A Grammar of Pichi

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To Yèni and Fodé

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# Symbols and abbreviations

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| - | morpheme boundary | lh | rising contour tone over same |
| = | clitic morpheme boundary |  | syllable |
| ! | directive clause; vocative | ln | last name |
| \* | ungrammatical example | loc | locative preposition |
| , | continuative intonation and pause | lt | lexical tone |
| . | utterance-final: declarative intonation | mvc | multiverb construction |
| . | word-medial: morpheme boundary in | n.a. | not applicable |
|  | exocentric compound | name | personal name |
| (…) | untranscribed part of utterance | neg | negative/negator |
| [ ] | explanation of translated elements | np | noun phrase |
| / | speech interruption | nspc | non-specific |
| ? | final: question intonation | obj | object (case) |
| ? | initial: grammaticality dubious | obl | obligative mood marker |
| [á] | IPA transcription | pfv | narrative perfective marker |
| /a/ | phoneme | pl | plural(iser) |
| <a> | grapheme | place | place name |
| á | high tone diacritic | poss | possessive (case) |
| à | low tone diacritic | pot | potential mood marker |
| % | boundary tone | pp | prepositional phrase |
| 1, 2, 3 | first, second, third person | prep | associative preposition |
| abl | abilitive mood marker | prf | perfect tense-aspect |
| adv | adverbial(ising suffix) | pst | past tense marker |
| be | identity copula | q | question particle |
| be.loc | locative-existential copula | qnt | quantifier |
| bt | boundary tone | quot | quotative marker |
| cpd | tone deletion in compounding | red | reduplicant in reduplication |
| def | definite article | rep | repeated word in repetition |
| emp | emphatic | sbj | subject (case) |
| f | feminine gender | sbjv | subjunctive marker |
| fn | first name | sg | singular |
| foc | focus marker and identity copula | skt | “suck teeth” |
| h | high tone(d syllable) | sp | sentence particle |
| hab | habitual marker | spec | specific |
| ideo | ideophone | sub | subordinator |
| indf | indefinite | svc | serial verb construction |
| indp | independent/emphatic pronoun | tma | tense-mood-aspect |
| intj | interjection | tr | transitive |
| intr | intransitive | v1 | initial verb in MVC |
| ipfv | imperfective aspect marker | v2 | second verb in MVC |
| l | low tone(d syllable) | vp | verb phrase |
| l.h | low-high tone sequence over two |  |  |
|  | adjacent syllables |  |  |

# Introduction

## The language and its speakers

Pichi is an Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creole language (Ethnologue code “fpe”) spoken on the island of Bioko, Equatorial Guinea (cf.

Map 2). Pichi is the most widely spoken language of the country’s capital Malabo next to Spanish, and it serves as a primary language to a large proportion of the capital’s inhabitants. Pichi is also used as a primary language in a number of villages and towns along the Coast of Bioko, amongst them Sampaca, Fiston, Basupú, Barrio Las Palmas, and Luba (Morgades Besari 2005, p.c.), and it is spoken as a lingua franca throughout Bioko (cf. Map 2 below). The language is also used by a sizeable community of people originating from Bioko in Bata, the largest town on the continental part of the country. In the literature, Pichi is known under the names “Fernando Po Creole English” (Simons & Fennig 2017), “Fernando Po Krio” (Berry 1970), “Fernandino Creole English” (Holm 1988), “Pidgin (English)” (Morgades Besari 2005, p.c.) “Broken English” (Zarco 1938), and “Pichinglis” (Lipski 1992). While older speakers soimetimes refer to the language as “Krio” or “Pidgin”, most present-day speakers refer to it as “Pichinglis”, “Pichin” with a nasalised final vowel, or “Pichi” tout court*.*

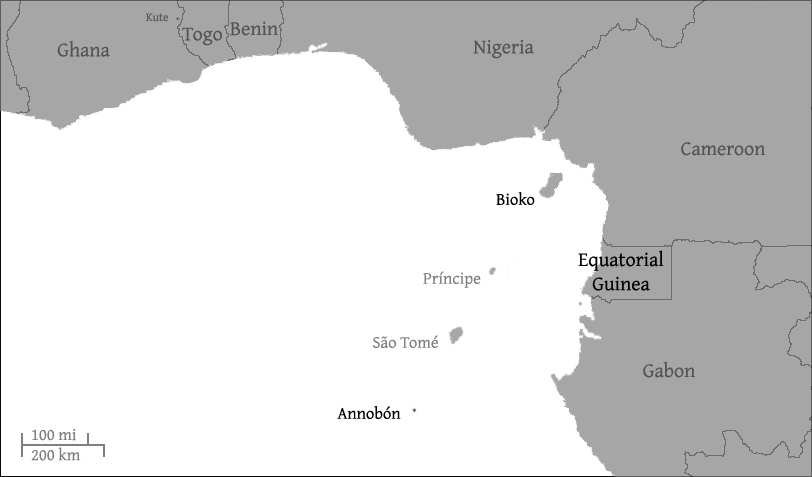
Pichi descends from 19th century Krio, which first arrived in Bioko, the former Fernando Po, with African settlers from Freetown, Sierra Leone, in 1827 (Fyfe 1962:165). Krio, in turn, emerged as the principal language of the urban population of Freetown, Sierra Leone, from the late 18th century onwards (Huber 1999). Modern Krio and Pichi are therefore both descendants of Early Krio. Linguistic and historical evidence suggests that the diffusion of Krio along the West coast of Africa in the 19th century also contributed significantly to the formation of Nigerian Pidgin, Cameroon Pidgin, and Ghanaian Pidgin English (Huber 1999).

No linguistic census data exist in Equatorial Guinea, but probably up to 70 per cent of the population of Bioko island, hence well above 100,000 speakers, regularly use Pichi at various levels of nativisation and in various multilingual and multilectal constellations in and outside their homes (Yakpo 2013:194). Next to Pichi, at least fourteen languages are spoken by the peoples of Equatorial Guinea besides (Hammarström, Forkel & Haspelmath 2017). Fang has the largest number of speakers, but its use is largely limited to the continental part of the country (also referred to as “Río Muni”). Bubi is probably the second most widely spoken African language of the country, but its use is, in turn, limited to Bioko. There is an established pattern of language shift to Pichi and Spanish in Malabo and other larger agglomerations of Bioko, and there are indications that Bubi is under increasing pressure from these two languages. Equatorial Guinea also harbours the Portuguese-lexifier creole Fa d’Ambô, spoken by the people of the island of Annobón (cf. Map 1). Fa d’Ambô shares historical and linguistic ties with the other Portuguese-lexifier creoles of the Gulf of Guinea, namely Lungwa Santome and Lunga Ngola (Angolar) in São Tomé, and Lung’Ie in Príncipe (Post 2013).

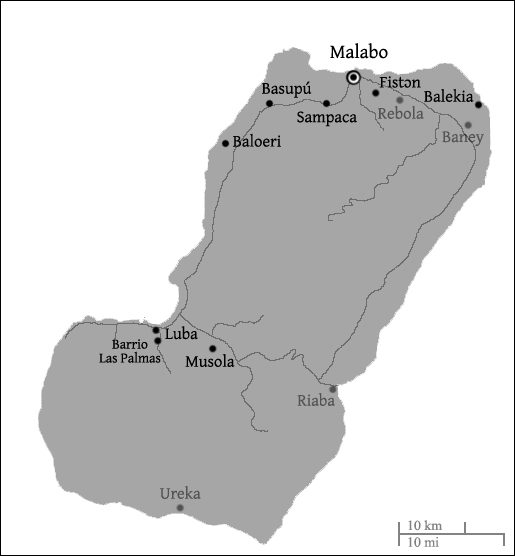
Mutual intelligibility between Pichi, Krio, Cameroon Pidgin, Nigerian Pidgin, and Ghanaian Pidgin English is relatively high. However, an impediment to fluid communication between speakers of Pichi and its African sister languages is the divergent path of development of Pichi since 1857. In that year, Spain began to actively enforce colonial rule in Equatorial Guinea. From then onwards, Pichi was cut off from the direct influence of English. Pichi has therefore escaped the phonological, grammatical, and lexical convergence with English that has been documented for English-lexifier creoles spoken alongside English (see e.g. Sala & Ngefac 2006 for Cameroon Pidgin). At the same time, Pichi has been in intense contact with Spanish for over a century and has undergone substantial lexical and some structural influence from the colonial language of Equatorial Guinea .

