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Issues in the Morphosyntax of Pidgin, Creole and Mixed Languages: a Romance Perspective

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Introduction

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It is a great pleasure to introduce readers to this special issue of *Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali* (Working Papers in Linguistics and Oriental Studies), focusing on the morpho-syntax of (Romance based) Creole and Mixed languages. The papers in this volume address this issue from a variety of viewpoints. It is our humble hope that we have succeeded in broadly enriching the perspective on language creation, contact and change by speaking across different theoretical frameworks and different sets of data.

The idea that the morphosyntactic features of Pidgin/Creole languages can shed light on our language faculty is far from new. Bickerton (1981, 1984) was probably the first to make a specific theoretical point of it, namely the Language Bio-Program hypothesis, with a list of (alleged) proto-typical and universals linguistic features. Since then, the debate is open. Muysken (1988) argues against the claim that there is something like a prototypical and 'innate' morpho-syntax of creoles. Although Creoles are undoubtedly similar with respect to word order, preverbal TAM (tense-aspect-mood) morphemes order, the scarcity of inflectional morphology, and so on, they also differ in many fine-grained respects. Just consider for instance, the study of (subject) clitics and pro drop-phenomena in Creoles/Pidgins (see e.g. DeGraff 1993; Syea 1993; Déprez 1994, among many others), showing a high degree of variability among Pidgin/Creole languages.

Still, it is doubtless true that the very existence of a full array of shared features among Pidgin/Creoles and Mixed languages (as documented for instance in the inventory of features in the APiCS On-line (Michaelis *et al.* 2013) are in need of an explanation by any formal theory addressing the structure of Pidgins/Creoles. We just hope that the present collections of articles, mainly focussing on Romance based varieties, can enrich the theoretical debate on various features of the morphosyntax of Pidgin, Creoles and Mixed Languages.

In their article, **Zribi-Hertz** and **Jean-Louis** (CNRS, University of Paris 8) show that the grammar of locational and directional predications in

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Martinican Creole is 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. In particular, they show that General Locative Marking in Martinican Creole, namely the use of the same morpheme to encode Source and Goal meaning, results from the combination of two surface homonymies: that of stative locative and Anticipated-Goal arguments, and that of Anticipated-Goal and Source arguments. They argue that 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 (substrates) to the formation of Martinican Creole. 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 Martinican Creole lexicon. The authors show 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, Martinican Creole turns out to be even more 'V-framed' than its French forebear – an assumed paragon of 'V-framedness' (see Talmy 2000).

Schang (University of Orléans) presents a series of arguments in favour of the treatment of some functional elements of Gwadloupéyen (Guadeloupean Creole) as multi-word (grammatical) expressions, i.e. periphrasis. Contrary to a syntactic approach of periphrasis, that derives the meaning in a bottom-up manner (syntactic derivation), he defends an approach which considers the periphrasis as a single syntactic element (a complex tree) which is assembled within morphology. He assumes that the only difference between synthetic forms and periphrastic forms is the level (or the domain) where the process takes place. Schang shows that the TAMs in Gwadloupéyen constitute a case of inflectional periphrasis and that inflectional periphrasis can be found outside the verbal domain. The results contribute to the discussion on the morpho-syntax of Creole languages: while some researchers (Seuren and Wekker 1986; McWhorter 2001, among others) have claimed that creole languages are morphologically poor, the facts presented by Schang tend to patently show the contrary.

Adone (University of Cologne, Charles Darwin University, University of Seychelles), **Brück** and **Gabel** (University of Cologne) investigate the form and function of Verb Chains and Serial Verb Constructions in Kreol Seselwa (Seychelles Creole), a French-based Creole language spoken in the Indian Ocean. Prior to Bickerton (1989), it was widely assumed that Serial Verb Constructions were not part of Kreol Seselwa grammar. More recent studies (Adone 2012; Syea 2013, among others) have shown that these constructions do exist in that language. Likewise, in their paper, the authors demonstrate

that from a typological perspective, prototypical as well as non-prototypical Serial Verb Constructions can be found in Kreol Seselwa. In their analysis, they provide evidence that an ethno-syntactic framework can account for certain Serial Verb Constructions in Kreol Seselwa. In particular, they argue that the form and function of Serial Verb Constructions can be accounted for by cultural logic hence stressing the link between grammar and culture.

In their article, **Franco** (CLUNL/FCSH/New University of Lisbon) and **Lorusso** (IUSS, Pavia) provide a comprehensive overview of existential sentences in Romance Creoles. Based on their empirical investigation, they also provide an analysis of existential constructions which mimic 'transitive' possession. This is actually the pattern they retrieved in the vast majority of Romance based Creole languages. Specifically, Franco and Lorusso assume that the pervasiveness of a predicative possession strategy for existentials in Creoles has reflexes in their syntax, for which a possession configuration, building on recent work of Manzini and Franco (2016), Franco and Manzini (2017), Franco and Lorusso (2018) is advanced. In essence, they claim that the 'contextual domain' of existentials (see Francez 2007, 2009) can be encoded as the *possessor* of a (transitive) HAVE predicate including the pivot as its direct object (cf. Rigau 1997; Manzini and Savoia 2005), with the coda which is (optionally) introduced as an adjunct, encoding a further possessor ('locative' *inclusor*) of the predicate (e.g. embedded under a PP constituent).

The paper of **Baldi** and **Savoia** (University of Florence) investigates the distribution of the neuter inflection in some of the Arbëresh dialects spoken in Calabria, Lucania and Apulia in Southern Italy. The authors show that the original inflection of neuter coincides with the one of plural, at least in nominative and accusative forms, and they argue that it singles out a sub-set of mass nouns. Other mass nouns belong to the feminine class and present the corresponding inflection. In several Arbëresh communities, language mixing has led to a partial or, in some cases, deep reorganization of the noun systems, affecting also neuters, that show different types of inflection and agreement. As the first point, Baldi and Savoia examine the nature of the neuter inflection *-t*, assigning it a quantificational value 'inclusion/sub-set' that makes it possible to explain its distribution as the definite nominative/accusative and oblique inflection, specifying a referent interpreted as a part of a (denotationally) recognizable whole along the lines of Manzini and Savoia (2017a, 2017b). The second part of their paper is devoted to the phenomena of mixing that have induced internal morpho-syntactic and phonological reorganization in Arbëresh varieties. As to neuters, there are dialects where neuter nouns select feminine agreement inflection both on pre-nominal modifiers/demonstratives and adjectives; in other dialects the distribution of agreement inflection is less sharp, although some tendencies emerge that align with Romance agreement. A crucial point is the dissociation between agreement and gender inflection in the sense that usually neuters preserve the *-t* inflec-

tion, independently of the gender agreement that is selected. This fits with the proposal that the content of *-t* is substantially quantificational in nature.

Finally, **Franco** addresses the syntax of argument introducing/valency increasing Serial Verbs in Pidgin and Creole languages, providing empirical arguments for the model of grammatical relations advanced in recent works by Manzini and Franco (2016), Franco and Manzini (2017), among others. These authors lay out an analysis of the syntax and interpretation of dative *to*, instrumental *with* and Differential Object Marking (DOM) relators, based on the assumption that these elements are endowed with an elementary interpretive content interacting with the internal organization of the predicate/event. Following this line of reasoning, Franco argues that these oblique relators, expressing a primitive elementary part-whole relation, may be instantiated also by serial light verbs in the grammar of natural languages and provides a formal approach to cross-categorial variation in argument marking, trying to outline a unified morpho-syntactic template, in which so-called 'cases' do not configure a specialized linguistic lexicon of functional features/categories. Actually, it is possible to assume that, on the contrary, they help us outline an underlying ontology of natural languages, of which they pick up some of the most elementary relations. Such primitive relations can be precisely expressed by different lexical means: case, adpositions and light (serial) verbs.

As a final note, we want to thank very much **Rosangela Lai** for her invaluable help in assembling this special issue. Ludovico Franco gratefully acknowledges the Portuguese National Science Foundation, Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (FCT), for supporting his work with the research grant IF/00846/2013.

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Kot nou vire tourne nou tand li Serial Verb Constructions at the Interface between Grammar and Culture: Case-Study Kreol Seselwa (Seychelles Creole) *

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Abstract:

This paper investigates the form and function of Verb Chains and Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) in Kreol Seselwa (Seychelles Creole, KS), a French-based Creole language spoken in the Indian Ocean. Prior to Bickerton's seminal paper in 1989, it was widely assumed that Serial Verb Constructions were not part of KS grammar. More recent studies (Adone 2012; Syea 2013a, 2013b; Gabel 2018) have shown that these constructions do exist in Indian Ocean Creoles and in KS. Likewise, in this paper, we will demonstrate that from a typological perspective, prototypical as well as non-prototypical SVCs can be found in KS. In our analysis, we provide evidence that an ethnosyntactic framework can account for certain SVCs in KS. We argue that their form and function can be accounted for by cultural logic hence stressing the link between grammar and culture.

Keywords: adult grammar/early child grammar, ethnosyntax, Kreol Seselwa (Seychelles Creole), serial verb constructions, verb chains

1. Introduction

In this paper, we address a long-standing issue in Creole Studies, namely whether verb chains or/and serial verb constructions exist in Kreol Seselwa

* This paper is dedicated to the memory of Derek Bickerton who has inspired us.

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(Seychelles Creole), a French-based Creole in the Indian Ocean. In the past several scholars have argued that serial verb constructions were not found in Kreol Seselwa (henceforth KS) (Bollée 1977; Seuren 1990; Michaelis 1994; Corne *et al.* 1996), while Bickerton (1989, 1990, 1996) brought some instances of serial verb constructions (henceforth SVCs) to our attention and argues that SVCs are part of KS grammar. Most recently, Syea (2013a, 2013b) has argued that serial verb constructions do indeed exist in both Mauritian Creole (MC) and KS.

The main goal of this paper is to discuss SVCs found in KS from an ethno-syntactic perspective. We argue that the patterns of SVCs found in this French-based Creole are in line with most of the patterns already identified in other Creole languages (cf. Muysken and Veenstra 1994 for an overview). Furthermore, we adopt the view that the grammar of a language reflects the culture of the speakers. Thus, we argue that certain types of SVCs in KS which are not present in other languages are best analysed as a reflex of the language/culture approach. Bearing this in mind, SVCs are naturally accounted for by the process of creolisation/nativisation. Thus, we conceptualise creolisation as not only a linguistic but also as a social process "in the course of which new common languages and sociocultural practices are developed" (Knörr and Trajano Filho 2018: 3). The study of SVCs in KS illustrates how people "construct commonalities in terms of language and social and cultural practices that lend expression to their experiences and life worlds" (Knörr and Trajano Filho 2018: 3).

This paper is organised as follows: in section two, we introduce some definitions of SVCs that have been offered to account for the cross-linguistic patterns of SVCs. In section three, we present an overview of the discussion on SVCs in the French-based Creole languages as seen in the field of Creole Studies, followed by a brief overview of the theoretical framework of Ethnosyntax in section four and a sociolinguistic profile of KS in section five. In section six, we provide information on the methods used for data collection and then explore SVCs in KS from a scenario in which grammar and culture are linked. Finally, part seven discusses the SVCs from an ethnosyntactic point of view, followed by a conclusion in section eight.

2. Theoretical issues

2.1 Definitions

In this paper we will use two terms, first, 'verb chains' as a cover term to refer mono-clausal constructions in which two or more verbs appear and second, 'serial verb constructions' that can be seen as a subtype of verb chains as their definition is more restricted (cf. below). The term 'verb chains' is mainly restricted in this paper to denote complex constructions with mul-

tiple verbs witnessed in first language acquisition whereas the term SVC is reserved for complex constructions found in the adult grammar. The data in early KS child grammar shows that these complex constructions are always target consistent from a syntactic perspective. However, it is the verb combinations that are different to the adult's model at times. Furthermore, we show that some adult structures also fit the description of verb chain and can thus be regarded as such, as we will discuss below.

The existence of serial verb constructions has been documented across language groups including West African languages, South East Asian languages, Oceanic, New Guinean and Australian languages, and languages in the Amazon (Aikhenvald 2006: 1). Interestingly, they are also attested in various Creole languages including English-, French-, and Spanish-based Creoles.

In spite of the plethora of theories proposed to account for SVCs in languages, the notion of SVC remains problematic in the literature (Joseph and Zwicky 1990; Bisang 1995; Stewart 2001; Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006; Haspelmath 2016). For instance, it has been proposed that SVCs serve as additional Case or Theta role markers due to lack of prepositions (Bickerton 1981; Sebba 1984). However, as Muysken and Veenstra (2006: 262) have argued, this cannot be confirmed due to several reasons, two of them being that languages with SVCs do exhibit prepositions and that SVCs do have more functions than just case marking (cf. also below). A different approach to account for the existence of SVCs in languages has been proposed by Law and Veenstra (1992) and Muysken and Veenstra (2006) who suggest that it is connected to the lack of rich verbal tense and agreement morphology. However, according to Aikhenvald (2006: 53), there are isolating languages with serial verb constructions, and non-isolating languages with SVCs. Against this background, the linguistic variation found so far, needs to be accounted for.

In this paper, we propose to analyse SVCs in a theory which links grammar and culture. In this way we believe certain cultural traits of a community and constrains imposed by the language can be better captured. Consequently, the use of certain grammatical devices chosen by communities is better accounted for, which in turn allows variation. We adopt Aikhenvald's (2006) view that there is a wide range of SVCs including the prototypical SVCs with maximal properties to those with minimal properties depending on formal as well as functional properties. We will come back to this point in the data analysis and in the discussion sections.

Sebba (1987: 5) states that Christaller was the first scholar to mention this phenomenon in his 1875 grammar about Twi, an African Language. At that time, he termed this phenomenon "accidental combination" (Christaller 1875: 144) and noted that in one sentence two verbs can be combined to express one action. Over the decades there has been a growing number of studies dealing with the defining properties of SVCs (such as Stahlke 1970; Bambgose 1974; Jansen *et al* 1978; Awóyalé 1988; Zwicky 1990; Seuren

1991; Muysken and Veenstra 1994, 2006; Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006; Bisang 2009; Haspelmath 2016; Gabel 2018, just to list a few). The most common definition of a SVC is "[…] a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort" (Aikhenvald 2006: 1). As already mentioned previously, we thus have a clause with two or more verbs which describe one action/event which does not require any type of connectors such as *and*, *or, after, in order to* etc. In non-serializing languages such as English, these sequences of verbs can either be expressed with one single verb or with a main and a subordinate clause and prepositions (Aikhenvald 2006: 4).

In serializing languages, all verbs in an SVC can stand on their own. This is different to verb + verb sequences in English such as *will be going* as none of the verbs can appear on their own. A further defining property of SVC is the so-called prosodic property. As SVCs are mono-clausal, there is no pause between the verbs and no break in intonation contour can be discerned as is the case at the end of a sentence or a clause. Thus, this property allows for a distinction between SVCs and asyndetic constructions (Aikhenvald 2006) as for example in *he came, saw, won*.

In addition to these three properties above, the verbs in an SVC typically have the same tense, mood and aspect value. Negation has scope over all the verbs in an SVC. This property makes it clear that that the action being described is thought of as one event. Even though this event may consist of different sub-events, they are nevertheless tightly connected and form a unit (Aikhenvald 2006).

The last property mentioned here is that the verbs share arguments. This property has been heavily discussed in the literature. In prototypical SVCs, subjects are always shared though this is not a necessary condition for SVCs[1] (Law and Veenstra 1992: 187). In, for instance, so called subject-switch serials, the subject of the second verb in the structure is the object of the first verb (Aikhenvald 2006: 14). These SVCs are quite rare and are hence seen as non-prototypical SVCs. If subjects are shared, oftentimes the subject only appears overtly once per SVC. However, in some languages, the subject or the subject pronoun can be overtly repeated on the second or all verbs in the structure (Byrne 1991: 211; Aikhenvald 2006: 51).[2]

2.2 Types of SVCs

There are two main approaches proposed to account for the various types of SVCs. On the one hand, we find a formal classification, and on the other

[1] For the view that subject sharing is obligatory, cf., for instance, Baker (1989).

[2] Cf. also Aikhenvald's (2006) concordant marking parameter in chapter 2.2 below.

hand, we see a classification based on the functions of SVCs. The formal classification proposed by Aikhenvald (2006) contains four parameters. She distinguishes between multi-word and single word, symmetric and asymmetric, contiguous and non-contiguous, and finally concordant and non-concordant SVCs. In multi-word SVCs, the respective verbs, shared arguments and possibly other material contained within the SVC are represented by separate lexemes/morphemes, whereas in single-word SVCs these are represented by several morphemes contained within one lexeme. Aikhenvald (2006: 37) terms this "root serialization".

Symmetric SVCs contain two or more verbs from an open class, i.e. no selectional restrictions are imposed on any of the verbs. This is in contrast to asymmetric SVCs in which at least one verb has to come from one semantic field or is a fixed lexeme (Aikhenvald 2006: 21). A similar approach has been proposed by Muysken and Veenstra (2006: 241) who distinguish between verbs in SVCs that are more or less lexically free and express subevents which are more or less independent.

Aikhenvald's (2006: 37) contiguity parameter defines whether or not material can intervene between the two or more verbs. In contiguous SVCs, the verbs are adjacent, whereas in non-contiguous SVCs other constituents such as objects or adjuncts appear between the verbs. Finally, Aikhenvald's (2006) last distinction refers to the question as to whether tense, mood and aspect as well as subject marking is repeated on all of the verbs (concordant marking) or whether only the first verb exhibits these categories (non-concordant marking).

This suggested classification is embedded in a scalar and prototype approach, as already mentioned above. Aikhenvald distinguishes prototypical asymmetric and non-prototypical asymmetric SVCs, similar to prototypical symmetric and non-prototypical symmetric SVCs. Furthermore, cross-linguistically speaking, SVCs with shared subjects are considered to be more prototypical than those in which SVCs are not shared as in so-called switch subject SVCs. According to Aikhenvald (2006: 44), also non-concordant SVCs, i.e. those SVCs in which only the first verb exhibits TMA as well as subject marking, are more prototypical across the world's languages than concordantly marked SVCs, in which the respective grammatical markers are repeated on each verb.

The second approach, i.e. a functional/semantic classification, can be found in many publications on SVCs (e.g. Jansen *et al.* 1978; Sebba 1987; Bisang 1995; Aikhenvald 2006; Ansaldo 2006). We will follow Muysken and Veenstra's (1994, 2006) terminology in this article as their publications contain the most relevant proposed in the literature. They distinguish between directional, argument introducing 'give', 'say' and 'take', aspectual, degree, causative, resultative and open-ended SVCs.

Directional SVCs involve two or more verbs of motion, one of which indicates the direction towards, away or around something. Usually, the verb

indicating the direction of the motion is found in V_2 position. This can be exemplified with the following sentence, taken from Muysken and Veenstra (2006: 244)

(1) A kúle gó
3SG run go
'He ran away' *Saramaccan*

According to Aikhenvald (2006: 22), this SVC is "extremely common in most productively serializing languages" and is formally classified as an asymmetrical SVC.

The class of argument introducing serials has in common that they increase the valency of the SVC and – as the name suggests – introduce objects as well as other complements into the structure. Argument introducing 'give' indicates that the action of the first verb is done for somebody (an object with a BENEFICIARY theta-role is added) or introduces the recipient of a transaction (an object with a GOAL theta-role is added). Argument introducing 'say' serials include one verb of thinking, speaking or knowing and in the final verb position of the SVC they exhibit the verb 'say' that introduces a complement clause which describes what has been thought, spoken or known. Finally, argument introducing 'take' can be used to add an instrument to the serial with which an action is performed (INSTRUMENTAL theta-role) or describes what is happening to an object (THEME theta-role). All argument introducing SVCs are classified as asymmetric following Aikhenvald's (2006) classification. Furthermore, since they introduce objects, they are usually non-contiguous. In the following *Saramaccan* examples, taken from Muysken and Veenstra (2006: 246ff.), all of the argument introducing SVCs are displayed in turn.

(2) A tjá sondí kó dá dí Faánsi sèmbè
3SG carry thing come give DET French man
'He presented something to the Frenchman' give SVC – GOAL

(3) Séi wan ijsie dá mi!
sell DET ice-cream give 1SG
'Sell an ice-cream for me!' give SVC – BENEFACTIVE

(4) Mi sábi táa á búnu
1SG know say 3SG=NEG good
'I know that it is not good' say-SVC

(5) A téi dí páu náki hen gbóó úe káá
3SG take DET stick hit 3SG ideophone throw finish
'He already had taken a stick and beaten him down with it' take SVC – INSTRUMENT

(6) Me téi dí búku butá alá
ISG=NEG take DET book put there
'I didn't take the book and put it there' take SVC – THEME

Aspectual SVCs describe an action as completed or ongoing. According to Muysken and Veenstra (2006: 246), the verb indicating aspect usually appears in second position, as can be seen from their following example:

(7) Mi jabí dí dóo kabá
ISG open DET door finish
'I have finished opening the door' *Saramaccan*

In contrast, Aikhenvald (2006: 23) gives an example from Kristang originally presented in Baxter (1988) in which the aspectual verb is in first position. Here, the question has to be raised as to the demarcation of SVCs and other V+V structure. Whereas verb plus 'finish' can be seen as an SVC, 'finish' plus verb could potentially also be analysed as a structure involving a non-finite V complement of the aspectual verb in the first position. This is for instance the case in English *He finished cooking*. Hence, their TMA value would be different and they should be excluded from the phenomenon of SVCs as per definition (Veenstra, p.c.). However, this is quite difficult to ascertain especially in isolating languages without overt inflection on the verbs, as for instance in KS. Hence, for the time being we will treat 'finish' + V as a verb chain present in child as well as adult grammar that can also potentially be classified as an SVC (cf. also the discussion in Gabel 2018).

Another function that can be fulfilled by SVCs is the indication of degree. In these SVCs, a comparison is expressed with the help of the second verb, which is usually some form of 'pass' or 'surpass' (example taken from Muyken and Veenstra 2006: 247).

(8) A bebé daán pása/moó mi
3SG drink rum pass/more ISG
'He drinks more rum than me' *Saramaccan*

Causative SVCs consist of two sub-events of which the second is caused by the first. These SVCs usually contain some form of 'make', though this verb oftentimes appears as V_2 between two verbs as a connector of the events expressed by V_1 and V_3 (Muysken and Veenstra 2006: 249).

(9) Dí tjúba tá kái mbéi hen uwíi munjá tooná kó bè
DET rain ASP fall make 3SG hair wet turn come red
'It is raining so that her hair becomes wet and turns red' *Saramaccan*

In resultative SVCs, the second verb describes the result of an event predicated by the first verb. According to Muysken and Veenstra (2006), the posi-

tion is fixed but the class of potential verbs is unrestricted. However, Veenstra (2004) has shown that the choice of verbs in Saramaccan is constrained by the transitivity setting, i.e. transitive with transitive and unaccusative with unaccusative verbs can be combined. Thus, a transitive verb cannot appear together with an unaccusative verb in a resultative SVC. Finally, the last function of SVCs that can be discerned are open-ended SVCs. They describe one complex event as a series of subevents. Two examples are given below, both taken from Muysken and Veenstra (2006: 249ff.):

(10) De sikópu hen kíi
3PL kick 3SG kill
'They kicked him dead' *Saramaccan* (Resultative)

(11) A kísi dí fou náki kíi limbó bói njan
3SG catch DET bird hit kill clean cook eat
'He caught the bird, struck it dead, cleaned, cooked, and ate it' *Saramaccan* (Open)

In resultatives as well as open-ended SVCs, the verbs usually have iconic/temporal ordering. Furthermore, the verbs are also mostly not constrained in any other way in the latter two serials apart from the syntactic constraints in resultatives presented above. Hence, they are classified as symmetric SVCs in Aikhenvald's (2006) approach.

3. The study of SVCs in Creole studies

One of the first overview of SVCs in Creole languages was compiled by Jansen, Koopman and Muysken in 1978 and included different Creoles over the world. However, most of the studies concerned with SVCs first focused on the Creole languages in the Caribbean and elsewhere. For instance, the first extensive study of SVCs in Creoles was undertaken by Sebba (1987) investigating the phenomenon in Sranan. Other examples of studies of SVCs in Caribbean Creoles are Winford (1993) or Veenstra (1996).

Previous studies on SVCs in the Indian Ocean Creoles (IOCs) have especially focused on the question as to whether these structures can be found or as to whether they are absent in these Creole languages. This discussion was tied to the question of the genesis of Creoles and, hence, a political issue. Those who maintained that Creoles have considerable substrate influence and/or substrate origin did not assume that SVCs were present in IOCs. Since most of the assumed substrate languages for IOCs do not exhibit SVCs, IOCs likewise could not exhibit those structures. Bickerton (1989, 1990) in turn argued that these structures can indeed be found in IOCs and hence the substrate origin of Creole languages cannot be maintained, thereby making a point for his Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (1984). Based on fieldwork on the Seychelles, he concluded first, that SVCs are present and second, that

all types proposed above with the exception of degree serials can be found. In contrast to that, Seuren (1990) denied the existence by asserting that his informants all rejected SVCs and corrected the structures to coordinated sentences including an overt coordinator or subordinator such as *and, for* and others or to asyndetic structures uttered with a break/pause in intonation contour. Corne *et al.* (1996) likewise argued that in KS, all structures that superficially look as if they were SVCs are actually asyndetic constructions that do not exhibit overt coordinators. Bickerton (1996) rejected Corne *et al.*'s (1996) analysis based on syntactic as well as intonational properties of SVCs in contrast to asyndetic construction analysis. One of the most recent publications on MC by Syea (2013a, 2013b) also finds SVCs to be present in IOCs. However, in contrast to all preceding publications, he traces their occurrence in MC and KS neither to a universal nor to a substrate origin.[3] He maintains that SVCs in MC are a language internal development originating in imperative constructions used on the plantations. Nowadays, most agree that SVCs are present in KS and MC (cf. for instance the respective structure datasets of the languages in APiCS, Gabel 2018), though the discussion is still going on which of the types presented above are part of the grammar and why these structures exist in IOCs.

Besides the studies mentioned above, Adone (2012) has recently worked on the acquisition of SVCs in KS. She finds that young children around the age of 2;4 start producing verb chains of the directional type al + V (go +V) pattern. This led her to conclude that there is an option for the V+V adjacency pattern in early Creole acquisition. Given that SVCs are relatively scant in spontaneous speech, she administered a set of experiments. All 6 groups of children from age 3; 0-6; 11, 80 altogether, produced SVCs. Most of the SVC types reported by Bickerton for KS were attested in the data, except for say serials (*poudir)* and degree serials. There were new combinations of verbs in the data indicating innovations in child grammar. In a second study conducted in (2014) Adone showed that children between 4;0-6;0 of age produced many novel verb combinations which were accepted by the adult control group, thus showing that they go beyond the input they receive.

4. Theoretical framework: An ethno-syntactic approach to language

As previously mentioned this paper approaches language not as an isolated system of structures but as tightly entangled with cultural patterns. While this view is an integral part of anthropological research, it has by far

[3] A different explanation of the occurrence of SVCs in MC has recently been proposed by Veenstra (2017) who argues that they can be traced to Bantu influence, similar to Gilman (1993) and Corne *et al.* (1996), a theory rejected by Syea (2013a).

not been as popular in linguistics. Nevertheless, such a holistic approach to language and culture has been proposed by scholars such as Lucy (1992), Hale (1966), Wierzbicka (1996), Haviland (1993), and Levinson (2003) amongst others, who revisited ideas from Cognitive Anthropology, Symbolic Anthropology and Practice Theory in careful avoidance of deterministic or causal interpretations of the language-culture nexus. This reassessment of the relationship between language and culture has given rise to the field of Ethnosyntax, which can be regarded as a subarea of anthropological linguistics and focuses on the reflection of cultural patterns in linguistic structures – and vice versa. As such, grammatical patterns are seen as "thick with cultural meaning" (Enfield 2002a: 3). The embedding of linguistic structures in a larger language ecology (Hymes 1974; Haugen 2001) enriches their analysis and provides a more holistic and comprehensive approach towards language. In this regard, Enfield (2002a: 4) differentiates between ethnosyntax in a 'narrow' and 'broad' sense. While the former traces "the direct encoding of cultural meaning in the semantics of morphosyntax", as it is postulated by Wierzbicka's Natural Semantic Metalanguage approach and its application to cultural scripts (e.g. Wierzbicka 1994; Goddard and Wierzbicka 2004), the latter focuses on linguistic structures that reflect cultural practices rather than "encoding culture-specific 'statements'" (Enfield 2002a: 8). Our analysis of SVCs in KS will take ethnosyntax in a broad sense as a starting point.

Such an interdisciplinary approach to linguistic structures and their reflection of cultural patterns has rarely been applied to the study of Creole languages.[4] However, we find several detailed cross-linguistic analyses of how SVCs go hand in hand with cultural conceptualisations.

The overarching pattern we find is that the way complex events or activities are conceptualised on a cultural level may influence how a verb chain is interpreted and also whether a certain SVC is accepted by native speakers as grammatical or not. Bruce (1988: 28), cited in Enfield (2002b: 231) notes that the relation of events in an SVC depends on whether they are "conceived as notably more commonly associated together [and whether they] form a culturally important concatenation". Similarly, Durie (1997) discusses how, amongst processes of lexicalisation and productivity, SVCs underlie cultural conceptualisation of event types, leading to grammaticality judgements that cannot be explained on a purely syntactic level. His explanation of instances in which speakers reject SVCs even though structurally speaking they follow all necessary constraints is based on cultural patterns of conceptualisation (326-327). According to him, it is "stereo-typical schema for event-types,

[4] However, see Hollington (2015) for a discussion of 'travelling concepts' in Jamaican and Brück (2016) for an analysis of the interaction of cultural patterns and multimodal reference marking in Kreol Seselwa.

which are culture-specific to varying degrees" (327) that guide the interpretation of an SVC as grammatical or ungrammatical.

As a consequence, an ethnosyntactic approach to event conceptualisation can be seen as relying on cultural logic (Enfield 2002b), implying that the choice of events concatenated in an SVC may not be subject to grammatical constraints only. Enfield (2002b) refers to an often cited example from White Hmong provided by Jarkey (1991: 169-70):

(12)	a.	Nws	dhia	shov	geej
		3SG	dance	blow	bamboo.pipes
		'He dances playing the pipes'			
	b.	*nws	dhia	mloong	nkauj
		3SG	dance	listen	song
		'He dances and listens to music'			

While a) and b) are not different on a grammatical level, b) is rejected by White Hmong speakers due to cultural conceptualisation. The bamboo pipes are traditionally played in a performance that also entails dancing, which is why play and dance are perceived as one unitary event. Dancing and listening, on the other hand, are perceived as two independent events, which is why they cannot be combined in an SVC.

