixal nominalisation of the complement.

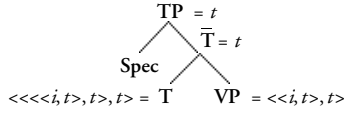
[34]The ECM-like behavior of object shift in Àbɛ̄ (§2.5 *supra*) looks like an exception.

3. Scopophobia in compositional eventology

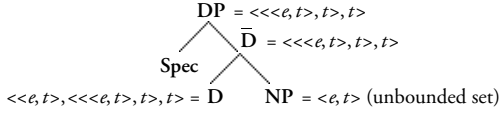
My proposal regarding the trigger of object shift is that the object of any semantically durative sentence is scopophobic, where SEMANTICALLY DURATIVE means strictly lacking a terminative reading (i.e. not just aspectually ambiguous). Clearly there are durative sentences that lack overt object shift in various constructions and languages, but this isn't unexpected. Either the sentence has at least one terminative reading, or else object shift may be covert (masked by further head movement) or else blocked by some other factor such as the content of the object's D^0 position. I'll cleave to this route but won't get very far very fast.

Verkuyl (1972) held that aspect (in the traditional sense of *Aktionsart* or the 'Vendler classes') is not lexical but rather compositional on the surface syntax of objects. Abney's DP helped Verkuyl (1994) refine this claim in terms of interactions between nominal and verbal functional projections. Verkuyl's type-logic eschews events as semantic primitives; events arise as a product of dynamicity (temporal quantification) located in T (49), plus object cardinality (atemporal quantification) located in D (50). To calculate an aspectual class of events, both quantificational types are conjointly required, (51).

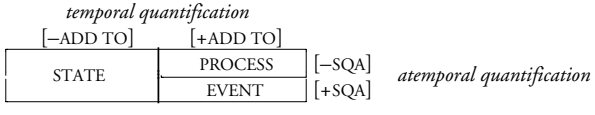
(49)



(50)



(51)



Now for some typology. There is a direct relation between aspect composition in Verkuyl's sense and the content of T and D. This relation has been obscured by the fact that null (referential) T and D aren't allowed in the languages that most semanticians study; but it is transparent in languages that allow T and D to be null. In Kwa languages D isn't, and T needn't be, directly instantiated by any morpheme, even when they are not 'anaphoric' *à la* Haïk (1990). For example, the following Yorùbá sentences all lack overt T or D. Interpretation is sensitive to animacy and position. Plural readings are available for inanimate (count) arguments in both subject and object position, (52). With bare animate arguments, the

availablility of plural construal reflects a subject/object asymmetry: an (animate) bare noun may be construed as plural in object position, but in subject position, it can't be, (53).[35]

(52) a.	Mo rí ìwé.	Mo rí àwọn ìwé.	*Std. Yorùbá*
	1S see book	1S see 3P book	
	'I saw a/the book'	'I saw some/the books'	
	'I saw some/the books'		
b.	Ìwé wà mbẹ̀.	Àwọn ìwé wà mbẹ̀.	
	book exist there	3P book exist there	
	'A/the book is there'	'Some/the books are there'	
	'Some/the books are there'		
(53) a.	Mo rí ajá.	Mo rí àwọn ajá.	
	1S see dog	1S see 3P dog	
	'I saw a/the dog'	'I saw some/the dogs'	
	'I saw some/the dogs'		
b.	Ajá tún jẹun.	Àwọn ajá tún jẹun.	
	dog re- eat.thing	3P dog re- eat.thing	
	'A/the dog ate again'	'Some/the dogs ate again'	

This recalls object shift in durative/nonterminative sentences. If terminativity is "the property of a sentence to pertain to a bounded temporal entity" (Verkuyl 1994, cf. Krifka 1989, Stechow 1996), then duratives include not just progressives but also habituals, negatives (*I didn't eat the apple for an hour*) and other statives, plus irrealis futures.[36]

(53a) shows that cardinality and definiteness are underspecified for a bare noun object in the scope of V.[37] This has implications for the understanding of object shift. A VP-internal object forces composition of a terminative event, consistent with the construal of (52)-(53) as completed events, i.e. they are assigned a past interpretation. Object shift undermines a terminative reading by removing the object from the verb's scope:

[35]Judgements from 'Y. Awóyalé, A. Ògúndíran and D. Ọlọ́runyọ̀mí (p.c.). An effect of null T is the past reference of eventive (52a) and the nonpast reference of noneventive (52b). Welmers (1973) dubbed this default tense 'factative'. An overt deictic modifier overrides the ambiguous cardinality of (52) and (53), cf. (i) and (ii). (The focus reading of [NP *nàà*], 'even NP' is excluded..) All of the above plural cases could have NP *wọn* {*yìí/yẹn/nàà*}, i.e. with clitic *wọn* plus deictic in apposition to the bare noun; the low tone of *wọn* shows that it is proclitic.