Equatorial Guinea has three *de jure* official languages, namely Spanish, French, and Portuguese. From the primary to the tertiary levels, instruction is given alone in Spanish, which is therefore the only *de facto* official language of the country. There is no legally or politically defined role for education in African languages (Yakpo 2011; 2016). However, the national education bill currently in vigour (República de Guinea Ecuatorial 2007) offers the optional use of indigenous languages in education (Olo Fernandes 2012). The socio-linguistic status of Pichi is particularly unfavourable among the natively spoken languages of Equatorial Guinea. During colonial rule, Pichi was considered an impoverished, debased form of English by Spanish colonial administrators and missionaries (see Zarco 1938:5–7 for a pungent exposition of this view). Pichi, like the other creole languages of the Atlantic Basin, still has to struggle with this difficult legacy. In spite of its great importance as a community language and as a national and regional lingua franca, Pichi enjoys no official recognition nor support, is conspicuously absent from public discourse and the official media, and until today, has no place in the educational policy of Equatorial Guinea (Yakpo 2016).

Map 1 Continental and insular Equatorial Guinea (in bold)



Map 2 Towns with Pichi-speaking communities in Bioko (in bold)



The lingering colonialist perspective on Pichi and its sister languages in West Africa and across the Atlantic stands in stark contrast to the fact that these languages epitomise the achievements of African and African-descended peoples who, in resisting and adapting to the ignominious system of European slavery and colonialism, carved out in Africa and the Americas one of the largest, and today most vibrant cultural and linguistic zones of the world.

## Contact with Spanish

Spanish has left a deep imprint on the lexicon and grammar of Pichi. Codemixing is an integral part of the linguistic system of Pichi (Yakpo 2009; 2018). The pervasive influence of Spanish on Pichi is for one part the consequence of language policy. Since colonial rule and the independence of Equatorial Guinea in 1968, Spanish has remained the sole medium of instruction at all levels of the educational system (Lipski 1992:35–36). There is a widespread competence in different registers of Spanish by Pichi speakers in Malabo and Equatorial Guinea as a whole (Lipski 1985; Castillo-Rodríguez & Morgenthaler García 2016). In Malabo, the acquisition of Spanish begins in early childhood, even for many working-class Equatoguineans with little or no school education.

Another factor favouring codemixing is the positive attitude towards multilingualism in a highly polyglot society, against the background of a tenacious vitality of Pichi as a symbol of social identity. Presumably, Pichi–Spanish codemixing has for a long time served as a badge of identity for the population of Bioko in the course of a long history of immigration by speakers of other varieties of West African English-lexicon Creoles. Today, the language also plays an important role for the self-identification of those who grew up on the island in the face of an accelerated pace of internal migration by Equatoguineans from the mainland. *Bɔ́n na yá, gró na yá* ‘born here, grown up here’ is the mark which distinguishes Pichi-speaking islanders, irrespective of their ethnic background, from the late arrivals of mainland origin who speak little or no Pichi.

Equally, the burgeoning oil economy of Equatorial Guinea has led to increased urbanisation, extending multi-ethnic social networks and the spread of Pichi as a native language. In such a socio-economic environment and amidst a high general competence in the official language Spanish, codemixing between Pichi and Spanish, rather than being exceptional, is consciously and confidently articulated in daily life (cf. chapter 11 for a detailed description of codemixing). Pichi is also in contact with other African languages spoken in the region, amongst them Fang and Bubi, as well as Nigerian and Cameroonian Pidgin (Yakpo 2013 discusses influences on Pichi from these languages).

## Variation

The variation recorded in Pichi appears to be determined by a mixture of the factors age, language background, and social class. Phonological variation is particularly conspicuous. Some of the variation in Pichi may be captured by an albeit oversimplified division of speakers into two groups. Group 1 principally consists of the Fernandinos, the old commercial and social elite of Bioko (Lynn 1984) that inhabits the historical centre of Malabo and has used Pichi as a home language since the 19th century. Group 1 also comprises people of diverse ethno-linguistic backgrounds who grew up in Malabo in the ambit of Fernandino culture. The lexicon, grammar, and phonology of Group 1 reflects an earlier chronolect of Pichi, which is also closer to (early) Krio.

Group 2 is larger and culturally more diverse by incorporating “nuevos criollos” (Morgades Besari, 2005, p.c.) who have been accultured more recently into the Pichi-speaking urban culture of Malabo. It encompasses a large number of speakers with a Bubi cultural background who have shifted to Pichi as a primary language (Bolekia Boleká 2007), and it includes large numbers of speakers with varying degrees of nativisation. Group 1 is shrinking at the expense of Group 2 through rapid urbanisation, immigration, and language shift. The terms “Mesopidgin” and “Acropidgin” employed by Morgades Besari (2011) capture some of the socio-linguistic differences between Group 1 and Group 2. The distinction between Group 1 and 2 is also reflected in apparent-time differences, where older speakers (principally those who came of age in the colonial era and the first decade of independence) tend to use the Group 1 lect, and the young majority population of Malabo and Bioko tends to use the Group 2 lect.

In this work, I privilege the description of the language of Group 2 in the wish to represent how Pichi is spoken by the young and multi-ethnic majority in the homes and streets of Malabo today. I nevertheless account for variation by employing alternate forms where they exist (e.g. nɔ́ba~nɛ́a ‘neg.prf’, tínap~tánap ‘stand (up)’), and some of them may reflect differences between Groups 1 and 2. In the following, I present a few generalisations of the variation present in my corpus.

For Group 2 speakers, there is no phonemic contrast between the alveolar fricative [s] and the postalveolar fricative [ʃ] (1), and this is systematically applied to all words where Group 1 speakers use [ʃ] (2). Group 2 speakers also insert a palatal glide [j] between [s] and a following mid vowel where Group 1 uses [ʃ] alone (3)–(4):

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | Group 1 |  | Group 2 |  |
| (1) | so | [só] | ‘sew; so’ | [só] | ‘sew; show; so’ |
|  |  | [ʃó] | ‘show’ |  |  |
| (2) | fínis | [fínìʃ] | ‘finish’ | [fínìs] | ‘finish’ |
| (3) | sɔ́p | [ʃɔ́p] | ‘shop’ | [sjɔ́p] | ‘shop’ |
| (4) | nésɔn | [néʃɔ̀n] | ‘nation’ | [nésjɔ̀n] | ‘nation’ |

Group 2 speakers tend to neutralise the phonemic distinction between close-mid and open-mid vowels (5)–(2):

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | Group 1 | Group 2 |  |
| (5) | fɔ | [fò ~ fɔ̀] | [fɔ̀] | ‘prep’ |
|  | mɔ́ | [mó ~ mɔ́] | [mɔ́] | ‘more’ |
| (2) | mék | [mék ~ mɛ́k] | [mék] | ‘make; sbjv’ |
|  | lɛ́k | [lèk ~ lɛ̀k] | [lɛ̀k] | ‘like (preposition)’ |

Group 2 speakers also tend to nasalise [i] final words with an H.L tonal configuration (3) and to prenasalise [j] initial words as in (4). This may lead to the formation of homophones like (5) and (6) for Group 2 speakers:

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | Group 1 | Group 2 |  |
| (3) | lɔ́ki | [lɔ́kìn] | [lɔ́kì] | ‘be lucky’ |
|  | tɔ́sti | [tɔ́stìn] | [tɔ́stì] | ‘be thirsty’ |
| (4) | yandá | [njandá] | [jàndá] | ‘yonder’ |
| (5) | yús | [njús] | [jús] | ‘use’ |
| (6) | nyús | [njús] | [njús] | ‘news’ |

There is also some variation in the use and acceptance of certain grammatical structures. For example, Group 2 speakers seem to prefer the negative perfect marker nɛ́a over nɔ́ba. Equally, a serial verb construction (SVC) featuring the verb sté ‘be long time’ is not readily accepted as grammatical by many Group 1 speakers (cf. 11.2.5) and may therefore be a more recent development. Conversely, other types of SVCs are more common with Group 1 than with Group 2. Amongst them are SVCs involving the verb ték ‘take’ (cf. 11.2.3) and motion-direction SVCs involving the verbs gó ‘go’ and kán ‘come’ (cf. 11.2.1). *Ték*-serialisation is very common in modern Krio and all other African English-lexifier creoles. Group 2 speakers instead tend to employ a combination of a verb and a prepositional phrase in these contexts. A final area characterised by variation is the extent of Pichi–Spanish language contact. For example, the names of weekdays and numerals are almost exclusively expressed in Spanish by Group 2 speakers. Group 1 speakers have access to both English- and Spanish-derived lexicon. They may employ lunes ‘Monday’ in a code-mixed sentence, but are equally likely to use mɔ́nde ‘Monday’. Further, English-derived numbers above five are rarely used by Group 2 speakers (cf. 13.3.1). In contrast, Group 1 speakers master a wider range of the Pichi numeral system. However, even with this group, Pichi numbers above ten are seldom heard.

