

OBJECT SHIFT AND VERB MOVEMENT IN GBE

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1. INTRODUCTION

An outstanding property of the Gbe languages is that they manifest complement-head versus head-complement asymmetry. For instance, the Gungbe¹ noun complement *àmì* 'oil' precedes the determiner *lɔ́* 'the' or the postnominal morpheme *mè* 'in' in (1a-b). Example (1c) on the other hand indicates that the noun complement necessarily follows the preposition.

- (1) a. *àmì lɔ́*
oil Det
'The oil'
- b. *àmì lɔ́ mè*
oil Det *P*_[IN]
'In the oil'
- c. *Kòjò wá sɔ́n Kútònú*
Kojo come-Perf Prep Cotonou
'Kojo came from Cotonou'

On the clausal level, the sentences under (2) show that the object precedes the verb in imperfective and related constructions (2a-b) but necessarily follows the verb in the so-called non-imperfective constructions (2c). The terms imperfective and non-imperfective are used here to refer to sentences which involve the progressive marker or some aspectual control verb that may occupy the same position as opposed to sentences which do not involve such aspect marker or verb.

- (2) a. *Kòjò tò [DP àmì lɔ́] zán*
Kojo Imperf oil Det use-NR
'Kojo is using the oil' Imperfective clause
- b. *Kòjò yì [DP àmì lɔ́] sà gbé*
Kojo go-Perf oil Det sell purpose
'Kofi left in order to sell the oil' Purpose clause
- c. *Kòjò nò zán [DP àmì lɔ́]*
Kojo Hab use-Perf oil Det
'Kojo habitually used the oil/Kojo habitually uses the oil' Habitual clause

It has been proposed in the literature that the word order variations in (1-2) may result from the fact that the Gbe languages involve mixed structures. This would mean that in situations such as those in (1a-b) the complement necessarily precedes the head because the

¹ Gungbe is a Kwa language of the Gbe group (Capo (1988)). Like most Kwa, it is a tone language. The variety discussed here is spoken in Porto-Novo and environs (Rep. of Benin).

Gbe nominal sequences involve head-final structures. On the other hand the object follows the preposition and the verb in (1c) and (2c) respectively because such constructions manifest head-initial structures. Under this view, no movement rule can be postulated and everything remains static in the structure (cf. Brousseau & Lumsden (1992), Avolonto (1992), Kinyalolo (1993), Lefebvre (1992), etc.). Starting from VO, some authors have proposed that OV structures arise from object movement to the left of the verb, due to case licensing² (cf. Fabb (1992), Kinyalolo (1992)). Such theories develop a static view of the verb paradigm in Gbe which is grounded on the general idea, developed in Pollock (1989), Vikner (1995) etc. that verb movement (V-to-I movement) is linked to the strength of the inflection system³.

In terms of Pollock's (1989) split-I hypothesis, the inflection system involves discrete functional projections as illustrated in (3).

(3) AgrsP > NegP > TP > (AspP) > AgroP > VP

In this framework, word order variations across languages result from the distributive properties of the verb within the I-system. Consider the French/English examples in (4).

(4) a Jean mangera souvent t_[manger] du chocolat
 b. John will often eat chocolate

Granting that adverbs like 'souvent/often' occupy the same position crosslinguistically (cf. Cinque (1999)), we can explain the different distributive properties of the verb in French and English by proposing that the French verb necessarily moves to Agrs^o to support the inflectional morphology. Conversely, the English verb stays under VP and the INFL node is filled by an auxiliary. This would mean that the motivation for verb movement is determined by a strong inflection in French as opposed to a weak inflection in English. Put differently a language has V-to-I movement if and only if it has a strong inflectional system.

The question naturally arises how to evaluate the strength of INFL and how strong INFL should be to trigger V-to-I movement.

In terms of Vikner (1997), INFL is strong if all tenses are inflected for person, that is a language has V-to-I movement if and only if person morphology is found in all tenses.

