General Locative Marking in Martinican Creole (*Matinitjè*): A Case Study in Grammatical Economy

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Abstract:

This article bears on *General Locative Marking* (GLM), as exemplified in Martinican Creole (MQ): the surface homonymy of phrases denoting Goal, Source and Stative Location. With a few languages as comparative background, we explore in some detail the expression of stative location and directional predications in MQ, breaking down GLM into two independent homonymies – Place/Goal, and Goal/Source. The first homonymy is not a Creole innovation since it obtains in French and various West-African languages. The Goal/Source homonymy, an MQ innovation with respect to French, is attested in some West-African languages but also in Indian-Ocean Creoles (whose Non-European features are not West-African), and assumedly results from the general non-survival of French *de* in French-Based-Creole lexicons (Syea 2017), an expected development under general patterns of unguided L2-acquisition (Klein & Perdue 1997). On the other hand, the licensing of Goal and Source arguments by directional verbs in serial-verb constructions is likely to be of West-African origin. MQ thus appears as a good illustration of the hybrid nature of Creole grammars (Mufwene 2001, 2010; Aboh 2015), involving the recombination of European and Non-European features under general laws of language change and grammatical economy.

Keywords: Creole formation, General Locative Marking, Goal/Source (In) difference, locative predications, Martinican Creole

1. Introduction

This study bears on the property we call *General Locative Marking* (GLM), which has received other names in the linguistic literature, e.g. *Gen-*

eral Locative Adposition (Holm and Patrick 2007), *Goal/Source (in)difference* (Waelchli and Zuñiga 2006), *Motion-to=Motion-from* (Michaelis *et al.* 2013). This property happens to be rare[1] in 'Old-World' languages (Waelchli and Zuñiga 2006) and common across Creole languages, including French-Based Creoles (FBCs) of both the Caribbean and Indian-Ocean zones (cf. Michaelis *et al.* 2013),[2] but it is also observed in various non-Creole languages such as Mapudungun, discussed in Waelchli and Zuniga (2006). In GLM languages, the phrases denoting the location (Place) of a stative entity and the initial (Source) and final (Goal) locations of a displaced entity are or may be morphologically identical:

Mapudungun (Isolate, South America : adapted from Waelchli and Zuñiga 2006, ex. (6))

(1)   a.   Puw-i   chi kalku   **taiñ ruka   mew**   [GOAL]
           arrive.there- IND the warlock our:PL house PPOS
           'The warlock arrived in our house'

      b.   Chi narki tripa-y   **ruka   mew**   [SOURCE]
           the cat   exit-IND house   PPOS
           'The cat exited from the house'

Martinican Creole (MQ[3]):

(2)   a.   Pòl té   **an maaché-a**[4]   [PLACE]
           Paul ANT   in market-DEF
           'Paul was at the market'

      b.   Pòl ka   alé   **an maaché -a**   [GOAL]
           Paul IPF go   in market-DEF
           'Paul is going to the market'

      c.   Pòl sòti   **an maaché-a**   [SOURCE]
           Paul exit   in market-DEF
           'Paul came (back) from the market'

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[1] Rare though not absent, as observed by one reviewer quoting the following Italian examples from Ludovico Franco:
(i)   Sono/vado/esco   da-l parrucchiere.
      am /go /exit   P-the hairdresser
   'I {am at/go to/come from} the hairdresser's' (Franco and Manzini 2017, ex. (5)/ 2018, ex. (9)).
[2] On Haitian cf. DeGraff (2007). On Martinican, Bernabé (1987, 2003); Pinalie and Bernabé (1999); Bardury (2014). For cross-FBC data cf. Chaudenson (2003) and Syea (2017).
[3] We abbreviate the name as *MQ*, since *MC* is commonly used in reference to Mauritian Creole.
[4] Abbreviations used in our glosses: ABL = ablative; ACC = accusative; ANT = anterior; COP = copula; DEF = definite determiner; IPF = imperfective; LOC = locative; PART = partitive determiner; PL = plural; PRS = present; SG = singular; 1, 2, 3 = person.

These data look remarkable in contrast with languages where Place, Goal and Source are morphologically distinguished in the nominal domain, e.g. by Case-marking, as in Latin (3), or by adpositions as in English (4):

(3) a. Sum   **Romae**
         be.prs.1sg Rome.loc
         'I am in Rome'
     b. Eo   **Romam**
         go.prs.1sg Rome.acc
         'I am going to Rome'
     c. Redeo   **Roma**
         return.prs.1sg Rome.abl
         'I am coming back from Rome'

(4) a. Paul is   **at**   the market
     b. Paul is going   **to**   the market
     c. Paul has returned   **from**   the market

According to a brief data-poll conducted among relevant linguist-colleagues,[5] GLM seems also attested in Bambara (Mande), Wolof (Senegambian/Atlantic) and Bulu (West Bantu, Cameroon) – though not in Gungbe (Kwa), viz. in some but not all potential West-African contributors to Caribbean-Creole grammars. Our goal is to take a closer look at GLM in one FBC variety (MQ)[6] in order to understand how the triple homonymy of Place, Goal and Source illustrated in (2) may have come about in this specific creole and how it is articulated with the rest of its grammar. Our angle is mainly synchronic and comparative (we use English, Spanish and French as contrastive backgrounds), but our descriptive results seem remarkably consistent with the hybridation view of Creole formation put forward by Mufwene (2001, 2010) and Aboh (2015), according to which Creole grammar results from a recombination of European and Non-European features under the general principles of language change and unguided language acquisition.

We start out (section 2) with cross-linguistic background information on the syntax and semantics of location and movement. We then explore separately the expression of be-at (section 3), Movement-To (section 4) and Movement-From (section 5) in MQ, and summarise our main results in section 6.

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[5] Our thanks to Enoch Aboh, Bilal Diop, Valentin Vydrin and Albert Ze Ebanga for their feedback on Gungbe, Wolof, Bambara and Bulu.

[6] Our MQ data were made up with and assessed by Loïc Jean-Louis, the MQ-speaking co-author of this article (born and raised in Le Robert, Martinique, in the 1950s, and ever since in continuous interaction with MQ speakers), and further submitted to several other MQ speakers based in Martinique and the Paris area. (Special thanks to Loïsa Paulin for her precious feedback). Like all scholars working on Creole grammars, we are fully aware of the important amount of variation across Creole speakers, but micro-variation is kept outside the scope of this research.

