1. Experiencer constructions

• three classes of experiencer verbs:

(i) **Cognition** (e.g. ‘see’, ‘know’, ‘forget’, ‘remember’)
(ii) **Physical sensation** (e.g. ‘be hungry’, ‘be thirsty’, ‘be cold’, ‘have a headache’)
(iii) **Emotion** (e.g. ‘be glad’, ‘be sorry’, ‘like’)
1.1 Feature 66: Experiencer constructions: 'Headache'

• asks about the expressions of situations corresponding to English *She has a headache*.

• **Pain-constructions** involve three participants, an
  
  (i) **experiencer** who experiences the sensation ('she')
  (ii) **sensation** itself ('ache')
  (iii) potentially a **body-part** ('head') to which this sensation is related.

• there is a lot of interesting variation in such constructions

• in this feature, we only ask which of these three participants is coded in **subject position** (*Subject* is defined here as the typical agent or the single argument in a monotransitive clause).

• very little typological literature on experiencer constructions, mainly with
regard to European languages (see Bossong 1998, Haspelmath 2001)

• 4 types of feature values

value 1: Experiencer in subject position
Ambon Malay (Paauw 2012)
(1) De saki kapala.
   3SG sick head
   'She has a headache.'

Juba Arabic (Manfredi & Petrollino 2012)
(2) ána índu wója ras
   1SG have pain head
   'I have a headache'

value 2 (very rare): sensation in subject position
Sranan (Plag & Winford 2012)
(3) Ede-hati e kiri mi.
   head-hurt IPFV kill me
'A headache is killing me.'

**value 3: body-part in subject position**
- most prominent construction in the *APiCS* sample

*Angolar (Maurer 2012)*

(4) *N’tê thêka rue m.*
  head **PROG** hurt me  'I have a headache.'

*Cape Verdean Creole of São Vicente (Swolkien 2012)*

(5) *Kabésa ta doe-m senpr.*
  head **PRS** hurt-1SG always  
  'I always have a headache.'

- experiencer expressed as a possessive marker on the body part noun

*Angolar (Maurer 2012)*

(6) *N’tê m tha ruê.*
  head my **PROG** ache  
  'I have a headache.'
Chinese Pidgin English (Matthews & Li & Baker 2012)
(7) My foot hap got pain.
     1SG.POSS foot has got pain
     'I have a pain in my foot.'

- both markers referring to the experiencer, the possessive pronoun (ma) and the object pronoun (mi) can be used simultaneously:

Ghanaian Pidgin English (Huber 2012)
(8) ma hɛd dè pen/nak mi
     1SG.POSS head PROG pain/knock 1SG.OBJ
     'My head hurts.' OR: 'I have a headache.'

- experiencer is not expressed at all

Diu Indo-Portuguese (Cardoso 2012)
(9) kabes tə dw-e.
     head IPFV.NPST hurt-INF
     '(My) head is hurting.'

- this feature is not represented in WALS, therefore no good data on world-
wide pattern
• potentially body-part construction prominent in Subsaharian Africa (e.g. Ameka 1990)

Feature 66: Experiencer constructions: 'Headache'

1.2 Feature 68: Experiencer constructions: 'Fear'

• question whether experiencer, emotion or body-part is coded in subject position

• verbal/non-verbal or transitive/intransitive construction

• in some languages the expression of the stimulus may entail different constructions (e.g. Principense lit. ‘I am with fear’ vs. ‘I fear the storm’). However, in this feature we disregard Fear-constructions in which the stimulus is expressed, i.e. we are looking at e.g. English The child is afraid, but not at The child is afraid of the dog.
• 7 types of feature values

value 1: Experiencer in subject position, verbal construction
Saramaccan (E, Atlantic; Veenstra & Smith & Aboh 2012)
(10) Me ta ʃɛɛɛ.
     1SG ASP fear
     'I am not afraid.'

value 2: Experiencer in subject position, non-verbal construction

Afrikaans (D, Africa; den Besten & Biberauer 2012)
(11) Ek is bang.
     1SG.NOM am afraid
     'I am afraid.'