The role of typicality and cultural logic in SVCs is also a core element in Enfield's (2002b) analysis of associated posture constructions in Lao. Enfield links the choice for an SVC construction to the pragmatic choice of 'what is normal' to culturally acceptable concatenations, which in turn has an impact on whether certain constructions are restricted to specific cultural domains or display a higher degree of productivity. Cultural logic has been shown not only to influence whether a certain SVC is acceptable or not, but also whether complex constructions are interpreted as SVCs at all. Evidence is provided by Diller's (2006) analysis of Thai verb chains, which he claims to "culturally cohesive patterns of action" (162). He draws attention to the fact that different complex constructions, such as SVCs but also purpose clauses and subordinate constructions not only underlie grammatical constraints, but also depend on contextual and cultural interpretation. The following example illustrates this flexibility of interpretation:

(13) phi:^{2}-saw:^{4} nagn^{2} rot^{3} pay chiangmai^{1}
elder-sister sit car go Chiangmai
'My older sister took the bus to Chiangmai'

Diller (2006: 169)

According to Diller, the example above can be interpreted as a SVC coding for a cohesive event or as a purpose clause, i.e. a subordinate construction, in which the bus is taken in order to go to Chiangmai. The interpretation of Thai verb chains seems to be further motivated by conventionalisation.

Among the cohesive pairs that tend to occur together very often due to culturally motivated conceptionalisation we find e.g. *light-up / inhale* ('He lit it and smoked it'), *pick-up / look* ('He picked it up and looked at it') or *look-for / buy* ('She shops for it') (Diller 2006: 170). Finally, Diller (2006: 175) also mentions a case in which the cultural framework even overrides grammatical rules – in the case of a popular folktale, a "playfully emphatic SVC construction" is acceptable to native speakers even though it contradicts the same-subject constraint.[5] Taking both grammatical, pragmatic and cultural factors into account, Diller (2006: 175) concludes that the interpretation of verb chains is quite flexible, leading to "'grey' transition areas between verb serialization [in the narrow, typological sense] and other multiverb phenomena".

5. Sociolinguistics of KS

KS is a French-based Creole spoken in the Indian Ocean. It is the L1 of approximately 99% of the population (Fleischmann 2008: 69) and is spoken by approximately 100,000 people in the Seychelles as well as in other countries such as for instance UK, Australia and New Zealand (Michaelis and Rosalie 2013: 261). Together with English and French it is one of the three national languages of the Seychelles. In school, KS is a medium of instruction until Primary 2 and is subsequently taught as a subject in the school curriculum (Minister Ledikasyon 2004). KS is also the language of parliament. However, studies such as Fleischmann (2008), Hoareau (2010), Brück (2016) and Gabel (2018) have shown that English is preferred in formal situations, especially in written contexts. This can be traced back to the colonial history as well as to the important status of English as a lingua franca nowadays.

KS has been described as an "offshoot of Mauritian Creole" (Michaelis and Rosalie 2013: 262) as its origins have been traced back to the Creole language which has emerged on Mauritius and which has then been exported to the Seychelles via slave trade from the 1770s onwards (Hull 1979, Baker and Corne 1982; Michaelis and Rosalie 2013).[6] From the very start of settlement on the Seychelles, KS has been subject to influences from Reunion Creole (Baker and Corne 1982), which is why similarities to both Mauritian Creole and Reunion Creole can be found (Baker and Corne 1982). On a lexical level, influences from Eastern Bantu languages and Malagasy have also been attested, which, however, make up only a small percentage of the loanwords found in KS (Michaelis and Rosalie 2009). While the existence of Bantu

[5] But cf. above and Aikhenvald (2006) amongst others for a discussion of this same-subject constraint.

[6] For a different view on the origin of KS, cf. Chaudenson (1974, 1979) who argues that its source is Reunion Creole rather than Mauritian Creole.

words on the lexicon of KS cannot be denied, we believe there is up-to-date no solid evidence for the morpho-syntactic influence of Bantu languages on KS.[7] KS follows the typological trend found in many Creole languages. It is an analytic language that exhibits a fixed SVO word order. Further grammatical features of the nominal system include optional number markers, a determiner system in which articles and demonstratives overlap to a certain degree, as well as the occurrence of null subjects and bare nouns (cf Baptista 2007; Déprez 2007; Brück 2016 amongst others).

The verbal system is characterised by preverbal TMA markers and the negation marker *pa* (Michaelis and Rosalie 2013; Choppy 2013), whose combination always follows the strict order of NEG - T - M - A. In the tense system, we find the markers *ti* and *fek*[8] coding for past and *pu* and *a(va)* coding for future.[9] Present tense is expressed by zero marking. Among the aspect markers we find *pe* (progressive) and *i(n)* (perfective), with habitual aspect being expressed by zero marking. The individual markers can also be combined to express e.g. past before past (*ti'n*), progressive past (*ti pe*), future in the past (*ti pou*) and counterfactual modality (*ti a, ti a'n*) (Michaelis and Rosalie 2013; Choppy 2013). Further constructions, such as *kapab* + V or *bezwen* + V are also used to express modality (Michaelis and Rosalie 2013).

Furthermore, verbs can exhibit long forms (e.g. *manze*, 'eat'; *ale*, 'go') and short forms (e.g. *manz, al*).[10] Whether the long or the short form is used seems to depend on the syntactic environment (Choppy 2013; Corne 1977). The short form is used if the verb is followed by a complement, such as an object or another verb. The long form appears, for example, if the verb does not license any complements, if it appears clause or sentence finally, or if the verb receives stress (Choppy 2013: 87ff.). The picture of the long/short verb form alternation is not as clear if an adjunct follows the verb as compared to complements. Hence, there seems to be a considerable amount of variation with regard to this syntactic environment (Corne 1977: 83). Very simplified speaking, the long form appears in clause final position and is preferred before adjuncts, whereas the short form appears before any type of licensed complement. Interestingly, in SVCs the long form appears, indicating that in serials the two verbs are not in a complement relationship with each other (cf. also discussion in Gabel 2018).

[7] For a different view, cf. Veenstra (2017).

[8] However, more recent data has shown that the use of *fek* has decreased in everyday speech (Gabel 2018).

[9] For an analysis of *a(va)* and *pou* as Mood markers, cf. Gabel (2018).

[10] There is also a group of verbs that have a single form only, such as *dormi*, 'sleep', *dekouver*, 'discover', or *krwar*, 'believe'. According to Choppy (2013: 85), these group are either characterised by a specific phonological pattern, e.g. ending with *-er* or *-i*, or part of an irregular category, as in the case of *krwar*. The only exception being *vini*, 'come' with its short form *vin* (Choppy 2013: 85).

Finally, much discussion has revolved around the use of *i* in KS, which seems to be a multifunctional element. While in the pronominal system it encodes the third person singular, it can also function as a pleonastic pronoun or as a reprise pronoun in circumstances of topic dislocation (Corne 1974, 1977; Papen 1978; Brück 2016: 188-189). Moreover, the 'mysterious i' (Corne 1974) has been argued to function as a present tense marker (Bickerton 1989), an agreement marker (Bickerton 1993) or a dummy TMA marker (Michaelis 1994). A defining criterion of those cases in which *i* does not assume a pronominal function is that it cannot co-occur with NEG or any of the TMA markers (Bickerton 1993; Michaelis 2000). Since it seems to be in complementary distribution with other tense markers, it may be some form of predicate marker. However, it is only restricted to 3rd person contexts and mainly used after singular nouns.[11] Apart from its unclear status in non-pronominal uses, its origin is likewise not clear. Pending further analysis, we will assume that it is a predicate marker (PM) following the notation used in APiCS (Michaelis & Rosalie 2013) if it is not used pronominally.

6. SVC in Kreol Seselwa

6.1 Methods of data collection

In this paper, we use different methods of data collection. Adone (2012 and 2014) collected SVCs in spontaneous speech with both adults and children. She also conducted a series of experiments with both adults and children aged between 3;0- 5;11. One of the main goals in the data elicitation part in 2012 was to establish whether children understand and produce SVCs with various verb combinations, and if they do, which patterns of SVCs children follow. They were asked to listen to a puppet which was learning to speak KS and to correct it if necessary when the puppet made 'mistakes'. The puppet would use various SVCs to describe a series of pictures. In 2014, she conducted a second batch of experiments. Children watched short videos of e.g. Batman doing various things (e.g. take/put) and were asked to describe what they saw. Both series of experiments confirmed that young children understood and produced SVC. The results discussed in Adone (2012 and 2014) reveal clearly that children at a very young age produced verb chains and subsequently SVCs as these become target-consistent. Adone also compiled a list of SVCs in KS in collaboration with M.T. Choppy in 2015 and 2016 which also have consolidated the adult corpus.

In 2014 and 2015, Gabel has also collected data on SVCs in adult language. Her data include spoken as well as written sources. For the spoken corpus, she

[11] But this is not necessarily the case. It can also appear after plural nouns (Adone and Brück p.c.; and Gabel, 2018).

conducted interviews with 41 participants who took part in semi-spontaneous as well as elicitation tasks. The first task was to describe an activity, a recipe or a festivity such as Christmas. Even though the topic was indicated by the researcher, the rest of the task was unstructured and, hence, spontaneous speech was recorded. The second task consisted of an elicitation task in which the participants watched short videos displaying an action without sound that they had to describe to the interviewer afterwards. The short films were based on SVCs reported to be present in other Creole languages as well as in KS and on other actions which potentially could be described with the help of an SVC. Finally, acceptability judgments were presented to the participants so that a deeper insight into the structure of SVCs in KS could be gained. The written corpus of the study consisted of 16 texts, chosen by random sampling.[12] The combination of data collection with children and adults yields a rich corpus which provides us some deep insights on SVC in KS necessary for the analysis. All examples in the following section 6.2 are either taken from Adone's or from Gabel's data corpus described above.

6.2 Data

In this section, we will have a closer look at the types of serial verb constructions found in contemporary Seselwa. First, we will describe SVCs in KS from the formal point of view proposed by Aikhenvald (2006) and second, we will list the types of SVCs ordered by the functions that have been identified (in, e.g. Muysken and Veenstra 2006).

Several observations concerning Aikhenvald's (2006) four formal parameters presented above can be made. As KS is a rather isolating/analytic language, all SVCs in KS are multi-word SVCs and no root serialization can be observed. Furthermore, the first verb of the SVC always appears in its long form, unless it licenses a direct object which appears between V1 and V2. Hence, one can state that no complement relationship can be found between V1 and V2 (cf. also Gabel, in prep) in SVCs. This, however, does not apply to all verb chains, as we will argue below.

Concerning Aikhenvald's (2006) second parameter, it can be seen that KS has asymmetric (14) as well as symmetric SVCs (15).

(14)	En	msye	in	pran sa	bisiklet	in	pedale
	A	man	ASP	take DET	bicycle	ASP	pedals
	'A man has taken his bicycle and has pedalled'						

[12] For a more detailed overview and description of the methodology and analysis used in the study cf. Gabel (2018).

(15) Pe fri dizef met dan pwalon
ASP fry eggs put in pan
'He is frying the eggs in the pan'

In the first example above, the first verb in this SVC comes from a restricted class ('take') that serves to introduce an argument, here 'bicycle'. From a functional typological perspective, this SVC can be classified as an argument introducing 'take' SVC (cf. below). The second example displays an open SVC in which an event is described which consists of two very closely connected subevents. Here, both verbs come from unrestricted classes and no other selectional restriction is imposed. With the help of these two examples, Aikhenvald's third parameter, the contiguity parameter, can also be described. In both cases above an object intervenes between the first and the second verb and hence, both can be classified as non-contiguous SVCs. In KS contiguous SVCs can be found as well in which no material comes between V1 and V2, as is evident from the following example:

(16) Sa myse pe monte desann
DET man ASP ascend descend
'The man is going up and down (the stairs)'

Furthermore, as can be seen from the examples given so far, SVCs in KS can be concordantly marked (14) as well as non-concordantly marked (15 and 16). In the latter, the aspect maker *pe* only appears on the first verb, though the second verb is understood to have the same aspect value. In contrast, in (14), the aspect marker *in* is repeated on V2. Apart from concordant TMA marking, KS also exhibits concordant subject marking, i.e. the subject pronoun can be repeated on the second verb as well. This is illustrated by the following sentence (17):

(17) Ou pran bilenbi ou rape
PRN take bilenbi PRN rasp
'You take the bilenbi and you rasp them'

Bickerton (1989) has argued that concordantly marked SVCs (in his terminology 'tensed SVCs') are preferred to non-concordantly marked SVCs. This tendency is confirmed by Gabel's data from 2014 and 2015 and, as we will argue below, this is one of the reasons why SVCs in KS are often non-prototypical in comparison to the world's languages and have often been misdiagnosed.

Finally, subjects as well as objects may be shared in KS, as all examples (14-17) above demonstrate. However, we also find SVCs in which the subject is not shared and which can be classified as switch subject SVCs, for instance in the following example:

(18) En zonm in pous en lot zonm ater in tonbe
DET man ASP push DET other man ground ASP fall
'A man has pushed another man to the ground and he (i.e. the second man) has fallen'

Likewise, though object sharing is often the case in transitive SVCs in KS, there are also instances in which objects are not shared in transitive configurations, as can be seen from the following example:

(19) Nou grat sa lapo atet reken nou tir sa bann disab ki lo la
PRN grate DET skin head shark PRN pull DET PL sand PRN P DEM
'We grate that skin of a shark's head and pull all the sand which is on it'

6.2.1 Directional serials

As indicated above, these serials use verbs of motion and direction either in the first or second position. The second verb usually indicates the direction of the motion, as can be seen from the following examples:

(20) Pti lisyen in taye in ale
Small dog ASP run ASP go
'The small dog has run away'

(21) Mami anmennen sorti travay
Mami bring exit work
'My mother brings it (Ladob) from work'

In addition to these rather prototypical directionals, we also find SVCs with two verbs of motion in KS that describe an event that can either be interpreted literally or figuratively (cf. also our analysis of these constructions in the discussion below).

(22) Get pti tonton pe monte desann peron
Watch small uncle ASP ascend descend stairs
'Watch the uncle going up and down the stairs' (literal)

(23) I pe monte desann
PRN ASP ascend descend
'He is going back and forth' (figurative)

(24) Bann Zerar ti pe ale vini Sesel Moris
PL Zerar TNS ASP go come Seychelles Mauritius
'The Zerar family were going back and forth between the Seychelles and Mauritius' (figurative)

(25) Zot in marse vire
PRN ASP walk turn
'They were going around in circles' (figurative)

(26) Zot pe rise pouse
PRN ASP pull push
'They are arguing/ They are not making a decision' (figurative)

Finally, directional SVCs can also be employed in KS to express a purpose, for instance in example (27) or (28) below.

(27) Bann Zerar in sorti Dubai (in) al lostrali
PL Zerar ASP exit Dubai (ASP) go Australia
'The Zerar family comes from Dubai to go to Australia'

(28) Alice sorti lafrens vin fer granzar Sesel
Alice exit France come make showoff Seychelles
'Alice comes from France to show-off in the Seychelles'

6.2.2 Argument-introducing serials

Within this subclass of SVCs, one can further distinguish between argument introducing 'take', 'give' and 'say' serials. The status of argument introducing 'say' serials in KS is not clear. Bickerton (1989) argues that this construction once was present in KS and has been grammaticalised into the complementiser *poudir*. However, the origin of *poudir* remains unclear and hence cannot clearly be attributed to the phenomenon of SVCs, as Gilman (1993) and Kriegel (2004) argue. Hence, we will leave argument introducing 'say' aside for the following discussion, especially since they were not present in Adone's 2014 corpus as well as in Gabel's spoken data.[13]

In contrast to 'say' serials, argument introducing 'take' can be found in the KS data. On the one hand, we find a lot of examples with prototypical 'take', pran in the first verb position which introduces arguments either with an INSTRUMENTAL or a THEME theta role:

(29) I pran larzan partaz avek son pti
PRN take money split with his small
'S/He takes the money and splits it with his/her child' (THEME)

(30) Ou pran pwason ou sizle li
PRN take fish PRN sizzle PRN
'You take the fish and sizzle it. (THEME)

(31) Marie son bon nek pran larzan rann
Marie PRN good only take money returns
'Marie is only good in borrowing and returning money' (THEME)

[13] A detailed analysis and discussion can be found in the above-mentioned texts as well as in Gabel (2018).

(32) I pran bato koko bat li (…)
PRN take broom coconut hit PRN (…)
'He hit him with a coconut broom' (INSTRUMENTAL)

On the other hand, other verbs that are semantically similar to *pran*, 'take', such as *tir*, 'pull', *trape/atrape,* 'grab', *anmase*, 'gather' also can be found in V1 position in KS, as the following examples illustrate:

(33) Ou tire dan kes met dan pos
PRN pull from cash put in pocket
'You take from the cash and put it in the pocket'

(34) I tir kaka met ble
PRN pull shit put blue.
'He has not properly washed the clothes'

(35) I'n anmas boul i'n anvoye
PRN.ASP gather ball PRN.ASP throw
'He has gathered the ball and he has thrown it'

(36) Sinwa dir tir dan pos met dan kes
Chinese say pull in pocket put in cash register
'The Chinese say you take from pocket put in cash register'

The second type of argument introducing SVCs, namely 'give' serials, can also be found in KS, though they are not as predominantly present as 'take' SVCs. Some examples are given below:

(37) Toultan I touy koson donn bann vwazen
Always PRN kill pig give PL neighbors
'He always kills a pig and gives it to the neighbours/He kills a pig for the neighbours'

(38) En msye in anmenn en liv in donn en lot dimoun
DET man prn bring DET book ASP give DET other person
'A man brings a book and gives it to another person/ brings a book for another person'

Finally, many other verb combinations are possible that introduce arguments into the structure, as the following examples show:

(39) I kas dizef met dan bol
PRN break egg put in bowl
'He breaks the egg and puts it in a bowl'

(40) En msye i antre lap- i ouver laport i referme
DET man PM enter do- PM open door PM closes
'The man enters a do- opened a door and closes it again'

(41) I'n larg en tas ater i'n kraze
PRN.ASP throw DET cup ground PRN.ASP break
'He throws a cup to the ground and he breaks it'

However, these combinations might better be classified as open SVCs (in the case of (39) and (40)) or as resultative SVCs (41) since they display a description of two subevents in an iconic order or one subevent and the result respectively.

6.2.3 Aspectual serials

In prototypical aspectual SVCs, the second verb indicates the duration of an event. In KS, this can be exemplified with the help of the following examples, in which we find a verb plus *fini*, 'finish' in V2 position:

(42) M'ale mon fini, nou pran...
PRN.GO PRN finish, PRN take…
'When I'm done going (to Christmas mass), we take…'

(43) Ou ganny sans reflesir lo bann keksoz ki'n passe in fini prezan
PRN get chance reflect on PL thing THAT.ASP pass ASP finish now
'You get the chance to reflect on things that have passed in the last year'

Even though these SVCs do exist in KS, they are quite rare. In Gabel's semi-spontaneous as well as elicitation data corpus, they surface only twice. Likewise, Adone (2012) has not found many of these constructions in adult speech. This might be due to the fact that a similar construction is present in KS which is predominantly used. In these constructions we find the verb expressing the aspectual notion in first place and another lexical verb in 2nd position. This can for instance be seen in the following examples:

(44) Zot fek fini manz son Ladob
PRN ASP finish eat PRN Ladob
'They have just finished eating his/her Ladob'

(45) I'n aret donn gren
PRN.ASP stop give grief
'S/he has stopped pestering me'

In the second example, it becomes evident that in these constructions the short form of the verb is used in the first position, i.e. *aret* instead of *arete*.[14]

[14] The verb *fini* does not have a short form.

Hence, a complement relationship exists between the two verbs. Therefore, these structures may best be classified as verb chains in a broader sense rather than as SVCs in a narrow sense.[15] This also holds true for constructions that involve the verb *ale* in first position in the following example. These constructions, similar to *fini*+Verb, are very common in KS.

(46) I'n al pran liv
PRN.ASP go take book
'S/he has taken the book'

Apart from these prototypical aspectual SVCs as well as common verb chains, some SVCs in KS can also have an aspectual notion and express the duration of an event. This has already been mentioned above in section 6.2.1 concerning certain directional SVCs. For instance, *monte desann* as well as *ale vini* stress the recurring and iterating nature of the events and also express a certain restlessness. We will come back to this notion in the discussion. Another type that is used to code aspectual sense in KS are SVCs involving a posture verb in the first position. For instance, in the examples below, *asize*, 'sit' as well as *debout,* 'stand' express that the two events are simultaneously taking place. Another and slightly different semantic interpretation of *asize* in SVCs will be displayed below in section 6.2.5.

(47) Marmay pe asize manze anba lavarang
Child ASP sit eat on veranda
'The child is sitting and eating on the veranda'

(48) I pe debout reve
PRN ASP stand dream
'S/he is standing and dreaming or: S/he is day-dreaming'

6.2.4 Resultative serials

Resultative SVCs are also present in KS. Within this type, we find subject switch serials. For instance, in the following examples the understood subject of the second verb is the object of the first one.

(49) En zonm in pous en lot zonm ater in tonbe
DET man ASP push DET other man ground ASP fall
'A man pushes another man to the ground and he falls'

[15] The long form is possible in the examples cited above if there is stress on it and the first verb is foregrounded.

(50) Zot in ris lakor kase
PRN ASP pull rope break
'They pulled on the rope so that it broke'

However, this does not necessarily have to be the case, as can be seen from the following two examples in which both verbs are either intransitive (51) and hence do no license objects or in which both are transitive but share the same object (i.e. *son madanm,* 'his wife') (52).

(51) Son tas i tonbe kraze
PRN cup PM fall break
'His cup fell and broke'

(52) I'n bat son madanm in tuye
PRN.ASP beat PRN wife ASP kill
'He has beaten his wife to death'

6.2.5 Open SVCs

Finally, the last type of SVCs that can be found in KS are open SVCs in which usually no restriction is posed on the selection on the verb and the verbs usually appear in iconic and temporal order. Many verb combinations are possible but in the following section, we focus on certain open-ended SVCs that are relevant for our discussion.

For instance, we find SVCs that contain the verbs *bwar*, 'drink' as well as *manze* 'eat', often followed by a third verb *anmize*, 'enjoy/amuse'. The two former verbs can appear in either the first or the second position in this SVC, as the following examples show.

(53) Zot pe manze bwar anmize
PRN ASP eat drink enjoy
'They are eating, drinking, having a good time'

(54) Zot pe bwar manze anmize
PRN ASP drink eat enjoy
'They are drinking, eating, having a good time'

Even though both SVCs are very similar, they have a slightly different connotation, as we will argue below in the discussion. Furthermore, we also find other SVCs in KS which involve the verbs *manze* and *bwar* such as the following:

(55) Nou'n asize manze bwar
PRN.ASP sit eat drink
'We sat down, ate and drank'

The interpretation of this SVC is slightly different to example (47) since the actions expressed follow the temporal order between *asize* and *manze/bwar*. Furthermore, even though as per definition no selectional restrictions are imposed on open SVCs, the verbs in this construction cannot switch their places. This is explained by the fact that it is a sequence of events taking place within a cultural logic. The last open SVC that we would like to mention here is the following:

(56) Son bon nek pik zip fer kankan
PRN good only pin skirt make cancan
'The only thing she is good at is to pin up the skirt and dance the cancan'

Similar to directional SVCs mentioned above, this SVC also has a literal as well as a figurative meaning as will be shown below.

7. Discussion

A closer look at the SVC types found in KS reveals that on the one hand, we find prototypical SVCs from a formal as well as a functional point of view. On the other hand, many of these SVCs structurally do not share the prototypical features of SVCs as defined by Aikhenvald (2006). This finding is not surprising given that KS is a young language. For instance, most serials in KS are concordantly marked for TMA. According to Aikhenvald (2006), SVCs across the world's languages are rather non-concordantly marked and only the first verb exhibits tense, mood and aspect marking. Furthermore, subject pronouns can be repeated before the second verb, as the examples in the data section above have shown. This is also a rather non-prototypical feature. In addition, other material can intervene between the first and all other verbs as well. This also can be shown in other languages, though oftentimes SVCs are contiguous as they share core arguments (Aikhenvald 2006). KS has switch-subject serials as well as argument/object introducing SVCs as displayed above. Furthermore, in some languages it has been attested that in resultatives, only transitive verbs or intransitive verbs can be combined (Veenstra 2004). This is not always the case in KS. For instance, in the combination *pouse-tonbe*, 'push-fall', as displayed above, we find a transitive verb combined with an intransitive one.

Apart from non-prototypical formal properties that can be observed in KS, also from a functional point of view some SVCs exhibit rather non-prototypical features. For instance, some semantic types that have been discerned are either non-existent (e.g. degree serials) or their classification as SVCs is not determined (in the case of argument introducing 'say' serials). Furthermore, some types are present but rare, as is the case with aspectual SVCs of the form V+*fini*. However, other types such as directionals may be

used to express aspectual notions such as repetition, which is a non-prototypical function of directionals. Finally, some SVCs have certain semantic properties that have an influence on the grammaticality of the structure, as we will show below.

Following the ethno-syntactic framework presented in section 4 we argue that some of the non-prototypical functional SVCs found in KS can be accounted for by cultural logic. The use and interpretation of such SVCs in KS can be put into three categories: (1) typicality of events influencing the order of verbs, (2) aspectual interpretations, and (3) figurative interpretations. The first element here is the role of typicality and cultural logic in SVCs. Following Enfield (2002b) we can explain the order of certain verbs in an SVC as a consequence of what is culturally seen as normal. With cultural logic we can show whether a type of SVC is regarded as acceptable or not. Assuming that in each community there are cultural scripts that dictate our behaviour, we find SVCs such as the following as 'culturally normal': *Asize manze bwar; Manze bwar anmize.* In *asize manze bwar* we have an order that reflects the behaviour of the participants. This order reflects a culturally normative behaviour which is reported in a narrative in which someone recalls that e.g. they have been working hard before, have been to church or have been involved in an argument, and then continues with *nou'n asize manze bwar* implying that they took the time to spend together, to sit, eat and drink, thus enjoying their food. It typically takes place in a relaxed atmosphere when people meet on a Saturday afternoon party or Sunday lunch after church. A construction with **bwar manze asize* is not regarded as acceptable.[16] The typicality of this order can not only be seen in current Seselwa life but may also be traced back to the early days in which slavery was still practised. Based on stories, after days of forced labour on the plantations, the slaves would meet at the beach. They would sit and eat in order to regain their strength and only after that, beverages would have been consumed. If the posture verb *asize* is not used with *manze bwar*, the reading is different. It implies that people ate and drank a lot in the sense of gorging oneself on food and drinks.

The same applies to the SVC *manze bwar anmize*. The logical order is to start with a meal and then proceed with drinking of wine, beer or rum and later dancing (typically *sega* dancing). This series of event expresses the typical Creole conceptualisation of celebration. Similarly, to *asize manze bwar*, we can also draw a careful connection to the times of slavery. Only after everyone has been fed, drinking and celebrating *anmize*, (singing and dancing),

[16] For a similar analysis about the ungrammaticality of certain SVCs in Sranan and Yorùbá cf. Durie (1997: 327), in which he argues that "[…] the unacceptability [of these sentences] will find their proper explanation in stereo-typical schema for event-types, which are culture specific to varying degrees".

would have been possible. In opposition to the latter example, however, a different order of events is possible and entails a slightly different interpretation. *Bwar manze anmize* is not ungrammatical, but people read it as drinking/getting drunk as the more focussed activity. It is quite possible that a strategy of foregrounding is employed to shift the focus of activity. Added to that, it is interesting to note that in a grammaticality judgement, speakers accept these sentences without hesitation. But some speakers might point to the difference in meaning.

In addition to the order of verbs in a verb chain, cultural logic can also explain the existence of different interpretations of one and the same construction, similar to the different interpretations Diller (2006) has reported for Thai SVCs. For example, verb combinations such as *rise pouse, monte desann*, or *ale vini* may receive a literal interpretation of two actions that are part of one conceptualised event. In addition, however, they may also be used to express duration of action. In such cases, their function is to stress the duration or the repetitive nature of an event, making them aspectual. Hence, other types of SVCs than those that are prototypically classified as aspectuals are used to express aspectual notions.

The third way in which cultural logic is reflected in SVCs is cultural knowledge in figurative interpretations. In addition to their aspectual function, the verb combinations *rise pouse, monte desann*, or *ale vini* can also receive figurative meaning in contexts in which a sense of restlessness is implied. In other contexts, they can express a sense of wasting time. An example would be *zot ankor pe rise pouse olye travay ansanm,* in which the SVC *rise pouse* is used to express that people are wasting time by arguing with each other. Another example of a figurative interpretation of an SVC is *pik zip fer kankan*. This typically Creole expression is shared by the Creole community in the Seychelles. When presented with this expression, Mauritian Creole speakers do not understand the meaning. If we take the construction literally, we could translate it as 'to put pins in the skirt and make noise'. However, this construction is usually interpreted figuratively, resulting in a meaning of 'creating trouble'. An inherent understanding of the Seselwa cultural background is also required to correctly understand the SVC construction in *Alice sorti lafrans vin fer granzar Sesel.* There is a high proportion of people from the Seychelles who live in either Great Britain or France, some of whom come back to their island to visit their relatives. This sometimes causes some tension in families which is sometimes expressed through negative comments about those ex-pats. The fact that the ex-pats dress differently and have 'more European-like' behaviours (e.g. they speak French with a local Paris accent) has led to islanders to conceptualise these ex-patriots as typically being 'show off ponies'. This is expressed in the verb combination *sorti x* ('come out/from') *vin fer granzar* ('come show off').

A further example *Sinwa dir tir dan pos met dan kes* is worth mentioning here. This example refers to money and money making. Here again some cul-

tural knowledge is required in order to grasp this SVC. Chinese people were brought to both Mauritius and the Seychelles because of trade and business. Thus, a Chinese person is very closely associated with trade and business. The typical shopkeeper is a Chinese man, although there are an increasing number of Indian people involved in shopkeeping nowadays. As such, the SVC is taken to mean to make money by emptying one's pocket and putting the money in the cash register.

Another example is the combination of a posture verb with another verb *debut pran mazinasyon* or *debut reve* ('stand and imagine' to mean 'day dream') which seem to be the most natural posture connected in KS for day dreaming. The use of the verb *reve* on its own would yield another reading, namely that the person is dreaming not day dreaming. To day dream cannot be conceived of as two action verbs such as *marse/reve* ('walk'/'dream') or *taye/reve* ('run'/'dream'). *Dormi/reve* ('sleep'/'dream') is a possible combination but it does not mean 'day dream'. In this case, it simply means to dream.

The further construction to illustrate the close connection between cultural knowledge and SVCs in KS is *tir kaka met ble*. This is a construction that KS people understand immediately. This expression means 'to clean'. Literally, it means 'take shit away from and put some washing powder' (which used to be in the form of small tabs and of a blue colour).