2. Background assumptions

Many works have already been published on location and motion predications since Tesnière (1959), Fillmore (1971/1975) and Talmy (1985, 2000), a.o. – cf. Cinque and Rizzi eds. (2010). Location is typically conveyed by the so-called Basic Locative Construction (Levinson *et al.* 2006), which in English and Romance includes a Theme noun phrase in subject position and a predicate VP formed of an overt inflected verbal copula and a locative phrase:

(5) a. Jean   était   au marché /ici /chez lui   [French]
     b. John   was   at the market /here /home   [English]
         THEME   COP   PLACE

As regards movement, we limit our present investigation to intransitive predications. Of special linguistic interest are predications which denote *translative movement* (Cummins 1996[7]), involving for the Theme a change of location which may be decomposed into three components (Talmy 1985, 2000; Vandeloise 1986): an initial location (the Source locus), an intended or resulting final location (the Goal locus), and a Path relating the Theme to the relevant locus or loci. Thus the market is respectively construed in (4b) and (4c) as the intended Goal and as the Source of the motion event affecting the Theme. Path is identified by Talmy (1985, 2000) as the core ingredient of translative movement – the one responsible for our construal of the locative phrase as Goal in (4b) and Source in (4c). In these examples, both the semantic content of the verb (*go*, *return*) and the choice of the associated preposition (*to*, *from*) contribute to guide our construal of the motion event.

Talmy (1985, 2000) classifies languages with respect to their preferred grammatical strategies for 'lexicalising' the Path feature in a sentence: English is labelled *S(atellite)-framed* because it commonly lexicalises Path on a satellite of the verb (with the verb itself expressing Manner, cf. (6a)), whereas Romance languages such as French (the European source of MQ) are labelled *V(erb)-framed* since they tend to lexicalise Path on the verb itself, with Manner conveyed by a satellite (cf. (6b)):

(6) a. John usually   walks   to the office   [English]
                          MANNER   PATH$_{goal}$
     b. Jean va   habituellement au   bureau   à pied   [French]
         John goes   usually   at.the office   on foot
               PATH$_{goal}$ MANNER

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[7] Also called *displacement* (French: *déplacement*) by Tesnière (1959), *locomotion* by Fillmore (1971/1975).

It is however acknowledged (including by Talmy himself) that translative-movement semantics may arise from elements distributed across the sentence rather than necessarily from one single element (Waelchli and Zuñiga 2006, Franco and Manzini 2017, 2018) and that Talmy's typology reflects tendencies correlating with cross-linguistic lexical contrasts rather than hard-core syntactic variation. Thus V-frames are available in English (7a), and S-frames in French (7b):

(7) a. John usually comes   here   on foot   [English]
                          PATH$_{goal}$ MANNER
     b. Jean a marché jusqu'   au   bureau   [French]
         John walked   over.to   -at-the office
                MANNER   PATH$_{goal}$
         'John walked all the way to the office'

The typographical lay-out adopted above in (4) is misleading because the three English prepositions *at, to* and *from* differ as to their syntactic and semantic status: *at* expresses pure location, as witnessed by its typical occurrence in stative locational predications such as (5a); *to* and *from,* on the other hand, are strictly directional, as witnessed by their inability to head the PP argument of purely stative locational verbs such as *stay* or *remain* (Svenonius 2007):

(8) a. Paul stayed/remained at the market for a while
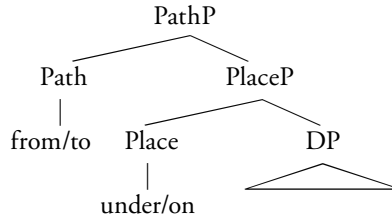   b. *Paul stayed/remained {to/from} the market for a while

The assumption that directional and locational adpositions occupy different structural positions is supported by their ability to combine within a clause, as in (9) (Hudleston and Pullum 2005; Cinque 2010):

(9) a. The cat jumped   to   in   the basket   [*to+in > into*]
     b. The cat jumped   to   on   the table   [*to+on > onto*]
     c. The cat came out from   under the bed

One way of formalising this distinction (Koopman 2000; Den Dikken 2006; Fábregas 2007; Svenonius 2007; Cinque and Rizzi, eds, 2010) is to decompose what Waelchli and Zuñiga (2006: 288) call "the adnominal domain" into (at least[8]) two structural projections, Path and Place, with Place the complement of Path.

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[8] The simple structure in (10) is sufficient for our present purpose. It ignores, but is in no way incompatible with, the finer-grained decomposition of the PlaceP explored in various works (e.g. Cinque and Rizzi, eds, 2010; Garzonio and Rossi 2016), based on the distinction between functional Place markers and "Axial Parts" (Svenonius 2006). This issue deserves a study of its own as regards Martinican.

(10)

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                              PathP
                    ┌───────────┴───────┐
                  Path                PlaceP
                    │             ┌──────┴──────┐
                from/to         Place          DP
                                  │           ╱──╲
                               under/on
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Under the structural representation in (10), adopted in our own descrip-
tions, the Path and Place heads must both be syntactically present in any
clause conveying translative movement, although one or both may be pho-
nologically covert.

				Path	Place		
(11)	a.	Paul	crawled	to	in	the cave.	[$to+in$ > $into$]
	b.	Paul	went	to	ø	the market	
	c.	Paul	crawled	ø	under	the bed	
	d.	Paul	went	ø	ø	home	

This description does not conflict with Waelchli and Zuñiga's (2006) claim
that features contributing to translative movement may occur in various positions
across the sentence: in (11a,b), for instance, both the lexical verb and the direc-
tional preposition *to* contribute to trigger a motion-event reading. The structural
assumption in (10) captures the necessary distinction between directional and
locative adpositions, and postulates that a designated functional head (Path) is
the syntactic signature of a motion-event predication – a convenient descriptive
assumption which should be easily translatable into any theoretical framework.

Fábregas (2007) proposes the Exhaustive Lexicalisation Principle which
states that every feature present in a derivation must be identified by a lexi-
cal item. The representations in (11) are consistent with this theory, should
we assume that the null Place head in (11b) is identified by *to* (which selects
a PlaceP), that the null Place head in (11d) is identified by the noun *home*
(intrinsically locative, cf. Jackendoff *et al.* 1993; Collins 2007), and that the
null Path head in (11c) is identified by the verb – assuming with Morimoto
(2001) and Fábregas (2005) that a subclass of Manner-of-Motion verbs (e.g.
'crawl', but not 'shiver') can lexicalise Path, besides Manner.

