

A NOTE ON WORD ORDER IN THE PROGRESSIVE AND PROSPECTIVE IN FÒN*

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This paper presents an analysis of the word order alternation found in the progressive, prospective structure and one type of non-finite purpose clause in Fòn. It argues that the word order alternation found in these structures is the result of the syntactic rule Move α ; and that the landing site of movement is an A-position.

Cet article propose une analyse de l'ordre des mots trouvé dans des structures progressives, prospectives et un type de phrases de but en fòn. Il est proposé que les variations de l'ordre des mots caractéristiques à ces structures sont dues à la règle syntaxique Move α . Il est ensuite démontré que le site d'atterrissage est une position-A.

1. THE PHENOMENON

In Fòn, as in English, NP objects must appear adjacent to the verb of which they are the complement. The examples in (1) show that a complement PP cannot intervene between the verb and its object NP.

- 1a. Yé ðò xó vívì vívì nú Síká / nú yèdé.
they say word sweet sweet to Sika / to themselves / each other
'They said very sweet words to Sika.'
'They said very sweet words to one another.'
- b. * yé ðò [e]_i nú Síká / nú yèdé [_{NP} xó vívì vívì]_i

Sentence (2a) shows a VP adverbial immediately following the object NP; (2c) shows a VP adverbial immediately preceding the verb. Sentences (2b) and (2d) illustrate that a VP adverbial cannot intervene between a verb and its NP object.

- 2a. Yé kplón vì ó kpódó sùrù kpó.
they teach child DET with patience with
'They reared the child with patience.'
- b. * yé kplón [e]_i kpódó sùrù kpó [_{VP} vì ó]_i
- c. Yé gbé xó hùn ðò glètòxò ó mè.
they at least beat tom-tom in village DET inside
'At the least, they played the tom-tom in the village.'
- d. * yé xó_i gbé t_i hùn ðò glètòxò ó mè

The required adjacency between an object NP and a governing verb in Fòn implies that the object NP is both theta-marked and Case-marked by the governing verb, in the position immediately to the right of the verb, as is suggested for English by Stowell (1981). Following

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Emonds' (1978) analysis for French, the facts in (2c) and (2d) argue that V does not raise to Infl in F₀n.

Also as in English, if the complement of a F₀n verb is sentential (CP), it obligatorily postposes from the thematic position under V-bar, as in (3).

- 3a. Yé ɖɖ nú Síká ɖɖ àyíkúngbàn ɖò kpàcà.
 they tell to Sika COMP earth be flat
 'They told Sika that the earth is flat.'
- b. * yé ɖɖ [_{CP} ɖɖ [_{IP} àyíkúngbàn ɖò kpàcà]] nú Síká
- c. Yé ɖɖ [e]_i nú Síká [_{CP} ɖɖ [_{IP} àyíkúngbàn ɖò kpàcà]]_i
 they tell to Sika COMP earth be flat
 'They told Sika that the earth is flat.'

These facts indicate that, in F₀n, sentential complements are subject to the Case Resistance Principle of Stowell (1981), indicating once more that the position immediately to the right of the verb is a Case-marked position. It is argued in Stowell (1981) that, in English, the complement CP is syntactically an adjunct, adjoined to VP. I will extend this account to F₀n. In short, F₀n shares, with English, the adjacency requirement on Case assignment to the object NP of a verb and the Case Resistance Principle of Stowell (1981).

There are other contexts, however, in which the adjacency requirement for Case assignment between a verb and its object NP is not observed. These contexts include, but are not limited to, a non-finite purpose clause indicated by **gbé**, the progressive, the prospective, and a sentential complement of **gbě** 'refuse'. Furthermore, other elements that must follow a verb in a tensed clause (e.g., a bare NP-adverb, a nominal predicate or a cognate object) may all precede the verb in these contexts. In this paper, I discuss three of these structures, suggesting that there is some position XP at the beginning of a clause which may be filled by constituents under movement.

1.1 GBÉ-PURPOSE CLAUSE

The first type of structure in which word order alternation is found in F₀n is a non-finite purpose clause marked by **gbé**. As seen in (4a), this particle occurs at the end of the sentence. For convenience, I will refer to this type of sentence as a **gbé**-clause. (4b) shows that the constituent order O-V is obligatory in a **gbé**-clause.

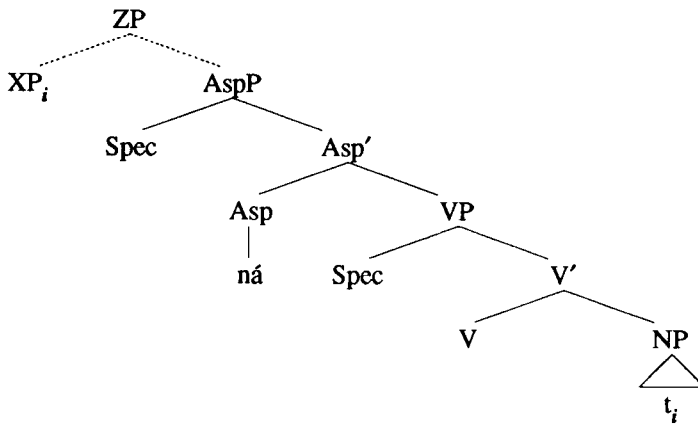
- 4a. Yé wá hùn (ná) xó gbé.
 they come tom-tom ASP beat
 'They came to play the tom-tom.'
- b. * Yé wá (ná) xó hùn gbé
 they come ASP beat tom-tom
 'They came to play the tom-tom.'