(i) a.	Mo rí (àwọn) ìwé {yìí/yẹn/nàà}.	(ii) a. Mo rí (àwọn) ajá {yìí/yẹn/nàà}.
	1S see 3P book this/that	1S see 3P dog this/that
	'I saw the book(*s)' (without *àwọn*)	'I saw the dog(*s)' (without *àwọn*)
	'I saw the book*(s)' (with *àwọn*)	'I saw the dog*(s)' (with *àwọn*)
b.	(Àwọn) ìwé {yìí/yẹn/nàà} wà.	b. (Àwọn) ajá {yìí/yẹn/nàà} tún jẹun.
	3P book this/that exist	3P dog this/that again eat
	'The book is there' (without *àwọn*)	'The dog(*s) ate again' (without *àwọn*)
	'The books are there' (with *àwọn*)	'The dog*(s) ate again' (with *àwọn*)

[36]On the Yorùbá 'future' see Oyèláràn (1982) and Déchaine (1991, 1992).

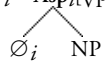
[37]Definiteness effects aren't unknown in English (**There is the man in the garden*), but the strict requirement of articles (or bare plurals) on count nouns in Germanic and Romance mask these effects. Perhaps the Slavic option of bare count nouns is linked to morphologised aspect and the *Aktionsart*/aspect dichotomy (Verkuyl 1994, pp. 10-12). In Romance, object shift excludes "specific time reference" and gives a "property" reading (Postma 1995, p. 182).

(54) a. T [VP V **DP**]

b. T **DP**$_i$ [VP V t_i]

That's why the object *must* move. So why *can* it move, i.e. why is Spec of AsP (or Agr$_O$P) an OK landing site? If null D needs to be identified by Case (Déchaine & Manfredi 1995), object shift allows null D to be Case-licensed via Spec-head agreement:

(55) T [AsP **DP**$_i$ **Asp**$_i$[VP V t_i]]



Verkuyl's framework accommodates scopophobic object shift because it computes aspect upwards in the tree from the VP to the clausal domain, through the mediation of the object DP. Such a computation is readily performed in the AsP projection, which has nominal properties and is located above VP but below T.

Before retracing our steps through Kwa to look for masked scopophobia in line with the above considerations, it would be encouraging to find aspectual motivation for OV effects in at least one other branch of Niger-Congo, and there is at least a *prima facie* case for this in Kru.

4. OVert scopophobia in Kru

Heine (1980) tacitly assumes a VO analysis of Kru; in fact there was no alternative before Koopman (1984) posited verb-raising from underlying OV as the source of surface VO in Vā tà. Koopman adopted what from the perspective of the day was the null hypothesis: VO in Kru is V2. Inasmuch as Ịzọ̀n is a consistent finite OV language, we expect it to pattern with other finite OV systems such as Turkish and Japanese. Similarly, inasmuch as auxiliated OV in Vā tà is non-finite OV, we might expect it to resemble root-controlled OV systems such as Dutch and German. In Germanic V2, a lexically filled root-level functional head blocks VO, making OV the elsewhere case.[38] However, the distribution of VO vs. OV is harder to capture in Kru, where V2 operates at the nonroot level (any tensed clause), and the list of tense-like elements that block V2 in a given Kru language is apparently arbitrary. Moreover, Kru-internal evidence for other head-final lexical projections (like PP) is equivocal at best. It is thus worth considering VO as the elsewhere case with OV derived by object shift.

4.1. Vātà

Koopman's (1984) Vātà examples of VO and OV are collected below, divided between affirmative and negative cases.

[38]Since den Besten's original analysis (1977), the exact category that blocks V2 has remained a matter of debate. Zwart (1993) discusses some problems with the idea of a tensed Comp.

(56) a. N lì saká.
1S [eat.L] rice
'I ate rice'

b. N l-ē saká.
1S eat-IMPF rice
'I'm eating rice'

(57) a. N ká saká lī. *Vātà*
1S for.IRR rice eat
'I will eat rice'

b. N lā saká lī.
1S PERF rice eat
'I have eaten rice'

(58) a. N naà l-ē-kā saká.
1S NEG eat-IMPF-for rice
'I won't eat rice'

b. N ná lī saká.
1S NEG.IRR eat rice
'I shouldn't eat rice'

(59) a. N ní saká wà.
1S NEG rice want
'I don't want rice'

b. À nị-l-à saká lì.
1P NEG-still-ever rice [eat.L]
'We haven't yet eaten rice'

c. À nị-à-wa saká lì.
1P NEG-ever-PAST rice [eat.L]
'We've never eaten rice before'

These facts are equally consistent with object shift as they are with V2. (56a), auxless and unequivocally nondurative, is VO. Progressive (56b) is also VO, but the vocalic suffix suggests the operation of V-to-I, hence V could have raised past a shifted object.[39] Irrealis/future (57a) and perfective (57b), both OV, recall Àvụ-Igbo and Ọ̀wọ́rọ̀-Yorùbá respectively. If irrealis and perfective were the only cases of OV, then "V2 unless there's an Aux" would be the straightforward generalisation. However, the negative examples in (58) and (59) all have Auxes, though they take VO and OV respectively. What about aspect? The apparent difference between negative VO (58) and negative OV (59) is irrealis vs. realis, at any rate it isn't non-Aux vs. Aux. Another problem for verb raising is the source of the L tone on the phrase-final verbs in (59b,c), since this element also occurs in the root, null Tense VO form (56a). The V2 account assumes that in (56a) the verb has raised, while in (58) it has remained in its base position.[40]