## Affiliation

Pichi belongs to the grouping of languages referred to in the literature by various appelations, among them “English-based Afro-American” ((Alleyne 1980), “Atlantic Anglophone Creoles” (Hancock 1986; 1987) “Atlantic English-based Creoles” (e.g. Muysken & Smith 1990), “Atlantic English Creoles” (e.g. Baker 1999). In this work and others, I employ the term “Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles” (abbreviated AECs) (Faraclas 2004) as a label that includes information about the speaker population (“Afro-”, i.e. people of African ancestry) and the two world regions where the languages are mainly spoken (“Afro-Caribbean”, i.e. Africa and the Caribbean). The use of “lexifier” underscores the dynamic character of the English input to the lexicon, which varies in size and nature between the different languages.

All Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles are transmitted and learned in various ways within the family and serve as means of communication and identification to linguistic communities. I therefore dispense with the term “pidgin” with its socio-structural connations and use “creole” alone. When referring to the linguistic grouping, “Creole” is written with an initial capital letter. The generic term is written “creole” in lower case.

With well over 100 million speakers, the Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles and Pidgin-Creoles (henceforth AECs) spoken in Africa and the Americas together constitute one of the largest lectal continua of the Western hemisphere in speaker numbers and geographical extent (Yakpo 2016b:22–23). Besides Pichi, the African sub-grouping of the AECs contains Krio (Sierra Leone), Aku (Gambia), Ghanaian Pidgin English, Nigerian Pidgin, and Cameroonian Pidgin (Huber & Görlach 1996; Huber 1999; Baker & Huber 2001). There are also historical connections and cross-influences with varieties of Liberian English (Singler 1997). Even if many details are still unclear, the evidence that there is a degree of common ancestry between the African and Caribbean AECs is compelling (e.g. Hancock 1986; 1987; Smith 1987; 2015). There are also indications of a historical relation of the AECs with African American English(es) (Dillard 1973; Rickford 1999; Winford 2017).

Within the African AECs, Pichi is most directly related to the Krio language of Sierra Leone. A comparison of the two languages yields systematic lexical and structural correspondences. But it also reveals some differences. To begin with, both languages share a large percentage of non-basic vocabulary, as shown in (7)(a), with the same tonal configurations. However, the Yoruba (b), Mende (c), and Temne (d) component of the Pichi lexicon appears to be much smaller than that of Krio and is limited to a few words in the corpus (data from Fyle & Jones 1980):

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (7) | Pichi | Krio | Gloss |
| a. | à | à | ‘I’ |
|  | pɔ́sin | pɔ́sin | ‘person’ |
|  | (s)tík | (s)tík | ‘tree’ |
|  | yáy | yáy | ‘eye’ |
|  | yés | yés | ‘ear’ |
|  | bɔbí | bɔbí | ‘breast’ |
|  | bɛlɛ́ | bɛlɛ́ | ‘belly; foetus’ |
|  | watá, wɔtá | watá, wɔtá | ‘water’ |
|  | dɔtí | dɔtí | ‘be dirty’ |
|  | fɔdɔ́n | fɔdɔ́m | ‘fall’ |
|  | chɔ́p | chɔ́p; ít | ‘eat’ |
|  | hós | hós | ‘house’ |
|  | tití | tití | ‘girl’ |
|  | mákit | mákit; mákɛt | ‘market’ |
|  | wɔwɔ́ | wɔwɔ́ | ‘be messed up; ugly’ |
|  | bɔkú | bɔkú | ‘be much’ |
|  | yangá | nyangá | ‘be ostentatious’ |
|  | dúya | dúya | ‘please’ |
| b. | ógi | ógi | ‘corn porridge’ |
|  | kúsɛ́ | kúshɛ́ | ‘expression of empathy’ |
|  | ― | órewá | ‘goodbye greeting’ |
| c. | nyɔ́ní | nyɔ́ní | ‘red ant’ |
|  | blɔkɔ́s | blɔkɔ́s | ‘scrotum; penis’ |
|  | kandá | kandá | ‘skin; bark’ |
| d. | yabaś | yabás | ‘onion’ |
|  | ― | kunkubé | ‘kind of boat’ |

The two languages also share a number of lexical items common to numerous African and American English-lexicon Creoles. These were first compiled by (Smith 1987; 2001; 2015) and termed “Ingredient X, Y, and Z”. In (8), I list all the relevant words contained in the Pichi corpus. They comprise “Ingredient X” words of African origin (a), “Ingredient Y” words of Portuguese origin (b), “Ingredient Z” words of English origin (c), as well as a few function words of diverse origin (d):

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| (8) | Ingredient X, Y, Z | Gloss |
| a. | sósó | ‘only’ |
|  | pɔtɔpɔ́tɔ́ | ‘mud(dy) substance’ |
|  | akará | ‘bean cake’ |
|  | fufú | ‘fufu’ |
| b. | sabí | ‘know’ |
|  | pikín | ‘child’ |
| c. | kéch | ‘catch’ |
|  | yɛ́r(i) | ‘hear’ |
|  | ɛf(ɛ) | ‘if’ |
|  | bwɛ́l | ‘boil’ |
|  | (s)pwɛ́l | ‘spoil; spend’ |
| d. | na | ‘foc’ |
|  | una; unu | ‘2pl’ |
|  | mék | ‘imperative; sbjv’ |
|  | de | ‘ipfv’ |
|  | dé | ‘there’ |
|  | dé | ‘be.loc’ |

Some of the differences in vocabulary between the two languages owe to the same phonological characteristics that differentiate the members of Group 1 (Pichi) and Group 2 (Krio) in the preceding section. Hence, most speakers of Pichi make no phonemic distinction between alveolar and postalveolar fricatives (9)(a); the phonemic distinction between close-mid and open-mid vowels is neutralised by most speakers (b).

In addition, the distinction between velar and labial nasal consonants tends to collapse in word-final position (c); phonological processes create preferred CV sequences (d), voiced obstruents are normally devoiced in word-final position (e), while other words have different coda consonants (f). In general terms, present-day Pichi as spoken by the majority of its speakers exhibits a tendency towards the reduction of phonemic contrasts when compared to Krio.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (9) |  | Pichi | | Krio | | Gloss |
|  | a. | sút | [sút] | shút | [ʃút] | ‘shoot’ |
|  | b. | fɔ | [fɔ̀~fò] | fɔ | [fɔ̀] | ‘prep’ |
|  | c. | frɔn | [frɔ̀n ~ frɔ̀m] | frɔm | [frɔ̀m] | ‘from’ |
|  | d. | smɔ́l | [sìmɔ́ ~ sùmɔ́] | smɔ́l | [smɔ́l] | ‘be small’ |
|  | e. | bíg | [bík] | bíg | [bíg] | ‘be big’ |
|  | f. | (s)trɔ́n | [(s)trɔ́n] | (s)trɔ́ng | [(s)trɔ́ŋ] | ‘be strong’ |

Other differences in vocabulary, phonology, and grammar stem from the divergent socio-political development that Equatorial Guinea and Sierra Leone have gone through in the last hundred years. In Sierra Leone, British colonisation and the retention of political, economic, and linguistic ties with Britain after independence have reinforced the relationship between Krio and English. In Equatorial Guinea, the direct link with English was severed in 1858 when Spanish assumed the role of the dominant language. Equally, the influence of Krio on Pichi had petered out by the first decades of the 20th century as Spanish colonialism gradually put a stranglehold on relations between Fernando Po and Sierra Leone.