The possibility of the aspectual marker **ná** occurring after the object NP in (4a) precludes an account of the word order variation in terms of a rule that would move the verb out of VP to the right¹. Rather, the word order alternation must involve movement of the object NP out of VP to some position to the left in the **gbé**-clause. On the basis of (4), I conclude that, in a **gbé**-clause,

¹ On **ná** as an aspectual marker in Fà, see Avolonto (this volume).

there is some position XP preceding the aspectual marker ná that may be filled by an internal argument of the verb, as represented in (5).

5.



The nature of the syntactic category ZP will be made precise below.

Pronominal objects in a gbé-clause behave differently depending on whether they are singular on the one hand, or plural or emphatic, on the other. The examples in (6) illustrate a singular, non emphatic pronominal object. As seen, it cannot be fronted; hence the ungrammaticality of (6b). (6a) also indicates that, when there is no element with phonetic content before it in the gbé-clause, the verb must reduplicate. This is a case of partial reduplication, since only a portion of the base verb is copied.

6a. **Yé** **ɖí**ɖó ***(xì)xò** è / **mì** **gbé**.
 they take to the road beat 3PRON me
 ‘They took to the road to play it / beat him / her / it / me.’

b. * **Yé** **ɖí**ɖó è / **mì** **xò** **gbé**
 they take to the road 3PRON me beat
 ‘They took to the road to play it / beat him / her / it / me.’

This provides evidence that the phonological rule of verb reduplication is sensitive to syntactic conditions within a certain domain, viz., a gbé-clause. Because of this syntactic conditioning, such a rule cannot take place in the lexicon. Rather, it must be a PF phenomenon. I return to this later.

(7) shows a singular pronominal object that is emphatic. Note that it precedes the verb, as do lexical NPs.

7a. **Yé** **ɖí**ɖó **nyè** **xò** **gbé**.
 they take to the road me beat
 ‘They took to the road to beat me.’

b. * **Yé** **ɖí**ɖó **xìxò** **nyè** **gbé**
 they take to the road beat me
 ‘They took to the road to beat me.’

This contrast follows if singular pronominal objects are clitics that attach to a verb through the rule of head movement (see, e.g., Travis, 1984; Koopman, 1984; Baker, 1988). So, because of the head movement or NP-movement in a *gbé*-clause, the thematic position to the right of the verb in Fòñ will always be empty at S-structure; the object NP is always displaced.

Anaphors in a *gbé*-clause behave like lexical NPs. Thus, they precede the verb, as illustrated in (8).

- 8a. **Yé idó yèḍé xò gbé.**
 they take to the road ANAP beat
 'They took to the road to fight one another.'
- b. **É ḍidó èḍé xò gbé.**
 he/she take to the road ANAP beat
 'She/he took to the road to beat herself / himself.'

With some other verbs, such as *hwlá* 'hide', the anaphor may be implicit. Once more, the verb reduplicates, since no material with phonetic content precedes it in the *gbé*-clause.

9. **Yé ḍidó hwihwlá gbé.**
 they take to the road hide
 'They set for the road to hide (themselves).'

As we saw in (3), a CP complement of a verb cannot surface in the thematic position immediately to the right of the verb in a tensed IP. A *gbé*-clause shares this property with a tensed IP. Two things to note here are that the CP must move to a position after *gbé*, as (10a) illustrates; and that the CP cannot occur to the left of the verb, as (10c) shows. Example (10d) is ruled out because, although the CP has postposed from the D-structure position, it still precedes *gbé*. (10b) is ruled out because the sentential argument has not moved from its D-structure position, in violation of the Case Resistance Principle.

- 10a. **Yé wá ḍidṵ nú Sika gbé ḍḵ gàn lé xṵ wemá vḵvṵ.**
 they come tell to Sika COMP chief PL buy book red
 'They came to tell Sika that the chiefs had bought red books.'
- b. * **Yé wá ḍidṵ [_{CP} ḍḵ [_{IP} gàn lé xṵ wemá vḵvṵ]] nú Sika gbé**
 they come tell COMP chief PL buy book red to Sika
 'They came to tell Sika that the chiefs had bought red books.'
- c. * **Yé wá [_{CP} ḍḵ [_{IP} gàn lé xṵ wemá vḵvṵ]]_i ḍṵ [e]_i nú Sika gbé**
 they come COMP chief PL buy book red tell to Sika
 'They came to tell Sika that the chiefs had bought red books.'
- d. * **Yé wá ḍidṵ [e]_i nú Sika [_{CP} ḍḵ [_{IP} gàn lé xṵ wemá vḵvṵ]]_i gbé**
 they come tell to Sika COMP chief PL buy book red
 'They came to tell Sika that the chiefs had bought red books.'

In short, unlike an NP argument, a CP argument of a verb in Fòñ cannot surface in the XP position in a *gbé*-clause.

In double object constructions, Fòñ allows the order **verb - theme -goal** as well as **verb - goal - theme** (see Lefebvre, this volume).