value 3: Emotion in subject position, transitive construction
Sango (Ngbandi, Adamawa-Ubangian, Africa; Samarin 2012)

(12) *mbito a-sara ala*
   fear PM-do 3PL
   'They're afraid.'

value 4: Emotion in subject position, intransitive construction

Chinuk Wawa (Amerindian, North America; Grant 2012)

(13) *kwas kápa náyka*
   fear at 1SG
   'I'm scared.' lit. 'Fear is at me.'
Feature 68: Experiencer constructions: 'Fear'

1.3 Emotion experiencer constructions ('to be afraid', 'to be jealous'): A case study – Seychelles Creole vs. French

• French prepositional constructions, e.g. avoir peur de 'to be afraid of', être jaloux de 'to be jealous of' (see ex. 14)
• corresponding Seychelles Creole constructions grammatically transitive

French: intransitive construction, STIMULUS is marked
(14) J'ai peur de cet homme.
     1SG.have fear PREP DEM man
'I am afraid of this man.'

Seychelles Creole: transitive construction, STIMULUS is not marked
(15) Mon per sa zonm.
     1SG.SBJ fear DEM man
'I am afraid of this man.'
• important substrate languages for Seychelles Creole are east African Bantu languages: e.g. Swahili

• in Swahili STIMULUS in an experiencer construction is also not marked, a grammatically transitive construction.

Swahili (Bantu, elicited, Alice Wangui): transitive construction, STIMULUS is not marked


3SG-PRES-3OBJ-fear snake

‘He is afraid of the snake.’

• This pattern seems to extend to quite a few other experiencer verbs, see Table 1 (transitive/intransitive matches between Swahili and Seychelles Creole versus French. The variable x represents the STIMULUS.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. Transitive/intransitive matches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swahili</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Creole</th>
<th>Swahili</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ogopa x pe x</td>
<td>avoir peur de x</td>
<td>'be afraid of x'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penda x kontan x</td>
<td>être content de x/aimer x</td>
<td>'like x/love x'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamani x anvi x</td>
<td>avoir envie de x/désirer x</td>
<td>'to long for x, desire x'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hitaji x bezwen x</td>
<td>avoir besoin de x</td>
<td>'need x'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- in Swahili the stimulus is treated as direct object, cf. ditransitive constructions where Swahili shows Double-Object Constructions, i.e. recipients in Swahili are also treated as direct objects, at least for the most frequent ditransitive verb 'give'.
- hypothesis: Seychelles Creole speakers' predilection for transitive patterns is due to Eastern Bantu substrate.

- Besides transitive experiencer constructions in Seychelles Creole, there are also intransitive constructions marked by prepositions, as shown in Table 2.
Table 2. Prepositional experiencer constructions in Seychelles Creole with their French source constructions and the English equivalents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seychelles Creole</th>
<th>(non-standard) French</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mon trakase <strong>pour</strong> Peter</td>
<td>je me tracasse pour Pierre</td>
<td>‘I worry about Peter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mon ankoler <strong>avek</strong> Peter</td>
<td>je suis en colère avec lui</td>
<td>‘I am angry about Peter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mon pran pitye <strong>avek</strong> zot</td>
<td>j'ai pitié de/ avec eux</td>
<td>‘I have mercy for them’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mon onte <strong>pour</strong> zot</td>
<td>j'ai honte de/ pour eux</td>
<td>‘I am ashamed of them’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mon enterese <strong>dan</strong> kalkil</td>
<td>je m'intéresse à l'algèbre</td>
<td>‘I am interested in algebra’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last construction enterese **dan** kalkil could have been copied from English ‘I am interested in algebra’

• Here, the French pattern seems to be continued: experiencer is marked by an overt preposition: **pour**, **avek**, **dan**.

• Experiencer constructions are a good diagnostic for measuring the degree of grammatical transitivity of a language, because they do not easily lend themselves to a prototypical transitive causation pattern.

• Experiencers are not good agents, nor good patients, nor good recipients;
they are something in between (Croft 1991, 1993).