The role of the respective superstrates English (for Krio) and Spanish (for Pichi) can be read from the impact of these two languages on institutional and administrative terminology (10)(a), the numeral system above ten (b), and other lexical items (c). The use of a larger number of English-derived lexical items in Krio corresponds with a stronger presence of Spanish-derived lexicon in Pichi:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (10) | Pichi | Krio | Gloss |
| a. | profe(sor); tícha | tícha | ‘teacher’ |
|  | Camerún | Cameroon | ‘Cameroon’ |
|  | aeropuerto | ɛ́pɔt | ‘airport’ |
| b. | diez | tɛ́n | ‘ten’ |
|  | doce | twɛ́lf | ‘twelve’ |
|  | las dos | tú oklɔ́k | ‘two o’clock’ |
| c. | bikɔs, porque | bikɔs | ‘because’ |
|  | sube; gó ɔ́p | gó ɔ́p | ‘go up’ |
|  | sigue | kɔntínyu | ‘continue’ |

There is a high degree of correspondence between the forms of Pichi and Krio function words and the categories they express. For example, the forms and functions of the TMA markers in (11) are largely coterminous:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (11) | Pichi | Krio | Gloss |
|  | de | de | ‘ipfv’ |
|  | go | go | ‘pot’ |
|  | bin | bin | ‘pst’ |
|  | dɔ́n | dɔ́n | ‘prf’ |
|  | fɔ | fɔ | ‘prep’ |
|  | kin | kin | ‘hab; abl’ |

However, the distribution of the markers in (11) is not always identical in the two languages. For example, the Krio data reveals more combinatorial possibilities of the habitual marker kin ‘hab’ with other TMA markers (cf. Dandeson 2001), while the Pichi imperfective marker de ‘ipfv’ seems to have a broader range of functions than the Krio cognate form. Moreover, Krio has at least two auxiliary constructions which are not attested in my data. The verb blánt is only employed as a lexical verb with the meaning ‘reside’ in Pichi. In Krio, the element blant is a preverbal TMA element that expresses habitual aspect. Further evidence for grammaticalisation is that *blant* is L-toned in this function. Consider the following example (Krio sentences are marked Krio):

(12) Olú blant gó London fɔ Krísmɛs. Krio

name hab go place prep Christmas

‘Olu always goes to London for Christmas.’ (Yillah & Corcoran 2007:181)

Further, Krio employs the locative-existential copula dé ‘be.loc’ together with the preposition pan ‘on’ in an, albeit lectally restricted, auxiliary construction to express progressive aspect (13). The construction is rejected by Pichi speakers (14):

(13) Olú dé pan kám. Krio

name be.loc on come

‘Olu is coming (right now).’ (Yillah & Corcoran 2007:179)

(14) \*A dé pan chɔ́p.

1sg.sbj be.loc on eat

\*I’m eating. [ye07je 025]

Conversely, there is no data to suggest the existence in Krio of the Pichi egressive aspect construction involving the auxiliary verb kɔmɔ́t ‘go/come out’ (15) or, obviously, the continuative aspect construction featuring the Spanish-derived verb sigue ‘continue’ (16). Equally, an adverbial SVC involving the V1 sté ‘stay; be a long time’ appears to be unique to Pichi (17):

(15) Wì kɔmɔ́t chɔ́p náw só.

1pl come.out eat now like that.

‘We just ate right now.’ [ge07fn 208]

(16) A sigue plé bɔ́l sóté ívin tɛ́n.

1sg.sbj continue play ball until evening time

‘I continued playing ball until the evening.’ [be07fn 189]

(17) A sté chɔ́p.

1sg.sbj stay eat

‘It’s been a long time since I ate.’ [au07ec 078]

The literature on Krio also indicates a wider range and a more pervasive use of SVCs than attested for Pichi. For instance, Krio has a resultative SVC featuring dynamic verbs in the V2 position (18) and a give-type SVC in order to mark a recpient or beneficiary (19). Both types of construction are not attested in Pichi:

(18) Di húman kúk rɛ́s sɛ́l. Krio def woman cook rice sell

‘The woman cooked rice and sold it.’ (Finney 2004:72)

(19) I báy klós gí in pikín. Krio

3sg.sbj buy clothing give 3sg.poss child

‘He bought some clothes for his child.’ (Finney 2004:72)

In contrast, resultative state of affairs similar to (18) above may only feature stative property items as secondary verbs. Such constructions in Pichi are best seen to involve secondary predication (20):

(20) Dɛn dɔ́n bíl di hós strɔ́n.

3pl pfv build def road be.strong

‘The house is solidly built.’ [ra07ve 069]

At the same time, Pichi only employs a less integrated type of multiverb construction, namely clause chaining, in order to express a sentence like (19), involving a dynamic V2. Note that unlike the Krio sentences above, the Pichi example in (21) exhibits resumptive subject marking, i.e. the subject is repeated with the second verb in the series:

(21) Yu ték di mɔní yu gí mí.

2sg take def money 2sg give 1sg.indp

‘You took the money (and) gave it to me.’ [ro05de 033]

Numerous questions, however, remain open with regard to the extent of differences between the two languages. A considerable obstacle to comparative research is the lack of fresh data on Krio since the 1980s.

## Previous research on Pichi

Yakpo 2009 (in English) and 2010 (in Spanish) are the first in-depth descriptions of the phonology and grammar of Pichi. Mariano de Zarco (1938) is a language guide with a vocabulary list and a short grammar section. Trinidad Morgades Besari, former Vice-Chancellor of the National University of Equatorial Guinea and a well-known philologist of the country, has written about the use of Spanish and Pichi in Equatorial Guinea (2005; 2011). Morgades Besari’s unpublished work encompasses wordlists, a collection of stories and proverbs and proposals for an orthography of Pichi (see Yakpo 2011 for a discussion of the orthography). CEIBA Ediciones (Barcelona) has published a series of works dealing with the precolonial and colonial history and the political economy of Fernando Po, as well as the pivotal role of the Fernandinos in the making of present-day Bioko (e.g. Martín del Molino 1993; Cantús 2006).

## Standardisation and orthography

No commonly accepted standard orthography is in use for Pichi. The transcription used in this work follows the Krio orthography employed in the seminal Krio–English Dictionary (Fyle & Jones 1980) and subsequent revisions (Coomber 1992), which, in turn, relies on the IPA-based Africa Alphabet (International African Institute 1930) and the African Reference Alphabet (UNESCO 1978). In the Krio/Pichi orthography, the grapheme <ɛ> renders the open-mid front vowel [ɛ], and <ɔ> renders the open-mid back vowel [ɔ]. Other graphemes approximately represent the corresponding IPA sounds. In code-mixed sentences, Spanish material is rendered using the standard Spanish orthography.

Tone is marked on all Pichi words throughout this book. H-toned syllables bear an acute accent, e.g. *wét* [wét] ‘wait’, and L-toned syllables remain unmarked, e.g. *wet* [wèt] ‘with’. Tonal notation applies to the morpheme (i.e. the root), not the phonological word. In multimorphemic words, each morpheme therefore receives separate tone marks, e.g. *ús=tɛ́n* {*ús* ‘q’, *tɛ́n* ‘time’} ‘when’, *fáyn-wán* {*fáyn* ‘nice’, *-wán* ‘adv’} ‘nicely’. Acute accents over Spanish words are orthographic, and hence not tone marks.

## Methods and data

This grammatical description of Pichi is based on the analysis of a corpus of 46,060 words of dialogues, narratives, procedural texts, and elicitations. The data was collected during three stays of four weeks each in Malabo between 2003 and 2007 as part of the research for my PhD thesis (Yakpo 2009a). Recordings were conducted in the quarters of Ela Nguema, Nyumbili, and the historical centre of Malabo. Recordings were done with a digital mini disc recorder and transcribed and analysed using the SIL Toolbox 1.5 programme. The analysis of tone was done from connected speech and words spoken in isolation using the Praat 5.0 software. Much of my approach is guided by linguistic typology and the descriptive apparatus developed in research on African languages. I try to describe as much variation as feasible. I largely avoid comparative or etymological observations with respect to English and African languages and try to look at Pichi “from the inside”. This grammar has also been published in Spanish (Yakpo 2010) in an abridged version for use in Equatorial Guinea by researchers and university students, teachers, and educationists.

In Equatorial Guinea, I worked with altogether seventeen language consultants. All speakers have been using Pichi continuously since childhood onwards. Without exception, they are inhabitants of Malabo since birth or infancy. Most of them use Pichi more often than any other language, and most speakers view Pichi as the language they know best. Additionally, all speakers also know at least one of the following other languages in varying degrees of proficiency: Fang, Bubi, Fa d’Ambô, Kombĕ, Lungwa Santome, Nigerian Pidgin, Twi, Spanish, French, English, and German. There is a bias in the data towards speakers with a Bubi ethno-linguistic background, reflective of the circumstance that the majority of people who use Pichi as their primary language are from a Bubi background. The numerical dominance by these “nuevos criollos” over the “old” Creole community of Fernandino descent (Morgades Besari, 2005, p.c.) represents a significant shift in the social dynamics of the language which is reflected in my choice of speakers.