- 11a. **Yé kplón àjì Kòkú.**
 they teach type of game Koku
 'They taught Koku the **aji** game.'
- b. **Yé kplón Kòkú àjì.**
 they teach Koku type of game
 'They taught Koku the **aji** game.'

However, in a **gbé**-clause, the preferred order of constituents is **theme - verb - goal**. In no circumstance can the verb follow both arguments, as the ungrammaticality of (12b) illustrates.

- 12a. **Yé wá àjì kplón Kòkú gbé.**
 they come type of game teach Koku
 'They came to teach Koku the **aji** game.'
- b. * **Yé wá àjì Kòkú kplón gbé**
 they come type of game Koku teach
 'They came to teach Koku the **aji** game.'

This underscores the claim made earlier that the word order variation in a **gbé**-clause cannot be explained in terms of a rule that would move the verb out of VP to some position to the right. On the other hand, the above data show that a **gbé**-clause does not allow two X^{\max} constituents with phonetic content to occur before the verb.

In the Principles and Parameters framework, a purpose clause occurs in an adjoined position. Furthermore, being infinitival, its subject NP is PRO, controlled by an argument of the matrix clause. Once we assume this to apply to a **gbé**-clause, the issues to address are (i) the categorial status of **gbé**; (ii) the location of the XP position in which the fronted element lands; (iii) the motivation for such a movement; (iv) the reason why a CP argument of a verb cannot occur in the XP position; (v) the explanation for the phonological rule of reduplication.

1.2 THE PROGRESSIVE CONSTRUCTION

The second structure in which we find word order alternation is the progressive. Descriptively speaking, the progressive is characterized by **ḍò... wè** (see Anonymous, 1983). As we saw in (3), **ḍò** is a verb meaning **be**. As for **wè**, its categorial status is unknown. Native speakers cannot say with certainty what the meaning of **wè** is.

There are a number of similarities between a **gbé**-clause and a progressive sentence. For instance, a progressive sentence involves an XP position in which fronted constituents land. As the sentences in (13) illustrate, such a position occurs after the verb **ḍò** 'be'.

- 13a. **Ùn ḍò mṣlìnkún ḍú wè.**
 I be rice eat
 'I am eating rice.'
- b. * **Ùn ḍò ḍú mṣlìnkún wè**
 I be eat rice
 'I am eating rice.'

As will be seen in section 2, the XP position occurs at the beginning of the complement of **ḍò** 'be'.

In double object constructions, the XP position is filled with the theme, as we saw was the case in (12). The ungrammaticality of (14c) illustrates that the theme cannot undergo movement to the right of *wè*, even if it is heavy.

- 14a. **Yé dò wèmà vòvò ná gán lé wè.**
 they be book red give chief PL
 'They are giving red books to the chiefs.'
- b. **Yé dò wèmà vòvò dé ùn xò lé (ò) ná gán lé wè.**
 they be book red OP I buy PL DET give chief PL
 'They are giving the chiefs the red books that I bought.'
- c. ?* **Yé dò níná gán lé wè wema vòvò dé ùn xò lé (ò)**
 they be give chief PL book red OP I buy PL (DET)
 'They are giving the chiefs the red books that I bought.'

Also as in a *gbé*-clause, a sentential argument of the verb cannot appear to the left of the verb of which it is a complement. Rather, it must appear to the right of *wè*, as shown by the difference in grammaticality of (15a) and (15c). Note that the verb reduplicates, since the XP position is not filled by a constituent with phonetic content, and the aspectual marker *ná* is not present.

- 15a. **Yé dò *(dì)dò [e]_i nú Sika wè [CP dò [IP àyikúngbàn dò kpàcà]]_i**
 they be tell to Sika COMP earth be flat
 'They were telling Sika that the earth is flat.'
- b. * **Yé dò [CP dò [IP àyikúngbàn dò kpàcà]]_i dò [e]_i nú Sika wè**
 they be COMP earth be flat tell to Sika
 'They were telling Sika that the earth is flat.'
- c. * **Yé dò dídò [e]_i nú Sika [CP dò [IP àyikúngbàn dò kpàcà]]_i wè**
 they be tell to Sika COMP earth be flat
 'They were telling Sika that the earth is flat.'

As for the phonological rule of reduplication, we must assume that it applies in a given domain, viz., the complement of *dò* 'be'.

- 16a. **É dò zùnzùn mì wè.**
 he / she be insult me
 'He / she is insulting me.'
- b. **É dò nyè zùn wè.**
 he / she be me insult
 'She / he is insulting me.'

A *gbé*-clause and the progressive differ in that, in the progressive, the subject of *dò* 'be' is thematically dependent on the lower verb.

Summing up, the characteristics of this structure parallel those of a *gbé*-clause. The analytical issues are therefore the same.