In Table 3, one can see that experiencers share specific properties with other prominent semantic roles, e.g. they are [+animate] like agents, and [+involved] like recipients, but also [+affected] like patients:

Table 3. Properties of different semantic roles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>[+animate]</th>
<th>[+volitional]</th>
<th>[+aware]</th>
<th>[+affected]</th>
<th>[+involved]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AGENT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PATIENT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[+affected]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECIPIENT</td>
<td>[+animate]</td>
<td>[+aware]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[+involved]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPERIENCER</td>
<td>[+animate]</td>
<td>[+aware]</td>
<td>[+affected]</td>
<td>[+involved]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


- It seems to be cross-linguistically rare to find the stimulus of an experiencer construction coded as a direct object. Normally the stimulus is marked as an oblique argument by special cases or prepositions (like about, for, in in English).
• a good case for substrate influence in this part of Seychelles Creole syntax: Seychelles Creole has retained the transitive pattern from its Eastern Bantu substrate languages.

• But there are also Seychelles Creole experiencer constructions which follow the French model or a more universal strategy of coding the stimulus not transitively, but with a preposition.

• Thus, in Seychelles Creole we see a mixture of patterns retained by speakers of Eastern Bantu substrate languages and patterns inherited from French.

• This kind of mixture seems to be very widespread in a language contact situation like creolization. We often do not observe an exact copy of the substrate patterns (cf. Essegbey 2005 for locative constructions in the Surinamese Creoles and their substrates).

• token and type frequency might play a significant role:
- more frequently used and heard (more entrenched) constructions in the L1 of East African slaves ('be afraid of', 'like, love', 'need') may constitute a construction type which the East African speakers might have unconsciously relied on when communicating under the special circumstances of the stressful day-to-day survival in the colonial societies.

- less frequent and less entrenched construction types in the L1 of East Africans, e.g. 'have mercy for', 'worry about' might have lent themselves to be modeled on a more L2 French-like pattern.

• But much more empirical evidence from diachronic text corpora of well-documented language contact situations is needed to get a clearer sense of why certain construction types tend to mirror substrate patterns, whereas others mirror superstrate patterns, and still others stem from universal patterns of language change under the specific conditions of second language use during creolization scenarios (cf. Siegel (2008) for the notion of "second language use").
2. **Path constructions ('to go to', 'to come from')**

**English**

(17) a. *I am in the forest*
   
b. *I go into the forest*
   
c. *I come from/out of the forest*

**Seychelles Creole**

(18) a. *mon dan bwa*
   
   1sg in forest
   
   b. *mon al dan bwa*
   
   1sg go in forest
   
   c. *mon sorti dan bwa*
   
   1sg come.from in forest

**Questions:**

1. How is `path` or orientation of movement encoded in creole languages?  
2. Where do these constructions come from?
Answers:
1. Many creoles behave like Seychelles Creole in that they do not express PATH overtly; the appropriate interpretation has to be inferred from the semantics of the verb.
2. From the substrate languages.

Figure 1. Structure of a local situation (Jackendoff 1983: 161ff.; Lehmann 1992: 629)

```
I     go     to     in     forest
```

**moving or located object**  **involved in situation**  **oriented with respect to**  **local region of**  **reference object**
Jackendoff (1983:163)

(19a) The mouse ran into the room.
[PATH TO ([PLACE IN ([THING ROOM]))])]

(19b) The mouse ran from under the table.
[PATH FROM ([PLACE UNDER([THING TABLE]))])]

(20) English

ALLATIVE I go into the forest.

ABLATIVE I come from/out of the forest.

• In English, the two semantic components 'oriented with respect to' (PATH) and 'local region of' (PLACE) are fused into one lexeme into (which shows a somewhat unexpected linearization, first PLACE in- and then PATH -to).

• Within the PATH segment, the ALLATIVE and ABLATIVE concepts are marked
differently, into vs. out of.

(21) French

LOCATION Je suis dans la forêt.

ALLATIVE Je vais dans la forêt.

ABLATIVE Je sors de la forêt.