(4)

	French	Yiddish	English		French	Yiddish	English
Infinitive	écouter	hern	hear		écouter	hern	hear
Present				Past			
1sg	écoute	her	hear	1sg	écoutais	---	heard
2sg	écoutes	herst	hear	2sg	écoutais	---	heard
3sg	écoute	hert	hears	3sg	écoutait	---	heard
1pl	écoutons	hern	hear	1pl	écoutions	---	heard
2pl	écoutez	hert	hear	2pl	écoutez	---	heard
3pl	écoutent	hern	hear	3pl	écoutaient	---	heard
Forms	3	4	2		3	0	

Adapted from Vikner 1997: 191

² I show in section 3 that object movement to the preverbal position is not case-driven.

³ Alternatively Tossa (1994) proposes that the Gbe are SOV: the SVO order derives from verb raising to the left of the object. Tossa's analysis is along the lines of Koopman (1984) who extends the traditional analysis for West Germanic SOV languages to Vata and Gbadi (Kru).

According to Vikner, French and English differ because the French verb is inflected for person in all tenses while the English verb is only inflected for 3rd in present tense. Accordingly French has a strong INFL and displays V-to-I movement as opposed to English. This analysis is confirmed by Yiddish which has person morphology in the only tense it has, i.e. present tense. As a consequence Yiddish has V-to-I movement.

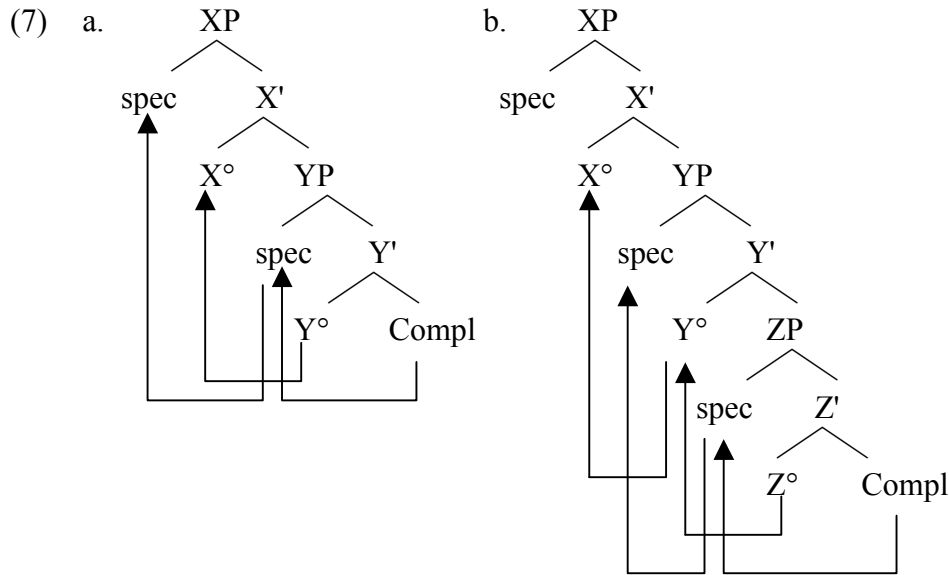
This analysis excludes the Gbe languages from the V-to-I movement paradigm, since those languages manifest a rather poor inflectional morphology. The verb is never inflected for tense and there is no subject-verb agreement. For instance, the non-finite singular verb in (5a) has exactly the same form as the finite plural verb in (5b).

- (5) a. *ùn jró ná [wlé] xè ló*
 1sg want-Perf Prep catch bird Det
 'I wanted to catch the bird'
- b. *yé [wlé] xè ló*
 3pl catch -Perf bird Det
 'They caught the bird'

The only environment where the Gbe languages display a residual agreement morphology is that of the pronominal system. The Gungbe examples under (6) show that unlike full DPs certain pronouns (1, 2, 3sg) display nominative versus accusative case morphology.

- (6) a. *xè ló wlé àsé ló*
 bird Det catch-Perf cat Det
 'The bird caught the cat'
- b. *àsé ló wlé xè ló*
 cat Det catch-Perf bird Det
 'The cat caught the bird'
- c. *ùn /à /é /mí /mì /yé [wlé] xè ló*
 1sg/2sg/3sg/1pl/2pl/3pl-NR catch-Perf bird Det
 'I/you/he/we/you/they caught the bird'
- d. *yé wlé mì /wè/è/mí /mì /yé*
 3pl catch-Perf 1sg/2sg/3sg/1pl/2pl/3pl-ACC
 'They caught me/you/him/us/you/them'

In this paper, I argue that the presence of inflectional morphology on the verb is not a prerequisite for the existence of V-to-I movement. Instead, I propose that strong INFL could also mean an articulate inflection system involving strong features which need not be visible. In this framework, the verb moves when needed to some tense/aspect head to be licensed. Similarly, the object moves to [spec AgroP] to be licensed for case, even though the Gbe languages manifest residual case morphology on pronouns only. In terms of Kayne's (1994) SVO analysis, the representations in (7) illustrate the interaction of object shift and verb movement in Gbe (cf. Manfredi (1997), Aboh (1999)).