It may be noted that in English, only Path$_{goal}$, but not Path$_{source}$, may be
lexicalised by the verb only: thus, the space below the bed can only be con-
strued in (12a) as the endpoint of the baby's movement, not as its point of
origin: this restriction creates here a semantic conflict between the enclosed
nature of the space denoted by *under the bed* and the lexical content of the
verb *emerge,* whose PlaceP complement should preferably denote an open
space. The same asymmetry between Path$_{goal}$ and Path$_{source}$ accounts for the

fact that (12b)[9] is ill-formed, contrasting with (12c) where Source is properly lexicalised in Path by the preposition *from*:

(12) a. ?The baby emerged under the bed
     b. *You think you'd come down up in space if you had a chance?
     c. You think you'd come down **from** up in space if you had a chance?

The same restriction obtains in French: only Path_{goal} may be lexicalised by the V; Path_{source} needs to be lexicalised by an overt preposition:

		PATH	PLACE
(13) a.	Marie est sortie	$\emptyset_{goal/\text{*source}}$	sous les arbres
	'Mary came out		under the trees'
b.	Marie est sortie	de_{source}	sous les arbres
	'Mary came out	from	under the trees'

It has been argued (Koopman 1997; Nam 2005, a.o.; Cinque 2010) that Goal- and Source-denoting PathPs do not have the same relation to the predicate, hence must not occupy the same structural positions in the clause. We leave this issue aside for our present purpose and only focus on the necessary structural distinction between Path and Place and the lexical triggers of Goal and Source interpretations.

3. Stative location in MQ

3.1 Null copula

Like all other FBCs (Syea 2017), contrasting in this respect with French, MQ has a null copula head in simplex declarative instances of the Basic Locative Construction (14a). The copula is only overtly spelt out (as *yé*) if the locative phrase has been moved away from its basic position, as in (14b):

(14) a. Malèt-la   ø   an grènié-a
         suitcase-DET   COP   in attic- DEF
         'The suitcase is in the attic'
     b. Ki   koté   malèt-la   **yé**?
         what   place   suitcase-DEF COP
         'Where is the suitcase?'

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[9] (12b) is adapted from a corpus example from Nikitina (2008, ex. 18):
(i) You think you'd go up in space if you had a chance?

Since this property is shared by FBCs of both the Caribbean and Indian Ocean zones (Syea 2017), it is unlikely to be of African origin since the Non-European inputs ("substrates") of FBCs are likely to have been different in the two zones (Chaudenson 2003, 2007).[10] The restructuring of the French overt copula – a highly functional (very small closed class), inflected, morphologically irregular, unaccented word – as a null or uninflected predicate-head in MQ is not unexpected from the point of view of unguided L2-acquisition, and null copulas in the Basic Locative Construction are commonly attested across natural languages.

3.2 Three types of locative morphology

MQ makes use of three morphological types of locative marking. The first type is overt spatial prepositions occurring as free morphemes (we found about fifteen of those in MQ), illustrated in (15):

(15) a.   Mèl   -la   ø   **an**   piébwa-a
           blackbird-DET   COP   in   tree-DEF
           'The blackbird is in the tree'
      b.   Dlo   -a   ø   **adan**   frijidè-a
           water   -DET   COP   inside   fridge- DEF
           'The water is inside the fridge'
      c.   Pòl   ø   **douvan**   asansè-a
           Paul   COP   in.front   lift
           'Paul is in front of the lift'
      d.   Liv   -la   ø   **anba/anlè** tab-la
           book   -DET   COP   under/on   table-DEF
           'The book is under/on the table'

The second type of locative marking in MQ involves the oblique[11] particles *a-, an(n)-,* and *o(z)-* which, unlike the free prepositions in (15), show signs of morphological attachment to the noun on their right. Morphological attachment is revealed in some cases by sandhi (liaison in 16b,d), and more generally by sensitivity to word-level properties: locative particles only attach to bare lexemes; locative *a-* restrictively selects monosyllabic city names (16a); *an(n)-* and *o(z)-* select two different subclasses of country names (Zribi-Hertz and Jean-Louis 2017a) and *o-* further selects a subclass of bare

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[10] Note, furthermore, that the Basic Locative Construction contains an overt copula in Bambara (*bɛ*, Vydrin p.c., cf. Vydrin in press), Bulu (*ne,* A. Ze Ebanga, p.c.), Gungbe (*tò,* Aboh p.c., cf. Aboh 2009) and Wolof (*ngi*, B. Diop, p.c.).

[11] They may also be shown to occur with non-locative oblique values such as Instrumental (Zribi-Hertz and Jean-Louis 2017a). This is consistent with the assumption that Locative is but a special instance of a more general abstract Oblique value (Franco and Manzini 2017, 2018).

nouns denoting institutionalised places ('office', 'market', 'doctor', etc.). The nouns of this latter class share with proper names their syntactic bareness and their intrinsic "semantic definiteness" (Loebner 1985). These various types of particled bare nouns exhibit the properties of spatial *Names* (Zribi-Hertz and Jean-Louis 2014):

(16) a. Pòl   ø   a-Wòm
         Paul   COP   LOC-Rome
         Paul is in Rome'
     b. Pòl   ø   ann-Espàn
         Paul   COP   LOC -Spain
         'Paul is in Spain'
     c. Pòl   ø   o-Maròk
         Paul   COP   LOC-Morocco
         'Paul is in Morocco'
     d   Pòl   ø   oz-Etazini
         Paul   COP   LOC-USA
         'Paul is in the USA'
     e. Pòl   ø   o-biro   /o-maaché /o-doktè   /o-piano
         Paul   COP   LOC-office /LOC-market /LOC-doctor /LOC-piano
         'Paul is at the office/at the market/at the doctor's/at the piano'

The three particles *a-, an(n)-* and *o(z)-* all convey the same general locative relation: they are semantically "non-configurational" (Vandeloise 1986), since they merely indicate that the referent of the particled noun is to be construed as a Ground, with no further specification of the spatial configuration linking it to the associated Figure: thus the sentence in (17a) is true whether the virus is already within the limits of Rome or has only yet reached its outskirts, while (17b) is only true if the virus has already penetrated inside the city:

(17) a. Viris-la   ja   ø   a-Wòm
         virus-DET already   COP   LOC-Rome
         'The virus is already AT Rome'
     b. Viris-la   ja   ø   adan   Wòm
         virus- DET already   COP   inside   Rome
         'The virus is already inside Rome'