• French has a different construction type with a split between ALLATIVE marking and ABLATIVE marking: Only the ABLATIVE is marked overtly (by de), whereas the notion of PLACE is expressed through the semantics of the verb sortir (‘go/come out of’).

• In contrast to the ABLATIVE, the ALLATIVE is not marked overtly because LOCATION (BE-AT) is marked by the same preposition à, dans, chez (cf. examples in (21)). These prepositions therefore only refer to PLACE.

• --> In French the ABLATIVE is marked overtly against the non-marked ALLATIVE.
• comparison of the corresponding examples from Seychelles Creole to the English and French ones
--> in Seychelles Creole the ALLATIVE and ABLATIVE are not marked differently:

Seychelles Creole

(22) ALLATIVE Mon al dan bwa.
    1SG.SBJ go LOC.in forest
    'I go into the forest.'

(23) ABLATIVE Mon sorti dan bwa.
    1SG.SBJ come.from LOC.in forest
    'I come out of the forest.'

• both examples contain the preposition dan, which marks the region of the reference object, it does not refer to PATH (no contrast between ALLATIVE and ABLATIVE). The appropriate PATH sense is included in the semantics of the verb.
2.1 Creoles without overt \textit{path}-encoding (like Seychelles Creole)

• Haitian Creole (F, Caribbean; bible translation)

\textbf{ALLATIVE}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[(24)] Jézu tounin lakay li.
\quad Jesus go.back house \textit{poss}
\quad 'Jesus returned home.' (Mark 3, 20)
\item[(25)] Yo alé nan you vil.
\quad 3\text{pl} go \textit{loc.in} one town
\quad 'They went to a town.' (Mark 1, 21)
\end{enumerate}

\textbf{ABLATIVE}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[(26)] (...) kèk mésajè sòti kay chèf sinagòg la.
\quad (...) some messenger come.from house ruler synagoge \textit{def}
\quad 'Some messengers came from the house of the ruler of the synagoge.'
\quad (Mark 5, 35)
\item[(27)] Li tandé you voua ki sòti \textit{nan} sièl la ki di: (...) \textit{21}
\quad 3\text{sg} hear a voice \textit{rel} come.from \textit{loc.in} heaven \textit{def} \textit{rel} say
'He heard a voice that came from heaven saying: (…).’ (Mark 1, 11)

- **Louisiana Creole** (F, North America; Neumann 1985:299)
  
  ALLATIVE
  
  (28) $Epi$ to $va$ la mes.
  
  then $2SG$ go $DEF$ service
  
  ‘Then you go to the service.’

  ABLATIVE
  
  (29) $Li$ devje $la$ Frõs.
  
  $3SG$ come.from $DEF$ France
  
  ‘He comes from France.’

- **Angolar** (P, Africa; Maurer 1995:100)
  
  ALLATIVE
  
  (30) $ene$ ba $Txindadji$ (…)
  
  $3PL$ go Trinidad
‘They went to Trinidad.’

ABLATIVE
(31) * am fô mionga
    1SG come.back sea
    ‘I came back from the sea’

- **Príncipe** (P, Africa, Günther 1973:112)

ALLATIVE
(31) tetúga we pá
    turtle go beach
    'Turtle went to the beach'

ABLATIVE
(32) desé pá
    go.down/away beach
    '(he) left the beach'

- **Ndyuka** (E, Surinam, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 420ff.)

“Distinctions of at rest, motion to, motion from and motion past are expressed by the verb.” – general preposition (*n*)a ‘to, at, on’

23
ESSIVE
(33) A de a osu
3SG be LOC house
‘(s)he is at home/(s)he is in the house’

ALLATIVE
(34) (...) yu á mu go na a weko bon
(...) 2SG NEG must go LOC DEF weko tree
‘(...) You mustn’t go to the weko tree’

ABLATIVE
(35) da u komoto a Diitabiki
then 1/2PL come.out LOC Drietabbetje
‘then we left Drietabbetje’

• Sranan (E, Surinam; cited after Boretzky 1983:198)

ALLATIVE
(36) Anansi go na hontiman
Anansi go LOC hunter
'Anansi went to the hunter'