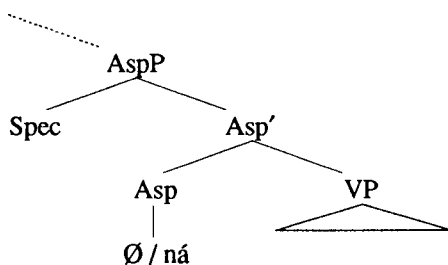
1.3 THE PROSPECTIVE

The word order alternation also occurs in the prospective, of which two types must be distinguished. I will refer to them as 'Prospective I' and 'Prospective II', respectively. 'Prospective I' shares with the progressive (i) the use of both the verb *ḍò* 'be', and the particle *wè*; (ii) the word order alternations; and (iii) the subject of *ḍò* 'be' being thematically dependent on another theta-marker. It differs from the progressive in that it must contain the aspectual marker *ná*, and that it does not provide a context for the phonological rule of verb reduplication. Thus, contrast (17a) and (17b) below:

- 17a. *Ùn ḍò mṣlinkún ná ḍú wè.*
 I be rice ASP eat
 'I am about to eat rice.'
- b. *Ùn ḍò mṣlinkún ḍú wè.*
 I be rice eat.
 'I am eating rice'
 * 'I am about to eat rice.'

The difference in interpretation between the progressive in (17b) and 'Prospective I' in (17a) follows if we postulate the structure in (18), where the aspectual marker *ná* is in complementary distribution with a null head which, I propose, contributes the progressive interpretation.

18.



I suggest that it is the null Asp^0 which triggers the phonological rule of verb reduplication, under conditions to be specified below. Since 'Prospective I' will always involve some phonetic material in Asp^0 , it does not constitute a domain of application of the phonological rule of verb reduplication. This is illustrated by (19b). Example (19c) shows that the aspectual marker *ná* is not subject to the phonological rule of reduplication.

- 19a. *Yé ḍò nà hú ì wè.*
 they be ASP kill 3PRON
 'They are about to kill him / her / it.'
- b. * *Yé ḍò nà hihú ì wè*
 they be ASP kill 3PRON
 'They are about to kill him / her / it'
- c. * *Yé ḍò nìnà hú ì wè*
 they be ASP kill 3PRON
 'They are about to kill him / her / it'

Among the constituents that may appear in the XP position in 'Prospective I', one finds a bare NP adverb in the sense of Larson (1985), as illustrated in (20)-(21); a nominal predicate, as shown in (22); and a cognate NP, as found in (23).

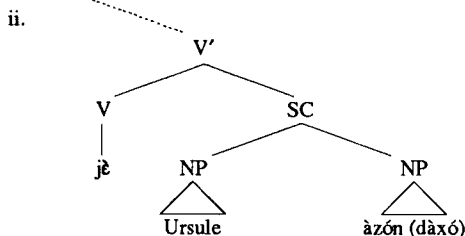
- 20a. **Àmà lé jè àyí.**
leaf PL fall ground
'The leaves fell down.'
- b. **Àmà lé d̀ò àyí ná jè wè.**
leaf PL be ground ASP fall
'The leaves are about to fall down.'
- 21a. **Gḅ̣ lé jè d̀òṭ̣ mè.**
sheep PL fall well in
'The sheep fell in the well.'
- b. **Gḅ̣ lé d̀ò d̀òṭ̣ mè ná jè wè.**
sheep PL be well in ASP fall
'The sheep are about to fall in the well.'
- 22a. **Ursule jè àzòn².**
Ursule fall sickness
'Ursule is sick.'
- b. **Ursule d̀ò àzòn ná jè wè.**
Ursule be sickness ASP fall
'Ursule is about to be sick.'
- 23a. **Àj̣̣ṭ̣ éị̣́ ná kú àẉ̣ṿ̣i kú.**
thief DEM ASP die devil death
'This thief will die a horrible death.'
- b. **Àj̣̣ṭ̣ éị̣́ d̀ò àẉ̣ṿ̣i kú ná kú wè.**
thief DEM be devil death ASP die
'This thief is about to die a horrible death.'

Following Jones (1988) and Lumsden (p.c.), I assume that the cognate NP is a VP adjunct³.

² In Kinyalolo (1992), I argue that **jè àzòn** 'be sick' is not a syntactic word, as indicated by the fact that **àzòn** 'sickness' may move into the XP position, and the further fact that it may be modified as in (i).

- ia. **Ursule j̣̣ hẉ̣ẹ̣̀ṣ̣iṿ̣ (à)zòn.**
Ursule fall sun sickness
'Ursule has malaria.'
- b. **Ursule j̣̣ àzòn d̀àx̣̣ó.**
Ursule fall sickness big
'Ursule is gravely ill.'

It is proposed there that, in sentences like (i) above, **jè** selects a small clause in which **àzòn** 'sickness' is a nominal predicate which theta-marks an NP, its subject, as shown in (ii) below.



³ Note that the cognate NP cannot be extracted by *wh*-movement, using the *wh* word characteristic of an object NP (ia). Instead, one must use a *wh* word specific to manner adverbials (ib).

As for 'Prospective II', it is characterized by *jà...gbé*. I assume that the particle *gbé* is the same as that found in a *gbé* purpose clause; *jà* is a verb meaning 'come'. There is an XP position after *jà* to which some constituent, e.g., a bare-NP adverb, moves, as illustrated in (24a). As was seen in (6), a singular, non emphatic pronominal object cannot be fronted in a *gbé*-clause in Fòṅ. Rather, it cliticizes to the verb by the rule of head movement. The example in (24b) illustrates the fact that this is also true in 'Prospective II'. Note also that the verb does not reduplicate.

- 24a. Àmà lé jà àyí ná jè gbé.
leaf PL come ground ASP fall
'The leaves are about to fall down.'
- b. Yé à nà hú ì gbé.
they come ASP kill 3PRON
'They are about to kill him / her / it.'
- c. Zàn jà ná kú gbé.
night come ASP die
'the night is about to fall.'