The final example, worth mentioning is the rejection of the SVC *I ti telefon dokter (i) ti vini,* 'He called the doctor and the doctor came'. This switch subject serial was used in Gabel's judgment task. As established in the data chapter, switch subject serials do exist in KS and we do find the combination transitive V + intransitive V (as in *pouse-tonbe*). However, in the case of *I ti telefon dokter (i) ti vini* this sentence was rejected by all participants. When asked after the reason why this is not a licit structure in KS, one participant responded that doctors on the Seychelles do not visit the homes of the people but that all patients had to go see the doctor or the hospital themselves. From a structural point of view, this SVC is possible, but the rejection is accountable in terms of cultural logic. Given that a doctor's visit is not part of the community's practice, speakers judge this sentence as ill-formed. The same applies to sentences such as *sorti leglis ek lekor al brile* 'leave the church and take the corpse to the place where it is incinerated'. Given that in the Seychelles it is not common practice to incinerate Christians when they passed, the typical scenario is *sorti leglis al met lekor dan simitier* ('leave church and take the corpse to the cemetery to bury'), this sentence is bound to be rejected and it is. Most participants ranked it as ungrammatical, because its interpretation depended solely on what is conceived as a cultural practice in this community. For those who did not give a clear ungrammatical judgment, the comment afterwards was that such a practice is not common for Christians but for Indians. In both examples, it is obvious that the intertwined role of cultural practices and cultural logic determine the acceptability of certain patterns of SVCs.

So far, we have an explanation for certain types of SVCs found in KS. We have proposed that certain types of SVCs found in KS are most probably best accounted for by an ethno-syntactic approach. Looking at the culture and the language together, we are able to explain the order of verbs/events in the two-three verb constructions. It thus becomes obvious that cultural logic is essential to the explanation.

Although discussing all the details on early child KS would beyond the scope of this paper, we find it compelling to mention that verb chains and subsequently SVCs are witnessed in early KS child grammar. This finding, in fact, strongly supports the stand that we take in this paper, namely that these complex constructions are anchored in KS grammar and should be regarded as part and parcel of KS grammar. At this point, we refer the reader to Adone (2014).

8. Conclusion

This paper has discussed the different types of SVCs and their functions in KS grammar. We have deliberately opted for the terms 'verb chains' to refer to the constructions we mostly find in early child grammar and 'serial verb constructions' when referring to the multiple verb constructions we find in the adult grammar. The misconception that IOCs do not exhibit SVCs is related to the early discussion on Indian Ocean Creoles and the role of African languages in their formation. The fact that there was no clear evidence for African languages involved in the structures of the IOCs was implicitly taken to be the reason why SVCs could not be present. Furthermore, the fact that SVCs in KS do not always exhibit the prototypical features of SVC found elsewhere might also have contributed to the view that SVCs do not exist in KS.

Creole languages are young languages with some degrees of variability in their system. This variability can in turn be accounted for by the fact that these languages are mainly oral languages. Although KS is established as an official language and is used a medium of instruction, there is still a long way to go before there is a standardised version developed. Although much attention is directed towards issues involving orthography and lexicon of KS by Komite Kreol, there is by far less attention on the grammar of the language.

We have further illustrated that the way complex events or activities are conceptualised on a cultural level may influence how a verb chain is interpreted. On a par with the analyses provided by Jarkey (1991), Enfield (2002b) and Diller (2006), we have shown that cultural logic is reflected in both the structural features of SVCs and as well as in their interpretation. As our analysis has illustrated, the order of verbs in a verb chain may be restricted not by grammatical factors but by the notion of culture-specific typicality. Furthermore, one and the same construction may receive a literal multiverb interpretation, an aspectual interpretation or a more figurative interpretation, depending on the context. Finally, we have shown how certain SVCs are lexi-

calised to an extent that only the presence of cultural background knowledge can lead to a correct interpretation.

The study of SVCs in KS thus shows that a purely grammatical analysis misses out on further fine-grained levels of the processes involved in such complex constructions. Extending the analysis by also taking cultural conceptualisations into account can shed light not only on the forms and functions of complex constructions but also confirms the inherent link between linguistic structures and cultural practices.

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On the Morpho-Syntax of Existential Sentences in Romance based Creoles

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Abstract:

In this paper we provide a comprehensive comparative overview of existentials sentences in Romance Creoles. Based on our empirical investigation, we also provide a theoretical analysis of existential constructions which mimic 'transitive' possession. Specifically, we assume that the pervasiveness of a predicative possession strategy for existentials in Creoles has reflexes in their syntax, for which a *possession configuration*, building on recent work of Manzini and Franco (2016), Franco and Manzini (2017, to appear), Franco and Lorusso (2018) will be draw. In essence, we argue that the 'contextual domain' of existentials (see Francez 2007; 2009) can be encoded as the *possessor* of a (transitive) HAVE predicate including the pivot as its internal argument (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005), with the coda which is (optionally) introduced as an adjunct encoding a further possessor ('locative' *inclusor*) of the predicate (cf. McNally 1992).

Keywords: Creole, existential, locative predicative possession, Romance

1. Introduction

In this paper, we deal with existential sentences in Romance based Creole languages with the aim to provide a comprehensive picture of their shape. Our research is based on the data collected in the Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures (APiCS: Michaelis *et al.* 2013) on-line database (especially, Features 64, 77 and 78). Existential sentences have been featured, in the domain of creolistics, in many works devoted to uncover the structural properties shared among creoles, but not with their substrates and superstrates.

Bickerton (1981), for instance, has enumerated a number of morpho-syntactic features that are present in many creoles, which can be related to

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an innate language bio-program, deep-rooted in the human brain. Bickerton specifically assumes that all Creoles "have separate copulas for existential sentences (e.g. 'here get mountain'), which is the same as for the possessive (e.g. 'she get car')" (p. 43; cf. also McWhorter 2005, 2011). Markey (1982) claims that all Creole languages "have one copula for existence and possession, but another one for location" (p. 171). Holm and Patrick (2007) show that the 94.44% of their sample – which includes a big number of Creole languages – adopts a 'have' = 'there is' strategy for existentials, namely existential sentence and predicate possession are encoded by means of the same verbal item. Consider for instance the examples in (1) and (2) from Krio, an English based Creole spoken in Sierra Leone.

(1)	dɛn	**gɛt**	bɔku	pipul	dɛm	de	*Existential*
	3pl	have	a.lot.of	people	pl	there	

'There were a lot of people there', lit. 'They have a lot of people there'
Krio (Finney 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

(2)	wi	**gɛt**	fo	pikin	*Predicative Possession*
	1pl	have	four	child	

'We have four children'
Krio (Finney 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

In Krio, both predicative possession (2) and existential sentences (1) are expressed with the verb 'gɛt' meaning HAVE. We find an expletive in (1) in the form of a 3rd person plural pronoun. This pattern clearly differs from English there-sentence with be (or exist) as a main verb (see Moro 2017).

McNally (2011: 1830) defines existential constructions as copular structures with specialized / non-canonical morpho-syntax which describe (non-) existence or (un)presence in a given contextual domain. As shown in Bentley (2017: 347), the parts of an existential sentence are usually referred to with the terminology in (3).

(3) (PP = coda +) (expletive +) (proform +) copula + NP = pivot (+ PP = coda)

All the items in brackets in (3) are optional. Only the copula and the post-copular noun phrase (the pivot) obligatorily appear in an existential sentence. The pivot is, for instance, the NP *bɔku pipul* ('a lot of people') in the sentence in (1). An expletive is, for instance, the adverbial item *there* in English or the personal pronoun *dɛn* ('they') in Krio in (1). According to Moro (2017: 2) existential sentences including only the pivot are rare. More commonly, existential sentences involve the so-called "coda," that is, normally, it is present a prepositional (PP) phrase (or another XP) "specifying the domain of existence of the individual or set of individuals whose existence is predicated" (Moro 2017: 2), as for instance the PP *in the street* in (4).

(4) There are many dogs in the street

The existential proform is a (possibly locative, cf. Bentley et al. 2015) clitic hosted by the copula, as illustrated in (5) for Italian, where the proform is lexicalized by the item *ci*, which shows up in many Romance varieties (Catalan *hi*, French *y*, Ligurian *i*, etc.).

(5) **Ci** sono molti cani in strada
'There are many dogs in the street'
Italian

As shown in Bentley (2017: 348) there are Romance varieties that lexicalize all the components illustrated in (3), as shown with an example from Rocchetta Cairo (Ligurian) in (6).

(6) In sa früt chì$_{\{coda\}}$ u$_{\{expletive\}}$ i$_{\{proform\}}$ è$_{\{copula\}}$ tante smenze$_{\{pivot\}}$
in this fruit here expl pf be.3sg many seeds
'In this fruit there are many seeds'
Rocchetta Cairo (Ligurian)

In this paper we will provide a comprehensive overview of existentials sentences in Romance Creoles. Based on our empirical investigation we will provide a theoretical analysis of existential construction. Clearly, we assume that the pervasiveness of a predicative possession strategy for existentials in Creoles has reflexes in their syntax, for which a 'possession configuration' – building on recent work of Manzini and Franco (2016), Franco and Manzini (2017, to appear), Franco and Lorusso (2018) – will be draw.

Specifically, the rest of the paper is structured as follows. In section 2 we provide the relevant data from the French, Spanish and Portuguese Creoles featured in the APiCS on-line database. Section 3 highlights the similarities and differences of existential sentences in Romance Creoles *vs*. their lexifiers. Section 4 contains the theoretical core of the discussion, where we propose that the 'contextual domain' of existentials can be encoded as the possessor of a (transitive) HAVE predicate including the pivot as its internal argument (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005), with the coda which is (optionally) introduced as an adjunct encoding a further possessor (i.e. a 'locative' *inclusor*) of the predicate. The conclusion follows.

2. Existentials in Romance based Creoles: the data

Confirming the fact that the preferred strategy for encoding existential structure in Creoles is to use a HAVE predicate, as sketched in (1)-(2) for Krio, the vast majority of Romance based varieties follow this pattern. Let's start

from French Creoles. French does not license phonologically null subjects and require an expletive subject for existentials ('il'), using an existential proform ('y') cliticized to a HAVE verb ('a', cf. *Jean a un chien* 'Jean has a dog'), as illustrated in (7).

(7) il y a des chiens dans le jardin
'there are dogs in the garden'
French

In the vast majority of French based Creoles no expletive or proform is ever lexicalized. As illustrated by the following examples, the existential HAVE predicate appears in first position, followed by the pivot ((a) examples). In these languages, predicative possession is 'canonically' expressed via SVO transitive sentences ((b) examples). Note that no relevant influence of the substrates can be assumed here, given that the same behaviour is found in Atlantic and Indo-Pacific Creoles. The verbal items recruited from the lexicon to encode existential and predicative possession are highlighted in bold in the examples.

(8) a. **Gen** manje sou tab la.
have food on table def
'There is food on the table'
Haitian Creole (DeGraff 2007: 103)

b. Mari **gen** kouraj
Mary have courage
'Mary has courage'
Haitian Creole (DeGraff 2007: 115)

(9) a. **Ni** manjè anlè tab-la
have food on table-def
'There is food on the table'
Guadeloupean Creole (Colot and Ludwig 2013a: APiCS Structure dataset[1])

b. Mari **ni** on kabrit.
Mary have one goat
'Mary has a goat'
Guadeloupean Creole (Colot and Ludwig 2013a: APiCS Structure dataset)

(10) a. **gen** manjé asou tab-a
gen food on table-art
'There is (some) food on the table'
Guyanais (Pfänder 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

[1] We have not inserted Martinican Creole among our examples, given that the data provided in the APiCS are practically the same as Guadeloupean Creole (cf. Colot and Ludwig 2013b).

b. yé **gen** roun liv/ liv-ya
3pl have a book/book-pl.def
'They have a book/the books'
Guyanais (Pfänder 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

(11) a. **nana** enn armoir dan la kuizinn
have indf cupboard in def kitchen
'There is a cupboard in the kitchen'
Reunion Creole (Barat *et al.* 1977: 81)

b. son papa **nana** in gran moustas
poss.3sg father have.prs indf big moustache
'His father has a big moustache'
Reunion Creole (Barat *et al.* 1977: 22)

(12) a. **ena**[2] mańze lor latab
Have food on table
'There is food on the table'
Mauritian Creole (Baker and Kriegel 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

b. mo **ena** saṅ rupi
1sg have hundred rupee
'I have 100 rupees'
Mauritian Creole (Baker and Kriegel 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

The only French based Creole that diverges from this pattern is Tayo, which is spoken by around 3000 speakers in Southern New Caledonia. Tayo does not have a verb dedicated to (transitively) encode predicative possession. Tayo uses a 'locational predication' (see Creissels 2014) to encode both existentials and possession, as illustrated in (13)-(14). Thus, it is true that we do not have a dedicated lexical item which is the counterpart of HAVE in this

[2] Note that Mauritian Creole has two different verbs for expressing possession: *ena* is a stative verb; *ganye* is non-stative. Baker and Kriegel (2013) highlight this difference (cf. also Syea 2013; 2017). Consider the existential sentences in (i)-(ii):

(i) **ena** buku leksi lor pye-la
have many litchis on tree-the
'There are lots of litchis on the tree'

(ii) **gany** buku leksi parti Ti-Rivyer
have many litchis in Ti-Rivyer
'There are lots of litchis in the Ti-Rivyer area'

What (ii) means is that Ti-Rivyer is a suitable place to go if one wants to get litchis. This, actually, seems to confirm the strict link between existentials and possession. Indeed, the same stative/non-stative distinction is at work in the possession domain, as illustrated in (iii)-(iv).

(i) mo **ena** 100 rupi
'I have 100 rupees (in my pocket)'

(ii) mo **gany** 100 rupi
'I earn/get Rs 100 (for doing a particular task)'

language; still the expression of possession and existential meaning are not differentiated, like the other French Creoles illustrated so far.

(13) **na** ndipa ndesi latam *Existential*
na bread loc table
'There is some bread on the table'
Tayo (Ehrhart and Revis 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

(14) **na** a ŋgra lafamij pu lja *Possession*
na indf.art big family prep 3sg
'He has a big family'
Tayo (Ehrhart 1993: 173)

Turning to Spanish based Creoles, we observe again that the verb which encodes predicative possession is almost often the one which is recruited to convey an existential meaning. Spanish on the contrary uses two distinct lexical items for this purpose, respectively *haber* and *tener*, as illustrated in (15) and (16).[3]

(15) **hay** gatos en la calle *Existential*
'There are cats in the street'
Spanish

(16) José **tiene** un gato *Predicative Possession*
'José has a cat'
Spanish

Spanish based Creoles behave just like the French Creoles illustrated in (8)-(12). Again, no relevant influence of the substrates can be assumed in such cases, provided that the same kind of encoding for existentials and predicative possession is found in both Pacific and Atlantic Creoles.

(17) a. **Tyéne** komída na mesa
have food loc table
'There is food on the table'
Zamboanga Chabacano[4] (Steinkrüger 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

b. le **tyéne** tres ermáno
s/he have three brother
S/he has three brothers.
Zamboanga Chabacano (Steinkrüger 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

[3] Spanish employs a unique form of the predicate *haber* 'have' in the present indicative tense, namely *hay*, which stems the fusion of the third-person singular present tense of *haber* and the locative pronoun *y* (cf. Suner 1982; MacNally 2011).

[4] According to the data available in the APiCS, this pattern including a 'tener' verb, is attested also in Cavite and Ternate Chabacano, that are cognate languages spoken in the Philippines.

(18) a. **tin** un gai Portuges aden
have indf guy Portuguese inside
'There's a Portuguese guy inside'
Papiamentu (Kouwenberg 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

b. awor mi **tin** un lista basta largo
Now 1sg have indf list sufficiently long
'Now I have quite a long list'
Papiamentu (Kouwenberg 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

(19) a. **aten** mucho hende aí plasa
Have much people there plaza
'There are lots of people in/at the plaza'
Palenquero (Schwegler 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

b. Gutabo **aten** ese kusa aí memo
Gustavo have that thing right there
'Gustavo has this thing right (over) there'
Palenquero (Schwegler 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

The sole exception among Spanish based Creoles is represented by Media Lengua, which is a mixed language spoken in Ecuador. Media Lengua uses two different predicates, respectively 'sit' for existentials (20) and 'hold/have' for predicative possession (21). The pivot in the existential sentence in (20), *manchani plata* 'a lot of money' seems to be here the subject of the predication. It is unmarked for case (contra the internal argument of the possessive verb, which is marked accusative, as in (21)) and triggers agreement on the verb.

(20) Isti olla-bi manchani plata **sinta**-xu-n *Existential*
this pot-loc a.lot.of silver sit-prog-3sg
'There is a lot of money in this pot'
Media Lengua (Muysken 1981a: 55)

(21) tres gato-s-ta kaza-bi **tini**-ni
three cat-pl-acc house-loc have-1sg
'I have three cats in the house'
Media Lengua (Muysken 1981: 63)

Finally, also many Portuguese based Creoles follow a HAVE pattern for existentials.[5] Once again, this strategy is at work in Atlantic and in Pacific

[5] No proforms or expletives are found in European and Brazilian Portuguese. Consider the examples in (i)-(ii), adapted from Bentley (2017: 349-350).

(i) Nesta fruta **há** moitas sementes
in.this fruit have.3SG many seeds
'In this fruit there are many seeds'
European Portuguese

creole, providing support for the idea of an innate language creation mechanism at work in such contexts, along the lines of Bickerton (1981; 1984). Consider the examples below, where, as before, the (a) examples show an existential construction and the (b) examples show a sentence expressing transitive possession.

(22) a. **Ten** un radin na menza
Have det radio.little on table
'There is a little radio on the table'

b. N **ten** un radin
1sg have det radio.little
'I have a little radio'
Cape Verdean Creole of São Vicente[6] (Swolkien 2012)

(23) a. (I) **teŋ** poŋ na mesa
3sg.sbj have bread on table
'There is bread on the table'
Casamancese Creole (Biagui and Quint 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

b. Joŋ **teŋ** kabalu
John have horse
'John has a horse'
Casamancese Creole (Biagui and Quint 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

(24) a. (Ê) **tê** tôvada
Expl have storm
'There is a storm'
Principense (Maurer 2009: 58)

b. N **tê** dôsu kaxi
1sg have two house
'I have two houses'
Principense (Maurer 2009: 104)

(25) a. Mete patio **té** wan bityil ku wan aza kabadu
Inside yard have art bird with art wing broken
'There is a bird in the yard with a broken wing'
Fa d'Ambô (Post 1999: 63)

(ii) **tem** muitos caroços nessa fruta.
have.3SG many seeds in.this fruit
'In this fruit there are many seeds'
Brazilian Portuguese

[6] An identity between existential and possession predicates is attested also in the Cape Verdean Creole of Brava and the Cape Verdean Creole of Santiago, as documented in APiCS feature 78.

b. Eli **té** wan lapizi
3sg have art pencil
'He has a pencil'
Fa d'Ambô (Post 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

(26) a. **tiŋ** ũ makak i ũ crocodile
have-pst one monkey and one crocodile
[Once upon a time], there was a monkey and a crocodile
Diu Indo-Portuguese (Cardoso 2009: 167)

b. Nə Go yo **te** bastât cousin i auntie
Loc Goa 1sg have.npst many cousin and auntie
'I have many cousins and aunties in Goa'
Diu Indo-Portuguese (Cardoso 2009: 167)

(27) a. **Teng** kumeria na mesa
have food loc table
'There is food on the table'
Papia Kristang (Baxter 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

b. Maria **teng** ńgua baisikal
Maria have one bicycle
'Maria has a bicycle'
Papia Kristang (Baxter 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

(28) a. Nu meo di matu **teng** ung pos grandi
In middle of forest have a well big
'In the middle of the forest there was a big well.'
Batavia Creole (Maurer 2011: 67)

b. Ile **teng** ung kabalu
He have a horse
'He had a horse'
Batavia Creole (Maurer 2011: 66)

There are also some exceptions among Portuguese based Creoles. For instance, in Korlai, which is a Creole language spoken by ca. 1,000 speakers in an isolated area around the Indian village of Korlai, possessives and existentials are construed with the copula, not with a transitive possession verb, which doesn't exist in that language, as shown in (29)-(30). Korlai displays a 'locational predication' pattern for possession and existentials similar to the one represented for the French based Creole Tayo, illustrated above in (13)-(14).

(29) Mi pɛrt doy sajkəl **tɛ**
1sg.poss near two bicycle cop.prs
'I have two bicycles'
Korlai (Clemens 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

(30) ũ ɔm **ti**
A man cop.pst
'There was a man'
Korlai (Clemens 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

In some other Portuguese based Creoles the expression of possession and existential meaning actually overlap. For instance, in Santome there are various ways to morpho-syntactically encode existential meaning. Consider the following examples.

(31) Meza **tê** kume
Table have food
'There is food on the table'
Santome (Hagemeijer 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

(32) Meza **sa** **ku** kume
Table be with food
'There is food on the table'
Santome (Hagemeijer 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

(33) Ngandu, (ê) **tê** ngê ku na ka kum'=ê fa
Shark 3sg have person rel neg ipfv eat=it neg
'Shark, there are people that don't eat it'
Santome (Hagemeijer 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

(34) Ngê **sen** ni Putuga ku ka dumu uva ku ope
person exist in Portugal rel ipfv pound grape with foot
'There are people in Portugal that smash grapes with their feet'
Santome (Hagemeijer 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

(35) Vêndê **tê** sapê ũa data
Store have hat a lot
'The store has a lot of hats'
Santome (Hagemeijer 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

In the sentences in (31) and (32) we find that the coda is the subject of the predication. The examples in (31) expresses existential meaning with a HAVE verb, which is also responsible for encoding transitive possession in Santome (cf. the example in (35)), while the example in (32) expresses the existential meaning with a 'be with' strategy, which is not uncommon cross-linguistically, as an alternative to transitive HAVE in encoding (abstract, temporary, etc.) possession (cf. Stolz 2001; Stassen 2009; Levinson 2011; Myler 2014, among others). The example in (33) shows an optional expletive personal pronoun as the subject of the HAVE predicate followed by the pivot *ngê* 'person'. In (34) the pivot appears to be the subject of the predicate *sen* ('be, exist').

Angolar displays an analogous variability in the encoding of existentials. This language has three constructions, which express both transitive possession and existential contexts, respectively *tê* 'have', *tha ki* 'be with' and *tha ku ê* 'be with it' as illustrated in (36)-(38). In all these ('possessive') examples, the pivot follows the verbal item.

(36) Tepu nakulu kwanda tia ta **tê** ũa ome
time old high land pst have one man
'In the olden days, in the highlands, there was a man'
Angolar (Maurer 1995: 103)

(37) Hô letu kanua e tambe **tha** **ki** tano baburu
then inside canoe dem also be with five baburu
'So in the canoe there were also five baburu'
Angolar (Maurer 1995: 103)

(38) Aie **tha** **ku** (ê) kikiê
Now be with it kikiê
'Now there is fish'
Angolar (Maurer 1995: 67)

In Angolar, there is also a verb solely used for conveying an existential meaning,[7] the item *the* (possibly derived from the copula *tha*, cf. (37)-(38)). In such case, the pivot precedes the verb, matching the behaviour of the example from Santome in (34), where an EXIST/BE and not a HAVE verb is used.

(39) Aie kikiê **the**
Now fish there.is
'Now there is fish'
Angolar (Maurer 1995: 67)

Finally, according to the data reported in the APiCS on line (feature 77), Guinea-Bissau Kriyol has two different verbs for expressing existentials and transitive possession, respectively *ten* ('exist'), and *tene* ('have'), as shown in (40)-(41). Actually, the two verbs appear to be lexically related. Thus, we assume that at most, the existential verb *ten* can be considered as a specialized allomorph for existential contexts of the HAVE predicate. Note that an optional expletive personal pronoun can show up as the subject of *ten*.

(40) (I) **ten** un minjer ki **tene** um fiju-femea
3sg exist one woman who have one child-female
'There's a woman who has a daughter'
Guinea-Bissau Kriyol (Intumbo *et al.*: APiCS Structure dataset)

(41) Djon **tene** un bisikleta
John have one bike
'John has a bike'
Guinea-Bissau Kriyol (Peck 1988: 36)

[7] In his typological survey, Creissels (2014) shows that the use of a predicate solely recruited for the expression of existential meaning is quite a common strategy among natural languages.

3. Differences and similarities between Romance based Creoles and their lexifiers

In this section, we highlight the similarities and differences between the morphosyntax of existentials in the Romance based Creole languages illustrated so far and their lexifiers.

First, we must note that Romance based Creoles never use a proform to encode existentials. This could be due to the fact that the process of pidginization/creolization leads to a loss of inflectional morphology.[8] Actually, it is notable that no French based Creoles retain a (locative) proform in their grammar. In Ibero-Romance, the proform is either missing, as in Portuguese, or lexicalized as part of present tense forms of the paradigm of the HABERE verb, as in European Spanish (see Bentley 2017; cf. fn. 3). Interestingly, Spanish based Creoles invariantly use an existential verb shaped on the basis of Spanish *tener*, which solely encodes transitive possession.[9]

Second, as for expletive subjects, the Romance languages that do not allow phonologically null subjects usually employ an obligatory expletive pronoun in existentials, as for instance *il* in French (cf. example (7)). Some French based Creoles display an optional expletive subject (usually a 3rd person pronoun), as illustrated in (42)-(44). Thus, the correlation between the licensing of phonologically null subject and the obligatory presence of an expletive pronoun for existentials is not borne out in Romance Based Creoles.

(42) (**i**) ni onlo moun
3sg have much people
'There are a lot of people'
Guadeloupean Creole (Colot and Ludwig 2013a: APiCS Structure dataset)

(43) (**i**) ni anlo moun
3sg have much people
'There are a lot of people'
Martinican Creole (Ludwig 1996: 338)

(44) (**ye**) gen de kalite demi
3pl have two kind berry
'There are two kinds of berries'
Louisiana Creole, Pointe Coupee (Klinger 2003: 309)

[8] Actually it must be noted that inflections are not at all uncommon in pidgins. Bakker (2003) shows that pidgins can have richer inflection than creoles, though much of this could be due to the fact that many creoles are lexified by 'inflectionally rich' Romance languages (cf. e.g. Roberts and Bresnan 2008). DeGraff (2001: 232; 2003) assumes that the presence of inflectional morphology in Haitian Creole can be seen as evidence against the idea that creole genesis involves that sort of "break in transmission" commonly ascribed to pidginization.

[9] In Romance languages *tenere* is attested as an existential predicate only in Brazilian Portuguese (cf. Bentley 2017: 352). All the Portuguese based Creoles illustrated in Section 2 use a *tenere* strategy for existential purposes, departing from their lexifier, which is – with good evidence – European Portuguese which uses an HABERE predicate (cf. fn. 5).

Spanish based Creoles never use an expletive pronoun, while many Portuguese based Creoles spoken in Africa, like the French ones illustrated above, allow the optional presence of an expletive, as documented in the examples in (45)-(47) (cf. APiCS online: Feature 64).

(45) (**i**) teŋ arus ciw na Sindoŋ
3sg.sbj have rice a.lot in Sindoŋ
'There is plenty of rice in Sindone'
Casamancese (Quint 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

(46) (Ê) tê ningê nhon di pasa lala fa
3sg have person no of pass there neg
'There is nobody who passes by over there'
Principense (Maurer 2009: 58)

(47) (Ê) tê dja ku n na ka kume fa
3sg have day rel 1sg neg ipfv eat neg
'There are days on which I don't eat'
Santome (Hagemeijer 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

Furthermore the pivot in Romance languages is invariantly post-verbal (cf. the example in (3)). On the contrary, in Creoles, with predicates specifically expressing existence (and non possession), the pivot precedes the verbal item, in a position that is arguably its subject position. Consider, for instance, the examples in (34) from Santome and in (39) from Angolar.

As for the definiteness effect, it is well known since Milsark (1974) that Romance languages do not exhibit the same evidence for it as English, given that definite NPs are allowed quite freely in existential sentences.[10] APiCS does not provide decisive comparative evidence with respect to this issue. Note however that it does not report any example with the pivot introduced by a definite determiner among Romance Creoles. Furthermore, Syea (2013) explicitly assumes that a definiteness effect is at work in the syntax of Mauritian Creole, as illustrated in (48).

[10] As reported in Bentley (2017: 357-358) however, in-depth analysis brings to light two kinds of evidence for the Definiteness Effect in Romance: (i) a definite post-verbal NP cannot be followed by the coda within the same prosodic unit (Leonetti's 2008 *Coda Constraint*); (ii) many Romance varieties distinguish between definite and indefinite post-verbal NPs in existential by means of verb selection and/or agreement pattern (see La Fauci and Loporcaro 1993; Manzini and Savoia 2005; Bentley 2013, among others). Actually, Romance existentials with definite post-verbal NPs have been argued to be inverse locatives (Moro 1997; Zamparelli 2000, among others).

(48) *Ena loto la kot labutik
have car def near shop
'There is the car near the shop'
Mauritian Creole (Syea 2013: 66)

For what concerns the similarities, we have seen that all the Romance languages involved in the present survey (French, Spanish and Portuguese), like the Creole based on them use HAVE-like predicates to encode existentials.[11] However, it is not clear if the pivot in Romance languages is the syntactic subject or the object of the existential construction. Bentley (2017) shows that in Spoken Brazilian Portuguese the invariant copula *tem* co-occurs with nominative pronominal pivots, as in (49). On the contrary, Manzini and Savoia (2005), Cruschina (2015) show that many southern Italo-Romance dialects with existential HAVE verbs select Differentially Object Marked (DOM) pivots, as illustrated in (50) pointing to a clear object status for them.

(49) Tem eu.
hold.3sg 1sg.nom
'There's me'
Spoken Brazilian Portuguese (Bentley 2017: 353)

(50) Ave a mie
have.3sg DOM I
'There's me'
Salentino Apulian (Bentley 2017: 353)

In Creole languages, we cannot detect object *vs*. subject status of the pivot of HAVE predicates on the basis of agreement/case patterns, given that the verbal predicate is normally uninflected, and the pivot is unmarked for case. However, there are at least two clear hints pointing to their object status. First, as illustrated above, we find the presence of an optional subject pronoun in various Creoles. Second, whenever a different predicate is involved in an existential construction the pivot - as already pointed out - is switched to a pre-verbal position. Considering that Creole languages are consistently SVO (cf. APiCS feature n. 1), this pattern is highly indicative of their status as (logical) subjects.

4. The analysis

The present section contains the theoretical core of the discussion. We will propose that the 'possessive' encoding of existential sentences in Creole

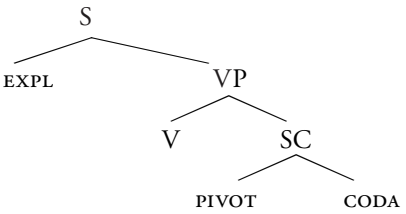
[11] Note, however, that HAVE predicates for existentials are also widely attested for English and Dutch based creoles. Consider for instance the examples from *Krio* in (1)-(2).

languages can be easily accounted for if we assume that the 'contextual domain' of existentials is encoded as the (covert, implicit) possessor of a (transitive) HAVE predicate including the pivot as its direct object (cf. Rigau 1997; Manzini and Savoia 2005), with the coda which is (optionally) introduced as an adjunct, encoding a further possessor (a 'locative' *inclusor*) of the predicate, following Franco and Manzini (2017, to appear), Franco and Lorusso (2018). Before introducing our analysis in Section 4.2, we provide a sketch of the theoretical background in section 4.1.