In the following sections, I show that such a dynamic analysis accounts for the habitual-verb versus verb-habitual asymmetry found in Gbe, as well as the SVO versus SOV asymmetry. The data discussed here are mainly drawn from Gungbe, but specific reference is made to Ewegbe and Gengbe when needed. Section 2 discusses the Gbe inflectional system and the VO order. Section 3 focuses on OV structures and suggests that such constructions manifest a more articulate structure than VO sentences.

2. CLAUSE STRUCTURE AND THE VO ORDER IN GBE

The discussion in section 1 suggests that the Gbe languages are not good candidate for verb-raising because they manifest a rather poor inflectional morphology. However the lack of inflectional morphology does not necessarily mean a flat or rigid inflection system (I-system). Instead, the Gbe languages display an articulate I-system which involves distinct mood, tense and aspect markers that occur in the middle field, that is, the space between the subject and the verb. I refer to those markers as IP-markers. See Avolonto (1992), Aboh (1999, 2000), Essegbey (1999) for a detailed discussion of the Gbe preverbal markers.

2.1. On tense specification

Gungbe involves a tense marker *ná* which occurs between the subject and the verb and encodes the feature [+future] (8a). On the other hand, past and present specifications are expressions of the feature [-future]. This feature is realised by a null morpheme that is controlled by a time adjunct available in the discourse or else by the default aspect. This is illustrated by the interpretations of the word *sò* [± 1 day] in (8b-c).

- (8) a. *Kòfí ná qù lésì*
 Kofi Fut eat rice
 'Kofi will eat rice'
- b. *Àsibá wá sò*
 Asiba come-Perf [± 1 day]
 'Asiba came yesterday'
- c. *Àsibá ná wá sò*
 Asiba Fut come [± 1 day]
 'Asiba will come tomorrow'

In sentence (8a) the verb is associated with future tense due to the intervening future marker *ná*. That this marker necessarily encodes futurity is further illustrated by sentences (8b-c) where we see that the time adjunct *sɔ̀* is interpreted as yesterday (8b) or tomorrow (8c) depending on whether the sentence involves the future marker or not. This would mean that the Gungbe clause structure involves a tense position that is the locus of the features [\pm future].

2.2. Aspect specifications in Gungbe

Gungbe also displays distinct aspect markers that encode the features [+habitual] in (9a), [+imperfective] in (9b) and [+prospective] in (9c). But the example (9c) shows that there is no overt marker that encodes perfective aspect in the language.

- (9) a. *Kòfí nɔ̀ xɔ̀ wémà*
Kofi Hab buy book
'Kofi habitually buys book(s)'
- b. *Kòfí tò wémà xɔ̀*
Kofi Imperf book buy-NR
'Kofi is buying a book'
- c. *Kòfí *(tò) wémà nà xɔ̀*
Kofi Imperf book Prosp buy-NR
'Kofi is about to buy a book'
- d. *Kòfí xɔ̀ wémà*
Kofi buy-Perf book
'Kofi bought a book'

On the other hand, the sentences under (10) show that the tense/aspect markers can be realised simultaneously in a fixed order: Subject > negation > tense > aspect1 > aspect2 > aspect3 > verb.

- (10) a. *Kòfí má [ná nɔ̀] xɔ̀ wémà*
Kofi Neg Fut Hab buy book
'Kofi will not habitually buy a book'
- b. *Kòfí má [ná nɔ̀ tò] wémà [nà] xɔ̀*
Kofi Neg Fut Hab Imperf book Prosp buy-NR
'Kofi will not be habitually about to buy a book'

Assuming that the IP-markers are heads that realise discrete functional projections within the I-system, the facts in (10) lead me to conclude that the split-I hypothesis represented in (3) also extends to Gbe. Building on this, I further argue that the SVO versus SOV contrast in (8), (9a), (9d) and (10a) as opposed to (9b), (9c) and (10b) might result from the interactions between object shift and verb movement as well as structural differences. This hypothesis is corroborated by two major observations.