A few words are in order on aspects of my linguistic socialisation relevant to the research. During my first stay in Malabo, I used Ghanaian Pidgin English and Spanish as my working languages. During subsequent visits, when I felt confident enough to use Pichi without impeding fluid communication, I conducted my research exclusively in Pichi. My acquisition of Pichi and integration into social networks in Malabo was greatly facilitated by a pre-existing fluency in Ghanaian Pidgin English, exposure to other African AECs, and a cultural and linguistic *savoir faire* acquired during a childhood spent in Ghana. I also had a functional fluency in Spanish at the time of my first research trip to Equatorial Guinea.

Table 1.1 lists relevant information on language consultants. Speakers are sorted alphabetically along the “code” column. The symbol “n.n.” in the last row of the “speaker” column stands for incidental data collected from strangers in the streets, markets, and other public places in Malabo. Not included in the list is my speaker code [ko]. My participation in recorded conversations was kept to a minimum, but due to the nature of the method, it was more extensive during elicitations. Utterances of mine are, however, nowhere included in the analyses and interpretation of data. The symbols for gender are (F)emale and (M)ale. Age is provided in brackets of 10+, 20+, 30+, etc. The column “languages” specifies self-identified language knowledge. The symbol (h) in the “languages” column indicates home languages used for interaction within the (extended) family. Languages are listed in alphabetical order but home languages come first. Basic information on social class can be deduced from the “activity” column. The column “residence” indicates the neighbourhood of Malabo in which the respective speakers are domiciled. Detailed information on the corpus is provided in Table 1.2 further below.

Table 1.1 Language consultants

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Code | Speaker | F/M | Age | Languages | Activity | Residence |
| ab | Abuela | F | 80+ | Bubi (h), Pichi (h),  Spanish (h) | Child rearing, farming | Town |
| au | Agustín | M | 30+ | Fang (h), Spanish (h), Pichi, French | Senior civil service | Ela Nguema |
| be | Beatriz | F | 20+ | Bubi (h), Pichi (h), Spanish | Child rearing | Ela Nguema |
| bo | Aboki | F | 40+ | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), Bubi | Trade | Town |
| ch | Charlie | M | 10+ | Pichi (h), Spanish | School goer | Ela Nguema |
| dj | Djunais | M | 20+ | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), Bubi | Cook | Ela Nguema |
| eb | Ebongolo | M | 20+ | Kombĕ (h), Pichi, Spanish |  | Ela Nguema |
| ed | Eduardo | M | 30+ | Fa d’Ambô (h), Lungwa Santome (h), Fang, English, Pichi, Spanish | Civil servant | Ela Nguema |
| f1 | Fita 1 | M | 20+ | Unknown | Mechanic | Nyumbili |
| f2 | Fita 2 | M | 20+ | Unknown | Mechanic | Nyumbili |
| fr | Francisca | F | 30+ | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), English, French | Civil servant | Ela Nguema |
| ge | Lage | F | 30+ | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), English | Restaurant owner | Ela Nguema |
| he | Hermina | F | 30+ | Kombĕ (h), Fang, Pichi, Spanish | Child rearing | Ela Nguema |
| hi | Hilda | F | 50+ | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), Bubi, English | Trade | Town |
| ku | Tía Kuki | F | 50+ | Kombĕ (h), Fang, Pichi, Spanish | Trade | Ela Nguema |
| kw | Kwame | M | 40+ | Twi (h), English, Pichi, Spanish | Security guard | Kolwatá |
| li | Lindo | M | 30+ | Kombĕ (h), Pichi (h), Spanish | Worker | Ela Nguema |
| lo | Lourdes | F | 30+ | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), English | Manager | Town |
| ma | María | F | 30+ | Bubi (h), Pichi (h), Spanish | Domestic worker | Nyumbili |
| mi | Miguel | M | 10+ | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), Bubi | School goer | Town |
| ne | Nenuko | M | 30+ | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), Bubi | Mechanic | Ela Nguema |
| pa | Pancho | M | 20+ | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), Bubi | Hustler | Ela Nguema |
| ra | Maura | F | 20+ | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), Bubi | Secretary | Los Angeles |
| ro | Mami Rose | F | 50+ | Bubi (h), Pichi (h), Spanish | Domestic worker | Ela Nguema |
| sa | Don Samuel | M | 70+ | Kombĕ (h), Fang, Pichi, Spanish | Entre-preneur | Town |
| to | Tía Tokó | F | 50+ | Bubi (h), Pichi (h), Spanish (h), Nigerian Pidgin, English | Accountant | Town |
| tr | Doña Trinidad | F | 70+ | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), English, French | Academic | Town |
| ur | Ursus | M | 30+ | Pichi (h), Bubi, Spanish | Worker | Ela Nguema |
| ye | Boyé | M | 20+ | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), Bubi | Worker | Ela Nguema |
| nn | N.N | M/F | Div. | Diverse | Diverse | Diverse |

Table 1.2 provides information on the corpus. The list is sorted alphabetically according to the “text code” column, which lists the name of the text (e.g. 03ab). Text names were given according to mnemonic principles. An “e” at the end of text code indicates that the text consists of elicited data (e.g. 05ae). The “type” column indicates the text genre, “contents” provides a short description of the text. The column entitled “word count” provides an indication of the relative length of texts. An asterisk (\*) after the “text code” indicates that the corresponding text is contained (in part or in full length) in the text section of this book.

Table 1.2 Corpus

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Text code | Type | Contents | Speakers | Word count |
| 03ab\* | Narrative | Sickness | ab, fr | 1911 |
| 03ay | Narrative | Youth memories | ab | 2384 |
| 03cb | Conversation | Female–male relations | hi, bo | 2872 |
| 03cd\* | Conversation | House-building; joking; home affairs | dj, fr, ko, ye | 1827 |
| 03do\* | Procedure | Preparation of a dish | dj | 778 |
| 03ft | Narrative | Family history | fr | 2771 |
| 03wt\* | Narrative; conversation | Supernatural encounter | dj, fr, ru | 813 |
| 03fp | Procedure | Car maintenance | f1, f2, kw | 274 |
| 03gm | Narrative | Language issues | to | 683 |
| 03hm | Narrative | Working in Gabon | ma | 3983 |
| 03ni | Conversation | Life in Nyumbili | ma, ko | 468 |
| 03sb | Narrative; procedure | Supernatural encounters | ed, kw | 3073 |
| 03sh | Narrative | Anecdotal story | ma | 291 |
| 03sp | Narrative | Student days in Cuba | ed, kw | 1324 |
| 05ae | Elicitation | Complementation; lexical aspect | dj, ye | 1930 |
| 05be | Elicitation | Spatial relations | dj | 1431 |
| 05ce | Elicitation; conversation | Basic vocabulary; metalinguistic discussion | dj, pa, ye | 2329 |
| 05de | Elicitation | Relativisation; adverbial relations; questions | ro | 620 |
| 05ee | Elicitation | Copula meanings | ro | 1101 |
| 05fe | Elicitation | Colours, numbers, time | ro | 256 |
| 05rr | Conversation; procedure | Cooking at home | ro, ye | 1278 |
| 05rt | Narrative | Marital affairs | ro, ye | 891 |
| 07ae | Elicitation | Grammatical relations | dj | 3213 |
| 07ce | Elicitation | Derivation | au | 739 |
| 07de | Elicitation | Double objects | ye | 205 |
| 07he | Elicitation | Questions; conversation | be, lo | 242 |
| 07je | Elicitation | Pragmatic routines | ye | 1072 |
| 07fn | Conversation | Field notes | Diverse | 1304 |
| 07ga\* | Conversation | Anecdotal story; joking | la, ne, ye | 430 |
| 07me | Elicitation | Multiverb constructions | pa | 1077 |
| 07pe\* | Elicitation (video) | Caused positions | li, dj | 783 |
| 07re | Elicitation (video) | Reciprocity | dj | 494 |
| 07se | Elicitation (video); conversation | Staged events; metalinguistic discussion | au, fr, ra | 2649 |
| 07ve | Elicitation | Derivation | ra | 571 |

The corpus presented in Table 1.2 consists of altogether thirty-four texts of different genres totalling 46,060 words. Based on the figures of the “word count” column, narratives constitute approximately 37 per cent of the total corpus (the word count of texts with two genres has been divided by two). This genre encompasses life stories and family histories, illness and near-death accounts, supernatural encounters and other emotionally charged experiences, as well as travel and life abroad. Conversations amount to 25 per cent of the corpus. The topics range from house-building to gender relations, from jesting and joking to metalinguistic discussions during elicitation. In many of the conversations recorded, in particular those involving peer-to-peer communication, form is just as important as content. These conversations “for their own sake” are characterised by emphatic, expressive, and figurative language.