The particles *a-, an(n)-* and *o(z)-* all have transparent prepositional etyma in French: *à*, *en* and *au(x)*. As a free locative preposition, French *à* has generally failed to make its way into FBC lexicons, a point observed and understood by Syea (2017) under Klein and Perdue's (1997) theory of unguided L2 acquisition, which characterises the L2-grammar of first-stage learners (the "Basic Variety"): "Strikingly absent from the Basic Variety are (…) free or bound morphemes with purely grammatical functions" (Klein and Perdue 1997: 30). French *à* is indeed a strictly unstressed, multi-function, "Case-

like" (Kayne 1975; Manzini and Franco 2016) preposition, whose locative use pertains to the most functional, semantically abstract type of spatial adpositions which Cinque (2010) calls "simple" in contrast with the "complex" type (e.g. Italian *sopra* 'on (top of)') instantiating, in his view, "Axial Parts" (Svenonius 2006).[12] MQ interestingly holds on to *a* as a locative marker only with monosyllabic city names which *a*-prefixation turns into disyllables.[13] French *en*, on the other hand, has lived on in the MQ lexicon, at least[14] as a locative particle (holding on to the sandhi properties of its etymon). French *au(x)* is a morphologically complex word made up of preposition à combined with the masculine or plural definite article (*à*+le = *au* [o], *à*+les = *aux* [o]/ [oz]). MQ has restructured *au(x)* as an uninflected compact oblique particle (holding on to the sandhi properties of the French definite article contained in French *au(x)* > MQ: *o-Maròk/oz-Etazini*).

The third type of locative marking observed in MQ is phonologically null but needs to be represented in syntax to account for the ambiguity of a sentence such as (18), where *Fòdfrans* may be construed either as an object DP (18a) or as a locative phrase (18b):

(18a)   Pòl   penn [$_{DP}$ Fòdfrans   /tren-an]
          Paul paint   Fort-de-France /train- DEF
          'Paul painted Fort-de-France/the train'

(18) Pòl   penn Fòdfrans
     Paul paint Fort-de-France

(18b)   Pòl   penn [$_{PP}$ ø   Fòdfrans   /**an** tren-an]
          Paul paint   LOC Fort-de-France /in train- DEF
          'Paul painted in Fort-de-France/on the train'

The null locative marker occurs with polysyllabic city names and nouns denoting types of institutionalised places such as 'church', 'school', 'home', construed as individual concepts (cf. Loebner 1985: the unique type of functional place called Church). Most of such nouns begin with *l* or *la* in MQ, resulting

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[12] We note an interesting contrast between impairment in agrammatic aphasia, which according to Froud (2001), quoted by Cinque (2010: 11), impacts all prepositions, and the first-stage grammar of unguided L2 acquisition (Klein and Perdue's 1997 "Basic Variety"), which only discards "purely functional" ones such as French *à* and *de* (but not *sous* 'under', *dans* 'in', etc.).

[13] MQ shows a general dislike for certain types of monosyllables in the nominal lexicon.

[14] *An* also occurs as a free preposition in MQ, as in (2), but the relation to French *en* is in this case an open issue: MQ *an* [ã] might as well be related to French *dans* [dã]. In the case of the particle *an-*, both morphology (the [n] liaison) and lexical selection (e.g. country names) point to French *en*, rather than *dans*.

from agglutination of the French definite article, but a few do not follow this morphological pattern (e.g. *sinéma* 'movies'). Illustrations of the null locative marker in the Basic Locative Construction are given in (19).

(19) a. Pòl   ø   ø   Fòdfrans
    Paul   COP   LOC   Fort-de-France
    'Paul is in Fort-de-France'
   b. Pòl   ø   ø   légliz /lékòl /laplaj /labank /lafak   /lakay
    Paul   COP   LOC church /school /beach /bank   /university /home
    'Paul is {in church/school//at the beach/bank/university//at home}'
   c. Pòl   ø   ø   sinéma
    Paul   COP   LOC   movies
    'Paul is at the movies'

Like the locative particles in (16), the null locative marker is semantically non-configurational and selects a bare noun.[15] On the basis of these similarities, it is tempting to analyse the null locative marker as a word-level particle, rather than a free zero preposition. We however leave this issue open for our present purpose, and simply transcribe the null locative marker as ø.

Zero locative marking is absent from French. It mostly occurs in MQ in contexts where *à* would occur in French, also conveying a non-configurational spatial relation, and also showing an affinity with semantic definiteness (Vandeloise 1987). The fact that zero locative marking is also attested in Indian Ocean FBCs (Syea 2017) pleads against a West African origin. We must however note that zero locative marking is attested in some West African languages including Gbe (E. Aboh p.c.), Bambara (V. Vydrin p.c.) and Wolof (B. Diop, p.c.) especially with proper names and names of institutionalised places such as 'market', 'bank', 'school'. It is therefore possible that West African zero locatives should have encouraged the development of zero locative marking in MQ.

3.3 Partial recap

The main contrasts between MQ and French Basic Locative Constructions are of a morphological nature: (i) the MQ copula is null in simplex declarative locative predications, whereas the French copula is an overt inflected

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[15] An apparent counter-example to this generalisation is (ia) below, but we have reason to believe that the determiner attaches to the Locative Phrase to form a Determined Locative Phrase, as represented in (ib). Under this analysis, the null locative marker always attaches to bare lexemes, like overt locative particles.
(i)   a.   Man ka atann-ou ø   labank-lan
         1SG IPF wait-2SG   LOC bank-DEF
         'I am waiting for you at the bank'
    b.   [$_{DLOCP}$ [$_{LOCP}$ ø-labank]-lan]

verb; (ii) locative marking in MQ may be prepositional (as in French), but it may also involve prefixed particles and zero marking. These properties may mostly be seen as natural restructurings of French morphology in an unguided L2-acquisition context, although the development of zero locative marking could have been further reinforced by West African features.

4. Goal markers in MQ and the Place/Goal homonymy

4.1 Background on French

4.1.1 Anticipated goal

The French lexicon (like other Romance lexicons, e.g. Spanish, cf. Fábregas 2007) does not contain a Path preposition corresponding to English *to* in (20b), denoting what Vandeloise (1986, 1987) calls an *Anticipated Goal*. As a result, the spatial argument quite generally presents the same morphology in stative locative predications such as (21a) and Anticipated-Goal directional predications such as (21b):[16]

			PATH	PLACE	
(20)	a.	John is	---	at the bank/in the forest	
	b.	John went	to	ø the bank/in the forest	[*to+in* > *into*]

French:

			PATH	PLACE	
(21)	a.	Jean est	---	à la banque/dans la forêt	[= 20a]
	b.	Jean est allé	ø	à la banque/dans la forêt	[= 20b]

The surface homonymy illustrated in (21) is only partially attested in English (cf. 11c,d),[17] due to the availability of *to* to fill the Anticipated-Goal Path head in many contexts. It is however quite general in French, even more so than in Spanish, since Spanish tends to use two different locative markers in stative and Anticipated-Goal predications, as shown by Fábregas (2007):

Spanish:

				PATH	PLACE	
(22)	a.	Juan	está	---	**en**/*a	la oficina
		John	is		in/at	the office
		'John is at the office'				
	b.	Juan	va	ø$_{goal}$	*en/**a**	la oficina
		John	goes		in/at	the office
		'John goes to the office'				

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[16] Vandeloise (1987: 88) captures this generalisation by means of what he calls the Anticipation Principle.