4.1 Theoretical background on existentials

Existential sentences have been a prominent research topic in generative linguistics, at least since Milsark (1974). Two main proposals have been put forward for what concerns the syntax of existentials. The most well-received and widespread proposal is based on the assumption that a small clause structure in which the pivot is the subject and the coda is the predicate is involved (see e.g. Stowell 1978; Chomsky 1981; Safir 1985; Freeze 1992; Moro 1997, among others).[12] The second proposal takes existential sentences to be structures in which the pivot is hosted as the complement of the verbal predicate and the coda is an adjunct (see McNally 1992; Francez 2007; 2009; Villalba 2013, among others).[13] The two competing proposals are roughly illustrated, respectively, in (51) and (52).

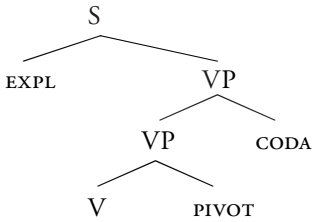
(51)



[12] Note that Williams (1983, 1984) (cf. also Higginbotham 1987) developed a theory in which syntactic predication is defined independently of the presence of a clausal constituent. Williams argues that, syntactically, a predication is a relation holding between a maximal projection and some phrase external to that projection. Given that external arguments are by definition 'external' to the maximal unit of which they are subjects, according to Williams there can be no small clause constituent encoding a subject–predicate relation.

[13] Another possibility would be to consider the coda as a further complement of the existential verb in a triadic structure, as suggested, for example by Keenan (1987).

(52)



Here we follow the view advocated in (52), in order to account for the syntax of HAVE existentials in Romance based Creole languages. Specifically, we follow Francez (2007; 2009) in assuming that the *contextual domain* has a direct role in shaping existentials and in assuming that codas are VP adjuncts. Francez assumes that existentials have an implicit argument that can be thought of as a contextual variable. For instance, a sentence like 'John left' is understood as pertaining to a contextual interval – it is true with respect to a given interval if this interval contains an event of 'John leaving'. Francez (2007: 54) precisely argues that: "the implicit argument […] is a contextual domain, defined as a set (of individuals, times, locations, worlds, or possibly other types of entities) determined by context or by contextual modifiers. Intuitively, the function of existentials […] is to convey information about such contextual domains, and particularly to say what a domain or a set of domains *contains* or does not *contain*."

We argue that the contextual domain can be syntacticized in subject position, namely it can be rendered in the form of a (possibly covert) expletive item, which is the subject of a transitive HAVE predicate. In other words, the contextual domain is encoded as a 'possessor'. Thus, in our view, expletives are meaningful items.[14]

Note that the sensitivity to the 'contextual domain' of existential sentences has been often suggested in the semantic literature. For instance, Borschev and Partee (2001: 22) argue that: "It is important that existence is always understood with respect to some LOCation. An implicit LOCation must be given by the context. This is usually 'here' or 'there', 'now' or 'then'". An answer to the existential question must explicate what it means to be "understood with respect to some LOCation."

Francez (2007) provides a comparison of existentials with other syntactic domains involving implicit arguments, which reveals much about their interaction with context. For instance, implicit arguments (of the kind relevant here) include "missing/covert" objects of transitive verbs. Fillmore (1986)

[14] Perhaps, in the generative literature, the most interesting attempt to defend the view that expletives are meaningful items is the one advanced in Moro (1997). According to Moro, English *there* or the Italian proform *ci* are meaningful, being 'predicates predicated of the pivot', occurring in subject position due to a mechanism of predicate raising.

identifies two types of readings for these kinds of objects: an existential quantification reading (53a) and a definite reading (53b) (cf. Francez 2007: 58).

(53) a. I ate (= I ate something)
b. I noticed (= I noticed that)

Francez (2007, 2009) claims that contextual domains are actually analogous to the context sets usual in the semantic literature on contextual domain restriction (see Barwise and Cooper 1981; Von Fintel 1994; Roberts 1995, among other). Consider the example in (54) (adapted from Francez 2007).

(54) E. Coli endotoxin caused death in all animals within 16 to 29 hours

The quantified expression *all animals* in (54) is interpreted as if some hidden constituents such as for instance *in the experiment*, *in the study* were involved in contextually restricting the NP *animals*. For what specifically concerns existentials, we can assume – following Francez (2007: 53) – that the context set is constructed as a set of entities related to this discourse referent by some contextually salient relation. "Generally, one can speak of the contextual domain of an entity, the context set determined through a salient discourse referent and relation."

4.2 Our proposal for Romance based Creoles: the contextual domains (and codas) as 'possessors'

We argue that the *contextual domain*, as defined above can be encoded in the form of the possessor of an existential event. This is the most widespread strategy in the case of Romance based Creoles, as we have illustrated in Section 2. Consider this basic intuition. The Italian sentences in (55) and (56) basically express the same existential meaning. The example in (56) mimics the behaviour of the vast majority of Romance Creoles, namely it uses a HAVE predicate to convey an existential meaning. This pattern is quite widespread in Spoken Italian, at least according to our native judgements.

(55) C'è la nebbia a Milano
'There is fog in Milan'
Italian

(56) C'**hanno** la nebbia a Milano
'There is fog in Milan'
Italian

Crucially, in (56) the HAVE predicate is inflected for 3rd person plural, suggesting the presence of a covert expletive pronoun that we argue to be

devoted to encode the contextual domain. Substantially, we claim that the event described by the VP predicate has the property of being 'witnessed', namely included in (concomitant to) a relevant discourse universe, representing – in a sense – the set of individuals which can attend the described event. These individuals can be precisely rendered as the 'contextual domain' of the event. Actually, they are *present* to a given event and this is coherent with what Creissels (2014: 2) says, namely that: "What distinguishes existential clauses from plain locational clauses is a different perspectivization of figure-ground relationships whose most obvious manifestation is that, contrary to plain locational clauses, existential clauses are not adequate answers to questions about the location of an entity, but can be used to identify an entity *present* at a certain location." Evidence that we are on the right track, in assuming that expletives are meaningful and encode the contextual domain, comes from examples like the following.[15]

(57) A Ostia c'**hai** il sole mentre a Milano c'**hanno** la nebbia
'In Ostia, there is the sun, while in Milan there is the fog'
Italian

In the existential sentences in (57) the contextual domain that is perceived as more 'proximal' is encoded via a second person singular inflection on the HAVE verb (namely encoding a covert 'participant' pronoun), while the contextual domain that is perceived as more 'distal' is rendered through a third person plural inflection. Curiously, the central role of the contextual domain is confirmed by the proforms found in Italian: the proform *ci* is syncretic with the 1st plural person clitic. So, the reference of 1st person plural clitics can be extended to the set of individual present/concomitant to the discourse (speaker/hearer). Note at this regard, that 2nd person plural clitic *vi* can lexicalize proforms in Italian as well (58).

(58)

vi	ha	scienze	filosofiche	particolari
cl.2pl	has	sciences	philosophic	particular

'There are particular philosophic sciences'
Italian (Croce, *Estetica* III, from Serianni 1988: 216; cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005)

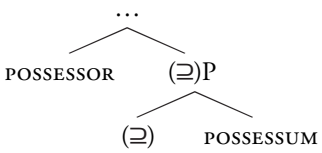
Interestingly, patterns of this kinds are not uncommon within Creole languages. As reported in Haspelmath (2013, APiCS: Features 64), for instance in Jamaican, existential sentences are formed with *gat* (< English got) or *hav* (< English have) preceded by an indefinite pronoun, usually *yu* 'you' or *dem* 'they'. In some cases, even the 1st person plural *wi* 'we' can be used for existentials.

[15] Note that we leave a full analysis of Romance proforms to an independent work (cf. Franco *et al.* 2016).

According to what reported in the APiCS, which pronoun is selected depends on the speaker's attitude towards the entity which the context is about. Clearly this fact militates against the view the expletive pronouns are meaningless.

Following Svenonius (2007), Bassaganyas-Bars (2015), Manzini *et al.* (to appear) we assume that HAVE predicates encode a basic relation (of 'inclusion'), that we notate as (⊇) (cf. Franco and Manzini 2017 on an analogous proposal concerning the adposition *with*). Consider the representation in (59). This structure basically says that the *possessum* is the complement of (⊇)P and the *possessor* is its sister.

(59)



For what concern those languages using a possession schema for existentials, as for instance the Romance based Creoles illustrated in this work, we argue that the *possessum* is the pivot and the *possessor* is its contextual domain. Clearly, we assume that it is not coincidental the use of the same predicate to encode transitive possession and existential meaning. The contextual domain is precisely rendered, in such cases, with an expletive pronoun, representing the set of individuals which can possess/attend/witness/be present at the described event.

As for what concerns the codas, at least whenever they are introduced by a (locative) PP, we assume that they are, in turn, additional possessors of the pivot, introduced in the syntactic skeleton by means of an adjunction operation. Consider again the sentence in (56). This sentence clearly presupposes that 'the coda includes the pivot', namely that 'Milan **has** fog'. Evidence that we are on the right track with this kind of characterization comes from the fact that an existential meaning can be rendered in Creoles languages as in (60)-(61), repeating (31)-(32) for ease of reference. Here the coda (or better the argumental material embedded within the coda) is precisely introduced as the possessor of the pivot. In such cases, the contextual domain could be assumed, as for the example in (54), to be introduced as a covert PP/adverbial adjunct restricting the discourse universe.

(60) Meza **tê** kume =(31)
Table have food
'There is food on the table'
Santome (Hagemeijer 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

(61) Meza **sa** **ku** kume =(32)
Table be with food
'There is food on the table'
Santome (Hagemeijer 2013: APiCS Structure dataset)

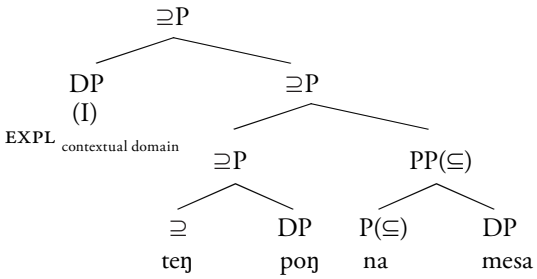
In this work, we follow Franco and Manzini (2017, to appear), Franco and Lorusso (2018) in assuming that locatives are interpreted as such only in so far as they denote locatively constrained 'inclusion'. Specifically, locative is a specialization of an 'inclusion' relation, which arises for instance from the locative nature of the nominal element embedded under an adposition/oblique case. Indeed, in recent work Manzini and Savoia (2011a, 2011b), Manzini and Franco (2016), Franco and Manzini (2017) lay out an analysis of the syntax and interpretation of genitive *of*, dative *to*, and instrumental *with* based on the assumption that these elements are endowed with an elementary interpretive content interacting with the internal organization of the predicate/event. As for dative *to*, for instance, the line of analysis of ditransitive verbs initiated by Kayne (1984) is characterized by the assumption that verbs like give take as their complement a predication whose content is a possession headed by to. Following Kayne (1984), Pesetsky (1995), Harley (2002), Beck and Johnson (2004), we may say that in (61) a possession relation holds between the dative (Peter) and the theme of the ditransitive verb (the book). We characterize the content of *to* in terms of the notion of "(zonal) inclusion", as proposed by Belvin and den Dikken (1997) precisely for the verb *have*. We assimilate this content to an elementary part/whole predication and notate it as (⊆), so that (62a) is roughly structured as in (62b). In (62b) the result of the causative event is that the book is included by (or part of) Peter.

(62) a. I give the book to Peter
b. $[_{VP}$ give $[_{PredP}$ the book $[[_{\subseteq}$ to] Peter]]]]

Locative *in*, *to*, etc. are nothing else than a specialization of the (⊆) relation, which is notably the 'inverse' of the relation expressed by the verb for HAVE (or by the adposition with), namely (⊇), as illustrated above.[16] Thus, we argue that in the Romance based Creoles that we have reviewed the coda (actually, the nominal constituent expressed via the coda) is a second possessor of the event including the pivot and whose external argument ('first' possessor) is the contextual domain. A possible representation is given in (63) for the Casamancese example in (23a).

[16] We acknowledge that one may legitimately wonder what may be excluded from the denotation of such a wide-ranging relator as ⊆. We observe that precisely because of its very general denotation, the part/whole or inclusion predicate (whether it corresponds to a case inflection or to an adpositional head) does not have sufficient lexical content to characterize, say, specific (sub)types of possession, location, etc. Thus, in a language like Latin (the same) oblique case attaches to locations, possessors, goals e.g. Romae (Rome-obl) 'in Rome, of Rome, to Rome (dative)'. However, there are no languages where the oblique case may denote, say, 'after' as opposed to 'before', 'on' as opposed to 'under', etc. To encode those meanings, natural languages usually resort to more specialized relational nouns/Axial Parts (Svenonius 2006; Fábregas 2007; Franco 2016).

(63)



What (63) basically says is that those entities/individuals which represent the (implicit, covert) contextual domain (possibly expressed via an expletive pronoun) possess/include/witness 'the bread' & the state/event of 'having the bread' is also possessed/included by the item which is usually termed as the coda (the 'table' in the example). This is the prevalent configuration for existentials in Romance based Creoles, where transitive possession and existential meaning *overlap*.[17]

5. Conclusion

In this work we have provided a comprehensive overview of existentials in Romance Creoles. Based on our empirical investigation, we have also provided an analysis of existential sentences, which mimic 'transitive' possession in the vast majority of Romance based Creole languages. Specifically, we have assumed that the pervasiveness of a predicative possession strategy for existentials in Creoles has reflexes in their syntax, for which a *possession configuration*, building on recent work of Manzini and Franco (2016), Franco and Manzini (2017, to appear), Franco and Lorusso (2018) has been advanced.

In essence, we have claimed that the 'contextual domain' of existentials (see Francez 2007, 2009) can be encoded as the *possessor* of a (transitive) HAVE predicate including the pivot as its direct object (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005), with the coda which is (optionally) introduced as an adjunct, encoding a further possessor ('locative' *inclusor*) of the predicate (e.g. embedded under a PP constituent).

[17] As for the other minority strategies employed by these Creoles to encode existentials, we have to say that Tayo (cf. examples (13)-(14)) and Korlai (cf. examples (29)-(30) use a locative strategy for expressing possession, namely possessors are encoded via a locative adjunct. Still, there is no differential with existentials which are encoded accorded to the same patter. In other cases, as in Media Lengua, Angolar or Santome the pivot may be expressed as what appears to be subject of the existential predicate. We leave an account of such 'deviant' patterns for future research.

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Oblique Serial Verbs in Creole/Pidgin Languages

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Abstract:

This paper focuses on the syntax of (argument introducing/valency increasing) serial verbs in Creole/Pidgin languages, providing empirical arguments for the model of grammatical relations advanced in a series of recent works by Manzini and Savoia (2011a, 2011b), Manzini and Franco (2016), Franco and Manzini (2017a, 2017b), Manzini *et al.* (to appear a, b). These authors lay out an analysis of the syntax and interpretation of dative *to*, instrumental *with* and Differential Object Marking (DOM) relators, based on the assumption that these elements are predicates endowed with an elementary interpretive content interacting with the internal organization of the event. We assume that these oblique relators, expressing a primitive elementary part-whole/possession relation, may be instantiated also by serial (light) verbs in the grammar of natural languages. We provide a formal approach to cross-categorial variation in argument marking, trying to outline a unified morpho-syntactic template, in which so-called 'cases' do not configure a specialized linguistic lexicon of functional features/categories – on the contrary they help us outline an underlying ontology of natural languages, of which they pick up some of the most elementary relations. Such primitive relations can be expressed by different lexical means (e.g. case, adpositions, light verbs, etc.).

Keywords: dative, DOM, instrumental, Pidgin/Creole, Serial verbs

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to describe the syntax of (argumental) serial verbs of the type represented in (1) in Creole/Pidgin languages, providing empirical support for the model of grammatical relations advanced in a series of recent works by Manzini and Savoia (2011a, 2011b), Franco *et al.* (2015), Manzini *et al.* (2015), Manzini and Franco (2016), Franco and Manzini (2017a, 2017b),

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Manzini *et al.* (to appear a, b). These authors lay out an analysis of the syntax and interpretation of obliques (genitive *of*, dative *to*, instrumental *with* and Differential Object Marking (DOM) relators), based on the assumption that these elements are endowed with an elementary interpretive content (inclusion, part-whole, possession) interacting with the internal organization of the predicate/event. We focus on (light) serial verb used as 'valency-increasing' devices (encoding benefactives, instrumentals, comitatives, etc.) and/or employed for specifying arguments, that is, to introduce (DOM) direct objects and indirect goal/recipient arguments in ditransitive constructions. In the definition of Aikhenvald (2006: 1), "A serial verb construction is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort […] They are mono-clausal; their intonational properties are the same as those of a mono-verbal clause, and they have just one tense, aspect, and polarity value".

(1) a. Kêdê mêzê ê ka xikêvê kata ũa **da** mi
every month 3SG HAB write letter one give me
'Every month, he writes me a letter'
Principense (Maurer 2009: 111)

b. Zon **toma** faka va mpon.
3SG take knife slice bread
'Zon sliced the bread with a knife'
São Tomense (Hagemeijer 2000: 45)

Our main idea is that the same elementary interpretive content (inclusion, part-whole, possession) proposed by Manzini and colleagues for obliques can be shaped through (light) serial verb constructions. Indeed, the serial verbs in (1), taken from two Portuguese based Creoles of West Africa, are light verbs whose basic meaning is that of 'transfer' of possession (GIVE/TAKE). In other words, we assume that oblique cases and adpositions are (language-specific) relational devices employed to introduce oblique arguments (cf. Fillmore 1968). Nothing prevents a given language to use, as a relational predicate, a serial (light) verb for this purpose. We clearly assume that the underlying syntax is the same.

Formally, we aim at providing an approach to cross-categorial variation in (oblique) argument marking, trying to outline a unified morpho-syntactic template, in which so-called 'cases' or 'adpositions' do not configure a specialized linguistic lexicon of functional features/categories – on the contrary they help us outline an underlying ontology of natural languages, of which they pick up some of the most elementary relations. Such primitive relations can be expressed by different lexical means: case, adpositions, light verbs, etc.

In illustrating the model of grammatical relations recently proposed by Manzini, Franco and Savoia, we start from the encoding of datives. As for

dative *to*, the line of analysis of ditransitive verbs initiated by Kayne (1984) is characterized by the assumption that verbs like *give* take as their complement a predication whose content is a possession headed by *to*. Following in part Kayne (1984), Pesetsky (1995), Harley (2002), Beck and Johnson (2004), we may say that in (2) a possession relation holds between the dative (*Mary*) and the theme of the ditransitive verb (*the book*). We characterize the content of *to* in terms of the notion of '(zonal) inclusion', as proposed by Belvin and den Dikken (1997) for the verbal item HAVE. We assimilate this content to an elementary part/whole predication and notate it as ⊆, so that (2a) is roughly structured as in (2b). In (2b) the result of the causative event is that *the book* is included by (possessed by) *Mary*.

(2) a. I give the book **to** Mary
b. $[_{VP}$ give $[_{PredP}$ the book $[[_{\subseteq}$ **to**] Mary]]]]

In the tradition of studies in (2), the alternation between Dative Shift (as in *I give Mary the book*) and DP-to-DP structures is not shaped derivationally, but rather as an alternation between two distinct base structures. In many theoretical works, the head of the predication postulated by Kayne for English double object constructions is an abstract version of the verb 'have'.[1] Franco and Manzini (2017a) assume that this abstract HAVE head assumed for Dative Shift is the covert counterpart of 'with'. Indeed the *with* preposition can be overtly seen in English alternations of the type represented in (3).

(3) a. I presented the picture **to** the museum
b. I presented the museum **with** the pictures

Hence, it is possible to propose for (3b) the structure in (4), paralleling the one in (2). We notate the relation expressed by *with* as (⊇), assuming that the possessum is the complement of P and the possessor its external argument. Actually, we face with a relation which is the 'mirror image' of *to* datives where the possessor is the complement of P⊆ and the possessum is its external argument.

(4) $[_{VP}$ present $[_{PredP}$ the museum $[[\supseteq$ **with**] the pictures]]]]

To the purpose of this work, it is relevant to consider that in the Romance languages (as in Indo-European, more generally) the dative adposi-

[1] For instance, for Harley (2002) the head of the predication in an English Dative Shift sentence is an abstract preposition P_{HAVE}, for Beck and Johnson (2004), the head of the predication is an abstract verb HAVE. Pesetsky (1995) limits himself to an abstract characterization of the predicate head as G.

tion/case is the preferred externalization for DOM objects (Bossong 1985; Aissen 2003; Malchukov 2008; Manzini and Franco 2016, a.o.). We provide just one example from standard Spanish in (5a). According to Manzini and Franco (2016) the syncretism of dative and DOM, is based on the fact that the same lexical content ⊆ is instantiated in both contexts, as seen in structure (5b) for sentence (5a). In other words, object DPs highly ranked in animacy/definiteness require for their embedding the same elementary predicate ⊆ introducing goals/recipients. Indeed, we have seen that in (2b) the arguments of ⊆ are the two DPs, respectively *Mary* and *the book*, the former being in possession of the latter as the result of the event of giving. In (5b), on the other hand one of the two arguments of ⊆ is again its object DP *el* 'him' – however, it is not clear what its external argument might be.

Manzini and Franco (2016) follow the standard idea of Hale and Keyser (1993), Chomsky (1995), who assume that transitive predicates result from the incorporation of an elementary state/event into a transitivizing *v* layer. Within such a framework, (5b) can be rendered as 'S/he causes him to have a call', where 'him' is the possessor of the 'call' sub-event. Therefore, the ⊆ relation holds of a DP (*el*) and of an elementary event 'the call' (see Torrego 2009; Pineda 2014 for different implementations of the same basic idea).

(5) a. lo/le llama **a** el
him s/he.calls to him
'S/he calls him'

b. $[_{vP}\ v\ [_{VP}$ llama $[_{PP\subseteq}$ **a** $[_{DP}$ el]]]]
Spanish

It is important to consider that this syntactic/configurational characterization of syncretism (here DOM=dative) substantially diverge from the views of current realizational frameworks within the realm of theoretical morphosyntax. For instance, in Distributed Morphology (DM), which represents pretty much the standard morphology framework in generative grammar, syncretisms result from the application of morphological rules after the output of the syntax, but before lexical insertion. The argument has been made more than once (Kayne 2010: 171; Manzini and Savoia 2011a) that the morphological rules of DM are powerful enough to generate essentially any lexical string from any underlying syntactic structure. Markedness hierarchies (Calabrese 1998, 2008) are an interesting response to non-accidental syncretism patterns – since contiguity in lexicalization is made to depend on contiguity in the hierarchy. However, they have the same problem as any extrinsic ordering device: is there any internal reason for the ordering? Much the same can be said of the nanosyntactic Case hierarchy of Caha (2009) or Pantcheva (2011) (cf. Starke 2017). On the contrary, we approach obliques (inflectional / prepositional, etc.) keeping Chomsky's (2001) conclusions on

the non-primitive nature of case in mind. Oblique case is simply the name given to elementary predicative content when realized inflectionally on a noun. Correspondingly, syncretism depends on shared content, namely ⊆/⊇ in the instances discussed and there is no externally imposed hierarchy ordering the relevant primitives, but rather a conceptual network determined by the primitive predicates we use and the relations they entertain with each other. Calabrese's markedness hierarchies or nanosyntactic functional hierarchies are not necessary because syncretism depends essentially on natural class (cf. Müller 2007). Seen from this perspective, case hierarchies take on rather different contours. In essence, they reduce to a binary split between direct case (reduced to the agreement system as in Chomsky 2001) and oblique case, reducing to the part-whole operator, whose lexicalization can be sensitive to the c-commanding relation between the possessor and the possessum.[2]

In this paper, we basically claim that serial (light) verbs in Creole Languages may act as ⊆/⊇ relators, providing support for the model of grammatical relation sketched above. Crucially, the model we are interested in pointedly predict that paradigms exist nowhere in the competence of speaker-hearers; in other words linguistic data are organized in non-paradigmatic fashion – exactly like a generative syntax never quite achieves a match to traditional constructions like passive, or ergative, etc. Primitives are too fine grained and the combinatorial possibilities afforded by Universal Grammar too many to achieve a match to descriptive (macro)classes.[3]

The rest of the paper is structured as follows. In section 2, we introduce some basic features of Serial verbs construction, concentrating in particular on their behavior as oblique devices. In section 3, we illustrate the morpho-syntax of ditransitive structures in some Creole/Pidgin languages which employ serial verbs for encoding them, as well as the expression of instrumental (and comitative) relations by means of TAKE predicates. We show that the syntactic and morpho-lexical regularities in the expression of these grammatical relations in Creoles/Pidgins provide strong arguments in favor of the framework of (oblique) case/adpositions illustrated above. Section 4 briefly introduces the phenomenon of DOM serial verbs. The conclusion follows.

[2] From this perspective, other non-core (spatial) cases are analysable into a case core (typically oblique) and some additional structure, yielding something similar to the internally articulated PPs of Svenonius (2006) (cf. also Franco *et al.* 2017 on Uralic languages), who (syntactically) reworks the Gestalt-like perspective of Talmy (2000).

[3] The point is fairly obvious, but while Chomsky has made it over and over again for syntax (Chomsky 1981), we believe it that it is not clearly appreciated that it ought to hold for morphology and morpho-lexical variation, as well.

2. Background on serial verbs constructions

Serial verb constructions are widespread in Creole languages, as well as in the languages of West Africa, Southeast Asia, Amazonia, Oceania, and New Guinea (Aikhenvald 2006). Muysken and Veenstra (1995: 290) schematically illustrate a series of definitional criteria to identify a serial verbs construction, arguing that it must contains two (or more) verbs which have: i) only one external argument subject; ii) at most one expressed direct object; iii) one specification for Tense Aspect Mood (TAM) and only one possible negative item; iv) no intervening coordinating conjunction/subordinating particle; v) no intervening pauses. Thus, serial verb constructions are sequences of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, complementation, or other kinds of syntactic dependency (see Jansen *et al.* 1978; Zwicky 1990; Aikhenvald 2006; Muysken and Veenstra 2006, a.o.).

Indeed, serial verb constructions are commonly represented in the formal literature (cf. Lefebvre 1991; Aboh 2009, among others) as monoclausal, given that they have the intonational properties of a clausal unit and given that all the verbs involved share the same TAM values.[4]

Interestingly, as reported in Muysken and Veenstra (1995), Aikhenvald (2006), generally one verb is fixed (usually it is a light verb), while the other one can be freely taken from a certain semantic or aspectual class. In (6), adapted from Muysken and Veenstra (1995), we sketch the main functions of the light verbs recruited in serial verb constructions:

(6)	locational	*go*	direction away (allative)
		come	direction towards (ablatie)
		be/stay	locative
	argument	*give*	benefactive, dative, object
		take	instrumental, comitative, object
		say	finite complementizer
	aspectual	*finish*	perfective
		return	iterative
		be/stay	continuative
	degree	*pass*	comparative
		suffice	enough

[4] Some authors have assumed a correlation between the availability of serial verbs construction in a given grammar and the lack of derivational verbal morphology. Baker (1991: 79) explicitly says that: "Notions which are expressed by Serial Verb Constructions […] in the Kwa languages of West Africa correspond to a large degree to those which are expressed by derivational verb morphology in the Bantu languages of East Africa".

As already said, argument (or valency increasing) serial verbs are the focus of the present paper. We will concentrate exclusively on GIVE and TAKE serial verbs of the type illustrated in (1).

Stewart (1963) was the first to observe that that overt subjects and overt objects in serial verb constructions are semantically related to both verbs. For instance, in (1a) the object 'letter' is an object of the light predicate 'give', as well as of 'write'. Similarly, the pronoun 'he' is the subject of both predicates. Baker (1989) addresses this observation from a theoretical viewpoint assuming that verb serialization is a unified phenomenon based on 'argument sharing'.

In a nutshell, Baker argues that the two verbs in a serial construction share same subject and the same object (e.g. the DP *letter* in (1a)). The internal argument is theta-marked by the two verbs. The first verb directly theta-marks the object NP under structural sisterhood), while the second verb theta-marks the same NP less directly, via a predicational theta-marking.[5]

Den Dikken (1991) and Muysken and Veenstra (1995) convincingly show that the argument sharing hypothesis of Baker is untenable on empirical grounds. Consider for instance the data in (7)-(8), respectively from Haitian and Saramaccan.

(7) Jan **bay** Pol liv la **bay** Mari
John give Paul book the give Mary
'John gave the book to Paul for (to give to) Mary'
Haitian (Muysken and Veenstra 1995: 298)

(8) A **de** wan bunu mujee **da** en.
3SG be a good woman give 3SG
'She is a good woman for him'
Saramaccan (Muysken and Veenstra 1995: 298)

In (7) there is no subject argument sharing. Conceptually here 'it is John who gives the book to Paul, who gives the book to Mary'. In (8) the first verb ('be') does not license an object theta role, so argument sharing in blocked. Note that in the Applicative framework (Pylkkänen 2008) both the participant introduced by the GIVE verb in second position in (7) and (8) can be rendered as High Appls (beneficiaries, experiencers, cf. Section 3.1). Aboh (2009) argues that light serial verbs of the TAKE and GIVE type are merged into an aspectual projection within the functional domain of the matrix lexi-

[5] Baker (1989) also claims that argument sharing is not random, but is thematically restricted. He assumes that in constructions with more than one internal argument, the order in which arguments show up follows the thematic hierarchy in (i).

(i) Agent<Instrument<...<Theme<Goal<Location

Muysken and Veenstra (1995: 298ff) show that there is great cross-linguistic variation with respect to the thematic restriction on (alleged) argument sharing.

cal verb. We will address Aboh's proposal in some more details in section 3.2, specifically focusing on instrumental TAKE serial verbs.

Another proposal put forth by Seuren (1990), Corne *et al.* (1996) is to consider serial verb constructions as covert (asyndetic) coordinate structures with two juxtaposed finite clauses. For instance, an example like (1b) would be rendered as 'He takes the knife and slices the bread'. However, Jansen *et al.* (1978), Sebba (1987) (cf. also Muysken and Veenstra 1995; Syea 2013) show that serial verb constructions never display the island effects that have been associated with coordinated structures since Ross (1967).

Finally, we must note that a core point of our proposal, already made explicit in Section 1, it that there is a structural analogy between serial verbs and adpositions/oblique cases in natural languages. Muysken and Veenstra (1995) argue against this idea, relying on two empirical observations. First, serial verbs usually allow stranding, as illustrated in (9), while adpositions do not in many languages (including Creoles/Pidgin).

(9) San Edgar **teki** ___ koti a brede?
what Edgar take cut the bread
'What did Edgar cut the bread with?'
Sranan (Muysken and Veenstra 1995: 292)

We think that this argument is not decisive at most, considering that preposition stranding is allowed in various different languages. Just consider an example from English in (10).

(10) Who did you speak with __?

The second observation relies on the availability of 'predicate clefts' in Creole/Pidgin languages. Predicate clefts are constructions in which a copy of a verb appears in sentence-initial position (cf. Koopman 1984 and following literature), as illustrated in (11).