It is possible for the aspectual marker *ná* not to appear at all, as in (25) below. Since no constituent with phonetic material occurs before the verb in the *gbé*-clause in (25a), the verb must reduplicate. Compare this to (26b), which illustrates a nominal predicate which has moved to the XP position. As expected, the verb does not reduplicate in this case.

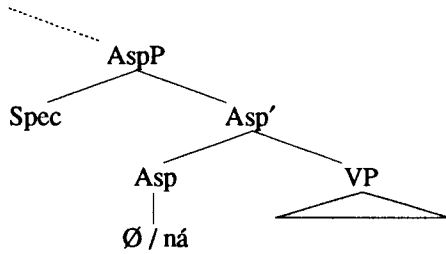
- 25a. Zàn jà kúkú gbé.
night come die
'The night is about to fall.'
- b. Yé jà mšlinkún dú gbé.
they come rice eat
'They are about to eat rice.'
- 26a. Vì éíṣ ná nyí nùḍé.
child DEM ASP be something
'This child will become somebody.'
- b. Vì éíṣ jà nùḍé nyí gbé ǎ.
child DEM arrive something be NEG
'This child will not become somebody.'
- c. * Vì éíṣ jà nyí nùḍé gbé ǎ

I will assume that, here too, a null *Asp⁰* is in complementary distribution with *ná*, and that it is such a head that triggers the rule of verb reduplication.

-
- ia. * Étè wè àjòḅ éíṣ ná kú
what FO thief DEM ASP die
'What will this thief die?'
- b. Nè wè àjòḅ éíṣ ná kú gbṣn?
how FO thief DEM ASP die
'How will this thief die?'

Assuming that *kú* is an unaccusative verb like its French counterpart *mourir* 'die', for instance, the cognate NP cannot be generated in the object position of the verb.

27.



Summarizing, the three structures discussed above all raise the following questions:

- 28a. what is XP, i.e., the target position for Move α ;
- b. what motivates movement to the XP position;
- c. why CP complements do not occur in the XP position;
- d. what conditions the phonological rule of verb reduplication.

In the following section, I provide an analysis that answers these questions.

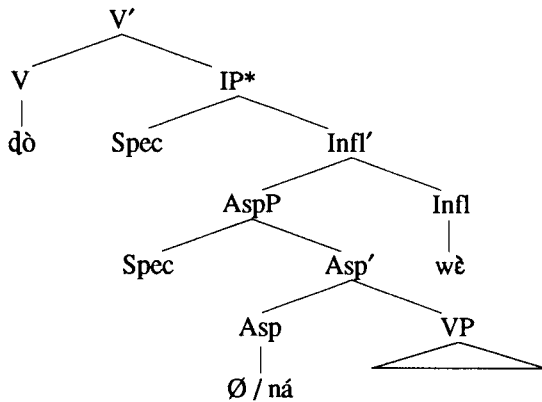
2. ANALYSIS

2.1 INTERNAL STRUCTURE

I account for the internal structure of the sentences discussed above as follows. First, I hypothesize that the particles **gbé** and **wè** are Infl that head a non-finite IP (hereafter, IP*); that they select an ASP''; that the head of the latter selects the thematic VP; and that IP is head-final in Fòn. Since there is no overt morphology for tense in Fòn, and since there is no V-movement to Infl, as was illustrated by the contrast (2c) vs. (2d), the evidence that IP is head-final in Fòn can only be indirect. This evidence involves the fact that DP, CP and NegP are head-final.

In addition, I assume that the IP* headed by **wè** is selected by **dò**. I further assume that **wè** has gerundive characteristics like **-ing** in English (see Baker (1985), Milsark (1988))⁴. Under this assumption, the progressive in Fòn is biclausal, as shown in (29).

29.



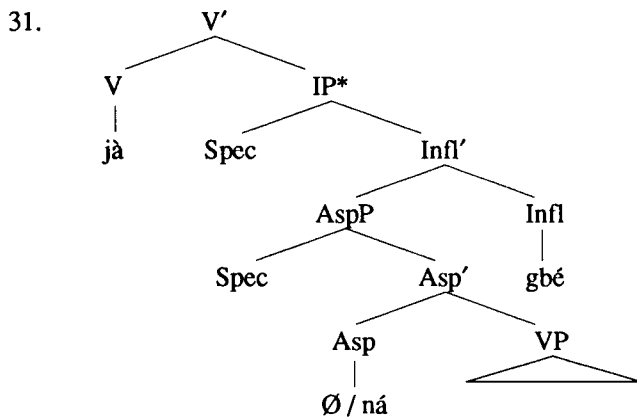
This representation captures straightforwardly the fact that the sequence NP (ASP) V (NP) (XP) **wè** forms a syntactic unit. Note that it can undergo syntactic movement under focus to a pre-

⁴ The two would differ, however, in that **wè** is a free morpheme.

sentential position, as in (30). As shown in (30d), *wè* cannot be left behind. Note also that *ḍò* must change to *ḍè*⁵.