[17] Cf. Nikitina (2008) for English corpus examples containing a null Path$_{goal}$ head.

Fábregas's (2007) argues that Spanish *a* is nevertheless a Place marker, not a Path marker, since it occurs in stative locative predications with certain nouns (23):

(23) a. Juan está **al**   sol
          Juan is   *a*+the sun
          'John is (standing) in the sun'
     b. La nota está **a**l   margen del   papel
          the note is   *a*+the margin of-the paper
          'The note is at the margin of the paper'
          [Spanish examples adapted from Fábregas 2007 ex. 24]

However, locative *en* and *a* have different semantic contents: *en* "expresses a place relationship where the figure is contained inside the ground" (22a) and *a* "a place relationship where the figure is in contact with a point of the ground" (23) (Fábregas 2007, generalisations 27-28). Fábregas explains the choice of *a* in directional predications such as (22b) by the semantics of directionality: in his view, Goal is, as such, naturally construed as a targeted "limit" or "point", viz. as mono- rather than bi- ou tri-dimensional.

In French, however, *à* is more broadly available than Spanish *a* in stative locational predications, and configurational prepositions such as *dans* 'in' (Spanish *en*) may readily occur in directional predications. As a result, the same morphology is generally available in French for the spatial argument in both stative-locational and Anticipated-Goal predications, although the locative prepositions *à* and *dans* may contextually contrast as do their Spanish homologues: *à* is selected with functional-spatial nouns construed as "weak definites" as in (24a,c) (Aguilar and Zwarts 2010; Corblin 2013), while *dans* triggers strictly configurational readings (24b). This semantic contrast is however independent from the Place/Anticipated-Goal homonymy:[18]

French:
(24) a. Jean est/va   au   bureau   [compare (22a)]
          John is/goes à-the office
          'John is at the office/goes to the office'

_____

[18] The Italian data seem to echo those of French (thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out):
    (i) Sono//vado   alla /nella   chiesa
          I am//go   at.the /in.the church
          'I am at/in (the) church//am going to/into (the) church'
          (Italian examples adapted from Franco and Manzini 2018: 7).

b. Jean   est/va   dans {le/un} bureau   [compare (22b)]
        John   is/goes   in   the/an office
        'John is in {the/an} office//goes into {the/an} office'
c. Jean   est/va   au   soleil
        John   is/goes   à-the sun
        'John is in the sun/goes in(to) the sun'

4.1.2 Overt Path$_{goal}$ markers

Although French, like Spanish, has no lexical equivalent of English *to,*
it has two overt Path$_{goal}$ prepositions, *jusque* and *vers* (cf. Vandeloise 1986,
1987), corresponding to Spanish *hasta* and *hacia* discussed by Fábregas (2007).
Since *vers* has not made its way into the MQ lexicon, we leave it out of this
study and limit our background information to French *jusque.*

Jusque has no lexical equivalent in English. Like Spanish *hasta*, it is
strictly directional (25b), but it differs from English *to* in both its semantics
and its distribution: while anticipated movement (expressed by *to* in English
and zero in French) is compatible with imperfective aspect (25c), *jusque* is
strictly telic – it implies that the Goal is actually reached (25d):

		PATH	PLACE
(25) a. Jean est	----	à la cathédrale

(25) a. Jean   est   ----   à la cathédrale
              'John is at the cathedral'
     b. *Jean   est   jusqu' à la cathédrale
     c. Jean {est allé/était en train d'aller} ø   à la cathédrale
              'John {went/was going} to the cathedral'
     d. Jean {est allé/*était en train d'aller} jusqu'   à la cathédrale
              'John {went/*was going} all the way to the cathedral'

Jusque may head the complement of an intrinsically directional verb such
as *aller* 'go', as in (25d), but it may also head a directional phrase adjoined to
a non-directional VP, as in (26):

(26)   Jean a chanté/pleuré/parlé à Marie   jusqu'   à la cathédrale
             'John   sang/cried /spoke to Mary   all the way to   (at) the cathedral'

4.2 Path$_{goal}$ in MQ

4.2.1 Anticipated goal

General homonymy of stative location and Anticipated Goal is the first
component of GLM in (2). This homonymy obtains in MQ regardless of
both the type of locative morphology (preposition: (27a,e), particle: (27b),
zero marking: (27c,d)) and the type of locative semantics (configurational:
(27a,e), non-configurational (27b,c,d), functional: (27b,d)):

				PATH	PLACE
(27) a.	Pòl	{ø/ay}	ø	an	grènié-a
	Paul	{COP/go}		in	attic-DEF
	'Paul {is in/went (in)to the attic'				
b.	Pòl	{ø/ay}	ø	o-	biro
	Paul	{COP/go}		LOC	office
	'Paul {is at/went to} the office'				
c.	Pòl	{ø/ay}	ø	ø	Fòdfrans
	Paul	{COP/go}		LOC	Fort-de-France
	'Paul {is in/went to} Fort-de-France'				
d.	Pòl	{ø/ay}	ø	ø	lapisin.
	Paul	{COP/go}		LOC	(the)swimming-pool
	'Paul {is at/went to} the swimming-pool'				
e.	Pòl	{ø/ay}	ø	an	pisin-nan.
	Paul	{COP/go}		in	swimming-pool-DEF
	'Paul {is in/went into} the swimming-pool'				

As shown above, the same general homonymy obtains in French and results from the lexical absence of an Anticipated-Goal Path preposition similar to English *to*, combined with the availability of all types of locative markers in both stative-locational and directional$_{goal}$ predications. According to the brief poll we conducted among speaker-linguist colleagues (cf. fn.5), a similar homonymy of the locative phrase in BE-AT and MOVEMENT-TO predications is also attested in Bambara, Bulu, Gungbe and Wolof.