The latter problem, namely the occurrence of derived tone on phrase-final verbs, recurs when we turn from auxiliated OV to other parts of the typology in (2), namely gerund and controlled OV as in (60). These forms

[39]T. Hoekstra (p.c.) points out that the adequacy of object shift as an account of linear order cannot be evaluated independently of head movement by the verb. The deeper question is whether V-to-I also extends the verb's scopal domain in a relevant way, undoing the semantic effect of object shift. I'd say not, for two reasons: the object is no longer the verb's complement (a quaint notion in this Minimalist era) or indeed the complement of anything since it occupies a Spec; secondly, an affix now intervenes (not so quaint).

[40]Marchese (1981), following Stockwell's (1977) treatment of German, assumes underlying VO in Kru, with OV derived by "exbraciation" (rightward verb movement). But OV analyses of Igbo, Yorùbá and English aren't unknown (Ìhiónú 1989, Awóyalé 1997, Koster 1989). Williamson (1986) seems to accept Marchese's diachronic view as synchronically workable. My attempt here to extend an object shift analysis from Kwa to Kru imprudently disregards Welmers' opinion that OV order in Kru is "superficially similar… [to that of Gbè, but] probably represents a quite different underlying structure" (1977, p. 346).

are precedented in Kwa. Again inconveniently for the idea of lexical OV, note the phrase-final L of the gerund in (60a).

(60) a. Kòfí nị̂ị̂ [saká lī-lì] *Vātà*
Kòfí POSS rice eat+eat.L
'Kofi's rice eating'

b. N nị kā [saká lī] kā mlị̄.
1S FUT for rice eat for leave
'I will go eat rice'

4.2. Neyo

The indeterminate status of negation as affix or Aux, and the utility of the aspectual view, are further illustrated by Neyo, a near neighbor of Vātà. Neyo has two negative forms, one VO, the other OV:[41]

(61) Né mla dili–no. *Neyo*
1S.NEG drink raphia-wine
'I don't drink raphia wine'

(62) a. E ne fe ka.
1S NEG strength have
'I am not strong'

b. …ma ne wa yo la.
but 1S.NEG PAST child bring
'…but I didn't bring the child'

To maintain the complementarity between [S V O] and [S Aux O V] required for V2, requires that the negative morpheme is an Aux in (62) but not in (61). The question is whether this distinction is learnable. One might think that *pro*-drop Neg is not an Aux; this would explain the VO order of (61). But then the OV order in (62b) must be due to the presence of the *wa*, i.e. we are forced to say that *wa* is an Aux (relevant evidence lacking in the source). Non-*pro*-drop Neg in (62a), by contrast, must count as Aux all by itself, hence OV. The problem is how to tell—independent of surface word order (that which we wish to explain)—whether a token of negative *ne* is an auxiliary or not.

On this point, Marchese is convinced that the criterion is aspectual:

> A sentence-second particle… is used to negate imperfective sentences and an auxiliary [is] used to negate perfective sentences. (Marchese 1982, p. 5)

In other words, Marchese predicts that a version of (61) meaning 'I didn't drink raphia-wine' will be OV (hopefully, whether or not there is a *wa* around). If so, then aux-hood is just a diacritic for sentential aspect, bringing the Kru VO/OV distinction into line with that of Kwa: objects in the scope of V allow terminative aspect; objects outside the scope of V express durative aspect.

[41]Data from Thomann (1905), cited by Marchese (1982, p. 5*f.*), sporadic tonemarking.

4.3. Dèwōín

As Welmers (1977) reports, this westernmost Kru language has OV order in the perfective, progressive and future as well as in all negative forms:

(63) a. Ɔ́ pī sāyɛ̀.
3S cook meat
'S/he cooked meat'

b. Ɔ́ ɔ̀ pī sāyɛ̀.
3S HAB cook meat
'S/he (usually) cooks meat'

c. Ɔ̄ wē pī sāyɛ̀.
3S OBLIG cook meat
'S/he ought to cook meat.'

(64) a. Ɔ́ nà sāyɛ̀ pī. *Dèwōín*
3S PERF meat cook
'S/he has cooked meat'

b. Ɔ́ nì sāyɛ̀ pī nā.
3S DUR meat cook (?)LOC
'S/he is cooking meat'

c. Ɔ́ ɔ̀ mū sāyɛ̀ pī–ì mǔ.[42]
3S IRR go meat cook-NOM go
'S/he's going to cook meat'

d. Ɔ̄ jī sāyɛ̀ pī…
3S.IRR POT meat cook
'When/if s/he does cook meat…'

(65) a. Ɔ́ sē sāyɛ̀ pī.
3S NEG meat cook
'S/he didn't cook meat'

b. Ɔ̄ ní pī sāyɛ̀.
3S.IRR DUR cook meat
'S/he doesn't cook meat'
'S/he shouldn't cook meat'

(66) a. Ɔ́ séē sāyɛ̀ pī.
3S NEG.(?)IRR meat cook
'S/he hasn't cooked meat'

b. Ɔ́ sē sāyɛ̀ pī ná nī.
3S NEG meat cook (?)LOC DUR
'S/he isn't cooking meat'

c. Ɔ́ sē sāyɛ̀ pī–ī.
3S NEG meat cook-NOM
'S/he'll not cook meat'

d. Ɔ̄ sē sāyɛ̀ pī…
3S.IRR NEG meat cook
'If s/he doesn't cook meat…'

Welmers anticipates Koopman's verb-second analysis with his rule of 'object-third':

> The object appears immediately after the first 'verbal' in a sentence, whether that is the 'main'…verb or an auxiliary (Welmers 1977, p. 346).