ABLATIVE

(37) a komopo na hontiman
   3SG come.from LOC hunter

'he came from the hunter'

2.2 Creoles with special ABLATIVE-marking

• Tayo (F, Pacific; Ehrhart 1993:110, 235, 238, 241)

ALLATIVE

(38) e pi la ra:tre da meso-la
    then 3SG go.back in house-DEF

‘then she returned to the house’

(39) (…) pu ale Lil Wa
    to go Ile Ouen

‘(…) to go to Ouen Island’

ABLATIVE

(40) tule per sola arive vja de Puebo
‘the priests came leaving from Pouébo’

(41) nu vja de partu-la
    1PL come ABL all.over-there
    ‘we come from all over the place’

• Kriol (E, Australia; Bible translation)

ALLATIVE
(42) deibin go langa det kemp blanga Saiman en Endru
    they. PAST go ALL DEF house POSS Simon and Andrew
    ‘they went to the house of Simon and Andrew’ (Mark 1, 29)

ABLATIVE
(43) en wen Jisas bin gidap brom det woda
    and when Jesus PAST come.out ABL DEF water
    ‘and when Jesus came out of the water’ (Mark 1, 10)
• **Broken** (E, Australia, Torres Strait; Shnukal 1988:135, 141f.)

**ALLATIVE**

(44) go  *baink/skul/wok/aus*
    go.to  bank/school/work/house
    ‘to go to the bank/to the school/to work/home’

**ABLATIVE**

(45) *kam prom wok*
    come  ABL work
    ‘to come from work’

• **Nigerian Pidgin English** (Faraclas 1996:74, 153)

**ALLATIVE**

(46) *im go tawn*
    3sg go town
    '(s)he went to town'

**ABLATIVE**

(47) *a kom fròm fam*
3. Feature 79: Motion-to and Motion-from

- Partial mismatch between my "older" data collected from grammars and the "newer" APiCS data because contributors interpreted the feature as also including examples with manner-of-mouvement verbs plus a serial verb, thus checking the feature value 2 "different marking" whereas the use of the mouvement verb 'come' on its own would yield feature value 1 "identical marking".

Angolar (P, Africa; Maurer 2012)
(48) [...] lemu tô vomoka fô mo r'ê.
    paddle REP slip   come.from hand his
    ' [...] the paddle also slipped out of his hands.'
4. Potential substrates

4.1 for Atlantic and Indian Ocean Creoles which do not grammatically differentiate between ALLATIVE and ABLATIVE

• Swahili (Bantu; bible translation)

ESSIVE

(49) wa-li-kuwa chombo-ni
3PL-PAST-be boat-LOC
'They were in/on a boat.' (Mark 1,19)

ALLATIVE

(50) a-ka-end a bahari-ni
3SG-SEQ-go sea-LOC
'He went to the sea' (Mark 1, 19)

ABLATIVE
(51) sauti i-ka-toka mbingu-ni
    voice 3SG-SEQ-come.from heaven-LOC
    ‘a voice came from heaven’ (Mark 1, 11)

kutoka (< ku-toka, ku- infinitive-marker, toka ‘come’) has already quite far grammaticalized into a preposition marking ABLATIVE ‘from, away’:

(52) a-li-po-panda kutoka maji-ni
    3SG-PAST-LOC-climb INF+come water-LOC
    ‘he came out of the water’ (Mark 1, 10)

• Nkore-Kiga (Bantu; Taylor 1985:109ff.)
  “The basic preposition aha does duty for general location. It can be rendered into English as ‘at’, ‘on’, ‘to’, ‘away from’, according to the verb used with it.”

  ESSIVE

(53) a-byamire aha nsi
    3SG-liePFV LOC.on ground
    ‘He is lying on the ground.’
ALLATIVE

(54) ky-a-gwa aha nsi
    it-PAST-fall LOC.on ground
   ’It fell to the ground.’

ABLATIVE

(55) y-aa-ki-iha aha nsi
    he- PAST-it-take LOC.on ground
   ’He took it off the ground’
    (transitive motion verb)

• Maninka (West Mande; Tröbs 1999:369)

ESSIVE

(56) Musa ye ji ro
    Musa PRED water LOC.in
   ’Musa stays in the water.’