4.2.2 Overt Path$_{goal}$ marker: **jis**

MQ has no lexical counterpart of French *vers*,[19] but has integrated to its lexicon an overt Path$_{goal}$ marker spelt out *jis* adapted from French *jusque*, whose semantics is similar to that of *jusque*, but whose syntax is different: contrary to French *jusque*, MQ *jis* must be licensed by a directional verb. The MQ examples in (28) show that MQ *jis*, like French *jusque*, may head the Goal argument of a directional verb, and triggers a semantic effect similar to that of French *jusque*:

			PATH	PLACE	
(28) a.	Pòl	{ay/vini}	ø	ø	Fòdfrans
	Paul	go/come			Fort-de-France
	'Paul {went/came} to Fort-de-France'				
	(French: Paul est allé/venu à Fort-de-France)				
b.	Pòl	{ay/vini}	**jis**	ø	Fòdfrans
	'Paul {went /came} all the way to Fort-de-France'				
	(French: Paul est allé/venu jusqu'à Fort-de-France)				

[19] This absence calls for an explanation – an open issue.

c. Pòl   rivé   ø   ø   Fòdfrans
    Paul   arrive   Fort-de-France
    'Paul arrived in Fort-de-France'
    (French: Paul est arrivé à Fort-de-France.)
d. Pòl   rivé   **jis**   ø   Fòdfrans
    Lit. 'Paul arrived all the way (down/up) to Fort-de-France'
    (French: Paul est arrivé jusqu'à Fort-de-France)
    = 'Paul {reached/managed to reach/made it to} Fort-de-France'

The ill-formedness of *jis* in (29b) confirms that MQ *jis*, like French *jusque*, is strictly telic:

(29) a. Pòl alé   {ø/jis}   an katédral-la
         Paul go   {ø/*jis*}   in cathedral-DEF
         'Paul went {to/all the way to} the cathedral'
     b. Kisa Pòl ka fè la-a?   — I ka alé {ø/*jis} an katédral-la
         what Paul IPF do there-DEF   he IPF go {ø/*jis*} in cathedral-DEF
         'What is Paul doing   'He is going {to/*all the way to} the cathedral'
         (under our very eyes)?'

The semantic contrast between ø and *jis* in Path$_{goal}$ corresponds, as in French, to Anticipated-Goal vs. telic movement (cf. 25b/c). In (28), where aspect is perfective throughout, *jis* emphasises the fact that the Path leading to the Goal has been covered throughout. The examples in (30)-(31) show how MQ *jis* neverthess contrasts with French *jusque* in its syntactic distribution:

(30) MQ   (31) FRENCH

a. *Pòl najé/pléré **jis** Fòdfrans   a. Paul a nagé/pleuré jusqu'à FdF
   Paul swim/cry *jis* Fort-de-France   'Paul swam/cried all the way to FdF'

b. Pòl najé/pléré **rivé** Fòdfrans.   b. *Paul a nagé/pleuré arrivé à FdF
   Paul swim/cry arrive Fort-de-F   b'. 'Paul est arrivé à FdF en nageant/pleurant'
   'Paul arrived in F. swimming/crying'   'Paul arrived in FdF swimming/crying'

c. Pòl najé/pléré **rivé jis** Fòdfrans c. *Paul a {nagé/pleuré} arrivé jusqu'à FdF
   'Paul swam/cried all the way to FdF'   c'. 'Paul a nagé/pleuré jusqu'à FdF'

(30a) shows that MQ *jis* cannot head a directional phrase adjoined to a random non-directional activity predicate, as can French *jusque* in (31a) (and (26) above). MQ, however, allows us to add a directional verb – *rivé* in (30b)[20] – to a ran-

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[20] *Rivé* 'arrive' is the least restricted directional V2 in the construction under discussion since it may combine with any activity-denoting V1 (e.g. 'cry' as well as 'walk') and since, due to its telic lexical content (cf. Vandeloise 1987 on French *arriver*, its etymon), it does not need *jis* to express telicity (cf. (30b)). Other directional verbs including *alé* 'go', *vini*

dom non-directional, activity verb (*najé* 'swim', *pléré* 'cry' in (30b)) construed as Manner. This option is available in MQ because unlike French, but like a number of West African languages (Veenstra 1993; Parkvall 2000; Osam 2003; Aboh 2009a, 2015; Syea 2017; Veenstra and Muysken 2017, a.o.), MQ is a "serialising language", which allows VPs to combine (VP1+VP2) within a simplex clause (a TP) to produce various semantic effects. Only once the main V2-head has been filled with a directional V (e.g. *rivé* in (30b)) can *jis* be licensed in Path to emphasise that the Path has been completely covered by the activity denoted by VP1.[21]

Synthetising our observations in (28)-(30): MQ *jis* globally contrasts with French *jusque* in that it must be licensed by a directional verb. PathPs headed by *jis* are therefore arguments, rather than adjuncts, whereas French *jusque* may also introduce directional adjuncts.[22]

4.2.3 Partial recap

The general homonymy of phrases denoting stative location and anticipated movement – the first component of the GLM phenomenon illustrated in (2) – is common to MQ, French, and various West-African languages. MQ mainly innovates with respect to its historical feature-providers as regards the morphological properties of its copula V-head and locative markers. The MQ lexicon also contains one overt Path$_{goal}$ preposition, *jis*, historically derived from French *jusque*, but whose syntax is different from that of its etymon: we showed that MQ *jis* must be licensed by a directional verb which may either fill the V head of a mono-verbal construction or the V2 slot in a certain type of serial-verb construction. The combination of MQ *jis* (a lexeme whose form *and* meaning are inherited from French) with a syntactic pattern (serial verbs) most likely arisen from the African "feature pool",[23] is a

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'come', *monté* 'move up', *désann* 'move down' may more restrictively occur in V2 in such telic Goal-directional serial combinations, only in the presence of *jis* and only with potentially-translative Manner-of-Motion V1s (e.g. *maché* 'walk' but not *pléré* 'cry'):
(i) Pòl {najé/marché /pédalé/*pléré/*frisonnen} {alé/vini/monté/désann} *(jis)   Fòdfrans
    'Paul swam/walked /cycled/*cried/*shivered   (up/down)   all the way to Fort-de-France'.

[21] Various different analyses have been proposed for serial-verb constructions (which do not form a homogeneous syntactic class). We analyse the MQ type exemplified in (30b,c) as left-VP-adjunctions, with VP2 the main predicate and VP1 a Manner modifier on VP2. Cf. Zribi-Hertz and Jean-Louis (2017b).

[22] The main exception to this generalisation regarding *jis* is its occurrence in complex correlative Path adverbials where *jis*, denoting Path$_{goal}$, is licensed by *dépi*, denoting Path$_{source}$:
(i) Ni   piébwa anlè lawout-la dépi Fòdfrans   jis Lanmanten
    have tree   on   road-DEF *dépi* Fort-de-France *jis* Lamentin
    'There are trees on the road all the way from Fort-de-France to Lamentin'.