Procedural texts account for some 7 per cent of the corpus. They describe various types of routines, for example the preparation of dishes, car maintenance and repair, medical treatment and sorcery, habits and ways of doing things. Elicitation makes up about 33 per cent of the corpus. I employed oral (Spanish to Pichi and monolingual Pichi-based) elicitation to obtain data chiefly on grammatical relations, the classification of situations (i.e. dynamic vs. non-dynamic verbs vs. adjectives), complementation, relativisation, and derivation. I made use of visual, video-based elicitation to uncover the expression of spatial relations including caused positions, the expression of certain complex events (“staged events”), and reciprocity. The video clips of the Language and Cognition Group of the Max-Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen provided the basis for these elicitiations. Most elicitations were conducted in groups of two or three speakers. This produced valuable data on variation and encouraged vivid metalinguistic discussions during the exercise.

## Presentation of the data

Figure 1.1 below shows how language data is presented in this work. Explanations are provided for the elements in the example:

Figure 1.1 Presentation of data

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | | Relevant features in bold | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Example no. | | | | |  | | | | | Pichi line | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  |  | | | |  | | | | | | |  | | | | | | | Interlinear gloss line | | |
| (22) A kɛ́r=an gó na comedor. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |  | | | | |  | |
| 1sg.sbj carry=3sg.obj go loc dining-room | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |  | | | |
| ‘I carried him to the dining-room.’ | | | | | | | | | [ab | | | | 03 | | ab | | | 091] | | | |
|  | | |  | | | | |  |  | | | | |  | |  | | |  | | Sentence no. |
|  | | Free translation line | | | | | Speaker | | | | Year | | | | | | Text name | | | | in text |
|  | | | | | | name | | | | | recorded | | | | | |  | | | | |

In examples, the free translation is followed by a text code in squared brackets. Whenever an example features elicited data, the second letter of the text code is an “e”, e.g. [dj07ae 137] and [ra07ve 069]. Common parentheses in the free translation line contain supplementary and disambiguating translation material. Squared brackets provide contextual or other relevant meta-information. Punctuation in the Pichi examples follows intonation: A full stop indicates an utterance-final boundary tone, a comma continuative intonation. A slash denotes a speech interruption and hence an incomplete sentence. Spanish words are rendered in the Spanish orthography. However, I only provide category labels for select Spanish grammatical morphemes, since this would have complicated interlinear glossing and given Spanish material undue prominence.

A final note is in order on the notion of frequency employed throughout this work. When an exact percentage is not given, certain expressions may indicate the relative frequency or importance of a phenomenon. The expressions in the left column of (23) correspond approximately to the percentages given in the right column below (Michaelis et al. 2013):

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| (23) | Expression | Approximate percentage |
|  | Pervasive, the overwhelming  majority, the vast majority | 90% |
|  | The majority, very common,  a high frequency | 70% |
|  | About half, equally often,  fairly common | 50% |
|  | The minority, a low frequency | 30% |
|  | Marginal, a small minority,  a small number, seldom, rare | 10% |

# Segmental phonology

The phonological system of Pichi features a phoneme inventory of twenty-two consonants and seven vowels. There is a good deal of free and allophonic variation in the use of these phonemes. Phonological processes include nasalisation, the use of clitics and the appearance of a linking /r/ during cliticisation, as well as the reduction of consonant clusters by deletion and insertion. In general, however, Pichi speakers tend to fully articulate consonants and vowels. The majority of Pichi words consist of one or two syllables. There are no phonemic long vowels but words may feature clusters of up to three consonants. The segmental system of Pichi interacts in various ways with the suprasegmental system (cf. chapter 3).

## Consonants

The maximal inventory of twenty-two consonant phonemes in Pichi is presented in IPA symbols in Table 2.1. Details on the status and distribution of these phonemes are discussed in sections 2.2 and 2.6.2.1.

Table 2.1 Consonant and approximant phonemes

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Bi-labial | | Labio-dental | | (Post-)  alveolar | | Palatal | | Velar | | Labio-velar | | Uvular | | Glottal | |
| Stop | p | b |  |  | t | d |  |  | k | g | kp | gb |  |  |  |  |
| Affricate |  |  |  |  | tʃ | dʒ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Fricative |  |  | f | v | s |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | ʁ |  | h |
| Nasal |  | m |  |  |  | n |  | ɲ |  | ŋ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Liquid |  |  |  |  |  | l |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Approximant |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | j |  | w |  |  |  |  |  |  |

The following (near-)mininal pairs establish the phonemic status of the segments contained in Table 2.1:

Table 2.2 Consonant phoneme minimal pairs

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| /p/ /b/ | plánt | [plánt] | ‘plant’ | blánt | [blánt] | ‘reside’ |
| /t/ /d/ | tɛ́n | [tɛ́n] | ‘time’ | dɛ́n | [dɛ́n] | ‘3pl.indp’ |
| /k/ /g/ | kɔ́n | [kɔ́n] | ‘corn’ | gɔ́n | [gɔ́n] | ‘gun’ |
| /tʃ/ /dʒ/ | chɔ́ch | [tʃɔ́tʃ] | ‘church’ | jɔ́ch | [dʒɔ́tʃ] | ‘(to) judge’ |
| /f/ /p/ | fát | [fát] | ‘fat’ | pát | [pát] | ‘part’ |
| /v/ /b/ | greví | [grèví] | ‘gravy’ | bebí | [bèbí] | ‘baby’ |
| /s/ /t/ | sɔn | [sɔ̀n] | ‘some’ | tɔ́n | [tɔ́n] | ‘town’ |
| /r/ /l/ | rɔ́n | [rɔ́n] | ‘run’ | lɔ́n | [lɔ́n] | ‘be long’ |
| /h/ ø | hól | [hól/ | ‘hole’ | ól | [ól] | ‘be old’ |
| /m/ /n/ | motó | [motó] | ‘car’ | nóto | [nótò] | ‘neg.foc’ |
| /ŋ/ /n/ | tɔ́n | [tɔ́n] | ‘town’ | tɔ́ng | [tɔ́ŋ] | ‘tongue’ |
| /ɲ/ /y/ | nyú | [ɲú] | ‘be new’ | yú | [jú] | ‘2sg.indp’ |
| /j/ /w/ | yés | [jés] | ‘ear’ | wés | [wés] | ‘buttocks’ |
| /kp/ /gb/ | kpu | [kpù] | ‘ideo’ | gbin | [gbìn] | ‘ideo’ |

## Consonant allophony and alternation

/**b**/ and /**v**/:

The voiced labio-dental plosive /v/ is a phoneme in its right in a small number of words, where it does not alternate with /b/, e.g. greví [grèví] ‘gravy’ and gív=an [gívàn] ‘give him/her/it’. In a second group of words, /v/ is in free variation with /b/, e.g vájin [bádʒìn~vádʒìn] ‘virgin’, ívin [íbìn~ívìn] ‘evening’, óva [óbà~óvà] ‘over; be excessive’, sɛven [sɛ́bèn~sɛ́vèn] ‘seven’, and ríva [ríbà~rívà] ‘river’. Free variation is also encountered in the Spanish-derived lexicon of most speakers, as in abuela [abwɛla~aßwela~avwɛla] ‘grandmother’.

In a third group of words, we only find /b/, which therefore does not alternate with /v/. Hence, we find fíba [fíbà] ‘resemble’, líba [líbà] ‘liver’, súb [súb] ‘shove’, híb [híb ‘throw’, bába [bábà] ‘cut hair’, and dɛ́bul [dɛ́bùl] ‘devil’. The orthographic representation chosen for words of the second group, in which we find free alternation between [b] and [v], is <v>. Alternating words are given with both variants in the Pichi–English vocabulary section.

/**tʃ**/ and /**dʒ**/:

This voiceless postalveolar affricate tends to be unstable with many speakers and optionally alternates with the voicless palatal plosive [c] and sometimes with the voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ], particularly in word-final position. Hence we find tɔ́ch [tɔ́tʃ~tɔ́c~tɔ́ʃ] ‘touch’. A small number of speakers, all of which belong to Group 1 (cf. 1.3) exhibit an allophonic variation between /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ in some words, with the latter allophone appearing in word-final position before the clitic =an ‘3sg.obj’, i.e. jɔ́ch=an [dʒɔ́dʒàn] ‘judge him/her/it’.