First, the OV constructions involve the aspect marker *tò* and a sentence-final low tone which is marked as an additional stroke [ˀ] on the sentence-final word and glossed as NR. Witness that the prospective marker is dependent on the imperfective marker. The latter can be realised individually as in (9b), while the former cannot (9c).

Second, VO sequences never involve the imperfective or prospective markers nor the sentence-final low toneme. A straightforward conclusion here is that the Gbe SVO orders involve a less articulated structure than SOV sequences. Put differently, VO sequences are monoclausal unlike OV sequences which are biclausal. This analysis is further supported by the fact that in SOV sequences the object and the verb form a constituent, but this is not the case in SVO constructions.

Sentence (11a) is a neutral prospective sentence where the verb selects a direct object and an indirect object. Sentence (11b) indicates that in OV constructions verb focusing necessarily requires preposing of the verb simultaneously with its arguments (i.e. the bracketed sequence) to the left periphery. No argument can be left out as illustrated by the ungrammatical example (11c).

- (11) a. *Àsíbá tò [lésì ló nà zé xlán Rèmí]*
 Asiba Imperf rice Det Prosp take to Remi-NR
 'Asiba is about to send the rice to Remi'
- b. *[lésì ló nà zé xlán Rèmí] Àsíbá tò*
 rice Det Prosp take to Remi-NR Asiba Imperf
 'Asiba is ABOUT TO SEND THE RICE TO REMI'
- c. **[lésì ló nà zé] Àsíbá tò xlán Rèmí*
 rice Det Prosp take Asiba Imperf to Remi-NR

On the other hand, the sentences under (12) show that movement of the verb with its internal arguments is prohibited in SVO structures. Instead, the focused verb is moved sentence-initially, leaving a copy in the IP-internal position (12a). Sentence (12b) is ruled out because the verb is preposed simultaneously with its argument.

- (12) a. *[zé] Àsíbá nò [zé] lésì ló xlán Rèmí*
 take Asiba Hab take rice Det toward Remi
 'Asiba habitually SEND/SENT the rice to Remi'
- b. **[zé lésì ló xlán Rèmí] Àsíbá nò*
 take-Perf rice Det toward Remi Asiba Hab

2.3. Object shift and verb movement in VO constructions

In my account for word order patterns in Gbe, as well as the contrast in (11) and (12), I propose that the VO versus OV asymmetry reduces to the features [\pm imperfective]. When specified as [+imperfective] the relevant aspect head is morphologically realised as *tò* which selects for the biclausal structure. But when specified as [-imperfective] it requires a monoclausal structure (cf. Aboh (1999, 2000))⁴.