[23] The West-African origin of the serial-verb constructions of Caribbean FBCs is broadly acknowledged among creolists (e.g. Chaudenson 2003; Veenstra and Muysken

good illustration of the feature-hybridation concept explored by Mufwene (2001, 2010) and Aboh (2015) to account for the emergence of Creole (and other) human grammars.

5. Source markers in MQ and the Goal/Source homonymy

5.1 Background on French

Unlike Anticipated Goal, Path$_{source}$ is overtly spelt out in French by a preposition – *de*:

			PATH	PLACE	
(32)	a.	Le chat est sorti	de	sous	le lit
		'The cat came out	from	under	the bed'
	b.	Paul est sorti	de	ø	la maison
		'Paul came out	from	the house'	
	c.	Ce vin vient	de	chez	Paul
		'This wine comes	from	Paul's'	

The French lexicon also contains another morphologically complex Source-marking preposition, *depuis*, made up of *de* and *puis* (Latin *postius* 'after this, then'), which however never heads the PathP argument of a Source-selecting predicate:

(33)	a.	*Le chat est sorti	depuis	sous	le lit	[compare (32a)]
	b.	*Paul est sorti	depuis	ø	la maison	[compare (32b)]
	c.	*Ce vin vient	depuis	ø	chez Paul	[compare (32c)]

French *depuis* has been integrated as *dépi* into the MQ lexicon, but since it has not been grammaticalised in any remarkable way in this creole, we leave this lexeme out of the present survey. As regards French, *de* is the only option in the head of the spatial argument of a Source-selecting directional verb, as in (32).

5.2 Path$_{source}$ in MQ

5.2.1 Zero Path$_{source}$

Like *à*, discussed above (section 3.2), the highly functional French preposition *de* has generally not made its way into FBC lexicons (cf. Syea (2017). What the GLM paradigm in (2), repeated in (34), shows, is that the Path$_{source}$

2017; Syea 2017). According to Parkvall (2000) and McWhorter and Parkvall (2002), Serial-Verb constructions are attested in Kru, Gur, Kwa and Delto-Benuic languages.

head has been left phonologically vacant in MQ rather than filled with some new overt Creole-contrived Source-marker:

				PATH	PLACE	
(34)	a.	Pòl té	ø	---	**an**	maaché-a
		Paul ANT	COP		at/in	market-DEF
		'Paul was at the market'				
	b.	Pòl ka	alé	ø$_{goal}$	**an**	maaché-a
		Paul IPF	go		at/in	market-DEF
		'Paul is going to the market'				
	c.	Pòl	sòti	ø$_{source}$	**an**	maaché-a
		Paul	return		at/in	market-DEF
		'Paul has returned from the market'				

In this paradigm, the burden of Path identification entirely bears on the Verb, regardless of the semantic specification (Goal or Source) of the Path feature. In French or English, where Goal and Source are morphologically distinguished in Path (*to/ø* vs. *from/de*), we indeed find various directional verbs that are ambivalent with respect to Goal or Source theta-assignment, as in (35)-(36):

(35)	a.	Paul returned	to	ø	the market
	b.	Paul returned	from	ø	the market

French:

(36)	a.	Paul est sorti	ø	dans	le jardin	
		Paul came.out		in	the garden	
		'Paul came out in(to) the garden'				
	b.	Paul est sorti	de	ø	le jardin	[*de+le > du*]
		'Paul came.out	from		the garden'	

Since the Path head is null in MQ for both Anticipated Goal and Source, we might expect more ambiguity to arise in MQ. We however observe that such is not the case, for other grammatical properties efficiently make up for the lack of prepositional Source marker in the MQ lexicon.

5.2.2 Ambiguity resolution via the lexicon/syntax interface

The examples in (37)-(40) show how the construal of the PathP as Goal or Source, with no overt Path adposition and a lexically ambivalent verb, may be guided by lexical features distributed across the clause – e.g., the spatial configuration denoted by the locative marker, or inferred from the semantic relation between Theme and Place. As rightly emphasised by an anonymous reviewer, should we assume that Path$_{goal}$ and Path$_{source}$ phrases do not occupy

the same positions with respect to the verb, different lexical choices correlate in such cases with different syntactic structures:

MQ: PATH PLACE
(37) a. Dlo   ka   koulé   ø   an   plafon-an   [> PATH$_{source}$]
         water   IPF   drip   in   ceiling-DEF
         'Water is dripping **from** the ceiling'
     b. Dlo   ka   koulé   ø   anlè   tapi-a   [>PATH$_{goal}$]
         water   IPF   drip   on   carpet-DEF
         'Water is dripping on(**to**) the carpet'

(38) a. Kochon-an chapé   ø   an   lari-a   [>PATH$_{goal}$]
         pig-DEF   escape   in   street-DEF
         'The pig escaped in(**to**) the street'
     b. Kochon-an chapé   ø   an   pak-la   [>PATH$_{source}$]
         pig-DEF   escape   in   pen-DEF
         'The pig escaped **from** (in) the pen'

(39) a. Pòl   désann   ø   an   kav-la   [>PATH$_{goal}$]
         Paul   move.down   in   cellar-DEF
         'Paul went down (in)**to** the cellar'
     b. Pòl   désann   ø   an   piébwa-a   [>PATH$_{source}$]
         Paul   move.down   in   tree-DEF
         'Paul climbed down **from** (in) the tree'
     c. Pòl   désann   ø   anlè   léchèl-la   [>PATH$_{source}$]
         Paul   move.down   on   ladder-DEF
         'Paul climbed down **from** (on) the ladder'

(40) a. Pòl   pati   ø   ø   lanmès   [>PATH$_{goal}$]
         Paul   set.off   mass
         'Paul set off **for** Mass'
     b. Kous-la ka pati   ø   ø   Fòdfrans   [>PATH$_{source}$]
         race-DEF IPF set.off ø   ø   Fort-de-France
         'The race sets off **from** Fort-de-France'

5.2.3 Ambiguity resolution via lexical restructuration

In various cases, we note that potential Goal/Source ambiguities are handled by MQ through lexical restructuration. This may involve a tightening of selectional restrictions: thus, directional verbs which may select both Goal and Source PathPs in French are restricted in MQ to only one selectional option:[24]

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[24] As observed by one reviewer, the use of (light) directional verbs to express Source/Goal relations is widely attested across languages (cf. Heine and Kuteva 2002).