(11) Na **teki** Edgar **teki** a nefi koti a brede
FOC take Edgar take the knife cut the bread
'Really with the knife Edgar cut the bread'
Sranan (Muysken and Veenstra 1995: 292)

The main function of predicate clefting is to focus on the verbal action. Muysken and Veenstra (1995) assume that preposition cannot undergo 'predicate cleft', hence highlighting an asymmetry between adpositional items and serial verbs. Actually, there is evidence that light serial verbs of the TAKE and GIVE type disallow predicate clefting in many Romance based creoles, as highlighted for instance in Hagemeijer and Ogie (2011), Hagemeijer (2011) for the Portuguese based Creole São Tomense. Furthermore, predicate

clefting of (complex) adpositions and adverbial particles is possible in various Creoles/Pidgin, as shown in (12) with a Jamaican Creole example involving the item *bak* 'back'. Thus, we believe again that this argument is not robust enough to tear apart (light) serial verbs and adpositions.

(12) A **bak** mi wind **bak** di kasset
COP back 1SG wind back the cassette
'I am putting the cassette back (i.e. not forward)'
Jamaican Creole (Veenstra and den Besten 1995: 308)

In assuming a clear symmetry between adpositions and verbs, we follow Svenonius (2007), Wood (2015), who basically argue that the only difference between adpostions and verbs is that the latter is endowed with a temporal dimension (i.e. a TP layer). We are aware that in various languages, including Creoles/Pidgins, serial verbs and adpositions co-exist and can express the same meanings. Svenonius (2007: 83), mentioning Chinese as an example, claims that: "in tenseless serial verb languages … it can be difficult to distinguish between verbs and prepositions."

Following this basic insight, in the next section, we will try to account for the syntactic behavior of argumental serial verbs in Creole/Pidgin languages.

3. Goal, benefactive and instrumental serial verbs in Creole/Pidgin languages: on the (a)symmetry of 'give' and 'take'

3.1 GIVE serial verb as ⊆ predicates

Usually, the serial light verb GIVE appears in second position, namely after the lexical verb and the direct object, introducing the recipient/goal/beneficiary, as illustrated in (13), for a series of Creoles/Pidgins. The data in (13) demonstrate that this pattern seems to show up independently from the substrate and the lexifier.

(13) a. Amu da wan kuzu **da** bo
I give a thing give you
'I gave you something'
Fa d'Ambu (Post 1995: 200)

b. Kêdê mêzê Maa ka xikêvê kata ũa **da** mi (=1a)
every month Maa HAB write letter one give me
'Every month Maa writes me a letter'
Principense (Maurer 2009: 121)

c. Siera bai shuuz **gi** Taam
Sarah buy shoes give Tom
'Sarah bought shoes for Tom'
Jamaican Creole (Farquharson APiCS structure dataset: 8-135)

d. I buy chok **give** you
1SG buy congee give you
'I buy/bought congee to you'
Singlish (Lim and Ansaldo APiCS structure dataset: 21-118)

e. Ijénie ka pòté mango **ba** Ijenn
Eugénie PROG bring mango give Eugène
'Eugénie is bringing the mangos to Eugène'
Guadeloupean Creole (Ludwig 1996: 282)

f. am a kan goi mais mi ris **gi** sini
3SG PST HAB throw corn with rice give 3PL
'He threw corn and rice to him'
Negerholland (De Josselin de Jong 1926: 18)

It is intuitively possible to argue that the serial verb GIVE is the counterpart of the dative preposition *to* and/or the benefactive preposition *for*. Actually, these are not the sole uses of GIVE serial verbs, given that they are also able to encode experiencers and mono-argumental (intransitive) datives in many different languages, as illustrated respectively in (14) and (15) with examples from Ndyuka and São Tomense.

(14) A nyanyan sweti **gi** me tee det
The food please give me very.much
'I like food very much'
Ndyuka (Goury and Migge 2003: 131)

(15) e fa **da** ine
he talk give them
'He talked to them'
São Tomense (Romaine 1988: 56, *apud* Heine and Kuteva 2002)

Thus, GIVE serial verbs seem to perfectly match the contexts in which the dative *a* preposition of Romance languages shows up, as illustrated in (16).

(16) a. Ho dato un libro **a** Gianni *dative*
'I gave a book to Gianni'

b. Ho comprato le scarpe **a**/per Gianni *benefactive*
'I bought the shoes for Gianni'

c. Ho parlato **a** Gianni *intransitive dative*
'I spoke to Gianni'

d. Quel cibo piace **a** Gianni *experiencer*
'Gianni likes that food'
Italian

The use of GIVE serial verb is not confined to Creoles/Pidgins. In various non-Creole languages, the verb GIVE lexicalizes both datives and bene-

factives. Consider the example in (17) from Thai, where *hâj* 'give', introduce both datives and benefactives (cf. Aikhenvald 2006 for a typological overview and Muysken and Veenstra 1995; Heine and Kuteva 2002, for other relevant cross-linguistic examples).

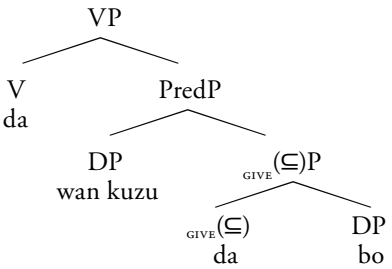
(17) Dɛɛŋ sɔɔn lêeg **hâj** Sùdaa **hâj** phyan
Dang teach arithmetic give Suda give friend
'Dang taught arithmetic to Suda for his friend'
Thai (Bisang 1996: 571)

In other languages the verb for GIVE in second position seems to encode a dative content only, as illustrated in (18) for Modern Mandarin Chinese.[6]

(18) wo xie le yi-feng xin **gei** ta
1.SG write ASP one-class letter to him
'I wrote a letter to him. Not: I wrote a letter for him'
Modern Mandarin Chinese (Sun 1996: 44)

Based on the discussion in section 1 and on the empirical evidence provided above, we assume that the (serial) light verb GIVE patterns with the adposition *to* in English, *a* in Romance languages or inflectional dative case in realizing the (⊆) predicate. The serial verb for GIVE is an elementary predicate signaling transfer of possession and heading a projection in which the theme (possessum) is its sister and the recipient (possessor) is its complement, as sketched in (19) for example (13a).

(19)



We are aware that many different Creoles/Pidgins can also use a double object construction with a goal-theme order for ditransitives, as illustrated for Principense in (20) (cf. example 13b).

[6] There seems to be an implicational hierarchy at work. According to APiCS on line feature 86, with GIVE, it is possible to encode datives and benefactives, datives only but not benefactives only. Thus, the dative content of the verb GIVE must be 'lexicalized' in order to also trigger a benefactive meaning.

(20) Kêdê mêzê Maa ka xikevê mi kata ũa
every month Maa HAB write 1SG letter one
'Every month Maa writes me a letter'
Principense (Maurer 2009: 121)

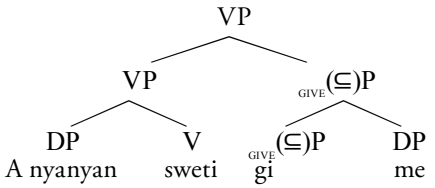
Bruyn *et al.* (1999) assume that the double object constructions are universally available in Creole/Pidgin languages, claiming that they are the unmarked option in Universal Grammar and linking them to language acquisition. From this perspective, they follow a creolization schema along the lines of Bickerton (1981, 1984, 1989)'s Bioprogram Hypothesis. Nevertheless, Michaelis and Haspelmath (2003) have shown that double object constructions can be absent from the grammar of individual Pidgins/Creoles, trying to support a substrate explanation.

For the sake of the present analysis, we can say that for Creole/Pidgin languages that show a surface dative (or better GIVE) alternation like Principense in (20)-(13b) both of the main approaches taken by the generative literature on Dative Shift are compatible with our discussion. A first possibility is to assume Freeze (1992)'s ideas, or the earliest transformational accounts of Dative Shift (cf. also Larson 1988), assuming that leftward movement of the Goal argument derive the double object construction. Given that the structure in (19) is the roughly the same as the base structure of Freeze, we assume that nothing prevents a Dative Shift derivation from taking place starting from it. A second possibility is to adopt the view that Dative Shift structures actually involve a different base generated structure – along the lines of Kayne (1984) and following literature (cf. Section 1), and to claim that the Dative Shift alternation is closely comparable to the alternation between 'He presented his pictures to the museum' and 'He presented the museum with his picture' sketched in (3)-(4) (cf. Levinson 2011; Franco and Manzini 2017).

For what concerns the lexical semantic motivation for the parallelism between dative/to adpositions and GIVE serial verbs, we may follow Givón (1975) who argued – in the framework of generative semantics – the GIVE can be analyzed as the *induction* of a possessive relationship. From this perspective the goal/recipient can be taken as standing for a 'reference point', and theme for the 'target' (of possession) found in goal/recipient's domain. We think that this view is coherent with the structure sketched in (19).

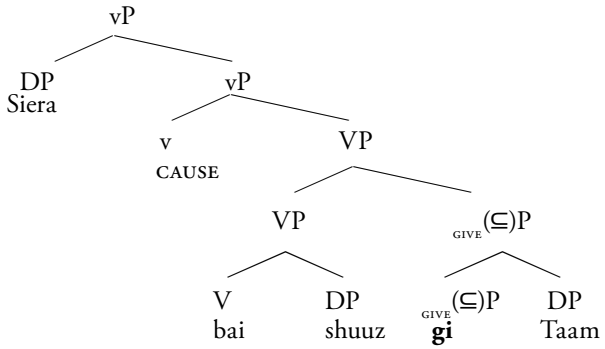
The same Givón assumes that when the theme which is manifested in the goal/recipient's domain is not a thing/entity, but is rather identified as the event profiled by the main verb, what actually GIVE conveys is the 'manifestation' (i.e. possession, inclusion) of the event in the recipient's (experiential) domain, with the consequence of its interpretation as an experiencer or beneficiary. This view is consistent with the analysis provided in Manzini and Franco (2016) for dative experiencers. A sentence like the one in (14) for *Ndyuka* can be interpreted as saying that 'liking the food' is an elementary event/state in the 'zonal inclusion/possession' domain of *me* and can be represented as in (21).

(21)



A similar structure/interpretation can be provided also for beneficiaries, as illustrated in (22), where a $_{\text{GIVE}}(\subseteq)$ predicate takes as its external argument the result VP and as its internal argument the beneficiary DP. In fact, a sentence like (13c) can be paraphrased as 'Sarah causes the result of 'buying the shoes' and 'Tom owns/possesses this result/has this result in his domain'.

(22)



This line of analysis for GIVE is also generally compatible with the applicative literature (cf. Cuervo 2003; Pylkkänen 2008; Boneh and Nash 2012, a.o.), which takes it as not coincidental that the same 'oblique' morphology found to express goals also introduces experiencers/beneficiaries. For the Applicative literature, this corresponds to the fact that the same Appl head (externalized by a dative/oblique) can attach at different points in the sentential spine. The low Applicative head establishes a relation between two arguments (namely the goal and the theme, cf. (19)), while the high Appl head introduces relation between an argument (experiencer/beneficiary) and an event (the VP) (cf. (21)-(22)).

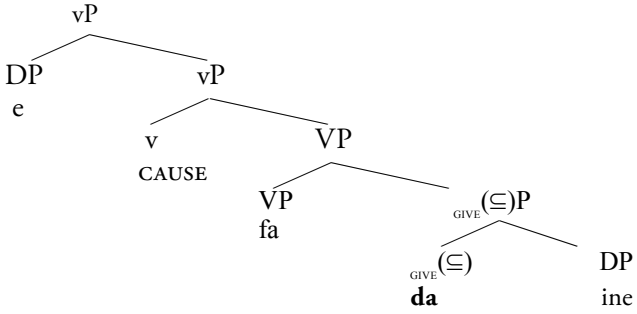
For what concerns an example like São Tomense in (15), involving an intransitive (unergative) dative/ GIVE we propose again, following Manzini and Franco (2016), that in this instance the two arguments of $_{\text{GIVE}}(\subseteq)$ are its complement DP and an eventive constituent. Intuitively, both transitive and unergative predicates can be paraphrased as consisting of a causative event and an elementary predicate associated with an eventive name, as shown in (23)-(24).

(23) ho chiamato Gianni > ho fatto una chiamata a Gianni *transitive*
'I called Gianni' 'I made a call to Gianni'

(24) ho telefonato a Gianni > ho fatto una telefonata a Gianni *unergative*
'I phoned Gianni' 'I made a phone call to Gianni'

Hale and Keyser (1993), Chomsky (1995) formalize this intuition about the complex nature of transitive predicates by assuming that they result from the incorporation of an elementary state/event into a transitivizing predicate (CAUSE). In minimalist syntax, the transitivizing predicate is standardly built into the structure in the form of a *v* functional head. Within such a conceptual framework it is clear what we mean when we say that $_{\text{GIVE}}(\subseteq)$ in (15) takes as its arguments the (elementary) state/event and the DP. Thus, (15) can be informally rendered as 'He caused them to be on the receiving end of some talk', or more directly 'He caused them talk', corresponding to a *v*-V organization of the predicate, as represented in (25) (cf. also the discussion on Section 4).

(25)



We argue that, despite the complex organization of the predicate in a *v*-V fashion, direct complements (e.g. of 'call' in (23)) are embedded in a canonical transitive structure comprising a nominative agent and an accusative theme. In other words, 'call' in (23) behaves as a single predicate, its complementation structure displaying no sensitivity to the presence of (potential) sub-events/states in it (cf. Svenonius 2002 on Icelandic). On the contrary, the dative with 'talk' in (15) is a result of the sensitivity of argument structure to the finer event articulation of the predicate, in which the oblique DP is perceived as the 'possessor' of a sub-event/state.

Finally note that sometimes what are labeled GIVE serial verbs in the literature (cf. APiCS on line feature 86) actually behave as matrix predicates, introducing a CAUSE/*v* layer on their own. Consider the examples in (26).[7]

[7] Note that the examples in (26) display DOM arguments marked with a 'with' adposi-

(26) a. Isti belu **da** sabe kung ile ki esta teng lugar
this old.man give know DOM 3SG COMP DEM COP place
'The old man told him that this was the place'
Batavia Creole (Maurer 2011: 73)

b. Pírmi yo ta-**dále** prestá mi motor konéle
often 1SG IPFV-give borrow my motorcycle DOM.3SG
'I lend her/him frequently my motorcycle'
Zamboanga Chabacano (Forman 1972: 204)

Here the verb for GIVE is in first position, and does not introduce an argumental DP *contra* what we have seen in the examples we have provided so far. The example in (26a) can be rendered in a Romance language like Italian with a causative structure like the one illustrated in (27), with a *fare* (make) auxiliary.

(27) Il vecchio **fa** sapere a lui …
'The old man told him …'
Italian

Actually, it is not uncommon to use the verb GIVE as an auxiliary in complementary distribution with *fare/faire* in causative-like predicate in Romance, as illustrated in (28) (cf. also Cuervo 2010 on Spanish).

(28) a. il caldo **da** fastidio a Gianni
'the heat annoys Gianni'
b. il caldo **fa** male a Gianni
'the heat hurts Gianni'

Thus, examples like the (26a) can be structurally rendered as in (29). They clearly do not match the 'argumental' use of GIVE serial verbs that are the topic of the present paper.

(29) [$_{vP}$ **da** [$_{VP}$ sabe …]]

3.2 TAKE serial verbs as (⊇) predicates

Considering ditransitive constructions again, on the basis of the considerations above, it is possible to hypothesize that we can also find the 'reverse' of the verb GIVE involved in ditransitive construction, specifically in a configuration in which the 'reverse' of GIVE introduces the possessum, matching as expression like 'I presented the museum *with* pictures' (cf. the example in (4)). Franco and Manzini (2017) show that this is not an uncommon strategy

tion (e.g. *kung/kon*). This is a typical feature of Romance (Spanish/Portuguese) based Creoles of South-East Asia (cf. the discussion of the Kristang data in Franco and Manzini 2017).

among natural languages (see Heine and König 2010). Just consider for instance an example from Chamorro in (30), where the only strategy available to encode ditransitives is precisely by means of an instrumental adposition meaning *with*, in a 'reverse' possessor – possessum configuration.

(30)	Ha	na'i	i	patgon	**ni**	leche
	he.ERG	give	ABS	child	INST	milk

'He gave the milk to the child'
Chamorro (Topping 1973: 241)

Finding that a similar pattern is at work also with Creoles/Pidgins would provide substantive arguments in favor of a view according to which Dative Shift structures actually involve a different base generated configuration, in which the possessor is structurally higher that the possessum. Namely, we are asking ourselves if – also in the domain of serial verbs – we can face with a relation which is the 'mirror image' of datives/$_{\text{GIVE}}(\subseteq)$, where we have seen that the possessor is the complement of the 'inclusion/sub-set' relator and the possessum is its external argument.

Clearly, the best candidate for the role of the 'double' of GIVE is the verb TAKE, which stands in a lexical semantic opposition with it. As we have seen in section 2 (cf. (6)), TAKE serial light verbs are widely employed in Creole/Pidgin languages to encode instrument and comitative participants. Thus, they are sorts of counterparts of the adpositions meaning *with* elsewhere (cf. Stolz *et al.* 2006).

Very interestingly, TAKE serial verbs are widely used in Creole/Pidgin ditransitives as illustrated in (31), with examples showing that this strategy is at work independently of the substrate and the lexifier.

(31) a.	Mon	**pran**	en	lit	donn	Napoleon
	1SG	take	one	liter	give	Napoleon

'I give one liter to Napoleon'
Seychelles Creole (Bollée and Rosalie 1994: T2)

b.	Mwen	**pran**	liv	bay	Pòl
	1SG	take	book	give	Paul

'I gave the book to Paul'
Haitian (Lefebvre 1998: 291)

c.	À	**tek**	nayf	giv	yù
	1SG.SBJ	take	knife	give	2SG.OBJ

'I gave you the knife'
Nigerian Pidgin (Faraclas 1996: 75)

Sometimes both a GIVE and TAKE strategy for encoding ditransitive can be at work in the grammar of a given language, as shown in (32) with an examples from Nigerian Pidgin (cf. 31c).

(32) À kuk nyam **giv** yù
1SG.SBJ cook yam give 2SG.OBJ
'I cooked yam to you'
Nigerian Pidgin (Faraclas 1996: 141)

The pattern illustrated above for Nigerian Pidgin is not an exotic feature to be ascribed to Pidgins/Creoles only. Indeed, the same strategy, with both GIVE and TAKE that can be involved in ditransitives, is available for instance in Vietnamese, as illustrated in (33). Note that nothing prevents a given language from instantiating also a double object pattern in its grammar, as illustrated in Vietnamese (33c).

(33) a. Nó đưa cái chảo **cho** con voi
3SG deliver CL pan give CL elephant
'It delivers the pan to the elephant'
b. Ông-ấy **lấy** tiền đưa bà-ấy
He take money deliver she
'He gives her money'
c. Nó đưa con voi cái chảo
3SG deliver CL elephant CL pan
'It delivers the pan to the elephant'
Vietnamese (Hanske 2007)

There are two common features to be highlighted in the TAKE ditransitives illustrated above: (i) the verb for TAKE is consistently in first position, namely it precedes the matrix verb; (ii) it always introduce the possessum. In this respect, it is specular to the serial verb GIVE introduced in Section 3.1, which is always in second position and consistently introduces the possessor. At the same time TAKE verbs cannot be treated as the instrumental adposition of Chamorro in (30) which mirrors the 'I presented the museum with pictures' configuration. In fact, it is true that TAKE verbs always introduce the possessum, but they are never 'sandwiched' between the possessor and the possessum.

At first sight, one may entertain the idea of a hidden coordination with two independent predicates, namely of a structure of the type 'he takes the book and gives him (it)' for the examples in (31). Nevertheless, it is suspicious to find that a coordinating particle never shows up in this context, in spite of the fact that an overt coordinator is usually employed at the VP level in those languages displaying a ditransitive TAKE serial verb construction, as illustrated in (34) for Seychelles Creole. Furthermore, I have not find any resumptive pronouns encoding the theme/possessum in Creoles/Pidgins employing TAKE ditransitive. A resumptive pronoun is usually employed in analogous coordinate structures in Romance, as illustrated in (35) for French (cf. also Syea 2013 for a full set of sharp arguments against a coordination analysis, based on data from Indian Ocean French Creoles). Usually, constructions like (31) satisfy all the core requirements of serial verb constructions, behaving semantically and phonologically as a single unit.

(34) Marcel in manz banan **e** i ‘n lir zournal
Marcel PRF eat banana and 3SG PRF read newspaper
‘Marcel ate a banana/bananas and read the newspaper’
Seychelles Creole (Michaelis and Rosalie 2013: APiCS 56-138)

(35) Il prend le livre et **le** lui donne
‘He takes the book and gives it to him’
French

A possible solution to account for TAKE ditransitives in Creole languages would be to assume that we face with a base structure of the type represented in (36) for the Haitian sentence in (31b), with the TAKE constituent that move to a preverbal position, matching a base configuration of the type of ‘I provide the musuem with pictures’ . The target of movement could be a Topic position within the IP domain, as suggested by Belletti (2004, 2005). A possible representation is in (37).

(36) $[_{VP}$ bay $[_{PredP}$ Pòl [[$\supseteq_{take}$ **pran** liv]]]

(37) $[_{TopicP} \supseteq_{take}$ **pran** liv $[_{VP}$ bay $[_{PredP}$ Pòl [[$\supseteq_{\sout{take}}$ **~~pran~~** ~~liv~~]]]]

Such interpretation could elegantly account for the (a)symmetry of GIVE and TAKE in ditransitive constructions. However, it would be suspicious to find an information driven movement to be obligatory, without any overt instances of the base structure to surface cross-linguistically.

Actually, we have not retrieved any instance of TAKE serial verbs in second positions. Furthermore, the sequence TAKE – DP – MatrixVerb – (DP) is the only one consistently employed to introduce instrumental and theme argument in Creoles/Pidgins, as illustrated in (38)-(39) for the Portuguese based Creole Angolar.

(38) N **tambu** faka kota situ *Instrument*-TAKE
1SG take knife cut meat
‘I cut the meat with a knife’
Angolar (Maurer 2013: APiCS structure dataset)

(39) Kathô **tambu** n’kila rê pê kosi bega *Theme*-TAKE
dog take tail his put under belly
‘The dog put his tail under his belly’
Angolar (Maurer 2013: APiCS structure dataset)

Thus, we propose a different account, in which the serial verb TAKE is actually inserted in the sentential spine in order to convey a causative meaning. Intuitively, ditransitives can be paraphrased with a causative predicate introducing transfer of possession, as illustrated in the Italian minimal pair in (40). Crucially, the ‘lexical’ verb in the causative structure in (40b) is the verb for HAVE.

(40) a. Gianni ha **dato** una mela a Maria *Ditransitive*
b. Gianni ha fatto **avere** una mela a Maria *Causative*
both: 'Gianni gave an apple to Maria'
Italian

Actually, in many different languages verbs meaning HAVE (i.e. encoding predicate possession) are rendered via a HOLD/TAKE counterpart. This is a widespread pattern in Romance languages. Italian *avere* (HAVE) for instance is rendered in many Southern Italian dialects through the lexical item *tenere* (HOLD/TAKE), as shown in (41) for Cirò Marina (Calabrese).

(41) **tɛnənə** kirə ɣwaɲɲunə
they.have those boys
'They have those boys' = 'Those boys are their sons'
Cirò Marina (Manzini and Savoia 2005: 322)

The contiguity between HOLD and TAKE verbs is confirmed by the behavior of the *ba* morpheme in Chinese on historical grounds (cf. Ziegeler 2000), which we will briefly introduce in Section 4, addressing DOM TAKE serial verbs. Further note that in Italian, when one does want to express 'transfer of possession' both *tenere* (HOLD) and *prendere* (TAKE) can convey the same meaning as illustrated by the minimal pair in (42). Moreover, Heine and Kuteva (2002) show that TAKE verbs can be recruited cross-linguistically to encode causative predicates, as illustrated in (43) for Twi (cf. also Kim 2012 on English, and the discussion in Section 4).

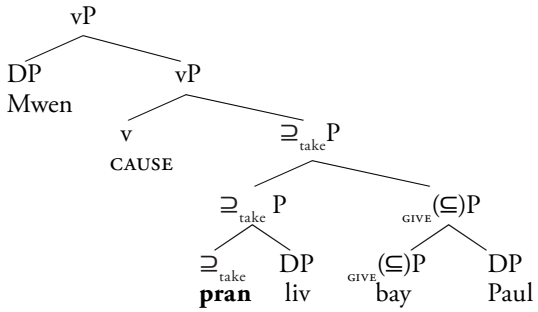
(42) a. Tieni queste chiavi
b. Prendi queste chiavi
both = 'Takes this keys'
Italian

(43) o **de** gwañ a-ba
He take sheep PFV-come
'He has brought a sheep' = 'He made a sheep come'
Twi (Lord 1993: 137)

Assuming that the structure for ditransitives introduced by TAKE verbs is inherently causative, matching the Italian sentence in (40b), we suggest the representation in (44) for Creole/Pidgin TAKE ditransitives. (44) structurally reproduces the Haitian sentence provided in (31b).[8]

[8] Note that in Haitian also a verb like 'show' can trigger a TAKE ditransitive as illustrated in (i).
(i) Men **pran** liv la **montre** Jan.
1sg take book the show John

(44)



The representation above can be paraphrased as: 'I cause 'having/holding/taking a book' and 'Paul owns/possesses this result'. Crucially, we assume that the structure is the same as the one provided for benefactives in (25). The strict 'dative' interpretation is conveyed by the 'holding'/$\supseteq_{take}$ nature of the predicate.[9] Further note, that in Italian it is quite odd to use the benefactive adposition *per* when a HAVE 'lexical' predicate is embedded under a causative layer, as illustrated in (45b). In such case, the dative adposition *a* seems to be required.[10]

(45) a. Ho fatto cucinare i ravioli **per** Gianni
'I had the ravioli cooked for Gianni'
b. Ho fatto avere i ravioli ?? **per/a** Gianni
'I gave the ravioli to Gianni'

'I showed the book to John'
Haitian (Muysken and Veenstra: 297)

Thus, one could object that 'montre' in (i) is a full verb, standardly projecting a VP. However, in many languages verbs meaning SHOW are employed as light serial verbs introducing goals and beneficiaries, as illustrated in (ii) for the verb *kyèré* 'show' in Twi. Thus, it seems that a representation like (43) can be adequate also when a SHOW item is involved.

(ii) a. o kasa **kyèré** me
he speak show me
'He spoke to me'
b. wò tòw túo **kyèré** borohene
they fire gun show governor
'They fire guns for/in honor of the governor'
Twi (Lord 1993: 31-32)

[9] This is coherent with Svenonius's (2007) claim that the adpostion *with*, to which we can ascribe following Franco and Manzini (2017) a ⊇P content, is the adpositional counterpart of a HAVE predicate.

[10] Note that this is coherent with what it is reported in the APiCS on line feature 86, namely that GIVE serial verbs are not able to lexicalize the benefactive meaning alone (cf. fn. 6).

The discussion above allows us to easily address TAKE serial verbs in their 'standard' use as instrumentals. Recently, Jerro (2017) proposes an analysis of the widespread syncretism between instrumental applicative morphology and causative morphology in Bantu assuming an operation that adds a novel layer (and the associated participant) into the causal chain denoted by the event. Specifically, Jerro's idea is that this new causal layer can be interpreted as either initial in the overall causal structure – deriving a causative reading – or intermediary – deriving an instrumental reading.

Actually, instrumental relations are quite often encoded by TAKE lexical items in Creoles/Pidgins, as shown in (46). The TAKE verb is again consistently in first position. Again, this pattern seems to arise independently of the substrate and the lexifier.[11]

(46) a. Apre ou **pran** goni (ou) toufe pwason
Then 2SG take jute.bag 2SG choke fish
'Then you choke the fish with the jute bag'
Seychelles Creole (Bollée and Rosalie 1994: 222)

b. I **pwan** vwati touché Lapwent.
3SG take car arrive La.Pointe
'S/he went to La Pointe by car'
Guadeloupean Creole (Ludwig 1996: 248)

c. eli ja **tomá** faka kotrá kandri
3SG PFV take knife cut meat
'She cut the meat with a knife'
Kristang (Baxter 1988: 212)

d. Ê **toma** faka va mpon
3SG take knife slice bread
'He slices the bread with a knife'
Sao Tomense (Hagemeijer 2000)

e. Kofi **teki** a nefi koti a brede
Kofi take DET knife cut DET bread
'Kofi cut the bread with a knife'
Sranan (Winford and Migge 2008: 710)

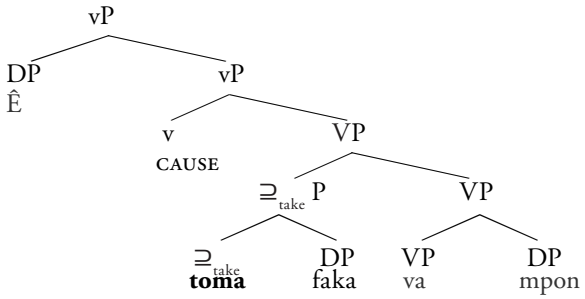
We propose of course that the instrument relation expressed by TAKE verbs can be reduced to a (⊇) relation, like with 'causative/possession' TAKES. This yields a structure of the type in (47), where $(\supseteq)_{take}$ takes as its internal

[11] While it is commonly assumed that serial TAKE verbs in Haitian and the other Atlantic creoles have their origin in the serial verb constructions of West African languages (see Aboh 2009), there is very scarce evidence that those in the Indian Ocean Creoles come from the same source (see Bickerton 1984; Syea 2013). Bickerton (1984) argues that they are the result of language creation guided by an innate bioprogram. Syea (2013) assumes an influence of the lexifier, arguing that they are modelled on French imperative constructions and are the result of internal linguistic changes.

argument the DP instrument, while its external argument is the VP event. The only difference between causative and instrumental take verbs can be reduced to a matter of projection. Following Chomsky (2013), indeed, we may assume that the difference between causatives and instrumental TAKE serial verbs relies on labeling. Upon Merge with a VP/XP, a $(\supseteq)_{take}$ may either label the resulting constituent, conveying a causative interpretation, essentially as indicated in (44) above. Alternatively, the resulting constituent may be labeled by V so that $(\supseteq)_{take}$ is interpreted as an instrumental.

The structure that we provide in (47) can be actually interpreted as: 'he causes "bread cutting" and this result includes/has/hold a knife'.

(47)



We take instruments to be inanimate objects of $(\supseteq)_{take}$ included in a caused event. In other words, the general interpretation of (47) is that the object of $(\supseteq)_{take}$ is a concomitant of the VP result state. However, the VP event is in turn embedded under a causation predicate; in this context, it is interpreted with the inanimate object playing the role of 'instrument of' the external argument (the initiator of the event) in vP.

Naess (2008: 99) assumes that "An instrument is […] involved in two separate, though connected, instances of causation: the agent's causing movement or change in the instrument, and the instrument triggering an effect on the patient […] It is this intermediate role in a causal chain that gives the instrument the properties of being 'a Patient and a Causer at the same time'". Baker (1992: 28) has a similar conception of instruments since he assumes that "[…] semantically, the instrument is a kind of intermediate agent-theme. If I cut the bread with a knife, then I act on the knife, such that the knife changes location. The knife thereby acts on the bread such that the bread goes into a new state". According to Marantz (1984: 246), in sentences like 'Elmer unlocked the porcupine cage with a key', "[…] a key is an intermediary agent in the act of unlocking the porcupine cage; Elmer does something to the key, the key does something to the cage, and the cage unlocks". On the other hand, in sentences like 'Elmer examined the inscription with the magnifying glass', "the magnifying glass is an indispensable tool in Elmer's examination of the inscription, but it is not an intermediary agent in the examination".