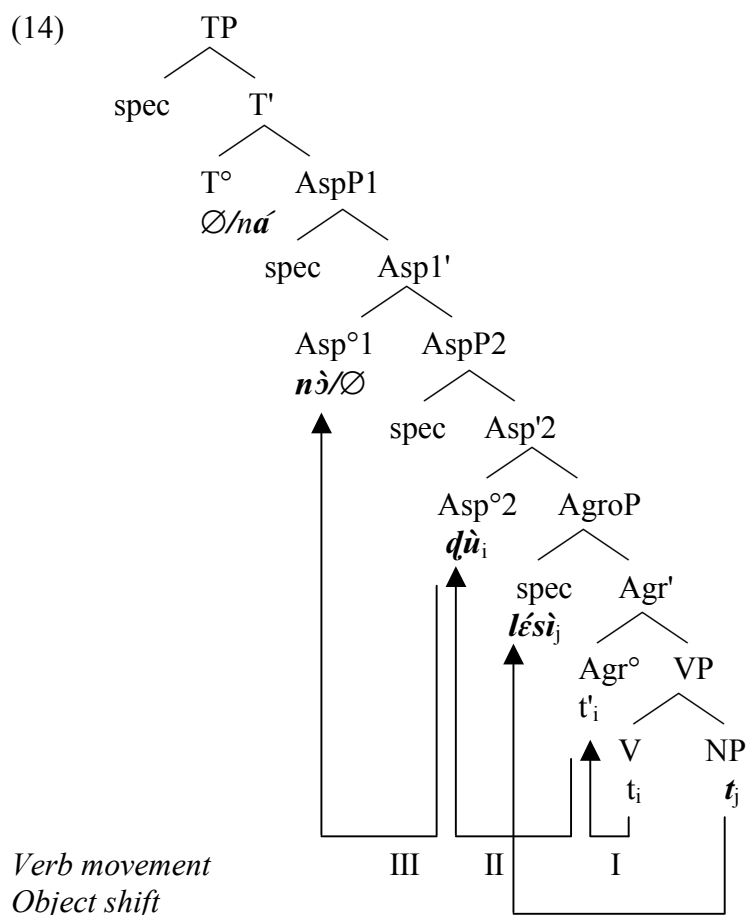
Assuming that precedence relations reproduce asymmetric c-command relations, the VO construction in (10a) suggests the hierarchical structure in (13). In this framework, the residual case morphology in the Gbe pronominal system is regarded as evidence that the structure of those languages involves a projection AgrP, where nominative and accusative cases are licensed (cf. Pollock (1989), Belletti (1990), Chomsky (1995), Haegeman (1995), Zanuttini (1997), etc.).

⁴ See also Fabb (1992) and Kinyalolo (1992) for the discussion of Fongbe and Ewegbe OV constructions.

- (13) AgrsP > NegP > TP_[±future] > AspP1_[±habitual] > AspP2_[-imperfective] > AgroP > VP ...

I further suggest that the verb always follows the tense and aspect markers in Gungbe because those markers do not qualify as affixes. As a consequence, subsequent verb movement to the left of the IP-markers is blocked: the verb cannot attach to the intervening IP-marker. Notice, however that, unlike T°, the aspect head positions (Asp°1, Asp°2) are accessible for verb movement when they are negatively set. This means that the null counterparts of the aspect markers are considered affixes.

Building on structure (13), I conclude that the SVO order results from object movement to [spec AgroP] due to case licensing, as suggested by the case morphology on pronouns. The verb moves to the aspect head (via Agro) to be licensed for aspect. As suggested in the previous paragraph, verb movement in Gungbe applies only if the target aspect head is not morphologically realised. Since Asp°2 is negatively set in all non-imperfective constructions (i.e. constructions involving neither *tò* nor an aspectual verb), we assume that steps I and II always hold in such sentences. On the other hand step III applies only and only if Asp°1 is negatively set, that is if the sentence does not involve the habitual marker *nḁ*. These scenarios are as represented in (14).



Data from Gengbe and Ewegbe confirm the existence of verb movement in the Gbe languages. In Gengbe and Ewegbe, the habitual aspect marker appears to be an affix. As a result the verb necessarily raises and left-adjoins to it, as shown in (15).

- (15) a. *Kwésí vá-ná skúlù*
 Kwesi come-Hab school
 'Kwesi often comes to school' Gengbe
- b. *Kwésí jrà-nà àkòdú*
 Kwesi sell-Hab banana
 'Kwesi often sells bananas' Ewegbe

Building on structure (14), I propose that, in Ewegbe and Gengbe, the object moves to [spec AgroP] to be licensed for case. The verb moves to Asp^o1, via steps I, II and III due to aspectual licensing. That the tense and aspect markers are in complementary distribution in Ewegbe and Gengbe might be additional evidence that those languages involve subsequent movement of the complex head V-Hab to T^o.

- (16) a. **Kòfí jrà-(n)á-á àkòdú* Ewegbe
 Kofi sell-Hab-Fut banana
- b. **Kòfí á jrà-(n)á àkòdú*
 Kofi Fut sell-Hab banana
 'Kofi will habitually sell bananas'

This clearly indicates that a difference between the Gungbe-type languages and the Ewegbe-type ones is that the former allow for V-to-Asp movement while the latter display V-to-T movement. Put differently, the Gbe languages involve two groups. The first group (i.e. the Gungbe-type languages) involves short verb movement, while the second group (i.e. the Ewegbe-type languages) manifests long verb movement. This dynamic analysis has the advantage of accounting for word order variation in Gbe in a straightforward manner. In other words, no additional rule is needed to capture the Hab-V-O versus the V-Hab-O asymmetry found in SVO sequences. The following section focuses on the SOV constructions.