- 30a. *Yé ḍò wèmà vḍvḍ ḍé ùn xḍ lé (ḍ) ná ná gán lé wè.*
 they be book red OP I buy PL DET ASP give chief PL
 'They are about to give the chiefs the red books that I had bought.'
- b. *Wèmà vḍvḍ ḍé ùn xḍ lé (ḍ) ná ná gán lé wè yé ḍè.*
 book red OP I buy PL DET ASP give chief PL they
 'They are about to give the chiefs the red books that I had bought.'
- c. [*Wèmà vḍvḍ ḍé ùn xḍ lé (ḍ) ná ná gán lé wè*]_i yé ḍè t_i
- d. * [*Wèmà vḍvḍ ḍé ùn xḍ lé (ḍ) ná ná gán lé*]_i yé ḍò / ḍè [_{XP} t_i wè]

Further, I propose that the IP* headed by *gbé* may or may not be selected by *jà*. When a *gbé*-clause is selected by *jà*, we have what I referred to above as 'Prospective II'. I claim that, in this case, the verb *jà* 'come' is used as an aspectual verb; and that it is the element that contributes the prospective meaning⁶. So, the (partial) D-structure in such a case is as in (31).



The impossibility of other verbs of motion being used as aspectual verbs is captured on the assumption that only *jà* 'come' has been grammaticalized as an aspectual verb. What the structures in (29) and (31) essentially claim is that the sequences *ḍò... wè*, and *jà... gbé* do not constitute a set of discontinuous morphemes.

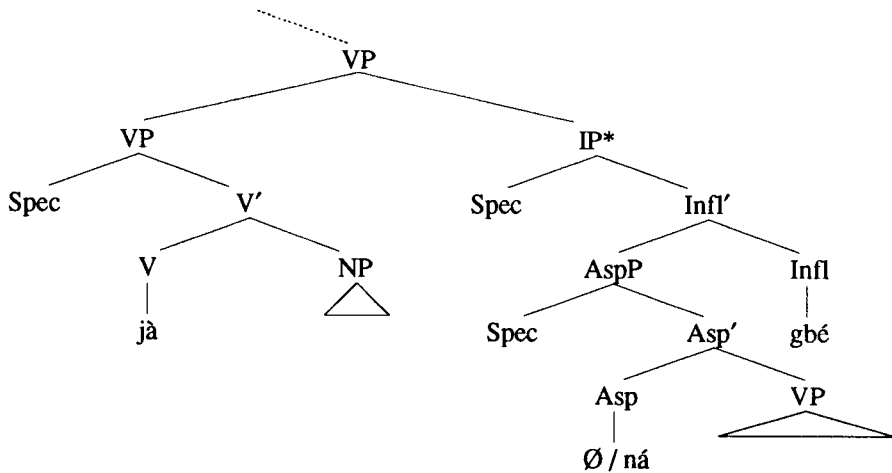
On the other hand, when an IP* headed by *gbé* is not selected by *jà* 'come', the interpretation is that of a purpose clause; in which case the verb *jà* 'come' is an unaccusative verb; and the *gbé*-clause adjoined to VP, as shown in (32) below.

⁵ According to Brousseau and Lumsden (1990), there is a filter, in Fòñ, that prohibits the sequence of two phonetically identical functional categories. I will assume this filter to be responsible for the non-occurrence of the *wè* that indicates focus in the sentences in (30c). If the *wè* of the progressive construction were to undergo a deletion rule, one would expect *gbé* to do the same. This is not the case, however, as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (i).

i. * [été xó]_i wè yé wá t_i

⁶ See Lichtenberk (1991) for the argument that a motion verb like *come* may be used as a marker of the prospective aspect. Also see Zagona (1988) for Spanish.

32.



This analysis extends straightforwardly to other motion verbs such as *wà* 'come' or *dídó* 'take to the road' (see 1.1).

In this analysis, I adopt the VP-internal subject hypothesis (e.g., Kitagawa, 1986; Koopman and Sportiche, 1985, 1988; Kuroda, 1988). According to this hypothesis, the external theta-role of a verb is assigned inside VP; Spec, IP is generated empty at D-structure, and serves as a landing site for movement. I therefore suggest that, in the structures discussed above, Spec, IP* is the XP position to which different X^{\max} constituents move in the syntax. It is important to note that the cases of movement that we have discussed (e.g., object NP, nominal predicate, cognate NP and bare-NP adverbial) cannot be motivated by the Case filter. In the Principles and Parameters framework, it is generally supposed that a nominal predicate does not need Case (Safir, 1985); nor does a cognate NP (Jones, 1988). As for bare NP adverbials, they receive Case independently (Larson, 1985). Thus, movement into Spec, IP* must be independent of the Case filter. This conclusion eliminates from consideration the possibility that IP* involves a passive sentence. The passive analysis would be problematic for the following reasons. First, a nominal predicate and a cognate NP do not passivize. Second, if these were passive sentences, one would expect IP* to occur independently as a root sentence. The fact that such sentences are not attested in Fòñ is strong evidence that we are not dealing with passives.

I propose that a CP complement moves to Spec, IP*, like an NP complement. In order to explain why CPs do not surface in this position, I assume, following Koster (1978), that CPs cannot occur in Spec, IP at S-structure. Given that the trace in Spec, IP* must be antecedent governed by CP, it follows that the latter must adjoin to a position higher than Spec, IP* of the embedded clause, hence to the right of the particles *gbé* and *wè*, which I proposed occur in Infl. The ungrammaticality of sentences wherein the object CP occurs to the left of the particles *gbé* and *wè* follows, as an ECP violation, as such sentences would involve adjunction of the CP to VP.