Just as in Vātà, everything hinges on how—other than word order—we know that *sē*, *nà* and *nì* are Auxes, but *ní* and *wē* aren't. Furthermore, as Welmers recognises, a rule of object placement that counts material from the beginning of the sentence has little to say about the phrase-final items that appear in the progressive and future, and especially about apparent doubling of the future auxiliary (64c).[43] As before, the case for object shift rests on these, and on the aspectual grab-bag of OV examples—what Verkuyl calls "the durative garbage can".

[42]Perhaps the rising pitch on the second token of 'go' is caused by the preceding, affixal tone.
[43]Misgivings on this point may be why Welmers uncharacteristically declines to give morpheme glosses, protesting perhaps too much that it is impossible to attach "particularly meaningful label[s]" to the post-verb "construction markers", namely the crucial phrase-final elements (1977, pp. 346*f.*).

5. Covert scopophobia in Benue-Kwa

If the landing site of object-shift is Spec of AsP (67a), then the presence of independently motivated V-to-I (67b) will allow some instances of surface VO to display the durative semantics of overtly scopophobic examples.

(67) a. $[_{AsP}$ **DP**$_i$ Asp $[_{VP}$ V t_i]]

b. $[_{TP} \ldots$ **V**$_j$ $[_{AsP}$ **DP**$_i$ **Asp**$_j$ $[_{VP}$ t_j t_i]]]

In this way, scopophobia may still characterise examples where overt object shift is lacking: definiteness restrictions in Àkán double objects (§5.1); the Genitive case assigned by denominal verbs in Yorùbá (§5.2) and perfective verbs in Ìgbo (§5.3); the absolute sentence-final position of the Ìgbo bound verb complement (§5.4); a range of aspectual readings of Ìgbo *-rV* inflection (§5.5); the inherent durativity of focus and the complementarity of focused and nonfocused aspects in Èfịk-Ìbìbìò (§5.6).

5.1. Definiteness restrictions in Àkán double objects

As noticed by Christaller (1875) and remarked upon ever after (Stewart 1963, Lord 1982, Sáàh & Ézè 1997), a double object Theme in Àkán cannot bear the definite article *nó* (68a); the relevant meaning is conveyed by a serial construction (69a).[44] The definite article being homophonous with animate 3S, a double-pronoun double object is also out, as is the null object counterpart denoting inanimate 3S, cf. (68b) vs. (69b). Only an indefinite theme works in both structures, (68c, 69c).[45]

(68) a. *Ɔ̀-fɛ̀m-m̀ mè sìká nó. *Àkán*
3S-lend-PAST 1S money the

b. *Ɔ̀-fɛ̀m-m̀ mè nó.
3S-lend-PAST 1S 3S

c. Ɔ̀-fɛ̀m-m̀ àbòfrá nó sìká.
3S-lend-PAST child the money
'S/he lent the child money'

(69) a. Ɔ̀-dè sìká nó fɛ̀m-m̀ mè.
3S-de money the lend-PAST 1S
'S/he lent the money to me'

b. Ɔ̀-dè (nó) fɛ̀m-m̀ mè.
3S-de 3S lend-PAST 1S
'S/he lent (her/him/it) to me'

c. Ɔ̀-dè sìká fɛ̀m-m̀ àbòfrá nó.
3S-de money lend-PAST child the
S/he lent money to the child'

[44]Thus Àkán presumably lacks the definiteness effects described for Yorùbá in §3. Àkán differs from (most of the rest of) Kwa in marking animacy obligatorily; one consequence is the complete absence of logophoric effects (Manfredi 1995, pp. 108*ff.*).

[45]The definiteness of the Goal is apparently irrelevant, although one wonders if a double object construction would be possible with Theme and Goal both indefinite.

The descriptive generalisation—a definite Theme precedes a Goal—can be restated: a referential Theme precedes its verb, if the verb also has a Goal. Indeed, the serial option in (67) contains an OV string, though not necessarily an OV constituent. So, is a double object like a durative event, e.g. a progressive? Verkuyl (1994, p. 234*ff.*) might say yes; he models a terminative event as a Gruber-Jackendoff PATH where the verb composes with the Goal before the Theme. The Goal being the endpoint, the Theme is interpreted with the duration of the path. Àkán is unique among (major) Kwa languages in having an unambiguous definite article. Scophobia forces this article (or, in names, its semantic content) to the left of the verb that denotes the path. But (68c) is still 'masked' OV, insofar as at least one object is pronounced to the right of the verb.