3. ON THE DERIVATION OF OV SEQUENCES

In this section I will pursue the idea briefly sketched in the preceding paragraphs that SOV constructions manifest a biclausal structure. Data such as those under (17) indicate that SOV constructions involve the imperfective aspect marker (or some aspectual verb that occurs in the same position). The object must precede the verb, and the sentence manifests a sentence-final low tone that is glossed as NR. In addition, example (11b) repeated here as (17c) suggests that the sequence including the verb, the (in)direct objects and the sentence-final low tone is a constituent.

- (17) a. *Kòfí tò lésì dũ̀*
 Kofi Imperf rice eat-NR
 'Kofi is eating rice'
- b. *Kòfí *(tò) lésì nà dũ̀*
 Kofi Imperf rice Prosp eat-NR
 'Kofi is about to eat rice'
- c. [*lésì ló nà zé xlán Rèmí*] *Àsibá tè*
 rice Det Prosp take to Remi-NR Asiba Imperf
 'Asiba is ABOUT TO SEND THE RICE TO REMI'

In order to account for the SOV constructions, let's assume that, when Asp°2 is positively set and overtly realised as *tò*, it selects for a small clause which is endowed with its own inflectional and peripheral systems. The INFL-system is headed by Asp°3 which encodes the features [\pm prospective]. When Asp°3 is marked as [+prospective] it hosts the prospective marker and when it is specified [-prospective] it is available for verb movement. On the other hand, [spec AspP3] represents the subject position of the small clause. Under the Extended Projection Principle, i.e. the EPP, this position must be filled in overt syntax. In the Gungbe imperfective clauses, this requirement is met by moving the object (or else any relevant maximal projection) to [spec AspP3] (cf. Chomsky (1995), Aboh (1999, 2000)). This would mean that not only elements which qualify as direct object may move to the preverbal position.

In this regard, the examples under (18) show that the preverbal position actually hosts various elements. Witness that the constituents which can precede the verb in OV constructions involve: headed relatives (cf. 18a), OVV-sequences (cf. 18b), postnominal phrases (PPs), (cf. 18c), and certain reduplicated adverbs (cf. 18d).

- (18) a. *Àsíbá tò [[dávè dɛ mí m̀̀n] ló] d̄n*
 Asiba Imperf man that 1pl see-Perf Det search-NR
 'Asiba is looking for the man that we saw'
- b. *Àsíbá tò [mótò kùkù] kpl̄̀*
 Asiba Imperf car RED-drive learn-NR
 'Asiba is learning car driving'
- c. *Àsíbá tò [àxì m̀̀] yí̄̀*
 Asiba Imperf market P_[IN] go-NR
 'Asiba is going to market'
- d. *Àsíbá tò d̀̀d̀ z̄̀̀*
 Asiba Imperf slowly walk-NR
 'Asiba is walking slowly'

Building on the fact that the preverbal position can host heterogeneous elements, I further conclude that, in OV constructions, object shift is not case-driven. For instance, observe in (18b) and (18d) that OVV-sequences as well as reduplicated adverbs need not be assigned case. Yet the existence of OV constructions involving case-assigned elements, for example, the direct object *lésì* in (17a) strongly suggests that there must be in such constructions, another position than the preverbal one where the internal argument is licensed for case. This analysis is supported by prospective constructions involving a clitic pronoun.

- (19) *Làn ló yà Kòfí ń ǹ tò nà du- ì*
 meat Det Top Kofi Fut Hab Imperf Prosp eat- 3sg-ACC-NR
 'As for the meat, Kofi will always be about to eat it'

In sentence (19), the accusative third person singular pronoun surfaces to the right of the verb, itself following the prospective marker. I take this as strong evidence that, in the OV constructions, accusative case is assigned under AgroP which intervenes between AspP3, headed by the prospective marker, and the verb phrase VP. In other words, AspP3 dominates AgroP which in turn dominates VP. This amounts to saying that the case elements which appear in the preverbal position (cf. 17a) must have moved through [spec AgroP] to get case.