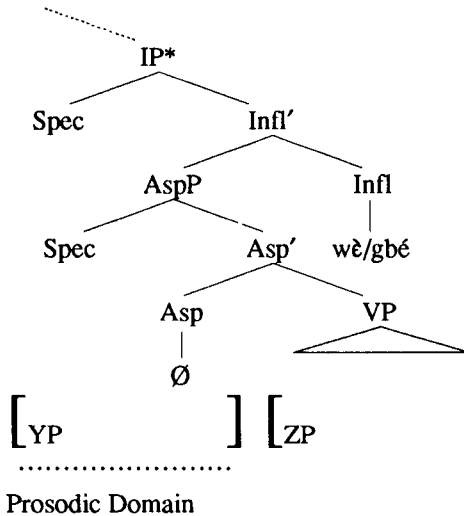
We are still faced with the problem of what motivates movement of various constituents into Spec, IP* of the lower clause. One solution to the word order variation would be to assume that IP* must have a subject because its predicate must be saturated (see Rothstein, 1984)⁷. An alternative would be to assume that *wè*, *gbé* assign a feature [+F] to their specifier.

⁷ Note that if PRO can be governed, as has been proposed sometimes, then there is no reason why it should move to Spec, IP in passives, as in *The leader of the opposition wants [_{IP} PRO_i to be arrested t_i]*. This movement cannot be explained in terms of the Case filter, assuming that neither the passive verb, nor a non-finite Infl assigns Case. This

As to what this feature might be, consider the generalization that Spec, IP* cannot be coreferential with the subject NP of the matrix clause. This implies that the feature [+F] is assigned to the least prominent thematic role of the verb, assuming, of course, a thematic hierarchy such as the one found in Jackendoff (1972). The evidence for this claim is that, although Fɔ̀n allows the orders **theme-goal** and **goal-theme** in double object constructions, the preferred order in the structures discussed above is **theme-goal**.

Finally, as for the phonological rule of reduplication, two explanations seem plausible. The first is phonological. Essentially, it exploits the syntax-phonology interface. Note that the presence of a matrix verb like **ɖò** 'be', or **jà** 'come' is not relevant to the rule of reduplication: it does not prevent the rule from applying. This follows if the rule is restricted to IP*. Based on (18) and (27), one must state the rule of reduplication to apply iff no phonetic material occurs between the IP* boundary and Asp⁰. One might assume that such an interval constitutes a prosodic domain, as indicated in (33), which is subject to the constraint that it contain at least one syllable.

33.



The rule of reduplication would be a way of satisfying this requirement.

The second possible explanation might be that the rule of reduplication is a way of licensing the null Asp⁰, when such licensing cannot be done by a chain through the rule of SPEC-head agreement with an overt NP in Spec, IP*. (For a different view on the role of the rule of reduplication, see Fabb, this volume).

2.2 MOVEMENT TO SPEC, IP*

I will now discuss the evidence that the XP position is the same as Spec, IP*. The first argument comes from the fact that the movement involved does not create an island to extraction by **wh**-movement or focus.

movement follows naturally if Spec, IP must be filled at S-structure, as required by the predication hypothesis. The question of why, for instance, the external theta-role cannot move to Spec, IP* in these structures is addressed in Kinyalolo (1992). It is suggested there that the subject NP of **ɖò** is base-generated in Spec, IP and linked to an argument position in the embedded clause, along the lines of D-structure suggested by Chomsky (1986). Since the matrix subject NP must be linked to an argument position in IP*, the EC in the argument position cannot move at all.

Ndayiragije (in progress) shows that an IP that has been adjoined to by dislocation is a barrier for extraction in Fòñ. In (34a), the DP *súnù wè ɔ* is adjoined to IP. (34b) illustrates that *wh*-movement out of such a sentence is ruled out as ungrammatical.

34a. *Súnù wè lé ɔ, yé mɔ àjɔtɔ lé.*
 boy two PL det they see thief PL
 'The two boys in question, they saw the thieves.'

b. * *[Mɛ]_i wè súnù wè lé ɔ, yé mɔ t_i*
 who FO boy two PL DET they see
 'Who the two boys in question, did they see?'

Assuming that IP is not L-marked in (35), it is a barrier for movement. With (35) then as the structure for (34b), the position to which the *wh*-phrase moves is not subjacent to the trace left by movement.

35. * *[mɛ]_i wè [IP súnù wè lé ɔ [IP yé mɔ t_i]]*

Sentence (36a) illustrates an active, non progressive sentence. (36b) shows the progressive version of (36a), with the order **theme - verb - benefactive**. Example (36c) shows that the benefactive can undergo *wh*-movement out of IP* to a pre-IP position of the matrix clause.

36a. *Yé kplón àjì ì / Kòkú.*
 they teach kind of game PRON / Koku
 'They have taught him / her / Koku the *aji* game.'

b. *Yé ɔ̀ò àjì kplón è / Kòkú wè.*
 they be kind of game teach PRON / Koku
 'they are teaching him / her / Koku the *aji* game.'

c. *Mɛ wè yé ɔ̀ò àjì kplón wè?*
 PRON FO they be kind of game teach
 'Who are they teaching the *aji* game?'