French:
(41) a. Paul est arrivé   ø   à   Fort-de-France
          'Paul arrived in Fort-de-France'
      b. Paul est arrivé   de   ø   Fort-de-France
          'Paul arrived from Fort-de-France'

MQ:
(42)   Pòl   rivé   ø   ø   Fòdfrans
          'Paul arrived {in/*from} Fort-de-France'

The pattern exemplified in (42) is also observed for the verbs *monté* 'move up', *soté* 'jump', *tonbé* 'fall', *vini* 'come', similarly restricted to Path-$_{goal}$ in MQ, unlike their ambivalent French etyma. Contrastively, the verb *soti* 'move out' strictly selects Path$_{source}$ in MQ while its French etymon *sortir* also selects Path$_{goal}$:

French:
(43) a. Paul   est sorti   ø$_{goal}$ dans   le jardin
          'Paul came out into the garden'
      b. Paul   est sorti   de$_{source}$ ø   le jardin   [*de+le > du*]
          'Paul came out from the garden'

MQ:
(44)   Pòl   soti   ø$_{source/*goal}$ an   jaden-an
          Paul   move.out   in   garden-DEF
          'Paul came out {from/*into} the garden'

Soti is the core Source-selecting verb in MQ, which may contextually translate at least four different French (or English) verbs:

MQ:
(45) a. Espion-an   soti ø ø   Tirki   bonmaten-an   [Fr. *sortir*]
          spy-DEF   *soti*   Turkey morning-DEF
          'The spy got out from Turkey this morning'
      b. Pòl   soti ø an- Tirki   bonmaten-an   [Fr. *venir,*
          Paul   *soti*   LOC- Turkey morning-DEF   *arriver*]
          'Paul came/arrived from Turkey this morning'
      c. Sa fè lontan Pòl soti ø ø   Tirki.   [Fr. *partir*]
          it is a.long.time Paul *soti*   Turkey
          'Pòl left Turkey a long time ago'

The two strictly Source-selecting compound verbs *soté-désann* ('jump+move.down' = 'jump off') and *chapé-tonbé* ('escape+fall' = 'fall off') in (46b) illustrate MQ innovations, yet another option in the way of lexical restructuring:

MQ:
(46) a. Pòl {soté/tonbé}   ø   anlè   twa   kay-la
         Paul jump/fall   on   roof   house-DEF
         'Paul jumped/fell {on(to)/*from} the roof of the house'
    b.   Pòl {soté-désann/chapé-tonbé} ø   anlè   twa   kay-la
         Paul jump.off   /fall.off   on   roof   house-DEF
         'Paul {jumped/fell down} {from (on)/*onto} the roof of the house'

5.2.4 Ambiguity resolution via VP-serialisation

A serial construction surfacing as: [$_{VP0}$ [$_{VP1}$ V1+Source][$_{VP2}$ V2+Goal]]
is productively available to inject a Source PathP into a clause headed by a
Goal-selecting directional verb:[25]

MQ:
(47) a. I   té   ka **soti   lafak-la**   (r)antré[26] bò kay-li   touléjou a-dézè
         3SG ANT IPF come.out university-DEF go.in   at home-3SG every.day at-two
         'He used to go home **from the university** every day at two'
    b.   Pòl   **soti   Tirki**   rivé   bonmaten-an
         Paul   come.out Turkey   arrive   morning-DEF
         'Paul arrived **from Turkey** this morning'
    c.   Avion-an **pati Fòdfrans**   rivé   a-Wòm   a-dézè
         plane-DEF set.off Fort-de-France   arrive at-Rome at-two
         'The plane arrived in Rome **from Fort-de-France** at two'
    d.   Pòl **soté-désann an piébwa-a** kouri antré lakay-li
         Paul jump-off   in tree-DEF run   go.in home-3SG
         Lit. 'Paul ran straight home **from (up) in the tree**'

Here as in (30b,c) above, VP2 may be argued to stand as the main pred-
icate: thus, only VP2 (*(r)antré bò kay-li, rivé (a-Wòm)*) is under the scope of
the time adverbial *a-dézè* in (47a,c) or *bonmaten-an* in (47b)), while VP1
(which contributes the Source argument) acts as an un-tensed modifier on
VP2 (cf. fn. 21).

5.2.5 Partial recap

As regards MQ, the "Source/Goal indifference" involved in GLM results
from the absence of the highly functional, multi-usage French preposition
de from the Creole lexicon – a property common to all FBCs (Syea 2017)

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[25] One reviewer points out that this type of serial construction is also attested in En-
glish-based creoles, e.g. Jamaican (cf. Verhaar, ed., 1990).

[26] In the MQ variety under study, *rantré* is but a free variant of *antré* 'enter, move in'.
(The same variation obtains for *(r)entrer* in Modern dialectal Hexagonal French).

and explainable under general tendencies of unguided L2-acquisition (Klein and Perdue 1997). Compensating strategies developed by MQ to hinder potential ambiguity, hence optimise grammar, are drawn from both universal grammar (syntax/lexicon interface, lexical restructuring) and West-African grammars (serial-verb constructions). For Source as well as Goal identification, MQ interestingly appears *more V-framed* than French.[27]

6. Conclusions

This study has shown that General Locative Marking, as exemplified in (2), results from the combination of two surface homonymies: that of stative locative and Anticipated-Goal arguments, and that of Anticipated-Goal and Source arguments. The first homonymy, which only obtains when the $Path_{goal}$ head is phonologically null, is not a Creole innovation since it is attested in French as well as in some West-African potential contributors to MQ-formation. The second homonymy goes unattested in French but is attested in some West-African languages, and primarily results from the non-survival of French *de* in the MQ lexicon – a development common to all FBCs and explainable under general principles of unguided L2-acquisition. We saw how the potentially negative effects on grammatical economy of the absence of a lexical Source marker are handled in MQ by means of universally-available strategies (lexicon/syntax interface, thematic restrictions, lexical innovations) and by serial-verb constructions drawn from the West-African feature pool: by using serial verbs to combine Manner and Path, or Source and Goal, within a clause, MQ turns out to be even more "V-framed" than its French forebear – an assumed paragon of "V-framedness". In MQ, every PathP must have its own V-licenser.

The grammar of locational and directional predications in MQ is thus an interesting illustration of both the genetically hybrid nature of Creole grammars, and the means put to use by natural-language grammars to secure optimal economy.

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[27] This conclusion contrasts with Slobin's (2004) and Ameka and Essegbey's (2013) assumption that serialising languages form a third typological type (*equipollent*, in Slobin's terms) falling outside of Talmy's (1985, 2000) V-frame/S-frame dichotomy.

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