Under the assumption that clitics are assigned case in Agro° and the verb movement theory developed here, I conclude that the V-clitic order in (19) derives from verb movement to Agro where it adjoins to the clitic. The OV order and the V-clitic order are schematised in (20a) and (20b) respectively.

- (20) a. ...[AspP Object [AgroP t'_{object} V [VP t_{verb} t_{object}]]]
 b. ...[AspP *nà* [AgroP V-cl [VP t_v t_{cl}]]]

Following Aboh (1999, 2000), I further argue that the Gungbe OV sequences manifest nominal features because the embedded small clause involves in its left periphery a functional projection NomP whose head Nom° triggers nominalisation under spec-head agreement. In Gungbe Nom° is realised in overt syntax by the sentence-final low tone. Data from other Gbe languages suggest that this toneme derives from a nominaliser morpheme that has been partially deleted. Sentences under (21) illustrate the nominaliser in the Fongbe, Gengbe and Ewegbe OV sequences.

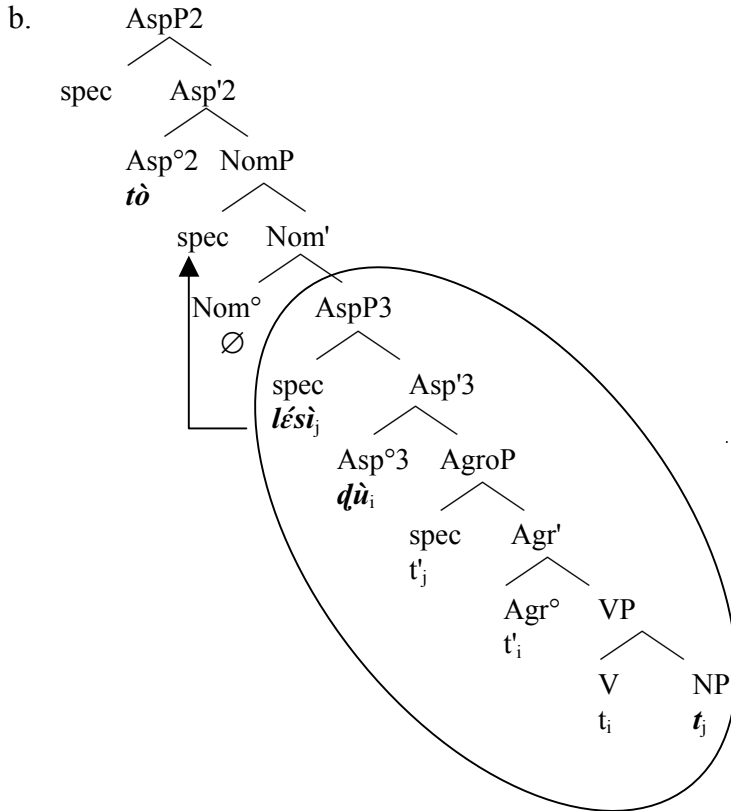
- (21) a. *Kòfí d̀ò wèmá x̀ò wè* Fongbe
 b. *Kòfí l̀è wómá pl̀è ò* Gengbe
 c. *Kòfí l̀è àgbàl̀è fl̀è ím* Ewegbe
 Kofi Imperf book buy NR
 'Kofi is buying a book'

In the framework I develop here, the nominaliser morpheme (or toneme) belongs to the class of the Gbe left peripheral markers which occur to the right edge. A case in point is the yes-no question marker also represented by the additional low tone in sentence-final position (22a), or the Gbe sentence-final clausal determiner *l̀s* in (22b). I proposed elsewhere that the Gbe sentence-final markers occur to the right edge because they require a spec-head agreement whereby their complement is moved to their specifier position (cf. 22c). See Aboh (1999, 2000) for the discussion.