The vast majority of speakers, however, and Group 1 speakers in particular, use word-final /tʃ/ in every environment including ones which are not prone to devoicing, i.e. chénch=an [tʃéntʃàn] ‘change him/her/it’. I have accounted for the fact that most speakers exhibit no such variation by opting for <ch> in the orthography even though word-final /tʃ/ may be an allophone of /dʒ/ for a minority of speakers in words like jɔ́ch ‘judge’ (but not in others, e.g. kéch ‘catch’).

/**s**/:

The voiced alveolar fricative [z] is attested as a free variant of the voicless alveolar fricative between two vowels in word-medial position, e.g. ísi [ízì~ísì] ‘be easy’ and lési [lézì~lésì] ‘be lazy’. I take [z] to be a non-phonemic variant of /s/ in these words.

Furthermore, most Group 1 speakers (cf. 1.3) apply an opposition between /s/ and /ʃ/ (rendered by the grapheme <sh>), which produces minimal pairs like só [só] ‘sew’ and shó [ʃó] ‘show’. For Group 2 speakers, this opposition is, however, neutralised in favour of /s/, and they employ the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] in any position in which Group 1 speakers may use the voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ]. Group 2 speakers therefore produce homonyms like só [só] ‘sew’ and só [só] ‘show’.

Additionally, Group 2 speakers usually insert a palatal glide /j/ between /s/ and either of the mid vowels /e/ and /ɔ/ where Group 1 speakers only employ /ʃ/. This inter-group variation applies to the following words in the data: kwɛ́sɔn [kwɛ́sjɔ̀n~kwɛ́sʃɔ̀n] ‘question’, *nésɔn* [nésjɔ̀n~néʃɔ̀n] ‘nation(ality)’, *séb* [sjéb~ʃéb] ‘share’, *sék* [sjék~ʃék] ‘shake’, *sém* [sjém~ʃém] ‘shame’, sɔ́t [sjɔ́t~ʃɔ́t] ‘be short; shirt’, sén [sjén~sén] ‘same’, and sɔ́p [ʃɔ́p] ‘shop’. Although the insertion of /j/ is optional, it is very common with the words listed. The insertion of /j/ is, however, not generalised to two other words in the corpus featuring a sequence of the phonemes /sé/. Hence, we find sé [sé] ‘quot’ and fɔséka [fɔ̀sékà] ‘due to’.

The orthography does not represent the segment /j/ in words to which insertion applies. The words that exhibit this alternation are listed in the preceding paragraph and are additionally identified in the Pichi–English vocabulary.

/**n**/ and /**m**/:

The realisation of the alveolar nasal /n/ and the bilabial nasal /m/ is conditioned by a number of factors, which are covered in (2.5.2).

/**ny**/ and /**ɲ**/:

A prothetic /n/ is optional (and present in at least half of the occurrences recorded) in a specific group of words with an underlying word-initial /j/. The relevant words are yandá [jàndá~njàndá] ‘yonder’, yún [jún~njún] ‘be young’ and yús [jús~njús] ‘use’. In this group of words, I therefore analyse the combination of these segments as a cluster consisting of the alveolar nasal /n/ and the palatal approximant /j/.

In a second, equally small group of words, I posit the phoneme /ɲ/, compare the minimal pair nyú [ɲú] ‘be new’ vs. yú [jú] ‘2sg.indp’. The other words that do not alternate in my data and therefore appear to feature a word-initial /ɲ/ rather than the cluster /nj/ are nyangá [ɲàŋgá] ‘put on airs’, nyankwé [ɲànkwé] ‘(the) nyankwé (dance)’, nyɔ́ní [ɲɔ́ní] ‘ant’, and nyús [ɲús] ‘news’. The phoneme /ɲ/ is also found in a word-medial, syllable onset position in two words in the corpus, namely in the place name Panyá [pàɲá] ‘Spain’ and in the ideophone ményéményé [méɲ́éméɲé] ‘whine; nag in a childlike fashion’.

A third group of words with a word-initial /j/ does not usually exhibit nasal prothesis at all, e.g. yɛ́s [jɛ́s] ‘yes’, yét [jét] ‘yet’, yɛ́stadé [jɛ́stàdé] ‘yesterday’, and yáy [jáj] ‘eye’. In the orthography, I only render an initial /n/ with the second group of words, i.e. words that feature the phoneme /ɲ/. Words with an optional prothetic /n/ are listed above and given with their alternate forms in the Pichi–English vocabulary.

/**j**/:

This voiced palatal approximant is a phoneme in its own right in words like yú [jú] ‘2sg.indp’, yá [já] ‘here’, yɛ́s [jɛ́s] ‘yes’ and yét [jét] ‘yet’. Besides that, some words with a word-initial /j/ optionally appear with a prothetic /n/ (cf. on /n/ below). The segment /j/ is also optionally inserted between /s/ and one of the mid-vowels /e/ and /ɔ/ in another group of words (cf. on /ʃ/ below).

Further, /j/ is optionally inserted between either of the velar consonants /g/ and /k/ and the front vowels /a/ and /ɛ/. However, this process only applies to a few relevant words of English origin with which it occurs in the majority of instances. The corpus contains the following words to which this applies: *gádin* [gádìn~gjádìn], gál [gál~gjál] ‘girl’, *gɛ́l* [gɛ́l~gjɛ́l] ‘girl’, *káp* [káp~kjáp] ‘cap’, *kápinta* [kápìntà~kjápìntà] ‘carpenter’, and kɛ́r [kɛ́r~kjɛ́r] ‘carry’. In contrast, a /j/ is not normally inserted in other words of English origin like gɛ́t [gɛ́t] ‘get’, kán [kán~kám] ‘come’, and káyn [kájn] ‘kind’, as well as a group of words of non-English origin with an L.H pitch pattern, amongst them garí [gàrí] ‘garí’, kaká [kàká] ‘defecate’, kasára [kàsárà] ‘cassava’, and kandá [kàndá] ‘skin’.

The orthography does not render the epenthetic /j/ in words that feature it. All relevant words are listed above and are identified in the Pichi–English vocabulary section.

/**r**/:

The symbol /r/ varies in pronounciation between that of a voiced uvular fricative [ʁ] and a velar fricative [ɣ]. Some speakers use an alveolar tap [ɾ] instead of these two segments, and I have also occasionally heard an uvular trill [ʀ]. We therefore find variants like the following: *máred* [máʁèd~máɣèd~máɾèd] ‘marry’, *dríng* [dʁíng~dɣíng~dɾíng] ‘drink’, *kɛ́r* [kɛ́ʁ~kɛ́ɣ~kɛ́ɾ] ‘carry’, and *rɛ́s* [ʁɛ́s~ɣɛ́s~ɾɛ́s] ‘rice’. The orthography represents this segment as <r> and as [r] for phonemic and phonetic transcriptions.

/**h**/:

This voiced glotal fricative is phonemic in a small group of words which is delineated by minimal pairs like hól [hól] ‘hole; hold’ vs. ól [ól] ‘be old’. The group contains words like hát [hát] ‘hurt; heart’, hála [hálà] ‘shout’, hós [hós] ‘house’, and héd [héd] ‘head’. The group also includes two words with a word-medial /h/, namely bihɛ́n [bìhɛ́n] ‘behind’ and *wahála* [wàhálà] ‘trouble’.

With a second and larger group, /h/ may be inserted at the beginning of the vowel-initial word. Such a prothetic /h/, although optional, occurs more often than not with most words in this group. Hence we find variants like ánsa [ánsà~hánsà] ‘respond’, áks [áks~háks] ‘ask’, ópin [ópìn~hópìn] ‘open’, and évi [évì~ébì~hévì~hébì] ‘be heavy’. In some instances, it is however impossible to determine whether a word-initial /h/ is prothetic or part of the segmental structure of a word, because the data contains no recorded instance without an initial /h/. Some of the words to which this applies are húman ‘woman’, hɛ́lp ‘help’, hébul ‘be able’, hía ‘year’, hásis ‘ashes’, and hós ‘house’. I have chosen to render these words with an initial <h>.

A third group of vowel-initial words is not attested with a prothetic /h/, e.g. óva [óvà] ‘be excessive; over’; ónli [ónlì] ‘only’, áfta [áftà] ‘then’, and éch [étʃ] ‘age’. In the orthography, the segment /h/ is only represented with words that always appear with a word- or syllable-initial /h/.