The grammaticality of (36c) argues that the NP *àjì* is not adjoined to IP*. Otherwise, (36c) could be ruled out by Subjacency, on a par with (34b). Given the grammaticality of (36c), movement to Spec, IP* must be A-movement. As is well known, NP-movement and *wh*-movement do co-occur in the same clause, as illustrated by the English example in (37).

37. *[_{CP} What_j [_{C'} did_{inf} [_{IP} Tom t_{inf} believe [_{IP} himself_i to have been promised t_i t_j by Alice?]]]]]*

The same facts may be observed in a *gbé*-clause in Fòñ, as seen in the following sentences.

38a. *Yé ɔ̀íɔ̀ gbɔ́ lé hù nú gàn lé gbé.*
 they take to the road sheep PL kill for chief PL
 'They took to the road to kill the sheep for the chiefs.'

b. *Mɛ wè yé ɔ̀íɔ̀ gbɔ́ lé hù ná gbé?*
 who FO they take to the road sheep PL kill for
 'Who did they take to the road to kill the sheep for?'

I will take the grammaticality of (36c) and (38b) as evidence that the fronted constituent is not in Spec, CP. If it were, *wh*-movement should have yielded a Subjacency violation, which it does not. Assuming that \bar{Q} selects an IP, the absence of a CP node follows.

The argument that this position counts as an A-position involves the interpretation of *wh*-question words, on the one hand, and the fact that quantifier raising to this position does not yield an A-bar binder, on the other. In Fɔ̀n, a *wh*-question word in situ, viz. Spec, IP or NP, VP, can only have an echo reading.

39a. **Kɔ̀kú ðù éťé?**
Koku eat what
'Koku ate what?'

b. **Mé ðù mɔ̀linkún?**
who eat rice
'who ate rice?'

The question *wh*-word behaves as an operator binding a variable (i.e., has a non echo reading) only when it is moved to the left of IP. In short distance movement, the subject must be followed by **wè**. This element is optional in short movement of object NPs, and adjuncts, as well as in long distance movement (see Ndayiragije, in progress). These facts are illustrated below for subject and object NPs.

40a. **Éťé (wè) Kɔ̀kú ðù?**
what FO Koku eat
'What did Koku eat?'

b. **Mé *(wè) ðù mɔ̀linkún?**
who FO eat rice
'Who ate rice?'

c. **Éťé (wè) Kɔ̀kú ðù?**
what FO Koku eat
'What did Koku eat?'

d. **Mé (wè) Kɔ̀kú ðò ðò é ðù mɔ̀linkún?**
who FO Koku say COMP PRON eat rice
'Who did Koku say ate rice?'

This indicates that application of the rule of Move α does not apply to *wh*-phrases at LF in Fɔ̀n. Such a rule, in other words, must apply at S-structure⁸.

Examples (41a-b) illustrate a *wh*-question word that has undergone movement to Spec, IP*. As can be seen, these sentences can only have an echo reading.

41a. **Yé wá éťé xó gbé?**
they come what beat
'They have come to play what?'
* 'What have they come to play?'

⁸ This is a parametric variation, similar to facts about scope properties that have been discussed in the literature (see Huang, 1982, among others).

- b. **Yé d̀ò été ná ná gán lé wè?**
 they what ASP give chief PL
 'They are about to give the chiefs what?'
 * 'What are they about to give the chiefs?'

Note furthermore that the *wh*-word cannot be followed by *wè*.

42. * **Yé wá été wè xó gbé?**
 they come what FO beat
 'They have come to play what?'

This indicates that there is no CP node in these structures, and that, consequently, the landing site of the *wh*-word is not Spec, CP.

The second argument involves the absence of weak crossover effects in these structures. In English, quantifier raising (QR) to Spec, IP does not trigger weak crossover effects, as illustrated by (43), drawn from Speas (1990: 188).

43. Everyone_i seems to his_i mother t_i to be lovable

On the basis of this, Speas (1990) concludes that this is A-movement to an A-position.

If Spec, IP* in the structures discussed above is an A-position in F̀ɔ̀n, as suggested by the data in (41) and (42), then it is predicted that QR to this position should not trigger weak crossover effects. Since the fronted constituent does not land in an A-bar position, it will not act as an A-bar binder. As seen in (44), this prediction is borne out by the data. (44a) involves an NP quantified by *every*; (44b) does a noun modified by a *wh*-word.

- 44a. **Yé d̀ò vɪ d̀òkpó d̀òkpó ná xlé t́ t̀n wè.**
 they be child one one ASP show father GEN
 'They are going to show [every child]_i to his_i father.'
- b. **Yé d̀ò vɪ t̀ ná xlé t́ t̀n wè.**
 they be child which ASP show father GEN
 'They are going to show [which child]_i to his_i father.'

I conclude that movement to Spec, IP* is movement to an A-position.

3. SUMMARY

To conclude this discussion, let me summarize the analysis presented in the above sections. I have proposed that the progressive and prospective are biclausal in F̀ɔ̀n; and that the particles *gbé* and *wè* head a non-finite IP.

The argument that movement to Spec, IP in the structures discussed is movement to an A-position was based on (i) lack of Subjacency violation; (ii) impossibility of *wh*-words that have moved to this position being interpreted as non-echo questions; (iii) lack of weak crossover effects.

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