5.2. Genitive objects of Yorùbá denominal verbs

Yorùbá polysyllabic verbs fall into two sets: true V-V compounds like *rẹ́-jẹ* 'cheat' (literally 'cut-eat') whose accusative object appears between the two components (Awóbùlúyì 1969), and relatively unanalyzable forms like *gbàgbé* 'forget' whose object is morphologically Genitive (Elimelech 1982).

(70) a. Mo rẹ́ ẹ jẹ. *Yorùbá*
1S cut 3S eat
'I cheated her/him'

b. Mo gbàgbé e rẹ̀.
1S forget GEN 3S
'I forgot her/him/it'

Despite its inability to assign accusative, many speakers view *gbàgbé* as a V-V compound, albeit with obscure semantics (implausibly, *gbà* 'take' and *gbé* 'perish'). But other non-splitting polysyllables have no such source e.g. *pàtàkì* '(be) important' which optionally appears with the light verb *ṣe* 'do', (71a). The causative form of *pàtàkì* takes a Genitive object, (71b).

(71) a. Ó (ṣe) pàtàkì. *Yorùbá*
3S do important
'3S is important'

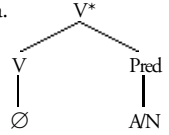
b. Mo pàtàkì i rẹ̀.
1S important GEN 3S
'I made 3S important'

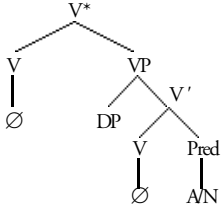
In contrast to *gbàgbé*, *pàtàkì* can be focus-clefted like any other noun, i.e. without morphological nominalisation (reduplication):

(72) a. Gbí-gbàgbé ni mo gbàgbé e rẹ̀. *Yorùbá*
NOM-forget FOC 1S forget GEN 3S
'I really forgot her/him/it'

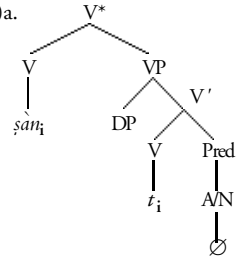
b. (*Pí-)pàtàkì ni ìyí.
NOM-important FOC this
'This is really important'

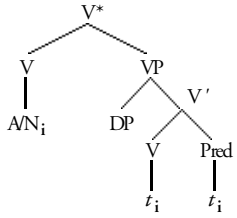
A simple account of the Genitive property plus the failure to reduplicate would assign a polysyllabic V to the category of nominal predicator, which for concreteness we call A/N.[46] This accords with a categorial redundancy: every Yorùbá noun has a prefix, and no noun is a bare CV (Stahlke 1976). As a predicate, A/N requires a V-shell, forming either a simplex light verb (73a) or a causative structure (73b). For Hale & Keyser (1993), successful pronunciation of such structures entails conflation/head movement of the overt root A/N to the null V position(s). The object corresponds to the DP in the Spec of the lower VP in (73b). When must this DP be Genitive?

(73)a. 

b. 

Suppose that A/N is stative inherently, not just as an effect of syntactic configuration, whether A/N is a pure property (intransitive *pàtàkì*) or a resultative (*gbàgbé* and transitive *pàtàkì*). For transitives, the question is why Accusative is unavailable. It's incorrect to say that a category of lexical roots (A/N) is unable to assign Accusative: monosyllabic Vs like *ṣàn* 'rinse clean' and *yọ́* '(s)melt', with hypothetically identical structure, successfully assign Accusative once conflation yields a lexical item of the category V. A difference could be that, for CV roots, the position labeled Pred is simply null (74a), whereas polysyllables start out in Pred, whence they conflate to the higher V. In effect, (73b) is the pre-Spellout version of (74b).

(74)a. 

b. 

Something prevents DP from being realised as a direct object just if the root which ends up in the upper V is polysyllabic. A relevant difference between the two structures in (74) is that DP is within the scope of A/N in

[46]Hale *et al.* (1995) posit the archi-category A/N in Ìgbo. In Kwa languages, morphological—as opposed to lexico-semantic—adjectives form a closed set (Welmers 1973, Máḍùká 1990).

the Genitive precursor (74b), but not in the Accusative precursor (74a). But (74b) is by hypothesis a scopophobic environment: a DP is within the scope of a durative V. It seems reasonable that object shift is not an option in (74b), because that would require nominalization but A/N is already nominal. The remaining possibility is adjunction, yielding Genitive.[47]

Consistent with this way of looking at the problem is another class of causatives, whose causee is either Accusative (75a) or Genitive (75b):[48]

(75) a. Mo dà á ní ààmú. *Yorùbá*
1S affect 3S CASE annoyance
'I annoyed her/him'

b. Mo d[à] ààmú u rẹ̀.
1S affect annoyance GEN 3S
'I annoyed her/him'

This 'annoy' combines two overt lexical positions, a V filled by a CV *dà* as in (74a) and an A/N Pred filled by a prefixed item *ààmú* as in (74b). In the Genitive realisation, the string *dà ààmú* is reduced by one *à*, which could be evidence for the conflation of A/N. More generally, (75) teaches us that the two Case strategies correlate with the two lexicalization patterns.