- (22) a. *ùn kám̀b́í́s d̀ò Kòfí wá*
 1sg ask-Perf that Kofi come-Perf-QM
 'I asked whether Kofi came?'
- b. *ùn d̀ò dé Kòfí wá l̀s ...*
 1sg say-Perf as Kofi come-Perf Det_{CL}
 'I said as Kofi came....'
- c. [XP YP [X° [t_{YP}]]]
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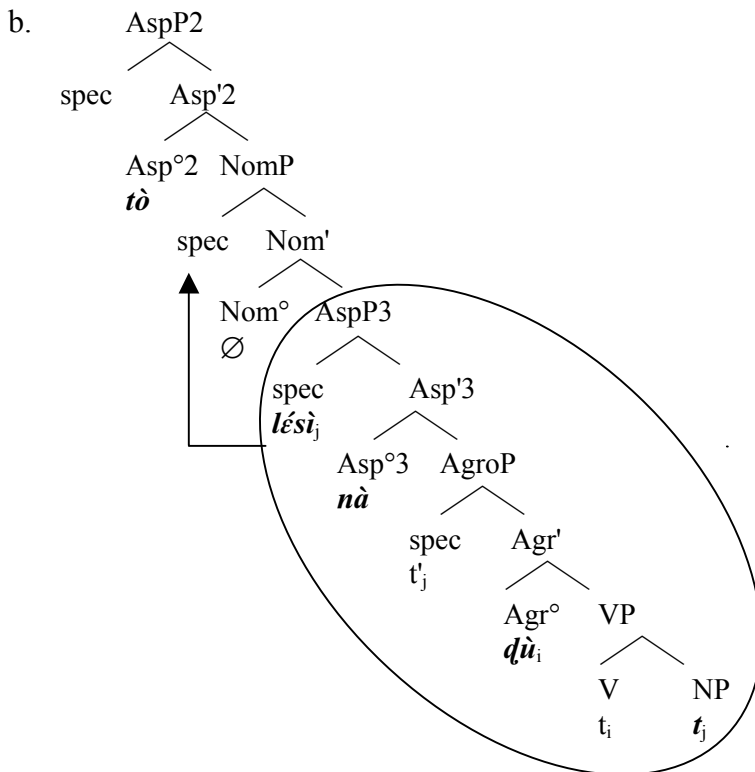
With respect to OV sequences, nominalisation triggers movement of the aspectual constituent (i.e. AspP3) to [spec NomP] where it enters a spec-head configuration with Nom° , the latter being encoded by the sentence-final low tone. In terms of this analysis, a sentence like (17a) repeated here as (23a) is derived as partially represented in (23b).

- (23) a. *Kòfí tò [l̀ésì d̀ù]*
 Kofi Imperf rice eat-NR
 'Kofi is eating rice'



In the prospective sentence (24), the object moves to [spec AspP3]. The head Asp°3 is occupied by the prospective marker *nà* and the verb can only move to Agr°. Finally, AspP3 raises to [spec NomP] due to nominalisation. The sentence is partially represented in (24b).

- (24) a. *Àsìbá tò [lésì nà qù]*
 Assiba Imperf rice Prosp eat-NR
 'Assiba is about to eat rice'



4. CONCLUSION

This paper accounts for the distribution of the verb in Gbe by assuming that object shift and verb movement are never optional. The difference in word order arises both from the interaction of object shift and verb movement as well as from structural differences. The imperfective SOV clauses are biclausal. They involve a nominalised small clause in which the verb is stuck. It cannot move past the object. In the non-imperfective SVO sentences however, no such problem arises. Those sentences are monoclausal and the verb can move past the object. Here, object shift is masked by subsequent leftward movement of the verb, due to aspectual licensing. This can be seen in the languages where the habitual aspect marker is an affix and attaches on to the verb (e.g. Ewegbe, Gengbe). This framework has far reaching consequences on the analysis of the Gbe languages as it accounts for the distributive properties of the verb and its arguments as well as the aspect markers to which it is associated. In addition, it extends to various word order patterns which are not discussed here such as verb reduplication (i.e. VV and OVV sequences). The reader is referred to Aboh (1999, 2000) for a detailed discussion of those word orders across Kwa. On the other hand, this paper further demonstrates that even though the Gbe I-system manifests no inflectional morphology, these languages do display verb movement phenomena. This analysis shows that verb movement cannot be uniquely motivated by the so-called strong INFL whereby the strength of INFL is manifested by some inflectional ending on the verb. Instead, I argue that verb movement is driven by the strong features of INFL which need not be overtly realised as inflectional or agreement affixes in the language.

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