The structure and meaning of (seeming) OBJ-sharing SVCs in Igbo and Akan:

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Applying three novel semantic diagnostics, we compare (seeming) OBJ-sharing transitive SVCs in Akan (1) and Igbo (2a). We first look at Igbo SVCs with and w/o OBJ-sharing in (2ab).

(1)   Kweku kù-ù   **àkókɔ́ nó**   nòá-àyὲ.   [Akan, SVC with OBJ-prodrop]
          Kweku kill-PST   chicken DEF   cook-PST
          'Kweku killed a chicken and cooked it.'

(2)   a. Úchὲ   gbù-rù   **ὸḳúḳὸ**   sí-é.   [Igbo, OBJ-sharing]
      b. Úchὲ   gbù-rù   **ὸḳúḳὸⱼ**   sí-é   ˈyáᵢ.   [Igbo, no OBJ-sharing]
          Uche   kill-PST   chicken cook-PST   3SG
          'Uche killed and cooked the chicken.' / 'Uche killed the chicken and cooked it.'

Applying the semantic criteria of [CONTRARY ADVERBS], [ADVERBIAL QUANTIFICATION], and [CUMULATIVITY] (authors), we show that (2b) involves *covert conjunction* of two independent propositions (Stewart 1998) plus ATB-movement of the subject (Ross 1967), (3b). In contrast, (2a) is a true instance of an OBJ-sharing transitive SVC with a single subject and head-complement structure (Collins 1997, Stewart 1998) (3a):

(3)   a. $[_{TP}$ Uche₁ $[_{vP}$ t₁ $[_{vP}$ kill$_{V1}$ $[_{vP}$ cook$_{V2}$ chicken]]]   [OBJ-sharing]

      b. $[_{TP}$ Uche₁ $[_{vP}$ $[_{vP1}$ t₁ kill chicken$_i$] & $[_{vP2}$ t₁ cook it$_i$]]]   [covert conjunction]

V1 and V2 in (3a) form a complex VP denoting one complex process event that materially consists of two subevents of killing a chicken and cooking it. Crucially, the subevents are material subparts and not parts of a plural event, as this SVC-type does not exhibit cumulativity effects typical of semantically plural events.

With Akan we face the complication that it exhibits prodrop with *inanimate* OBJ-pronouns (Campbell 1998, Korsah & Murphy 2020, Hein & Georgi 2021), unlike Igbo, which does not license prodrop. This makes it difficult to assess whether (1) involves true OBJ-sharing (4a) or covert conjunction (4b).

(4)   a. $[_{vP}$ SUBJ $[_{vP}$ V1 OBJ V2]

      b. $[_{TP}$ SUBJ₁ $[_{vP}$ $[_{vP1}$ t₁ V1 OBJ$_i$] & $[_{vP2}$ t₁ V2 pro$_i$]]]

Applying the semantic diagnostics from above, we show that Akan (1) involves covert conjunction with OBJ-prodrop in (4b), rather than true OBJ-sharing. This corroborates earlier findings on *accusative SVCs* in Campbell (1996).

Akan SVCs with transitive verbs and *animate* object DPs, which cannot be pro-dropped in Akan (Korsah & Murphy 2020), differ from the inanimate case in (1) in two ways: First, they do not compose compositionally, but only allow for idiomatic readings, cf. (5a). This points to a syntax with a complex VP constituent supporting the idiomatic meaning, as in (4a). Second, this SVC-type does not structurally license the occurrence of two adverbs, unlike the inanimate OBJ-SVC in (1), which does, (5b).

(5)   a. Mὲ   gyὲ-è   **nó**   (*ntɛm so)   dì-ì   nkakrankakra.
          1SG take-PST   3SG.OBJ   quickly top   eat-PST slowly
          'Bit by bit, I believed (in) him/her.'

      b. Kweku kù-ù   **àkókɔ́ nó**   ntɛm   so   nòá-àyὲ   (nò)   nkakrankakra.
          Kweku kill-PST chicken DEF   quickly top   cook-PST   3SG.OBJ   slowly
          'Kweku killed a chicken quickly and cooked it slowly.'

To conclude, Igbo and Akan differ in that Akan only makes limited use of true OBJ-sharing transitive SVCs, namely with animate object DPs on an idiomatic interpretation.

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