5.3. Genitive objects of Ìgbo progressive and perfective verbs

The object of a null-tense finite verb or an infinitive appears with citation tone; durative aspects take Genitive, realised tonally (Williams 1976).

(76) a. Ó gbù-ru ánụ. *Ìgbo*
3S cut-ASP animal
'S/he killed [some] animal'

b. í-gbú anụ
INF-cut animal
'to kill an animal/animals'

(77) a. Ó gbú-ole anụ́.
3S cut-PERF animal.GEN
'S/he has killed [some] animal'

b. Ó nà e-gbú anụ́.
3S DUR NOM-cut animal.GEN
'S/he kills animals' (all dialects which have the *nà* auxiliary)
'S/he is killing [some] animal' (Northern dialects only)

[47]If Àkán uses serial verbs as another recourse to achieve the aspectual effect of fronting without nominalization, this route seems not to be available in Yorùbá:

(i) Ó gbó ti ó fi (*í) gbàgbé.
3S age REL 3Suse 3S forget
'S/he became old to the point of forgetting'

(ii) Ó gbó dé ibi i pé ó fi (*í) gbàgbé.
3S age reach place GEN that 3S use 3S forget
'S/he became old to the point that s/he forgot'

Both sentences lack an object-sharing interpretation, whether or not the object clitic is overt.

[48]Example provided by Ọ. Awóbùluyì (p.c.). On the Case-assigner *ní*, see Oyèláràn (1993).

The presence of Genitive case on objects of durative verbs is consistent with covert object shift, as outlined immediatelly above for Yorùbá.

(78) shows that even a non-Genitive object takes wide existential scope ('Regarding that corn…') unless the subject is definite/D-linked, (78b). This correlates with aspect: a terminative (Verkuyl's +SQA) interpretation of the root *-ṭá* 'chew' as 'eat up by chewing' is lacking with a bare noun subject in (78a); the remaining option is the non-terminative reading, which we render as 'gnaw on'. Terminative *-ṭá* becomes available alongside non-terminative *-ṭá* only if the subject is definite/D-linked as in (78b). Correspondingly, the object is denied wide existential scope (topichood).

(78) a. Òké ṭa-ra ọ́kḥà áhụ̀. *Ìgbo*
rat chew-ASP corn that
'Regarding that corn some rats gnawed on it' (-SQA)

b. Òké ahụ̀ ṭa-ra ọ́kḥà áhụ̀.
rat that chew-ASP corn that
(i) 'The rats in question gnawed on that corn' (-SQA)
(ii) 'The rats in question ate up that corn' (+SQA)

5.4. The sentence-final position of the Ìgbo bound verb complement

Every Ìgbo sentence with a null-tense, finite verb has the possibility of ending with the same bound, nominalised verb already seen in OV control and future constructions (§2.3). With a stative verb, the form in question is obligatory and makes no discernible semantic contribution, cf. (79), but with an eventive it is optional and has a strong presupposition, as in (80a). (80a) has no intransitive version (80b), suggesting that it is already intransitive, i.e. the notional object in (80a) is not in the scope of the verb (Hale *et al.* 1995).

(79) Ọ̀bá à wa-ra *(a-wá). *Ìgbo*
gourd this break-ASP NOM-break
'This gourd is split open'

(80) a Ó kụ̀-wa-ra ọ́bà (a-kụ́-wa).
3S hit-break-ASP gourd NOM-hit-break
'S/he broke [the] gourd (as expected)'

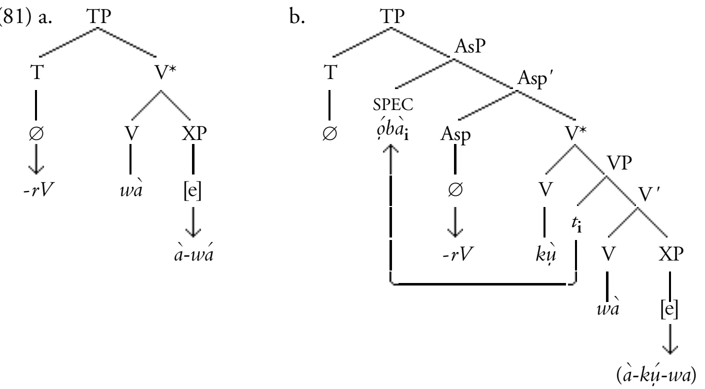
b. *Ọ́bá à kụ̀-wa-ra (a-kụ́-wá).
gourd this hit-break-ASP NOM-break

With a stative verb, the bound complement is obligatory: if intransitive verbs project an XP complement, then the bound complement can be seen as *in situ* identification of the empty node, (81a), presumably triggered by V-to-T which disrupts the local relation between V and null XP.[49] With (causative) eventive verbs, spellout of XP is optional (81b), occurring just if the shifted object is presupposed. The fact that the notional object NP of eventives can't occur in a detransitive structure—confirmed by the

[49]This recalls the Mínà progressive (7a-b,14, 15) with overt object shift and V-reduplication.

ungrammaticality of (80b)—is consistent with the idea that the object has shifted outside the scope of the verb, rendering the VP-level structure syntactically intransitive.