ALLATIVE
(57) Musa dòn-na ji ro
Musa go.into-PRED water loc.in
‘Musa went into the water.’

ABLATIVE
(58) Musa bo-ra ji ro
Musa go.out-PRED water loc.in
‘Musa came out of the water.’

• **Ewe** (Kwa; Pasch 1995:39, 54f.)

ESSIVE
(59) é-lè àve&-á mè
3SG-be forest-DEF loc.in
'(s)he is in the forest'

ALLATIVE
(60) é-yì kòbè-á mè
3SG-go village-DEF loc.in
'(s)he goes/went to the village'
ABLATIVE

(61) tsó àvé mè
    come.out forest LOC.in
    'to come out from the forest'

• African languages which do not differentiate between ALLATIVE and
  ABLATIVE (p.c. Bernhard Wälchli):

    Tamachek, Songhay, Murle, Pökoot (Suk), Dinka, Acholi, Ngambay, 
    Bambara, Ewe, Twi, Ijo, Efik, Bamoun, Swahili, Zulu

4.2 Substrates for Tayo

• Tayo has a special ABLATIVE marker de. Interestingly, at least one of its 
  direct substrates (Cèmuhî) also has a special ABLATIVE-marker:

• Nélémwa (Oceanic language; Bril 2002:296, 309)
  very complex system of locational reference (deixis and other spatial axes)
ALLATIVE

(62) na u tu Frâs
    1SG PFV go.down France
    ‘I will go to France’

ABLATIVE

(63) na oda me na Frâs
    1SG go.up DIR ABL France
    ‘I come back here from France’  me=directional ‘towards the speaker’

(64) i ulep na ni mwa
    3SG pass ABL in house
    ‘he comes out of the house’

• Tinrin (Oceanic; Osumi 1995: 80f.)

ALLATIVE

(65) simô nrâ fi pwere gi sinema
    Simon 3SG go ALL LOC cinema
    ‘Simon goes to the cinema.’
ABLATIVE

(66) nrâ  ta  nrî  nrâ  treanrü  ghe  âroa  giwe
    3SG  hit  3SG  SM  person  ABL  over.there  mountain
    ‘The person (who came) from the mountain hit him.’

• Cèmuhî (Oceanic language; Rivierre 1980: 220, 351)

ABLATIVE

(67) lè  céla  mu  wé
    3PL  flee  ABL  where
    ‘From where do they flee?’
5. Substrate–superstrate comparison

5.1 Creole = substrate ≠ superstrate

• many Atlantic (mostly French based and some English based) and Indian Ocean creoles pattern with their substrates and **against their superstrates**
  ---> no grammatical differentiation **ALLATIVE** vs. **ABLATIVE**

• new APiCS-data seem to make the picture even more complex
  (integration of serial verb constructions with 'come.out', 'from')

5.2 Creole = substrate = superstrate (‘convergence’)

• Tayo

• Nigerian Pidgin: two apparently important substrates for Nigerian Pidgin, Yoruba and Hausa, do grammatically differentiate between **ALLATIVE** and **ABLATIVE**.
• African languages that do differentiate between allative and ablative (p.c. Bernhard Wälchli):
  Hausa, Yoruba, Kunama, Nubian (Kunuzi), Nama

5.3 Creole ≠ substrate

• Haitian Creole: one major exception within all Atlantic and Indian Ocean creoles is Haitian Creole, because its major substrate Fongbe marks ablative with a special preposition sín:

**Fongbe** (Kwa; Lefebvre & Brousseau 2001: 302, 304)

**ALLATIVE**

(68) Kòkú yì àxì mè
  Kòkú go market in
  ‘Koku went to the market.’

**ABLATIVE**
(69) Kòkú  wá  sín  axì  (mè)
      Kòkú  come  from  market  in
      ‘Kòkú came from (within) the market.’

6. Conclusion

• strong evidence for substrate influence in path-constructions in creole languages

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