In our account, following Franco and Manzini (2017), we are proposing to revert the characterization of instruments of the type proposed by Naess and Baker: an initiator triggers a causative event in which an inanimate arguments plays a subordinate causation (i.e. instrument) role, as illustrated in (49) for the sentence in (48).

(48) John broke a window with a stone
(49) John caused a broken window and this result involved a stone.
> John caused a stone to cause the result of a broken window

Our analysis of TAKE serial verbs has the merit of being simpler and more economic with respect to the one proposed by Aboh (2009). Aboh assumes that, in examples like those in (46), the lexical verbs merge with the theme to form a VP. The latter merges with a *v*-appl head, which introduces the instrument DP in its specifier. This *v*P in turn merges with a *v*-ext, responsible for the introduction of the subject external argument, in order to form a higher vP. This vP merges with the an aspectual AspP. Under aspect licensing and the EPP, the lexical verb raises to Asp° to check its aspect features, followed by movement of the instrument to Spec,AspP. AspP further merges with a functional F head, to form FP which merges as the complement of the TAKE verb, itself merged under a higher aspect head. Aboh argues that since F° has no PF content, we find in many serial verb languages the order TAKE – DP – matrix verb. A sentence like (46d) would be derived as in (50).

(50) $[_{TP}$ Ê $[_{AspP}$ $[_{Asp°}$ toma $[_{FP}$ $[_{AspP}$ faka $[_{Asp°}$ va $[_{vP}$ t $_{É}$ $[v_{-ext}$ t va $[_{vP}$ t $_{faka}$ $[_{v\text{-}appl}$ va $[_{VP}$ va mpon]]]]]]]]]]

Aboh (2009) argues that TAKE heads a projection in the functional field between T and V, while the lexical verb merges inside the VP-shell. In a nutshell, he proposes that TAKE is a functional (or light) verb that has no (internal) theta-role to assign.[12] This is fairly counterintuitive. TAKE can be consistently used as a lexical predicate in languages employing serial verbs construction. Just consider some examples from Twi, a Kwa language spoken in Ghana. The item *de* is a serial verb directly matching the behavior of *with* adpositions, as illustrated in (51). Indeed, *de* is able to introduce, among others, instrumental, means and comitative meaning.

(51) a. o **de** enkrante tya duabasa *instrumental*
he de sword cut branch
'He cut off a branch with a sword'

[12] Recently, Mazzoli (2015) has shown that TAKE serial verbs in Nigerian Pidgin can encode also a modal meaning, together with their 'standard' instrumental/possessee meaning, assuming that a grammaticalization path is currently at work in that language. However, she does not provide any evidence of an aspectual value of Nigerian Pidgin TAKE verbs.

b. o **de** aivu enni nada anya ade *means*
he de theft and fraud get thing
'He has become rich with theft and fraud'

c. o **de** né nnípa òro bépow *comitative*
He take his men ascend mountain
'He ascends a mountain with his men'
Twi (Lord 1993: 67)

Crucially, as shown in (52) *de* can be also used as a 'stand-alone' predicate to introduce a 'have/hold/take' meaning (at least from a diachronic point of view, cf. the discussion in Lord 1993: 68ff). Namely, it is fully able to assign a theta role on its own and it is not a purely aspectual device devoid of lexical content.

(52) a. ɔkɔm **de** me
hunger takes me
'I am hungry'

b. ɔno ná ɔ **de** kúró yi
he FOC he possess town this
'He is the possessor of this town'
Twi (Lord 1993: 68)

Moreover, there is no strong cross-linguistic evidence for an overt realization of the abstract Functional head F° responsible for the licensing of the instrumental/comitative participant. We expect that this functional head should show up in the grammar of some languages (i.e. in the form of a case morpheme, adposition, etc.). We have found no evidence of such a morpheme in the grammar of Pidgin and Creole languages based on the analysis of the data included in the APiCS on line feature 85. Thus, we follow the classic view (cf. Aikhenvald 2006) that serial verbs introduce (peripheral) arguments and mark them as obliques.

Finally, we briefly address comitative TAKE serial verbs. The possibility to encode comitative relations with TAKE verbs is attested among Creoles/Pidgins, as shown in (53). More generally, this possibility is widely attested among natural languages as documented in (54).[13]

[13] In serial-verb constructions, comitative is more often expressed by a verb whose basic meaning corresponds to English *follow* (cf. Chinese *gēn* 'to follow' as in *wo gēn tā shuohuà* 'I am conversing with him'; Bisang (1992: 182). Cf. Heine and Kuteva (2002) for more data. Consider also the sentence in (i) from Nigerian Pidgin English.

(i) im go folo dèm dans
3sg fut follow 3pl dance
'S/he will dance with them'
Nigerian Pidgin English (Faraclas 1996: 80)

(53) a. mi e **teki** Meri go na foto
I ASP take Mary go to town
'I go to the town with Mary'
Sranan (Jansen *et al.* 1978: 138)

b. i **teik** mi go
he take me go
'He took me with him'
Cameroon Pidgin English (Todd 1982: 153)

(54) a. o **de** né nnípa fòro bépow (=51c)
He take his men ascend mountain
'He ascends a mountain with his men'
Twi (Lord 1991: 137)

b. u a pa-a u **lwo**
3SG PERF come-NF 3SG take
's/he came with him/her'
Supyire (Carlson 1991: 204)

For the sake of the present work, we can maintain for sentences like the ones represented above the same structure as in (47) for instrumentals (cf. also Bruening 2012). In a sentence like (54a), $(\supseteq)_{take}$ takes as its internal argument the comitative 'né nnípa' and as its external argument the VP event. Therefore, we predict again an interpretation under which the comitative participant is included in/part of the event 'ascending a mountain'.[14] Substantially, the TAKE comitatives illustrated above are interpreted as such because the argument introduced by the (⊇) predicate is human. An instrument interpretation results when the two arguments of P(⊇) are an inanimate DP and a caused VP. Quite straightforwardly in (53)-(54), the object of $(\supseteq)_{take}$ is a sentient being, blocking an instrument reading (cf. Franco and Manzini 2017 for further arguments and a review of the recent literature on the topic).

[14] Note that a sentence like the one in (i) is ambiguous between an 'instrument human' interpretation as in (ii) and a co-agent/coordination interpretation as in (iii). For interpretations like those in (iii), Franco and Manzini (2017) propose that the comitative participant attaches as the level of v, namely at the causal component of the clause, yielding a 'subject-oriented' (co-agent) reading.

(i) Gianni ha montato il giocattolo con il babbo
'Gianni assembled the toy with his father'

(ii) > Gianni ha montato il giocattolo con l'aiuto del babbo '*instrument*' *human*
'Gianni assembled the toy with the assistance of his father'

(iii) > Gianni e il babbo hanno montato il giocattolo *subject reading*
'Gianni and his father assembled the toy'

4. DOM serial verbs

In many different languages, TAKE serial verbs are recruited from the lexicon to encode Patients/Themes. Lord (1993) shows that the use of serial verbs for encoding patients is conditioned by their referential properties, namely it can be related to a Differential Object Marking (DOM) scenario. We give below examples from Twi and Mandarin Chinese.

Lord (1993: 111-112) provides the following data from Twi. For ditransitive verbs, there are two possible configurations for indefinite Patients, as illustrated in (55). In (55a) we have with a double object construction. In (55b) we have a TAKE serial verb introducing the theme in a ditransitive structure, just like in the sentences illustrated above in (31).

(55) a. o **ma** abofra no akutu
he give child the orange
'He gives the child an orange'

b. o **de** akutu **ma** abofra no
he take orange give child the
'He gives the child an orange'
Twi (Lord 1993: 111-112)

However, if the theme NP is definite, only the *de* construction is grammatical, as illustrated in (56).

(56) a. *ɔ ma me siká nó
he gave me money DEF

b. ɔ de sika nó maa me
he take money DEF gave me
'He gave me the money'
Twi (Lord 1993: 112)

Mandarin Chinese further provides an example of the evolution of a DOM marker from the verb 'take' (cf. Lee and Thompson 1976, 1981). In sentences like (57), there are two word order possibilities: SVO, as in (57a), and SOV, as in (57b). The SOV order triggers object marking with the verbal item *bǎ*, meaning 'take/hold', which requires the object to be definite.

(57) a. háizi tàng yīfu le
child iron clothes ASP
'The child ironed some clothes'

b. háizi **bǎ** yīfu tang le
child bǎ clothes iron ASP
'The child ironed the clothes'
Chinese (Li and Thompson 1976: 458)

Chinese *bǎ* sentences have attracted a great deal of interest in the theoretical literature (cf. e.g. Sybesma 1999; Huang, Li and Li 2009; Kuo 2010, among many others). We leave their full treatment to future research.

Here we just want to point out a striking similarity with Creole/Pidgin languages. As documented in the APiCS on line feature 1 the vast majority of Creole/Pidgin languages (practically all of them) employ an unmarked SVO order in declarative sentences. Whenever a patient/theme argument is encoded through a serial verb meaning TAKE the order switches to SOV, as documented in (58)-(61). This is the same pattern reproduced in many Sinitic languages, where the *bǎ* morpheme is in complementary distribution with GIVE serial verbs and instrumental/comitative adpositions (cf. Chappell 2016 for a detailed survey).[15]

(58) a. no Ngola ka zi kai no kota mionga
we Angolar HAB make house POSS.1PL side see
'We, the Angolars, used to build our houses on the sea side'
Angolar (Maurer 2013: APICS dataset)

b. Kathô **tambu** n'kila rê pê kosi bega
dog take tail his put under belly
'The dog put his tail under his belly'
Angolar (Maurer 2013: APICS dataset)

(59) a. kooknot bring ail
coconut bring.forth oil
'The coconut produces oil'
Creolese (Rickford 1987: 131)

b. ii **tek** ii teel put bitwiin ii fut
3sg take POSS.3SG tail put between POSS.3SG foot
'He put his tail between his legs'
Creolese (Devonish and Thompson 2013: APICS dataset)

(60) a. Mene ka kopa pêxi na fya sempi
Mene HAB buy fish LOC market always
'Mene always buys fish at the market'

[15] We have found scarce evidence, among Creoles/Pidgins, of GIVE verbs recruited to introduce the object. Early Sranan provides a possible example of this pattern in (i), where the serial verb optionally encodes highly ranked (i.e pronominal) arguments. In this case, interestingly, the SVO order is not switched to an SOV order. It would be possible to assume that GIVE in (i) is the counterpart of Romance *a* adpositions introducing recipients and DOMs.

(i) Mi sa dini (**gi**) ju
1sg fut serve give 2sg
'I will serve you'
Early Sranan (Schumann 1783: 31) *apud* Bunting (2009).

b. kasô **pega** ponta urabo pwê ubasu bwega
dog take point tail put under belly
'[...] the dog put its tail under his belly'
Principense (Maurer 2009: 115ff)

(61) a. À plant nyam
1SG.SBJ plant yam
'I planted yams'
b. A **tek** nyam kot
1SG take yam cut
'I cut the yam'
Nigerian Pidgin (Faraclas 1996: 71)

We have not been able to retrieve any account of the TAKE-encoding of internal arguments in Creoles/Pidgins, as documented in (58)-(61) above, as instances of a DOM marking triggered by the referential properties of the items involved in the serial verb construction. Thus, we leave a full discussion/treatment of this topic to future research, possibly involving first-hand data. Nevertheless, the Twi and Chinese data introduced above are quite suggestive. Hence, in what follows we try to sketch a tentative explanation of TAKE-DOMs.

We have seen above in section 3.2 that a TAKE item can easily include a holding, having, or possession meaning (cf. Lord 1993; Heine 1997).[16] Ziegeler (2000) precisely links the holding/possessing meaning of Chinese *bǎ* with its function as an expression of 'high transitivity', namely the rendering of the events encoded by *bǎ* sentence in terms of a causal {cause-result} chain. Ziegeler (2000: 822) precisely claims that: "[…] possessors are not normally encoded as agents, though the action which brought about the resulting state of possession, such as grabbing or taking, implies the prior actions of an agent". Namely *Bǎ* sentences presuppose a state sub-event in which the object argument is affected as the result of the 'possessor/agent's' prior agency.

Ziegeler (2000) shows that *bǎ* is introduced in constructions similar to have/get-causative in English introducing a perfect/passive participle, as in (62) (cf. Kim 2012; Legate 2014; Manzini 2017).

(62) Yuehan **bǎ** the xiu-hao le
John bǎ car repair-RC ASP
'John has his car repaired'
Mandarin Chinese (Ziegeler 2000: 884)

[16] According to Heine (1997) these meanings encoded by TAKE items can be taken in terms of a "pragmatic extension/implicature: taking an object implies a physical acquisition (possession) of it".

The sentence in (62) can be paraphrased as 'John has his car repaired', which is ambiguous between a resultative expression indicating that 'John did the repair work himself, and a causative expression indicating a present habitual situation in which he regularly takes it elsewhere to be mended'. A causative TAKE verb is used also in Twi as illustrated in (43), repeated in (63) for ease of references.

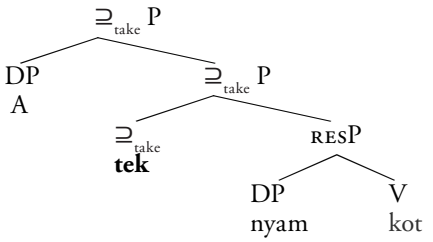
(63) o **de** gwań a-ba (=43)
He take sheep PFV-come
'He has brought a sheep.' = 'He made a sheep come'
Twi (Lord 1989: 137)

As above, we follow the standard idea of Hale and Keyser (1993), Chomsky (1995), who assume that transitive predicates result from the incorporation of an elementary state/event into a transitivizing *v* layer.

As highlighted in section 1, Manzini and Franco (2016) show that in Indo-European languages patient argument can be encoded as possessors of an elementary state-(sub)event embedded within a causative *v* layer (cf. (5b)). We may assume that in languages like Chinese the *v* layer can be rendered via a $(\supseteq)_{take}$ predicate. The external argument is encoded as a possessor of a result state. The referential properties of the internal argument can be responsible for this different type of encoding. For instance, Ziegeler (2000) takes the affectedness of the direct object as a relevant parameter in Chinese. This in consistent with the fact that affected items usually imply a persistent change in an event participant (cf. Beavers 2011; Von Heusinger and Kaiser 2011).

Thus, we may tentatively propose a structure like the one in (64) for Nigerian Pidgin in (61b), which is rendered as 'I have the jam cut'. The external argument acts as the possessor of the result state/sub-event.

(64)



This is just a hint of a possible analysis for 'transitive' TAKE serial verbs, which we will explore in future research on the topic.

Actually, evidence that we are on the right track in our characterization of TAKE as a DOM 'possession' predicate is illustrated by the fact that in many Romance varieties there are predicates that effectively exclude (adpositional)

DOM. In particular possession 'hold', as illustrated with the Southern Italian dialect of Cirò Marina (cf. 41). Here, *tenere* 'have' excludes the dative DOM adposition *a* (65b), while the (semantically heavier) *tenere* 'hold' displays DOM with definite human objects in (65a).

(65) a. tɛnənə **a** kkirə ɣwaɲɲunə
they.hold DOM those boys
'They are holding those boys'

b. **tɛnənə** kirə ɣwaɲɲunə
they.have those boys
'Those boys are their sons'
Cirò Marina (Manzini and Savoia 2005)

Following Manzini *et al.* (to appear) it is natural to surmise that the pattern in (65) depends on the fact that the content of the verb *have* introducing a (⊇) relation is the 'reverse' of the content of the dative preposition/Case, namely (⊆). Thus, we may suggest the representation in (66) for the sentence in (65b).

(66) $[_{VP\supseteq}$ tɛnənə [(*P⊆) kirə ɣwaɲɲunə]]

It would appear therefore the grammar avoids duplication of the possession structure – or perhaps specifically the combination of the dative (⊆) inclusion relator and its (⊇) reverse. Remember that according to Franco and Manzini (2017), (⊇) is also the content of instrumental and comitative adposition, as externalized by the preposition *with* (Italian *con*). Most transparently, 'the girl with a hat' expresses the same relation between the two arguments as 'the girl has a hat' – which reverses the dative (or genitive) relation: (*give*) 'a hat to the girl' or 'the hat of the girl'.

5. Conclusion

This paper addressed the syntax of (argument introducing/valency increasing) serial verbs in Creole languages, providing empirical arguments for the model of grammatical relations advanced in a series of recent works by Manzini and Savoia (2011a, 2011b), Manzini and Franco (2016), Franco and Manzini (2017a, 2017b), Manzini *et al.* (to appear a, b). These authors lay out an analysis of the syntax and interpretation of dative *to*, instrumental *with* and Differential Object Marking (DOM) relators, based on the assumption that these elements are endowed with an elementary interpretive content interacting with the internal organization of the predicate/event. Following this line of reasoning, we have to assume that these oblique relators, expressing a primitive elementary part-whole relation, may be instantiated also by serial light verbs in the grammar of natural languages. We have provided a formal approach to cross-categorial variation in argument marking, trying to outline a unified morpho-syntactic template, in which so-called 'cases' do not configure a spe-

cialized linguistic lexicon of functional features/categories – on the contrary they help us outline an underlying ontology of natural languages, of which they pick up some of the most elementary relations. Such primitive relations can be expressed by different lexical means: case, adpositions, light (serial) verbs.

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Morphosyntactic Reorganization Phenomena in Arbëresh Dialects: The Neuter*

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Abstract:

Italo-Albanian communities show different degrees of mixing between Arbëresh, the local Albanian dialect, and the Romance variety in contact. In some Arbëresh dialects the mixing is extensive, affecting lexicon, morpho-syntax and phonology. Contact and bilingualism favour changes in the internal organization of the grammar, as generally in the creolization processes (Savoia 2010; Manzini and Savoia 2015; Baldi and Savoia 2016). This contribution addresses the so-called neuter inflection that Arbëresh dialects spoken in Southern Italian communities preserve, an inflection no longer surviving in standard and other varieties of Albanian, where masculine morphology has replaced it. The coincidence between the specialized *-t* neuter inflection in nominative and accusative and the plural inflection *-t* characterizing North-Calabrian Arbëresh led Manzini and Savoia (2017a, 2017b, forthcoming) to connect this morphology with the interpretive properties associated to mass denotation. We hold on to this proposal that has the merit to explain the relation between plural and mass properties. In North-Lucanian and Apulian Arbëresh systems this sub-set of nouns, while maintaining the inflection *-t*, agrees in feminine. This result can be understood as a consequence of the reorganization that affected these partially mixed grammars, where the original morpho-syntactic mechanisms have been lost or modified.

Keywords: agreement, internal reorganization of grammar, Italo-Albanian, neuter

* The data examined in this article have been collected by means of fieldwork with native informants. We thank them for their generous and intelligent collaboration. The authors elaborated the article together; however, for Italian evaluation purposes, Benedetta Baldi takes responsibility for sections 2 and 3.

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1. Neuter inflection in Arbëresh varieties

Arbëresh dialects spoken in Southern Italian communities of Albanian origin, preserve the so-called neuter inflection attested in old documents (Demiraj 1985). Now this inflection does not survive more in standard and other varieties spoken in Albania, where masculine morphology has replaced it. If we compare both the inflectional structure and distribution of neuter morphology in different Italo-Albanian varieties some differences show up, so providing a testing ground for the treatment and interpretation of morpho-syntactic micro-variation in contact contexts. Specifically, we will investigate the Calabrian Arbëresh varieties spoken in Firmo, Civita, San Benedetto Ullano (Cosenza) and Vena di Maida (Catanzaro), the Lucanian Varieties of Barile and Ginestra (Potenza), the Apulian varieties of Casalvecchio (Foggia) and San Marzano di San Giuseppe (Taranto); finally we will consider also the data of the variety of Greci (Campania, Avellino). Variation involves the relation between neuter inflection and plural inflection and the agreement with demonstratives and adjectives. Differently from the agreement with demonstratives and pre-nominal/adjectival articles, agreement with the verb and adjectives is in the singular. In the minimalist framework (Chomsky 2001), agreement processes are associated with the rule of Agree – conceived so as to account for agreement in the sentential domain. Following Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011), we keep the assumption that Agree also applies within DPs. What impels Agree to apply is the necessity of creating equivalence classes of phi-feature bundles denoting the same referent.

We begin by considering the Arbëresh dialect of Greci in (1), that we will compare with Calabrian dialects of Benedetto Ullano, in (2), Firmo, in (3) and Civita, in (4). In Greci variety, the entire paradigm of neuter singular in (1a) presents the same inflections as the plural forms of count nouns. The plural inflection characterizes also demonstratives, which realize as *kt-a/ a-ta* as illustrated in (1b). We note that *at-a/ kt-a* are originally plural masculine, contrasting with *at-ɔ/ kt-ɔ* plural feminines; however, generally Arbëresh dialects use only one form with ambiguous reference, as in the examples in (1), where *at-a/ kt-a* combine both with feminine and masculine. (1a') and (1b') exemplify plural inflection and demonstratives in contexts with count nouns, showing the formal coincidence between neuter and plural inflection. Besides, the plural inflection appears also in the pre-adjectival article in the contexts combining a neuter noun with an adjective, in (1c) or a genitive, in (1d). In the glosses *-t* morpheme is characterized as Def(inite) and, for the sake of clarity, we assign the gender class, *m, f* or *n*, to the lexical bases.

(1) a. diaθ-t iʃt tə/ a mir
cheese.n-Def is Lkr.pl good
'the cheese is good'

uj-t tə krɔi-t iʃt a mir
water.n-Def Lkr.pl spring.Obl is Lkr.pl good
'the water of the spring is good'

diaθ-t na kəndan / heŋgra diaθ-t
cheese.n-Def to.us like.3ps / I.ate c henese.-Def
'I like the cheese/I ate the cheese'
em ɲə jund diaθ
give.me a piece (of) cheese.n
'give me a piece of cheese'

b. at-a/ kt-a diaθ
that/ this-pl cheese.n
'that/ this cheese'
kt-a i diaθ-t
this-pl is cheese.n-Def
'this is cheese'

c. trim-a-t / gra:-t
boys.m-pl-Def / women.fpl-Def
'the boys/the women'

d. at-a burr-a / gra:
those-pl men.m-pl / women.fpl
'those men/women'
trim-a-t t / a mbðɛɲ-a
boys.m-pl-Def Lkr.pl big-pl
'the boys are big'

Greci

The neuter system attested in San Benedetto Ullano in (2), Firmo in (3), Civita in (4) presents the definite nominative/accusative singular inflection *-t* in (2a)-(4a), the demonstrative determiner *at-a*/ *kt-a* in (2b)-(4b), and the pre-adjectival article *tə* in (2a)-(4a), all coinciding with definite plural forms. Between the base and *-t* the morpheme *-i-* is inserted in contexts of a root final coronal, as in (3a'). The fact that the inflectional exponents and determiners of neuter nouns have the plural inflection is confirmed by the comparison with plural nouns, as in (2c)-(4c), where inflection *-t* characterizes the plural of feminine and masculine nouns. (2d)-(4d) contain the combination of plural demonstratives with a plural count noun. As we noticed above, the plural of demonstratives has just one plural form in *-a* for masculine and feminine, originally the masculine specialized form. Some Calabrian varieties present a demonstrative allomorph specialized for the nominative/ accusative neuter, i.e. *kit*, as in (2e) for Firmo.

(2) a. diaθ-t / kət-a diaθ/ at-a diaθ ŋgə mə pərcɛn
cheese.n-Def / this cheese.n/ that.pl cheese.n not to.me pleases
'I don't like (the) cheese/that cheese/this cheese'

b. at-a diaθ əʃt tə mir
that-pl cheese.n is Lkr.pl good
'That cheese is good'

b'. aj-ɔ/kj-ɔ grua əʃt ɛ ʌart
that-fsg/this-fsg woman is Lkr.fsg tall
'This/that woman is tall'

b”. a-i/k-i burr əʃt i ʎart
that-msg/this-msg man is Lkr.msg tall
‘This/that man is tall’

c. bieita diaθ-t / kət-a diaθ frisku/diaθ-t tə barð
I.bought cheese.n-Def / that-pl cheese.n fresh / cheese.n-Def Lkr.pl white
‘I bought (the) cheese/that fresh cheese/the white cheese’

d. kət-a / at-a gra/burr-a jan tə ʎart-a
these-pl / those-pl women.fpl/men.mpl are Lkr.pl. tall-pl
‘These/those women/men are tall’

S. Benedetto Ullano

(3) a. diaθ-t əʃt tə barð
cheese.n-Def is Lkr.pl white
‘the cheese is white’

a’. mil-i-t əʃt tə barð
flour.n-Def is Lkr.pl white
‘the flour is white’

b. at-a diaθ
that-pl cheese.n

c. burr-a-t / gra:-t
men.m-pl-Def / women.fpl-Def
‘the men/the women’

d. at-a burr-a / gra:
those-pl men.m-pl / women.fpl
‘those men/those women’

e. kit/ kt-a miaʎ mə piʎcɛn
this.n/ this.pl honey.n to.me likes
‘I like this honey’

Firmo

(4) a. miʃ-t
meat.n-Def
the meat’

a’. bar-i-t tə ʎart
grass.n-Def Lkr.pl tall
‘the grass is tall’

b. kt-a miʃ ɔʃt tə rɛʃkt
this-pl meat.n is Lkr rotten
‘this meat is rotten’

c. burr-a-t / gra:-t
men-mpl-Def / women.fpl-Def
‘the men/the women’

d. kt-a burr-a / gra:
these men.m-pl / women.fpl
‘these men/these women’

Civita

In Calabrian varieties the oblique forms of neuter, in (5), have the masculine oblique singular inflection *-i-(t)*, as evidenced by the comparison between (5a) for neuter and (5b) for masculine. In contrast, in the dialect of Greci, in (6), the plural oblique inflection *-ui/ -ua* occurs.

(5) a. ɛ vura pərpara kət-ij /at-ij diaθ-i /miʃ-i /miaʎ-i
it I.put in front of this-msg.Obl /that-msg-Obl cheese.n-Obl/meat.n-Obl/honey.n-Obl
'I put it in front of this/that cheese/meat/honey'
kɔrc-a ɛ diaθ(-t)-i-t mə pərcɛn
rind.fsg-Def Lkr.fsg cheese.n-Obl-Def to.me pleases
'I like the rind of the cheese'

b. ɛ vura purpara at-ij cɛlc-i
it I.put in front of that-msg.Obl glass.m-Obl.msg
'I put it in front of that glass'

S. Benedetto Ullano

a. sapur-i i diaθ-i-t
taste.msg-Def Lkr-msg cheese.n-Obl-Def
'the taste of cheese'

b. burr-i-t
to/of man.msg-Obl-Def
'to/of the man'

Firmo

a. pirpara miʃ-i-t
in front of meat.n-Obl-Def
'in front of the meat'
sapur-i i diaθ-i-t
taste.msg-Def Lkr.msg cheese.n-Obl-Def
'the taste of cheese'

b. burr-i-t
to/of man.m-Obl-Def
'to/of the man'

Civita

(6) a. sapur-i i miaɣ-ui-t
taste.msg-Def Lkr.msg flour.n.-Obl.pl-Def
'the taste of the flour'
a vura para diaθ-ui-t / ati-vr-a diaθ-ui
it I.put in front of the.cheese.n-Obl.pl-Def / those-Obl-pl cheese.n-Obl.pl
'I put it in front of the cheese/ those cheese'

b. j-a ðɛ trim-ui-t / ati-vr-a trim-ui
to.them.it I.gave boys.m-Obl.pl-Def. / these-Obl-pl boys.m-Obl.pl
'I gave it to the boys/to those boys

Greci

Finally, in some varieties such as those of Firmo and Civita in (7), neuter nouns admit a special plural feminine inflection *-ər-a*, coercing (cf. Cowper and Currie Hall 2012) the interpretation 'types of' (or possibly 'pieces of'). This inflection is generally present in the Albanian varieties as a sort of collective suffix (Genesin 2012); more precisely it is the plural of nouns denoting 'a plurality of weakly differentiated parts' in the sense of Acquaviva (2008) like 'the fingers', 'the bones', as illustrated in (7b).

(7) a. diaθ-ər-a-t
types of cheese.n-Affix-pl-Def
'types of cheese'
b. ɛʃt-ər-a-t
bone.m-Affix-pl-Def
'the bones'

Firmo

a. miʃ-ər-a-t
types of meat.n-Affix-pl-Def
'types of meat'
b. ɟiʃt-ər-a-t
finger.m-Affix-pl-Def
'the fingers'

Civita

Summarizing so far, an unexpected occurrence of *-t* shows up, that introduces the definite inflection of nominative and accusative singular in a sub-set of nouns, traditionally called neuter (Demiraj 1985). That definiteness morpheme *-t* is a sort of plural is demonstrated by its agreement with the plural form of the pre-adjectival articles in (1)-(6) and by the fact that *at-a/ kt-a* demonstratives combine with masculine and feminine plurals, as in (1d)-(4d).

2. Noun internal structure. Neuter, plural and mass nouns: a proposal

In what follows we adopt the analysis of nominal inflection and case of Albanian varieties developed in Manzini and Savoia (2011b, 2012, 2017a), where inflectional phenomena depend on the same basic computational mechanisms underlying syntax (Chomsky 2005; Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2011a, 2011b, forthcoming). Inflected nouns are analysed as the result of the Merge operation that combines a lexical root with gender (feminine/masculine) and other classificatory properties, including case and number, that contribute to specifying the argument introduced by the lexical root. The first component of the Noun is a root; following Marantz (1997), the root √ is category-less. Next to the root a vocalic morpheme encodes properties that, depending on the language, include gender/declension class and/or number. A third slot may be available, specialized for number (e.g. Spanish) or for case (e.g. Latin).

In keeping with the proposals of Chomsky (1995, 2005) morphosyntactic structures are projected from the lexicon, where we understand lexical items as pairs of Conceptual Intentional (CI) and Sensory Motor (SM) properties. In the standard Distributed Morphology (DM, Halle and Marantz 1993) treatment of inflectional class (Oltra-Massuet and Arregi 2005; Kramer 2015) Th(ematic vowel) node adjoined to Class/*n* postsyntactically. The content of Th are diacritics such as [I], [II], etc. for I, II inflectional class, etc. in turn spelled out as *-a, -o*, etc. for example in Spanish. We do not agree with this treatment based on a countercyclic operation and on the redundant stipulation of both inflectional classes and their corresponding vowels. Instead, we introduce an Infl node to host inflectional vowels selecting the underlying bases.