(81) a. b.



Comment is needed on the appearance of *-rV* inflection as the phonetic realization of different, underlyingly null functional head positions: T in (81a), Asp in (81b). The list is longer: *-rV* is also the Ìgbo pronunciation of whatever head licenses applicatives. As Welmers & Welmers (1968) recognized, *-rV* is not a contentful morpheme but a morphological default like English *-s*, whose interpretation is wholly dictated by context. As an illustration, consider next some of its aspectual and temporal properties.

5.5. Aspectual effects of Ìgbo *-rV* inflection

Ìgbo displays a temporal-cum-aspectual difference between transitive and intransitive alternants of certain null-tense sentences: the transitives are terminative and past (82), the intransitivess durative and nonpast (83).[50]

(82) a. Ó shì-ri ánụ (n'ọ́kḥụ). *Ìgbo*
3S boil-ASP meat on fire
'S/he cooked meat [by boiling it]' (past)

b. Ó kḥwụ̀-wa-ra ébele n'ósisi.
3S hang-enter-ASP calabash on tree
'S/he hung [a] calabash in [the] tree' (past)

(83) a. Ánụ shì-ri n'ọ́kḥụ.
meat boil-ASP on fire
'Meat is cooking [in a pot]' (nonpast)

b. Ánụ kwụ̀-rụ n'ánya ọkḥụ́.
meat hang-ASP in eye fire.GEN
'There is [some] meat hanging in the chimney' (nonpast)

[50]Example (83a), and my noticing its nonpast-ness, are both due to Nwáchukwu (1987).

This is consistent with aspectually-driven object shift. In (82), the object is in the scope of V and so contributes to terminative construal (+SQA). In (83), the object is outside the scope of V, hence terminativity fails. The verbs in (82) and (83) all bear default inflection in the form of the *-rV* suffix, consisting of [r] plus a copy of the vowel of the verb stem.

In general, *-rV* is obligatory in finite contexts in the absence of overt aspect like perfective or progressive, but there a restricted set of contexts where it fails to appear. For example, an inherently stative verb like *bì* 'inhabit' has a nonpast reading and denotes a property when bare (84a) and it has a past, stage-level reading when overtly inflected (84b).

(84) a. Ànyí bì (nà) Boston. *Ìgbo*
1P dwell in
'We reside in Boston'

b. Ànyí bì-ri (na) Boston (áfọ abúọ́).
1P dwell-ASP in year two
'We lived (two years) in Boston' [i.e. we no longer do]

This contrast fits with the preceding ones if there is a null 'existential object' within the scope of the verb in (84b) but not in (84a).

The pair of examples in (85) is aspectually parallel to (84), but there is no correlated tense effect: both sentences in (85) are nonpast.

(85) a. Àdhá nwé egọ. *Ìgbo*
have money
'Adha is rich'

b. Àdhá nwé-re egọ.
have-ASP money
'Adha has some money on her'

As a bare stem, *nwé* 'have' denotes an individual-level property; with *-rV* it is stage-level, with implicit spatio-temporal reference. So why is there no event and hence no past tense in (85b)? If contingent posession entails temporal predication (Déchaine *et al.* 1995), the spatiotemporal content of the null object in (86b) is not interpretable a second time over for +SQA, even though it may sit within the verb scope. This is another way of saying that *nwé* is no verb at all.

A different context where default inflection is absent when if a relation of inalienable possession holds between subject and object, (86). If wide object scope correlates in general with the absence of *-rV* inflection, then it is enough to notice that the body-part locatum (*ńtị̀* 'ear') is not referentially distinct from the surface subject (*Ọ́* 's/he'), from which it inherits wide scope: 'having an earring on' is a property of the subject.

(87) Ọ́ kwụ ọ́là ńtị̀. *Ìgbo*
3S hang ring ear.GEN
'S/he has an earring/earrings on' (nonpast)

The preceding Ìgbo examples suggest that temporal quantification correlates with V-to-T, and atemporal quantification with object shift. If V doesn't get to T—evidenced by a bare V stem—there is (overt or covert) object shift, with corresponding durativity in the form of non-past construal. If there is *rV* inflection (V-to-T), there is no object shift, and concomitant terminativity manifests itself either as a past tense or a spatio-temporally bounded (i.e. stage-level) construal, (86b).