In Albanian varieties, case, gender and plural inflection overlap in the sense that a systematic syncretism shows up whereby the same endings correspond to different interpretations (Manzini and Savoia 2012). Leaving out morphemes with more restricted distribution, we have the picture in (8):

(8) *-a* indefinite plural in nominative (EPP) and accusative (Internal Argument) contexts: *burr-a* 'men'/ *vajz-a* 'girls'
definite feminine in nominative (EPP) context: *vajz-a* 'the girl'
-ɛ indefinite singular oblique in feminine and indefinite plural in a sub-set of feminine
-i definite singular in nominative (EPP) contexts: burr-i 'the man'
indefinite singular oblique in masculine: *burr-i* 'of/ to a man'
-n definite singular accusative (Internal Argument contexts): *vaiz-ə-n* 'the girl', *burr-i-n* 'the man'
-t definite plural in nominative (EPP) and accusative (Internal Argument) contexts: *burr-a-t*/ *vajz-a-t* 'the men/ the girls'
definite singular oblique (possessor or beneficiary) contexts in masculines: *burr-i-t* 'of/to the man'
definite singular neuter in nominative and accusative contexts, di: *diaθ-t* 'the cheese'
-s definite singular oblique in feminine, as in *vaiz-ə-s* 'to/of the girl'
-vɛ indefinite plural oblique: *vaiz-a-vɛ* 'of/ to girls', *burr-a-vɛ* 'of/ to men'; definite forms include final *-t*, *vaiz-a-vɛ-t* 'of/to the girls', *burr-a-vɛ-t* 'of/to the men'
i, t(ə), s(ə), ɛ/a occur also as linkers - traditionally pre-nominal articles - introducing the post-nominal or predicative adjectives and genitives, as in *burr-i i mað* 'man.the the big, i.e. the big man' (Manzini and Savoia 2011b; Manzini *et al.* 2015)

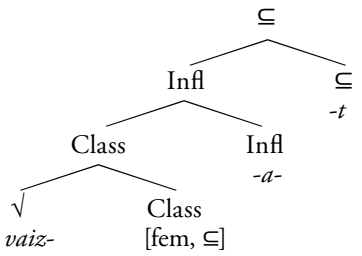
In the model here applied, syncretisms are explained by assuming that the different occurrences of the same morpheme imply one lexical entry endowed with a semantic content able to satisfy different syntactic contexts and interpretations. In this sense we pursue a perspective in which syntactic structure is construed on the basis of the lexical properties of items.

- In keeping with Higginbotham (1985), the category-less root is interpreted as a predicate. The predicate represented by the root has one open argument place (the R-role, Williams 1994), which is ultimately bound by a D/Q operator.

- Gender and number specifications, and in general classifiers, apply to the argument *x* open at the predicate. In other words, these elements, that we identify with the Class category, restrict the content of the argumental variable bound by D/Q.
- Inflectionl elements are separated from the nominal Class properties and inserted in specialized positions, Infl and Number [⊆]
- Following Manzini and Savoia (2011b, 2017a,b) plural morphology is associated to the property part-whole/ inclusion, i.e. [⊆], suggesting that the argument of the root can be partitioned into subsets.
- The same quantificational property of inclusion [⊆] characterizes also dative and in general other contexts possessee-possessor/ locative inclusion, etc. (Manzini and Savoia 2012). The externalization of plural by *-t* [⊆] entails definiteness in all contexts.
- Case category can be understood as associated to referential properties, individuating argumental sub-sets.

Let us consider, in this light, the structure of the plural *vaiz-a-t* 'the girl' Nom/ Acc. In (9) Class includes gender and other classificatory properties, in this case plural. Infl corresponds to the inflectional formatives, such as *-a*, *-i*, etc., in turn endowed with interpretive properties; the third category, [⊆], embedding the other parts of the noun, is the specialized inflection for plural.

(9)



We saw that *vaiz-a* can occur bot as singular definite nominative and plural indefinite form. Our first conclusion is that *-a* introduces denotational properties sufficient for satisfy the EPP definiteness requirements and plural specifications. The operator notated [⊆], that is the part-whole (inclusion) relation, is the reading of *-t* (Manzini and Savoia 2012; Franco *et al.* 2015). This proposal is compatible with the fact that in the plural definite nominative and accusative require this element. In other words, the externalization of the two arguments of a transitive verb or the only argument of an intransitive is satisfied by the simple inflection *-t* introducing definiteness as the result of a part-whole interpretation. When the *-t* takes scope over the noun it attaches to, it contributes plurality as in (10) – namely by individuating a subset of the set of all things that are 'man'. [⊆] says that the set (the property) denoted by the lexical base can include subsets. In conclusion, the case properties identify with definiteness/quantificational properties, as sufficient

to express definiteness requirements implied by what we name nominative or accusative.

(10) a. burr-a-t ‘the men’
b. the x [x ⊆ {man}]
‘the x such that x is a subset of the set of things with the property ‘man’’

A count singular is an atomic individual. A count plural is a set of atoms/ individuals, whose subsets are in turn sets of atoms. As for the occurrence of *-t* morphology in the oblique, e.g. as complement of a noun, of a preposition or a ditransitive in (11) (cf. (5)-(6)), we can connect the part-whole relation to the meaning of genitives/ datives (possession). Following Belvin and den Dikken (1997) on ‘have’ and the proposals in Manzini and Savoia (2012), we take the relevant characterization of possession to be an ‘inclusion’ one, hence the notation [⊆]. Locatives in turn specify the inclusion within of a referential space.

(11) a. libr-i i burr-i-t
‘the book of the man’
i.e. ‘the book’ ‘included by/possessed by’ ‘the man’
b. ja ðɛ burr-i-t
‘I gave it to the man’
i.e. ‘it’ ‘included by/possessed by’ ‘the man’

Civita

Coming back now to the neuter paradigm illustrated in (1)-(7), the crucial point is that neuter nouns select the plural inflection morpheme *-t*, including the linker *t* in combination with adjectives or genitives. Nevertheless, verbal agreement is in the singular, as in the examples in (1)-(6). According to Manzini and Savoia (2017a, 2017b, forthcoming) the selection of plural inflection in neuter is explained by assuming that neuter nouns have a mass content. This, on the one hand, confirms that the content of *-t* is not generically ‘plural’, but a more sophisticated property, here characterized as [⊆], and, on the other hand, that there is a link between mass and plural interpretation. The link between mass nouns and plural inflection, is documented in the literature for different languages.

In Shona (Déchaine *et al.* 2014) a class of mass nouns is characterized by the *mì* prefix which in count nouns externalizes the plural.

In Dagaare (Gur, Niger-Congo-Grimm 2012), the same *-ri* morpheme is the exponent of plural for individuated referents but of the singular for less or not individuated ones (like ‘seed’), including mass-nouns.

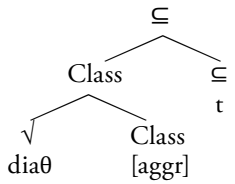
In Persian, the plural inflection *-hâ* can combine with mass nouns introducing a definite reading (Ghanabiadi 2012).

The occurrence of the same *-t* morphology on a non-countable singular suggests that the same part-whole operator is relevant. In this instance how-

ever it corresponds to the existence of non-atomic parts in the mass continuum denoted by the predicative base. In other words, a singular mass noun is treated like a plural count noun; this can be connected to the fact that both include a multiplicity of some sorts – namely a multiplicity of individuals, or a multiplicity of parts. Manzini and Savoia (2017a, 2017b, forthcoming), Savoia *et al.* (2018) argue for an analysis that identifies the mass content with the [aggregate] interpretive property, where [aggr] is understood as the conceptualization of a weakly differentiated set of parts/atoms (Acquaviva 2010). The notion of aggregate is used by Chierchia (2010) to characterize the common core of mass and plural denotation. This can help us to highlight the link between plural inflection, externalizing a plurality of atoms, and mass denotation, corresponding to a continuum of weakly differentiated parts.

In the structure in (12), the Class category introduces classificatory properties of the lexical base √, i.e. [aggregate], corresponding to the mass interpretation. The inflectional morpheme associated to [⊆] embeds the combination {{diaθ} aggr}; in other words, the plural reading of *-t* is compatible with [aggregate], that in its own specifies a type of concealed weakened plurality of parts.

(12)



x is a part of the undifferentiated/ weakly differentiated continuum of parts of 'cheese'.

An interesting point of the data we are examining is that the typologically and functionally separate notions of nominal class, number and case can be lexicalized by the same exponent, the *-t* inflection, as discussed by Manzini and Savoia (2011b, 2012). In other words, it is the traditional categories of number etc. that are to some extent opaque; surface morphological fact may, after all, provide interesting pointers to deeper (ontological) categories of natural languages. In (12) the *-t* definite plural morphology selects a lexical base specifying 'an aggregate of components/ atoms of imaginable continuums (substances/ events).

This analysis accounts for the fact that Arbëresh neuter prevents the 'plurality of individuals' interpretation. In other words, the morphology of Albanian brings the relation between plurality and mass interpretation to light by associating the same plural inflection to count nouns and singular of mass nouns, as schematized in (13a), contrary to usual systems of the type

in (13b), where mass nouns fall in the same inflectional class of the singular count nouns.

(13) a. plural count nouns + singular mass nouns vs. singular count nouns
b. plural count nouns vs. singular nouns (mass/count)

The conclusion is further corroborated by two phenomena:

- In Greci's dialect plural morphology concerns the entire paradigm of neuter, including also the oblique, in which the specialized plural inflection *ui/ ua* occurs, as in (6).
- In Calabrian dialects also the mass nouns with feminine definite inflection *-a* require the plural forms of demonstratives and linkers, as in (14). This confirms the idea that the conceptual nucleus of mass nouns is an aggregate of parts, so complying with the plural morphology. This relation, in these varieties, is externalized having recourse to the plural inflection.

(14) a. vɛr-a tə barð-a
wine.fsg-Def Lkr.pl white-pl
'the white wine'
b. at-a ver-a ɔʃt tə miɾ
this-pl wine.fsg-Def is Lkr.pl good
'this wine is good'

Civita

In these varieties, the pluralization of mass nouns requires the suffix *-ər-*, involving a 'type' interpretation, followed by the normal *-a* inflection of the plural and the plural definite morphology *-t*, as illustrated in (7a). Interestingly, this type of pluralization may include also the feminine mass nouns like *vɛr-a* 'the wine', as in (15), where the plural form *vɛr-ər-a* 'types of wine' in (15a) is compared with the singular form in (15b). As we see, the pre-nominal modifier and the linker have the plural form, whereas the agreement with the verbal and adjectival inflection is different, plural in (15a) and singular in (15b).

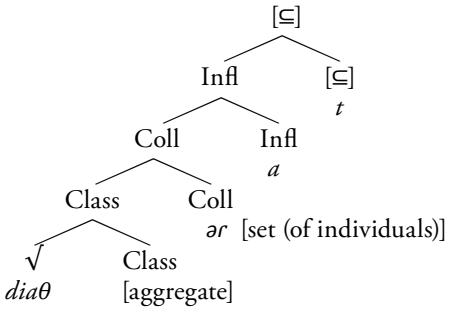
(15) a. kt-a vɛr-*ər*-a *jan* tə mir-a
these.pl wine.f-Affix-pl are Lkr.Def.pl good.pl
'these types of wine are good'
b. kt-a vɛr.fsg *əʃt* tə mir
these.pl wine is Lkr.Def.pl good
'this wine is good'

Firmo

The suffix *-ər-*, as shown in (7b), usually characterizes the plurals of the type of 'fingers', 'bones', etc., where *-ər-* introduces collectives including

weakely differentiated parts which are generally represented together. Following Wiese (2012), collectives conceptualize set(s) of individual referents, understood as lacking a clear-cut individuality (Acquaviva 2008). So, this suffix implies some sort of countable interpretation for the argument of the root, i.e., in this instance, 'types of cheese', 'pieces of cheese' etc. We tentatively treat the suffix *-ər-* as a mereological category that specifies a collection of weakly differentiated individuals, as such able to combine with [aggregate] class characterization, as in (16).

(16)



The combination with an aggregate reading gives rise to the collective interpretation referring to types or parts of the same substance.

Before concluding this section, we will dwell on the mechanism of agreement. Following recent proposals discussed in Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007, 2011, Savoia *et al.* 2017, agreement is a morphological-level saturation of arguments (cf. Chomsky *et al.* to appear). The Agree rule matches elements, i.e. lexical items, that are all interpretable and as such contribute to saturating the same argument slot(s). This model departs from current minimalist practice, in many respects, questioning the idea that agreement is a mechanism whereby unvalued features on a Probe match inherent valued features on a Goal. We adopt a model that presupposes that each morpheme is associated with a content able to predict its distribution. As a consequence, the different occurrences, say, of *-a* are not an instance of syncretism in the sense of DM, but an instance of ambiguity, in the sense that the interpretive category the morpheme is associated to, is sufficient to explain its ability to express plurality and feminine. In other words, what for us is the ability of a lexical item to externalize superficially different interpretations, is very conceptually distant from the treatment by DM, that assigns a complete pre-established set of interpretive categories to each syntactic node, which, later, morphology takes care of obscuring. This mechanism appears to be strongly doubtful in terms of simplicity conditions and, in a more theoretical perspective, as it is inconsistent with the requirements of evolvability and learnability of the language design (Chomsky *et al.* to appear).

3. Loss of neuter: masculine vs feminine agreement

Not all dialects comply with the distribution so far depicted. What we see is that the loss of neuter inflectional system leads to possible solutions, whereby masculine or feminine inflection is selected on demonstratives and in adjectival constructions. However, in all the dialects that select the masculine or feminine agreement, nominative and accusative definite forms preserve the *-t* inflection; in other words, this exponent keep characterizing this subset of nouns, separating it from the masculine class in *-i* and the feminine class in *-a*. What changes is the type of agreement, that implies masculine or feminine demonstratives and linkers/ adjectives, according to the different varieties. The oblique generally matches with the gender agreement.

In the dialect of Vena (Central Calabria) demonstratives, adjectives and pre-nominal articles (linkers) have the masculine inflection, in (17). Vena's dialect has in turn the plural inflection *-ər-a*, in order to specify a plurality of types, as in (17c). These last forms require the feminine agreement on demonstratives and adjectives.

(17) a. diaθə-tə
cheese.n-pl.Def
'the cheese'

b. k-i diaθə ɐʃt i mirə
this-msg cheese.n is Lkr.msg good
'this cheese is good'

c. a't-ɔ diaθ-ər-a jan tə zɛz-a
those-pl cheese.n-Aff-pl are Lkr.pl blak-pl
'those types of cheese are blak'

d. k-i ɲə'ri / at-ɔ ɲɛrəs
this-msg man.msg / those-pl men.mpl
'this man / those me'

Vena di Maida

On the contrary, most Arbëresh dialects select feminine inflection on demonstratives and linkers/ adjectives in agreement contexts. This system characterizes the varieties at the border between Apulia and Lucania, as illustrated by the data of Casalvecchio (Apulia) and Barile (Lucania) in (18)-(19) and (20)-(21) for prepositional contexts. (18c) and (19c) show the corresponding occurrence of the feminine agreement with feminine count nouns, such as *kəmiʃ* 'shirt' and *grua* '(the) woman'. In (19a) *-s* oblique inflection is realized.

(18) a. mil-t iʃt a barð-a
flour.n-Def is Lkr.fsg white-fsg
'the flour is white'

a'. əm diaθ-t
give-me cheese.n-Def
'give me the cheese'

b. aj-ɔ / kj-ɔ diaθ / mil mə pəʌcɛn
that-fsg / this-fsg cheese.n / flour.n to.me pleases
'I like that / this cheese / flour'

c. kj-ɔ / aj-ɔ kəmiʃ iʃt a barð-a
this-fsg / that-fsg shirt.fsg is Lkr.fsg white-fsg
'this/that shirt is white'

c'. k-i / aj-i cɛʌc iʃt i barð
this-msg / that-msg glass.m is Lkr.msg white
'this/that glass is white'

Barile

(19) a. ɟaθ-t / miəl-t / miʃ-t iʃt a mir-a
cheese.n-Def / flour.n-Def / meat.n-Def is Lkr.fsg good-fsg
'the cheese/the flour/the meat is good'

a'. bʌɛva ɟaθ-t a rɛ
I.bought cheese.n-Def Lkr.fsg new.fsg
'I bought the new cheese'

a". pɛva vajz-ən
I.saw girl-fsg.Def.Acc
'I saw the girl'

b. aj-ɔ / kj-ɔ ɟaθ / miʃ ma kəndat
that-fsg / this-fsg cheese.n / meat.n to.me likes
'I like that/this cheese/meat'

c. kj-ɔ / aj-ɔ grua iʃt a bukr-a
that-fsg / this-fsg woman.fsg is Lkr.fsg fine-fsg

c'. k-i / aj-i bur iʃt i bukr-i
this-msg / that-msg man.m is Lkr.msg fine-msg

Casalvecchio

(20) a. pərpara diaθ-t
in front of cheese.n-Def.Acc
'in front of the cheese'

a' pərpara kəmiʃ-ən / cɛʌc-ən
in front of shirt-f.Def.Acc / glass-m.Def.Acc
'in front of the shirt/the glass'

Barile

(21) a. prəpara ɟaθ-s / miʃ-s / miəl-s
in front of cheese.n-Oblfsg / meat.n-Def.fsg / flour.n-Def.fsg
'in front of the cheese/the meat/the flour'

prəpara asaj ɟaθ
in front of that.Obl.fsg cheese.n
'in front of that cheese'

b. prəpara asaj grua / atij ɟaʌ-i
in front of that.Obl.fsg woman.fsg / that.Obl.msg cock.m-Obl.msg
'in front of that woman/that cock'

Casalvecchio

In S. Marzano variety an advanced contact bilingualism is documented (Savoia 1980, Manzini and Savoia 2007). Again, the feminine agreement is extended to the nouns of this class; as in the other varieties, the *-t* morphology embraces nominative and accusative, in (22a,b,c). Some informants prefer masculine agreement for *mialə* 'honey', maybe induced by the Italian gender, as reported in the example in (22c). The data in (22b) illustrate the occurrence of the feminine agreement on the linkers in predicative and adjectival contexts. The oblique is realized by the feminine inflection *-sə*, as in (22d). Finally, the morphology of masculine and feminine nouns is shown for the sake of comparison in (22a'), (22b'), (224c') and (22d').

(22) a. aj-ɔ / kj-ɔ miɛlə / ujə / miʃə
that-fsg/ this-fsg flour.n / water.n / meat.n
'that/ this flour / water / meat'
mə pərcɛkətə ujə-tə / miʃ-tə / miar-t
me it.pleases water.n-Def / meat.n-Def / honey.n-Def
'I like the water / the meat / the honey'

a'. a-i / k-i burrə / aj-ɔ / kj-ɔ gru-ɛ
that-msg / this-msg man.msg / that-fsg / this-fsg woman.fsg
'that / this man' 'that/ this woman'

b. ujə-tə iʃt ɛ ŋgrɔɣərə / friddu
water.n-Def is Lkr.fsg hot / cold
'the water is hot / cold'
aj-ɔ miʃə / miʃ-tə iʃtə ɛ cɛrbərə
that-fsg meat.n / meat.n-Def is Lkr.fsg rotten
'that meat / the meat is rotten'
miɛlə-tə iʃt ɛ bardə / biɛ-mmə miələ-tə ɛ bardə
flour.n-Def is Lkr.fsg white / give-me flour.n-Def Lkr.fsg white
'the flour is white / give me the white flour'

b'. vaɲɲun-j-a ɛ madd-ɛ / vaɲɲun-i i matə
girl-fsg Lkr.fsg big.fsg / boy-msg Lkr.msg big
'the big girl / the big boy'

c. biɛ-mmə aj-ɔ miɛlə / miʃ-tə / k-i / cɔ miaʎə
give me that-fsg flour.n / meat.n-Def / this.msg / fsg honey.n
'give me that flour / the meat / the/ this honey'

c'. kammə parə vaɲɲunə-ni / vaɲɲunə-nə
I.have seen boy.m-Acc.msg / girl.f-Acc.fsg
'I saw the boy / to the girl'

d. sapɔr-i tə miɛlə-sə / miʃə-sə / miaʎə-sə
taste-msg Lkr.Def flour.n.-Obl.fsg / meat.n.-Obl.fsg / honey.n-Obl.fsg
'the taste of the flour / the meat / the honey'
vər-ɛ hpara (n)də miɛlə(-tə) / ujə-tə / hpara miɛlə-sə
put it in front of Prep. flour.n(-Def) / water.n-Def / in front of flour.n-Obl-fsg
'put it in front of the flour / the water'

d'. kamm-ja tənnə vaɲɲunə-ti / vaɲɲunə-sə
I.have-to.him/her.it given boy.m-Obl.msg / girl.f-Obl.fsg
'I gave it to the boy / to the girl'

S. Marzano

Other original neuter nouns have adopted the declension of feminine or masculine. For instance, *diah* 'cheese', has the *-a* feminine inflection. So, its morpho-syntactic behaviour comes to coincide with the one of other feminine mass nouns such as *vɛr-a* 'the wine' and *kripp-a* 'the salt', as in (23a,b).

(23) a. diah-a / vər-a / kripp-a mə pərcɛkətə
cheese-fsg / wine-fsg / salt-fsg me it.pleases
'I like the cheese / the wine/ the salt'
b. kammə blɛrə diahə-nə / vɛrə-nə / krippə-nə
I.have bought cheese-Acc.fsg / wine-Acc.fsg / salt-Acc.fsg
'I bought the cheese / the wine / the salt' S. Marzano

Summing up, we observe a clear preference for feminine morpho-syntax, which led the original neuters to assume feminine agreement and feminine exponent in the oblique. The occurrence of a sub-set of feminine mass nouns such as *vɛr* 'wine', *krip* 'salt', could contribute to strengthening this solution.

The change from plural to masculine/feminine agreement may be understood as a result of internal mechanisms of morphosyntactic reorganization driven by the contact conditions that have affected Arbëresh systems (Manzini and Savoia 2015, Baldi and Savoia 2016). In the varieties in (18)-(23) a reduced morpho-syntactic system emerges that extends the occurrence of feminine. In the Arbëresh of Ginestra (Lucania) the reorganization of the neuter morphology intertwines with the overall mixed nature of this variety, bringing about an unexpected agreement mechanism combining feminine and masculine in the DP domain and in predicative contexts. In Ginestra neuter nouns preserve the inflection *-t*, demonstratives are in the feminine and Linker and adjectives present the masculine inflection, as in (24a). In oblique contexts the *-t* inflection emerges, as in (24a').

(24) a. miaʎ-t / aj-ɔ / aj-ɔ titər miaʎ iʃt i mir-i
honey.n-Def / that-fsg / that-fsg other.fsg honey.n is Lkr.msg good.msg
'the honey / that honey is good'
diaθ-t / aj-ɔ diaθ iʃt i mir-i
cheese.n-Def/ that-fsg cheese.n is Lkr.msg good.msg
'the cheese / that cheese is good'
uj-t / aj-ɔ uj iʃt i mir-i
water.n-Def / that-fsg water.n is Lkr.msg good.msg
'the water / that water is good'
miʃ-tə / kj-ɔ miʃ iʃt i ŋgurt-i
meat.n-Def/ this-fsg meat.n is Lkr.msg tough.msg
'the meat / this meat is tough'
a'. prəpara uj-ət / diaθ-t
in front of water-Def / cheese-Def
'in front of the water / the cheese'
Ginestra

The data in (24) illustrate the particular type of agreement in which the masculine on linkers and adjectives combines with the feminine on demonstratives / pre-nominal modifiers. However, the split between the D domain and the N / Adj domains is not restricted to the neuters. Indeed, in this variety, we find a distribution of gender inflection whereby the gender distinction in demonstratives, adjectives and linkers characterizes only sexed human or animate count nouns, as in (25a). In all other cases, while nouns present the specialized masculine *-i/-u* or feminine *-a* definite inflection depending on the class, demonstratives have the feminine inflection and adjectives and linkers have the masculine inflection, as in (25b).

(25) a. a-i cɛn iʃt i meir-i / diaʌ-i i mað-i iʃt ktu
that.msg dog.msg i Lkr.msg good.msg / boy-msg Lkr.msg big-msg is here
'that dog is good' 'the grown-up boy is here'
ai-ɔ vaiz iʃt a meir-a / vaiz-a a mað-a iʃt ktu
that.fsg girl.fsg is Lkr.fsg good-fsg / girl-fgs Lkr.fsg big-fsg is here
'that girl is good' 'the grown-up girl is here'

b. məsal-a i mað-i iʃt ktu
tablecloth-fsg Lkr.msg big-msg is here
'the tablecloth is here'

kmiʃ-a / kj-ɔ kmiʃ iʃt i kuc-i
shirt-msg / this-fsg shirt is Lkr.msg red-msg
'the shirt/ this shirt is red'

bukir-i / kj-ɔ bukir iʃt i mɛir-i
glass-msg / this-fsg glass is Lkr.msg good-msg
'the glass / this glass is good'

Ginestra

This two-faced agreement combining feminine demonstratives and masculine adjectives can be connected to the in-depth morpho-syntactic reorganization that has affected the contact Arbëresh variety of Ginestra. Indeed, the surface distribution of the agreement inflection calls into play interpretive properties at the I-C semantic interface system (Chomsky 2001, 2005). More precisely, the referential force of demonstratives' inflection is preserved, so much so that they are able to distinguish masculine and feminine sexed human/ animate referents. What is to be explained is the generalization of feminine in demonstratives, on which we will return in 3.1. As for the generalization of masculine in adjectives, as in (25b), it coincides with the solution adopted in the case of the Romance adjectival borrowings, that systematically select the invariable masculine inflection *-u*, in (26). The generalization of the masculine inflection independently of the gender class of the noun that it combines with, suggests that masculine gender is deficient in denotational properties. Therefore, masculine inflection in adjectives can combine both with feminine and masculine nouns, as in (25b) and (26), occurring whenever an invariable basic agreement is required.

(26) kj-ɔ trɛiz iʃt fɔrt-u
this-fsg table is strong-msg
'this table is strong'
kj-ɔ gru-a / k-i bur iʃt pulit-u
this-fsg woman / this-msg man is clean-msg
'this woman / this man is clean'

Ginestra

3.1 Restrictions on gender inflections and agreement

In the literature the acquisition of loans and the general process of borrowing into a language are connected to the contact processes determined by bilingual linguistic knowledge. Romaine (1995: 64) schematizes the observed tendencies in terms of functional generalizations, implicationally ordered as in (27).

(27)

Hierarchy of borrowing	**Ease of borrowing**
Lexical items	High
Derivational morphology	↑
Inflectional morphology	↓
Syntax	Low

The tendency to prefer nouns is related by the authors to the wider autonomy that nouns have in the discourse (Romaine 1995). On the contrary, verbs need to be integrated in the morpho-syntactic system of the host language. Another generalization concerns the fact that loan processes and interference would tend to spare the nuclear lexicon – nouns denoting body parts, numbers, personal pronouns, conjunctions, etc. (Romaine 1995; Muysken 2000). Nevertheless, the borrowing of grammatical mechanisms is also frequent (Manzini and Savoia 2015; Baldi and Savoia 2016). In the case that we consider, interference seems to work in reducing agreement to a twofold system of the Romance type. At the same time, at least three main issues remain:

- What is the nature of the *-t* inflection in systems where it by now agree with feminine demonstratives and adjective
- Why feminine is generally preferred in grammars where a new system of agreement is introduced
- The split between demonstratives and the other lexical and functional categories inside DP (and in predicative contexts).

As to the first question, we can think that *-t*, insofar as it is endowed with the quantificational content [⊆], is available for interpretation involving a definite argument, typically in nominative/ accusative plural and in definite oblique. In fact, we have associated this interpretation to the definite neuter in (12), in the case of dialects that preserve the original system of the neu-

ter agreement in (1)-(7). We conclude that *(-)t* has been preserved also in the other varieties where the old type of agreement of neuters has been eroded in favour of a different system, for instance feminine in (16)-(19). This, by virtue of its [⊆] nature, is able to combine with any gender and agreement class. Less clear is the preference for feminine agreement on demonstratives and adjectives. We can only suppose that feminine class has a content more suitable to externalize the aggregate content of the neuter sub-class. This possibility is reasonable to the extent that feminine class inflection *-a* combines in Albanian both plural and feminine singular interpretations. This distribution recalls the behaviour of *-a* in many Italian Romance varieties, including standard Italian, where *-a* specifies both feminine singular and (a class of) plural. Manzini and Savoia (2017a, b), Savoia *et al.* (2017, 2018) propose that the *-a* is associated to the [aggregate] reading. In the case of Albanian varieties we noticed that *-a* characterizes masculine and feminine plurals such as *burr-a* 'men'/ *vajz-a* 'girls' and feminine definite singular nominative *vajz-a* 'the girl'. Moreover, feminine is also associated to mass reading, where it triggers the plural agreement, as in (14). This behaviour could suggest that feminine is available for an aggregate interpretation also in Albanian. In other words, this distribution seems to evoke a content including both singular and plural, similarly to Romance feminine. Here, we only suggest that this referential property could explain the preference for feminine agreement for mass noun in the internal reorganization phenomena occurring in Arbëresh dialects.

The last question is the co-occurrence of the feminine in pre-nominal demonstratives with the *-t* inflection on nouns. The compatibility between feminine pre-nominal demonstratives and masculine inflected adjectives showing up in the dialect of Ginestra in (24)-(25), broadens the set of phenomena involving the interpretive difference between referential elements, such as demonstratives, and nouns/adjectives. As we have discussed in the preceding section about the data of Ginestra, the selection of feminine is connected with the requirement of a stronger denotational capability. We may expect that the domain of determiners realizes specialized referential properties, considering the role they play in the identification of arguments. More precisely, pre-nominal modifiers contribute to fixing the subset of referents to which noun applies (Savoia *et al.* 2018; Manzini and Savoia, forthcoming). The asymmetry between the agreement properties of determiners – and nominal modifiers/ adjectives – and nouns have been brought to light in the literature (cf. Cinque 2014). Indeed, different types of split emerge, generally concerning the distribution on number specifications (Savoia *et al.* 2018). In the case at hand, the contrast is between feminine on demonstratives and *-t* inflection/ masculine in the NP domain. We have seen that feminine is endowed with a richer denotational content; we can conclude that modifiers select feminine just by virtue of its denotational force and not as a 'weak' or default-like type of agreement. This explanation can be extended also to

linkers, insofar as they contribute to identifying the argument introduced by the noun (Manzini *et al.* 2015).

4. Conclusions

This work investigates the distribution of the neuter inflection in some of the Arbëresh dialects spoken in Calabria, Lucania and Apulia in Southern Italy. The original inflection of neuter coincides with the one of plural, at least in nominative and accusative forms, characterizing a sub-set of mass nouns. Other mass nouns belong to the feminine class and present the corresponding inflection. In several Arbëresh communities, language mixing has led to a partial or, in some cases, deep reorganization of the noun systems, affecting also neuters, that show different types of inflection and agreement. As the first point, we have examined the nature of the neuter inflection *-t*, assigning it a quantificational value [⊆] that makes it possible to explain its distribution as the definite nominative/accusative and oblique inflection, specifying a referent interpreted as a part of a denotationally recognizable whole.

The second part of this article is devoted to the phenomena of mixing that have induced internal morpho-syntactic and phonological reorganization in Arbëresh varieties. As to neuters, there are dialects where neuter nouns select feminine agreement inflection both on pre-nominal modifiers/demonstratives and adjectives; some tendencies that are driven by Romance agreement. A crucial point is the dissociation between agreement and gender inflection in the sense that usually neuters preserve the *-t* inflection, independently of the gender agreement that is selected. This fits with the proposal that the content of *-t* is substantially quantificational in nature; as for demonstratives and pre-nominal modifiers we have seen that feminine is generally favored, suggesting that it is endowed with a richer referential content.

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A Metagrammatical Approach to Periphrasis in Gwadloupéyen

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Abstract:

In this paper, I show that verbal and nominal functional elements of Gwadloupéyen can be described in the Tree-Adjoining Grammar as pertaining to morphological periphrasis. This challenges the claim that Creoles have fully analytical morphology.

Keywords: Guadeloupean Creole, periphrasis, Tree-Adjoining Grammar

1. Introduction

Creole languages have been claimed to be simple languages on morphological arguments (see Seuren and Wekker 1986; McWhorter 2001, a.o.). The fact that they present analytic constructions (instead of synthetic morphology) is taken as an argument for their simplicity.

Analytic constructions are supposed to be transparent and syntactically driven. In this paper, I will show that the Tense and Aspect markers (TMAs) in Gwadloupéyen, but also some elements of the nominal domain can be described in the Tree-Adjoining Grammar as pertaining to morphological periphrasis.

In Section 1.1, I give a brief overview of Gwadloupéyen. Section 2 describes the framework I will use to organize the data. The concept of *metagrammar* will be explained in Section 2.2. The source code of the metagrammar developed in this paper is available on GitHub and can be freely uploaded and tested. In Section 3, I present an analysis of the TMA markers as periphrasis. Section 3 extends this analysis to the nominal domain.

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1.1 A quick presentation of Gwadloupéyen

Guadeloupean Creole (or Gwadloupéyen) is spoken by approximately 850.000 speakers both on the Island of Guadeloupe (and its dependencies) and in 'mainland' France. The level of proficiency in Creole varies highly between speakers. The degree of exposure to French (the official language) differs according to the individual (Jno-Baptiste 2015). As explained in Jeannot-Fourcaud and Jno-Baptiste (2008), the first language of many Guadeloupean children is not exclusively Creole, and before any schooling, they are educated in French and Creole in variable proportions.

> […] l'on sait maintenant que pour bon nombre d'enfants guadeloupéens (et martiniquais), la langue maternelle n'est pas exclusivement le créole. Les enquêtes et les différentes observations sur le terrain montrent à l'évidence que les élèves guadeloupéens acquièrent, dès leur plus jeune âge, deux langues. Avant toute scolarisation, ils sont éduqués en français et en créole dans des proportions variables selon les familles. Jeannot-Fourcaud and Jno-Baptiste. (2008: 64)

This leads to difficulties to define what is Creole and what is not. In this work, I will use as reference grammaticality judgments from Creole speakers and examples taken from a spoken corpus of Guadeloupean (Glaude 2013) available online. My informants are students in Linguistics and persons of various ages met during fieldworks. They all are native speakers of Gwadloupéyen.

2. Building a TAG Grammar of Gwadloupéyen

2.1 Tree-Adjoining Grammar

Tree-Adjoining Grammar is a grammar formalism developed in the mid-70s (Joshi and Schabes 1997; Joshi 2012). As its name clearly indicates, it is a formal tree rewriting system, with a domain of locality and a tree depth different from Contex-Free Grammars. As an example, the sentence S "John loves peanuts" combines three Elementary Trees (α1 *John*, α2 *likes* and α3 *peanuts*) together to form a Derived Tree γ in Fig. 2 (proving that S can be generated by the grammar). The operation that combines the Elementary Trees at ↓ nodes in Fig. 1 is called **substitution**.

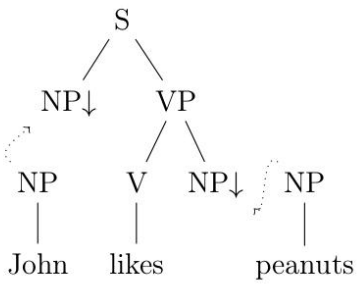

Figure 1. Substitution in TAG

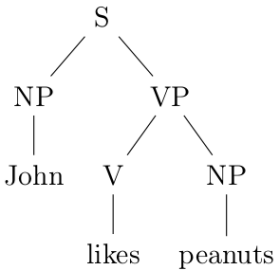

Figure 2. Derived Tree in TAG

Note that each tree in Fig.1 has a **lexical anchor** (lexical item). A TAG grammar in which trees are obligatorily anchored by (at least) one lexical item is a **Lexicalized Tree-Adjoining Grammar** (LTAG). In this paper, I will refer interchangeably to LTAG and TAG.

The second operation available in TAG is **adjoining**, which involves inserting a tree into another (Fig.3). An **auxiliary tree** β has a special node (a foot node marked *).

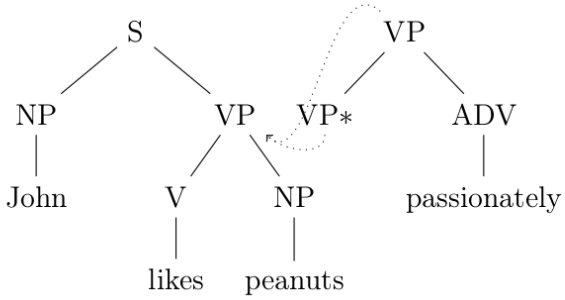

Figure 3. Adjoining in TAG

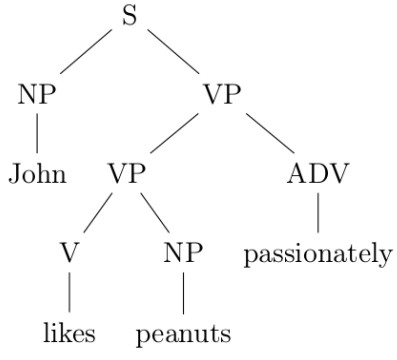

Figure 4. Derived Tree after Adjoining

Abeillé (2002) proposes several linguistic principles to build a correct LTAG grammar (tree well-formedness). These are:

- Lexical Anchoring: An elementary tree must have (at least) one non-empty lexical head.
- Predicate-Argument Co-occurrence: A predicate elementary tree must have a node for each of its arguments.
- Semantic Anchoring: A syntactic elementary tree must correspond to a (non-empty) semantic element.
- Compositionality Principle: An elementary tree corresponds to one and only one semantic unit.

I adopt these principles here and, as explained in Schang (2013), in accordance with the Compositionality Principles functional items are considered as co-head of a lexical item.

2.2 MetaGrammar with XMG-2

The concept of metagrammar has been implemented initially in Candito (1999) to describe a TAG grammar of verbs in Italian and French. This description was based on a three-dimensional view of language which combines a) the subcategorization frames of verbs, b) the transformations (functional rearrangements between the initial frames and the morphologically derived forms, e.g. active/passive transformation) and c) the syntactic surface realizations (included word-order variation)[1].

Later, Crabbé (2005) proposed a more flexible implementation of the metagrammar for French (named XMG) and Petitjean (2014) developed XMG-2, a modular metagrammar compiler which allows for the description of various linguistic phenomenon (see Duchier *et al.* 2017, 2014, for instance). XMG2 proposes a set of languages of description which includes:

- a language of description for feature structures,
- a language of description of syntactic trees,
- a language for flat semantics, see Bos (1996),
- a language for frame semantics, see Lichte and Petijean (2015).

This development of a modular metagrammar for morphology opened the door to investigations in computational morphology and syntax (Duchier *et al.* 2012a; Schang *et al.* 2012; Duchier *et al.* 2017) which rely on XMG2 to model some grammatical phenomena in different 'little-studied' languages, such as Santomense and Ikota.

[1] See Abeillé (2002: chap. 7).

2.2.1 A Metagrammar of Trees

For French, a TAG grammar must have to express the link between two constructions of the verb *manger* 'to eat':

- the sentence *Jean mange* 'Jean eats',
- the NP *L'homme qui mange* 'the man who eats'.

That is, it has to make an explicit link between *manger* with its canonical subject and *manger* with a relative subject. Both are part of the syntactic combinations allowed with *manger*.

This can be expressed in the TAG framework as two elementary trees, as in Fig. 5 and 6.

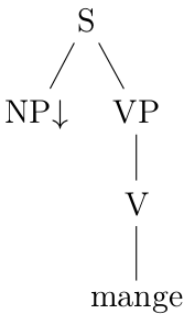

Figure 5. Elementary Tree of 'NP mange'

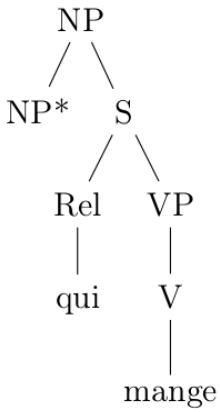

Figure 6. Elementary Tree of 'NP qui mange'

The assumption behind XMG2 is that these trees and their relation can be described as a set of block (called *classes*) that combine using a disjunctive or conjunctive composition.

That is Fig. 5 is obtained via the composition of the CanonicalSubject class and the Intransitive class (conjunction at the node VP). The boxed node represents the node where the fragments are glued together.

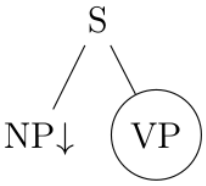

Figure 7. The CanonicalSubject Class

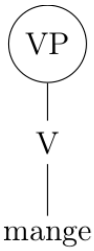

Figure 8. The Intransitive Class

This conjunction can be expressed as:

{ CanonicalSubject ∧ Intransitive }

In contrast, the RelSubject class expresses the part of the tree describing a relativized subject argument:

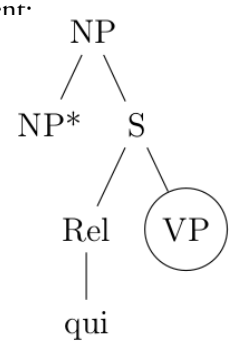

Figure 9. The RelSubject Class

As a result, one can define a class Subject that combines in a disjunction the tree fragments (classes) RelSubject and CanonicalSubject:[2]

Subject = { CanonicalSubject | RelSubject }

2.2.2 A Metagrammar for Morphology

Petitjean, Samih and Lichte (2015) have used XMG2 for their morphological description of verbs in Arabic, (Magnana Ekoukou 2015; Duchier *et al.* 2012b) presented an analysis of Ikota's verbs as a set of position classes and Duchier *et al.* (2014) described nominal morphology of Somali.

As for Ikota, the verbal morphology was described in Duchier *et al.* (2012b) as a conjunction of classes, as formulated in (1). A verb is composed of six classes which are linearly ordered around the Verbal Root (VR).

(1) Verb ∧ Subj ∧ Tense ∧ VR ∧ Aspect ∧ Active ∧ Proximal

The composition of verbs in Ikota is similar to the composition of trees in French (example above) in the fact that it is a composition of fragments. What differs is the level (the domain) of application, i.e. *word* vs. *elementary trees*.

2.2.3 Periphrasis: A Challenge for Lexicalist Grammars

As already said above, morphology and syntax form two distinct levels in Lexicalist Grammars.[3] This question is still a matter of debate among linguists (Borer 1998; Sproat 1998).

In a lexicalist framework such as TAG where the lexicon is inserted at a particular leaf node (called the *anchor*) in Elementary Trees, this question is clearly set. But this may appear as a downside when it comes to investigate the properties of TMAs in Creole: if syntax cannot interfere with the properties of words (syntax can only read features provided by words), is it possible to account for periphrastic elements such as the TMAs?

3. TMAs as Periphrastic Expressions

3.1 TMAs and periphrasis

Gwadloupéyen's verbal inflection is, at least at first look, strongly different from French, its lexifier (superstrate language). Whereas French has a synthetic morphology (2a), Creole (2b) has Tense and Aspect preverbal markers.

[2] There is no room in this paper to present the description language (code) of XMG2 in detail; I let the reader look at <http://dokufarm.phil.hhu.de/xmg/doku.php?id=start> for more details.

[3] In XMG2's terminology, these constitute distinct *dimensions*.

(2) a. Jean mangeait
Jean eat.IPFV
'Jean was eating'

b. Jan té ka manjé
Jean PST IPFV eat
'Jean was eating'

At first look, this difference seems dramatic as it sets the two languages in two different typological groups, Creole grammars being crucially different from the grammar of their lexifiers.

However, Chaudenson (2004) has shown that, at the time of the creolization period, French also had periphrastic constructions which were in competition with synthetic forms. And it is still the case. Indeed, many, if not all, French speakers will use the periphrastic future *il va mourir* 'he will die', *je vais coudre* 'I will sew' instead of the rarely used (if even known) synthetic future of *mourir* and *coudre*.[4] Moreover, as Abouda and Skrovec (2015) have shown, the use of the periphrastic future tends to surpass the use of the synthetic form in spoken French.

Regarding the etymology of the TMAs, Degraff (2005: 320) clearly explains that "all the preverbal TMA morphemes in Haitian Creole, […] can be straightforwardly traced back to 17th-18th century Fr cognates, some of which still exist in certain contemporary French dialects, including sometimes the 'standard' dialect".

This does not entail that the conjugation of French and Creole are similar (which is clearly not the case), but it questions the deepness of the gap between the two languages.

However, I would like to question the claim that Creole does not show inflectional morphology whereas French does. This leads to discuss the syntactic status of periphrasis.

As it is widely known, Latin shows good examples of periphrastic forms competing with synthetic forms. For instance, an ordinary Latin verb expresses perfect with a synthetic form whereas for passive and deponent verbs, a periphrastic form is mandatory. As clearly stated in Matthews (1991: 219-220):

> In Latin, schoolboys learned *amo* 'I love' as Present Active, *amor* 'I am loved' as Present Passive, *amavi* 'I loved' as Perfect Active, but then *amatus sum* (a form consisting of a Masculine Nominative Singular Participle, *amatus*, and the form for 'I am', *sum*) as the Perfect Passive. The last is clearly two words, which obey separate syntactic rules (for example, of agreement). Nevertheless, they are taken together as a term in what are otherwise morphological oppositions.

[4] Which is *je mourrai* and *je coudrai*.

Ackerman, Stump, and Webelhuth (2011) argue that "periphrasis (multi-word expression) is as much a mode of morphological realization as synthesis is". Bonami (2015) proposes that "periphrases are similar to syntactically flexible idioms; the theory of periphrasis is thus embedded within a more general theory of collocation".

However, Blevins (2008) provides arguments for periphrasis as a syntactic exponent and challenges the fact that periphrasis should be considered as inherently morphological. Yet, he discusses the 'bottom-up' approach of syntactic periphrasis where the meaning of the periphrasis is deduced from the meaning of its parts.

The discussions about the morphological or syntactic nature of periphrasis and its typological implications (see for instance Ackerman and Stump 2004; Brown *et al.* 2012; Bonami and Webelhuth 2013) are too complex to be developed any further here. The challenges here is to adequately describe Guadeloupean Creole in the TAG framework.

The approach I will defend here is based on the idea that the sequence of TMA + V is similar to multi-word expressions. The meaning of a multi-word expression cannot be reduced to the meaning of its parts.

3.2 TMAs in Gwadloupéyen

The TMA markers and their uses are described exhaustively in Bernabé (1983), Pfänder (2000), McCrindle (1999) among others.

Table 1 provides a quick overview of the main uses of the TMAs (as proposed in Vaillant 2008).

Value	**Form**
Accomplished /Aoristic	dansé
Unaccomplished / Present	ka dansé
Frequentative	ka dansé
Progressive	ka dansé
Future	ké dansé
Unaccomplished Future (seldom)	ké ka dansé
Accomplished past (pluperfect)	té dansé
Unaccomplished past	té ka dansé
Irrealis (Past)	té ké dansé
Irrealis unaccomplished (extremely rare)	té ké ka dansé
Conditional / Optative	té dansé

Table 1. TMAs values, adapted from Vaillant (2008)

The problem faced by bottom-up approaches, where the TMAs combine in syntax, is the fact that the meaning of the sequence TMA + V is dependent on the aspectual class of the V (or more generally, on the aspectual class

of the predicate since Creole have nominal and prepositional predicates). This phenomenon has already been described in the literature on Antillean Creoles: Pfänder (2000); McCrindle (1999); Bernabé (1983) and Damoiseau (2012) among others.

For instance, with a stative predicate such as *be at school*, *ka* as in (3) can only be interpreted with an iterative meaning and not as an ongoing event (progressive).

(3) Jan ka lékol
Jean IPFV school
'Jean is at school (Context: every time I come to see him…)'

Let us consider another example. The anterior marker of Gwadloupéyen is *té*. When combined with non-stative verbs, *té* provides a perfective interpretation:

(4) Sofi té palé ba Jan
Sophie ANT speak to Jean
'Sophie had spoken to Jean'

and a past imperfective reading with stative verbs:

(5) Jan té enmé Sofi
Jean PST love Sophie
Litt.: '(At this time) Jean was loving Sophie'

As a consequence, it has been proposed that there are homonymous markers (e.g. Bernabé 1983 proposes different *ka* morphemes) and many zero positions to account for the differences of interpretation. Since the interpretation of a marker depends on its position on a syntactic node, the more different interpretation we have, the more nodes we need.

While this is descriptively correct, it is problematic for computational models. The cost of having to choice between two (or more) homonymous markers and/or zero positions (hence empty markers) is computationally expensive.[5]

In the TAG framework, Vaillant (2008) proposes an analysis based on the adjoining of the TMAs as auxiliaries to the main verb. As illustrated in Fig. 10,[6] the TMAs anchor their own tree.

[5] Clearly, one is not obliged to force a theoretical (or descriptive) model to be computationally efficient but this is obviously the choice made here in adopting the TAG framework.

[6] For the sake of simplicity, I do not note here the features of the trees which reduce the combinations. The reader is asked to refer to Vaillant (2008) for the complete details.

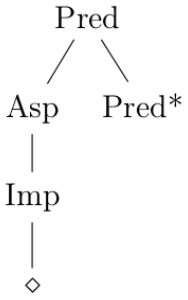

Figure 10. TMAs in Vaillant (2008a)

Technically, this solution works as it correctly reject undue combination. However, as mentioned in Schang (2013), this violates the semantic well-formedness of the Elementary Trees since the TMAs cannot be interpreted alone.

Let me present briefly the arguments for and against a purely syntactic or morphological analysis of the TMAs.

3.2.1 TMAs as syntactic elements

The TMA markers can combine with adverbs, as shown in (6). This clearly indicates that syntactic nodes are needed to insert the adverbs such as *ja* 'already'. Thus, TMAs cannot be considered as clitics contrary to what has been proposed for other creole languages (see Henri and Kihm 2015).[7]

(6) Pyè té ja ka vin
Pierre PAST already IPFV come
'Pierre was already coming'

3.2.2 TMAs as morphological elements

However TMAs don't have the freedom expected from purely syntactic elements. They cannot be coordinated (7a) while verbs can; unlike standard verbs they cannot be clefted (predicate cleft) (7b) and they can fuse with other functional elements (such as the negative marker) in certain configurations (7c).

[7] I review here briefly the arguments presented in Schang (2013).

(7) a. Jan ka (*é ké) manjé
Jean IPFV and PROSP eat
'Jean is (and will) be eating'
b. *sé ka manjé Jan ka manjé.
it.is ka eat Jean IPFV eat
Intended: 'Jean **is** eating'
c. Jan péké manjé
Jean NEG.PROSP eat
'Jean will not eat' (expected: pa ké)

3.3 TMAs in the metagrammar

I will present briefly here how the metagrammar offers an elegant way to reconcile the relative freedom of the combination of the TMAs with other elements with the fact that the TMAs are not autonomous elements.

As shown in Schang (2013), TMAs can be considered as co-head (co-anchor) of a verb. While Tense inflectional elements combine with the verbal root in French at word level (*manger-ai* 'eat-fut.1sg'), the TMAs combine at a syntactic level in Gwadloupéyen and provide syntactic nodes for adjoining.

Fig.11 presents the Elementary Trees corresponding to *manjé* in (8).

(8) Jean té ka manjé
Jean PST IPFV eat
'Jean was eating'

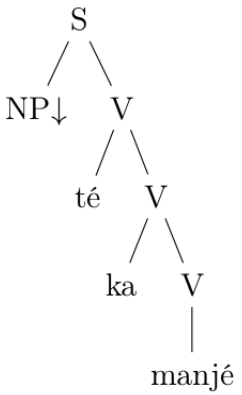

Figure 11. Elementary Tree of 'NP té ka manjé'

This tree can be divided in the metagrammar into different fragments (Fig. 12) that combine to form the elementary trees.

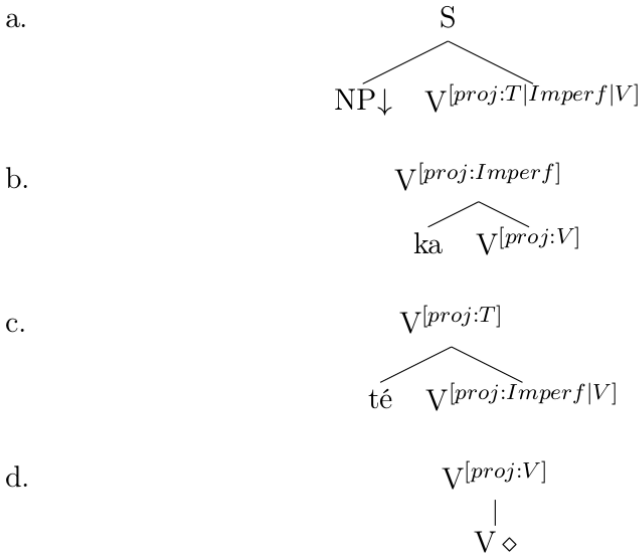

Figure 12. Tree Fragments for 'NP té ka V'

We find in Fig. 12 the fragments that were presented earlier (CanonicalSubject in a., the Intransitive class in d.) and the fragments corresponding to *té* and *ka* (with a feature 'proj' (projection) which restrains the combinations). The various inflected forms of a verb (or other predicates) in Gwadloupéyen can be derived by combining the following fragments:

(9) { { Prospective (ké) | None };
{ Imperfective (ka) | None };
{ Anterior (té) | None };
V}

As a result, the process of incorporating the TMAs as extended projections of the verb elementary trees is not different from the process of assembling a verb with its arguments requirements (a leaf for every argument). As such, the sequences TMA + V constitute inflectional forms of a verbal lexeme. It is then a morphological process. This process is similar the generation of inflected verbs in Ikota (see Section 2.2.2).

There are also felicitous side effects of treating TMAs as co-anchors. First, just as for multi-word expressions, the meaning of the sequence is the meaning of the entire sequence (as in *to kick the bucket* 'to die'). The individual fragments of the tree are not the adequate level for interpretation.

Second, if one wishes to compare the form *mangeait* 'was eating' in French with its corresponding form in Gwadloupéyen (see examples in (2)),

the derived tree (in (10)) is not the appropriate level Fig.13; however, the derivation trees in both languages are similar Fig. 14

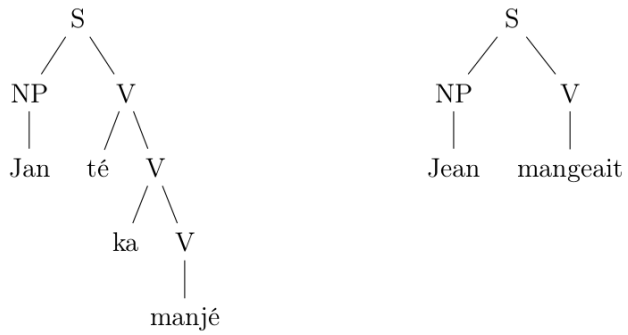

Figure 13. Derived Trees for Creole (left) and French (right)

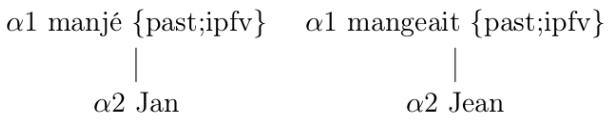

Figure 14. Derivation Trees for Creole (left) and French (right)

To sum up, TMAs are better analyzed as co-anchors of elementary trees in Gwadloupéyen. This morphological process operates at the level of an Elementary Tree (i.e. the projection of a head) whereas synthetic morphology operates at the word level.

4. Periphrasis beyond the Verbal Domain

As it has already been explained by others (see Bonami 2015 for a review and a discussion), periphrasis can be found in the inflection of all major categories.

The articles (definite and demonstrative) can be considered as co-anchors of the Noun (see Schang in preparation) for a complete development).[8]

In some languages, such as Albanian for instance, the definite marker is an affix. It seems that it is never the case in Creole languages (Velupillai 2015). In Gwadloupéyen, the definite article is not an affix but a marker placed on the left margin of the NP. I consider it as a functional projection (Fig. 15), i.e. as a co-anchor of the head noun (symbolized here as a diamond). It correctly predicts that it can only occur once in a particular nominal domain.

[8] The reader can already see the implementation of the articles in the metagrammar here: <https://github.com/eschang/xmg_GC_metagrammar>.

Figure 15. Elementary Tree of 'N la'

Again, a multi-word expression is used here to mark inflection. The same applies to the plural marker and to the demonstrative.

But one can also consider the variation in the possessive form *N + (Prep) + possessive pronoun* as a form of morphological variation. Indeed, the presence of the preposition, as shown in (10) and Table 2, depends on the head noun.

(10) a. vwati an mwen
car of me
'my car'

b. manman mwen
mother me
'my mother'

	manman/papa 'mum/dad'	**vwati/biten 'car/thing'**
1sg	mwen	an mwen
2sg	-w	a-w
3sg	-y	a-y
1pl	-nou	an nou
2pl	-zot	a zot
3pl	-yo	a yo

Table 2. Possessive forms

Since there is no syntactic motivation for the absence of the preposition in (10b), it is easy to analyze this as two different possessive paradigms.

In the TAG grammar, the possessive form (Fig. 16) of a noun depends on the particular class of the noun and the weak pronoun (wPr) is inserted as a co-anchor.

Figure 16. Elementary Trees for 'N wPr' and 'N a wPr'

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have presented some arguments in favor of the treatment of functional elements of Gwadloupéyen as multi-word (grammatical) expressions, i.e. periphrasis. Contrary to a syntactic approach of periphrasis, that derives the meaning in a bottom-up manner (syntactic derivation) I have defended an approach which considers the periphrasis as a single syntactic element (a complex tree) which is clearly assembled in morphology. The only difference between synthetic forms and periphrastic forms is the level (or the domain) where the process takes place. I have shown that the TMAs in Gwadloupéyen constitute a clear case of inflectional periphrasis (§3) and that inflectional periphrasis can be found outside the verbal domain (§4). This analysis has been implemented using XMG2 (Petitjean 2014).[9]

The results presented here contribute to the discussion on the morphology of Creole languages. While some researchers (for instance Seuren and Wekker 1986 and McWhorter 2001) have claimed that creole languages are morphologically poor, the facts presented here (but see also Henri and Kihm 2013) tend to show the contrary.

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[9] The complete metagrammar is freely available for verification or reuse for other languages on GitHub. The link has been mentioned in footnote 8.

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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-*

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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'

[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.

[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	$\text{PATH}_{\text{goal}}$			
	b.	Jean va	habituellement	au bureau	à pied		[French]
		John goes	usually	at.the office	on foot		
		$\text{PATH}_{\text{goal}}$			MANNER		

[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

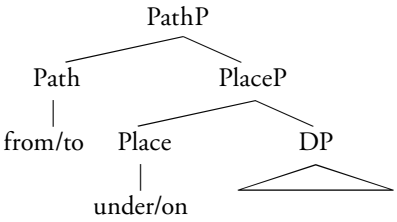
The assumption that directional and locational adpositions occupy different structural positions is supported by their ability to combine within a clause, as in (9) (Hudleston and Pullum 2005; Cinque 2010):

(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.

[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)



Under the structural representation in (10), adopted in our own descriptions, the Path and Place heads must both be syntactically present in any clause conveying translative movement, although one or both may be phonologically 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 directional 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 lexical 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 construed 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	$ø_{goal/*source}$	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?'

[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

[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

[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

[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. [$_{\text{DLOCP}}$ [$_{\text{LOCP}}$ 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:

(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'				

[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 **a**l 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
		'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 (under our very eyes)?' 'He is going {to/*all the way to} the cathedral'

The semantic contrast between ø and *jis* in $\text{Path}_{\text{goal}}$ 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

a. *Pòl najé/pléré **jis** Fòdfrans
Paul swim/cry *jis* Fort-de-France

b. Pòl najé/pléré **rivé** Fòdfrans.
Paul swim/cry arrive Fort-de-F
'Paul arrived in F. swimming/crying'

c. Pòl najé/pléré **rivé jis** Fòdfrans
'Paul swam/cried all the way to FdF'

(31) FRENCH

a. Paul a nagé/pleuré jusqu'à FdF
'Paul swam/cried all the way to FdF'

b. *Paul a nagé/pleuré arrivé à FdF
b'. 'Paul est arrivé à FdF en nageant/pleurant'
'Paul arrived in FdF swimming/crying'

c. *Paul a {nagé/pleuré} arrivé jusqu'à 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-

[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 $\text{Path}_{\text{goal}}$ 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

'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 $\text{Path}_{\text{goal}}$, is licensed by *dépi*, denoting $\text{Path}_{\text{source}}$:
(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	[> $\text{PATH}_{\text{source}}$]
	water	IPF	drip		in	ceiling-DEF	
	'Water is dripping **from** the ceiling'						
b.	Dlo	ka	koulé	ø	anlè	tapi-a	[>$\text{PATH}_{\text{goal}}$]
	water	IPF	drip		on	carpet-DEF	
	'Water is dripping on(**to**) the carpet'						
(38) a.	Kochon-an		chapé	ø	an	lari-a	[>$\text{PATH}_{\text{goal}}$]
	pig-DEF		escape		in	street-DEF	
	'The pig escaped in(**to**) the street'						
b.	Kochon-an		chapé	ø	an	pak-la	[>$\text{PATH}_{\text{source}}$]
	pig-DEF		escape		in	pen-DEF	
	'The pig escaped **from** (in) the pen'						
(39) a.	Pòl		désann	ø	an	kav-la	[>$\text{PATH}_{\text{goal}}$]
	Paul		move.down		in	cellar-DEF	
	'Paul went down (in)**to** the cellar'						
b.	Pòl		désann	ø	an	piébwa-a	[>$\text{PATH}_{\text{source}}$]
	Paul		move.down		in	tree-DEF	
	'Paul climbed down **from** (in) the tree'						
c.	Pòl		désann	ø	anlè	léchèl-la	[>$\text{PATH}_{\text{source}}$]
	Paul		move.down		on	ladder-DEF	
	'Paul climbed down **from** (on) the ladder'						
(40) a.	Pòl		pati	ø	ø	lanmès	[>$\text{PATH}_{\text{goal}}$]
	Paul		set.off			mass	
	'Paul set off **for** Mass'						
b.	Kous-la	ka	pati	ø	ø	Fòdfrans	[>$\text{PATH}_{\text{source}}$]
	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]

[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, arriver*]
Paul *soti* LOC- Turkey morning-DEF
'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 predicate: 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)

[25] One reviewer points out that this type of serial construction is also attested in English-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 $\text{Path}_{\text{goal}}$ 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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