V-to-T is also sensitive to the cardinality of the subject. A bare verb stem is incompatible with a rigid designator (proper name), (87a), but with a bare noun it yields a generic proposition, i.e. durative aspect, (88a). Thus with the predicate *má mmá* 'be good' the subject *Ézè* requires default inflection (87b). No such restriction applies to a bare count noun subject like *ụ́dḥàra* 'star apple' (88a), with which *-rV* inflection licenses implicit spatio-temporal reference, as reflected in the interpretation of (89b).[51]

(87) a. *Ézè má mmá (ǹké nwoké). *Ìgbo*
V beauty one.of male

b. Ézè má-ra mmá (ǹké nwoké).
V-ASP beauty one.of male
'Eze is handsome (beautiful in a virile way)'

(88) a. Ụ́dḥàra má mmá.
star.apple V beauty
'Ụ́dḥara (trees or fruit) are good in general'

b. Ụ́dḥàra má-ra mmá.
V-ASP beauty
'Ụ́dḥàra (fruit) seem good (now, in my view)'

5.6. The inherent durativity of focus in Èfịk-Ìbìbìò

In Lower Cross, VP focus has nonterminative aspectual entailment (Urua (1997), and triggers derived tones on verb roots. In Ìbìbìò (Essien 1983, 1987, 1990), *dép* 'buy' keeps its lexical H tone in terminative contexts like the imperative, perfective and simple past (89), but becomes L in the present and past progressive and HL in the future progressive, (90).[52]

(89) a. Dép ébót! (90) a. Á dèp ébót. *Ìbìbìò*
buy goat H.AGR buy.L goat
'Buy (a) goat!' 'S/he is buying (a) goat'

b. Á-!á dép ébót. b. Á-ké dèp ébót.
H.AGR-PERF buy goat H.AGR-PAST.PROG buy.L goat
'S/he has bought (a) goat' 'S/he was buying (a) goat'

c. Á-!máá dép ébót. c. Á-dî dêp ébót.
H.AGR-PAST buy goat H.AGR-FUT.PROG buy-L goat
'S/he bought (a) goat' 'S/he will be buying (a) goat'

[51]The judgements in (87) - (88) are due to Ụ. Íhìọ́nú.

[52]See Cook (1989) for similar effects in Èfịk.

A first task is to understand the origin of derived L in the nonterminative VPs. If it diagnoses V-movement to a higher functional head, this would help an analysis of the progressive examples which attributes to them masked object shift.

Next, compare the aspectual paradigm to that of argument focus. Just as progressive and nonprogressive sentences use different tense auxiliaries, complementary auxes are used in sentences with and without NP-focus:

(91) a. Ìmé a-mă kɔ̀p.
AGR-PAST hear
'Ime heard'

b. Ìmé a-yắ kɔ̀p.
AGR-FUT hear
'Ime will hear'

(92)a. Ìmé á-ké kɔ̀p. *Ìbìbìò*
H.AGR-PAST hear
'It was Ime who heard'

b. Ìmé á-dî kɔ̀p.
H.AGR-FUT hear
'It is Ime who will hear'

The two paradigms are evidently related in terms of auxiliary selection: progressive goes with NP-focus, while nonprogressive resembles nonfocus. Past progressive *ké* (90b) also occurs in the past tense with NP-focus (92a), while the past nonprogressive and nonfocus counterparts have *mă* (or its allomorph !*máá*). Future progressive *dî* (90c) also occurs in future NP-focus sentences (92b). Furthermore, *dî* occurs in the future negative (Essien 1990: 83); this distribution follows from Verkuyl's view that negative sentences are inherently durative.

Why the link between NP-focus and VP-durativity? By hypothesis, object shift is driven by the need to move the object out of the scope of V in durative contexts. NP-focus, for its part moves the focused NP out of the clause which contains it. Formally, durativity at the VP-level and NP-focus at the propositional level involve the same mechanism.

6. Conclusion: aspect as scope

I have tried to show that scopophobic object shift characterises auxiliated and control OV across Kwa and Kru, and that the same mechanism permits a structural analysis of several other aspect-sensitive processes, which were analyzed as involving covert object shift.

Déchaine (1991) postulates parallel, aspect-sensitive scope differences in Haitian and Òwerɛ́-Ìgbo. The Haitian aux *ap* marks progressive with an eventive predicate, and future/irrealis with a stative predicate.

(93) a. Vèdye ap bati yon kay. *Haitian*
AUX build a house
'Vèdye is building a house'

b. Madanm nan ap gen sis pitit.
woman this AUX have six child
'This woman will have six children'

In Òwerɛ́ (Éménanjọ 1981) there is a difference of linear order: the suffix *-ga* marks progressive, while the auxiliary *ga* marks future.

(94) a. Ó rí-ga rin à. *Òwerɛ́-Ìgbo*
3S eat-AFF food this
'S/he is eating this food'

b. Ọ́ gà e-rí rin à.
3S AUX NOM-eat food this
'S/he will eat this food'

These phenomena indirectly support the preceding claims about the role of scope in aspectual interpretation. Òwerɛ́-Ìgbo has overt V-to-Asp, e.g. suffixal *-ga*. If V remains *in situ* it surfaces as a bound verb, *ga* can't combine with the verb as Asp, but it can occur in T, yielding a future or irrealis reading, i.e. a non-terminative proposition. Haitian by contrast lacks overt object shift as well as V-to-Asp. Progressive *ap* is restricted to eventive verbs, suggesting either that either covert object shift or covert movement to Asp has applied. Stative predicates are inherently durative, so *ap* is uninterpretable as Asp, i.e. the stativity of (93b) may be due to the lack of a lexico-semantic event within the scope of *ap*, which is then forced to occupy Tense, hence it can only be construed as future.

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