/**gb**/ and /**kp**/:

These two voiced and voiceless labiovelar plosives are marginally phonemic and only occur in a handful of ideophones, e.g. nák gbin ‘hit ideo’ = ‘hit hard and unexpectedly’, sút kpu ‘shoot ideo’ = ‘shoot followed by the sound of a dull impact on the body’.

## Vowels

The following seven vowel phonemes are found in Pichi. Vowel length is not distinctive. Consonant allophony and alternation are discussed below:

Table 2.3. Vowel phonemes

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Front | | | Central | | Back |
| Close | i |  |  |  |  | u |
| Close-mid |  |  |  |  |  | o |
| Open-mid |  |  | ɛ |  |  | ɔ |
| Open |  |  |  | a |  |  |

The following (near-)minimal pairs establish the phonemic status of the segments contained in Table 2.3:

Table 2.4. Vowel phoneme minimal pairs

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| mín | [mín] | ‘mean’ |
| mún | [mún] | ‘moon’ |
| mɛ́n | [mɛ́n] | ‘heal’ |
| mán | [mán] | ‘man’ |
| yés | [jés] | ‘ear’ |
| yɛ́s | [jɛ́s] | ‘yes’ |
| ɔ́l | [ɔ́l] | ‘all’ |
| ól | [ól] | ‘be old’ |
| kɔ́l | [kɔ́l] | ‘call’ |
| kól | [kól] | ‘be cold’ |

## Vowel allophony and alternation

Pichi shows some lexically determined vowel alternation. Hence we find alternate forms like kɛ́r~kɛ́ri~kári ‘carry; take’, lɛ́k~láyk ‘(to) like’, gɛ́l~gál ‘girl’, unu~una ‘2pl’, wɔ́nt~wánt ‘want’. Other than that, there is some variation in the use of mid-vowels, with a tendency towards the reduction of phonemic contrasts. Furthermore, Pichi has vowel-vowel combinations, as well as sequences consisting of an approximant and a vowel. There are no phonemic long vowels in Pichi. The properties of sequences of non-identical vowels are covered in 2.6.2.2.

/**e**/ and /**ɛ**/:

Minimal pairs such as yɛ́s [jɛ́s] ‘yes’ vs. yés [jés] ‘ear’ establish the phonemic status of the unrounded close-mid front vowel /e/ and the unrounded open-mid front vowel /ɛ/. However, many speakers collapse the phonemic contrast between /e/ and /ɛ/ by raising /ɛ/ towards /e/. The opposite direction is far less common. Hence, variants like the following ones are attested: lɛ́k [lɛ́k~lék] ‘like’, chɛ́k [tʃɛ́k~tʃék] ‘check’, kɛ́r [kɛ́r~kér] ‘carry’, and nɛ́k [nɛ́k~nék] ‘neck’. The use of either variant of a content word also often conditions the vowel quality of preceding or following function words (cf. 2.5.3).

/**o**/ and /**ɔ**/:

The phonemic status of the rounded close-mid back vowel /o/ and the rounded open-mid back vowel /ɔ/ is evident in minimal pairs like kól [kól] ‘be cold’ vs. kɔ́l [kɔ́l] ‘call’ and fɔ [fɔ̀] ‘prep’ vs. fó [fó] ‘four’. Nonetheless, many speakers also neutralise this phonemic contrast by raising /ɔ/ towards /o/. With content words, this neutralisation is less common than the /e~ɛ/ alternation. However, it is almost generalised with Group 1 speakers (cf. 1.3) in words with grammatical functions, such as the associative preposition fɔ [fɔ̀~fò] ‘prep’, the comparative adverb mɔ́ [mɔ́~mó] ‘more’, the negator nó [nó~nɔ́] ‘neg’, the coordinator ɔ [ɔ̀~ò] ‘or’, the TMA marker nɔ́ba [nɔ́bà~nóbà] ‘neg.prf’. The negative focus marker *cum* negative identity copula nóto ‘neg.foc’ is however routinely pronounced [nótò].

## Phonological processes

Phonological processes include lenition and fortition, nasalisation, vowel assimilation, deletion and insertion, as well as cliticisation.

### Lenition and fortition

Lenition, the weakening of segments, may affect stops in intervocalic position as in bigín [bìɣín] ‘begin’. Strengthening, or fortition, affects voiced obstruents, which are generally devoiced in word-final position. Devoicing therefore produces the following word-final variant of segments. The details regarding lenition and fortition outside of these specific contexts require further investigation:

(24) Big.dé [bìgdé] → E bíg. [è bík]

big.day 3sg.sbj be.big

‘Festivity’ ‘It’s big.’

(25) Híb=an! [híbàn] → Híb! [híp]

throw=3sg.obj throw

‘Throw it!’ ‘Throw!’

(26) Bad-hát [bàdhát] → E bád. [è bát]

bad.cpd-heart 3sg.sbj be.bad

‘be mean’ ‘It’s bad.’

### Nasals and nasal place assimilation

A number of processes involve nasals and nasalisation. These apply in diverse ways to different groups of words. We have seen that /n/ prothesis or prenasalisation is optional with a group of words featuring an initial /j/ (cf. 2.2). Secondly, the following group of verbs with a word-final /i/ and an H.L pitch configuration is optionally (and very frequently) subjected to word-final nasalisation (realised as /n/ or nasalisation of the final /i/): grídi [grídì~grídìn] ‘be greedy’, hángri [hángrì~hángrìn] ‘be hungry’, *hɔ́nti* [hɔ́ntì~hɔ́ntìn] ‘hunt’, hɔ́ri [hɔ́rì~hɔ́rìn] ‘hurry’, ísi [ísì~ísìn] ‘be easy’, *lési* [lésì~lésìn] ‘be lazy’, lɔ́ki [lɔ́kì~lɔ́kìn] ‘be lucky’, *sɔ́ri* [sɔ́rì~sɔ́rìn] ‘be sorry’, wɔ́ri [wɔ́rì~wɔ́rìn] ‘worry’, and tɔ́sti [tɔ́stì~tɔ́stìn] ‘be thirsty’. This group of words may be contrasted with a second group that also features a word-final /i/, but exclusively occurs with a word-final nasal. In this latter group, we find words such as físin [físìn] ‘(to) fish’, ívin [ívìn] ‘evening’, mɔ́nin [mɔ́nìn] ‘morning’, and pikín [pìkín] ‘child’.

A third group of words features a word-final /i/, but is not attested with a final /n/. This group includes words with an L.H pitch configuration, such as rɛdí [rɛ̀dí] ‘be ready’, greví [grèví] ‘gravy’, and dɔtí [dɔ̀tí] ‘be dirty’. It also contains monosyllabic words like mí [mí] ‘1sg.indp’, sí [sí] ‘see’, and grí [grí] ‘agree’.

A fourth group involves function words that are subjected to nasal place assimilation. The relevant words are the personal pronouns =an ‘3sg.obj’, dɛn ‘3pl’, and dɛ́n ‘3pl.indp’, the preposition frɔn ‘from’, the locative noun bɔtɔ́n ‘under(side)’, the TMA marker and verb kán ‘pfv; come’, the determiner sɔn ‘some; a’, and the pronominal sén ‘same’. In these words, the final nasal is conditioned by the place of articulation of the following segment:

(27) Dɛn bɔkú. [dɛ̀m bɔ̀kú]

3pl be.much

‘They’re many.’

(28) Dɛn gó dé. [dɛ̀ŋ gó dé]

3pl go there

‘They went there.’

(29) Pút=an dé! [pútàn dé]

put=3sg.obj there

‘Put it there!’

Anticipatory nasalisation of a vowel preceding the nasal consonant of these function words is also commonplace (30). The word-final nasal of these words may be deleted altogether, in which case a nasal trace is left behind with the preceding vowel (31):

(30) Dɛn kán gí yú. [dɛ̃̀ŋ kã́ŋ gí jú]

3pl pfv give 2sg.indp

‘(Then) they gave (it) to you.’

(31) Háw dɛn de kɔ́l=an? [háw dɛ̀n dè kɔ́l ã̀]

how 3pl ipfv call=3sg.obj

‘How is it called?’

Before a pause, hence when there is no assimilatory pressure from following segments, the word-final nasal in these function words may either be realised as [n] or [m], as in (32) and (33), respectively. The analysis of a subcorpus revealed that two thirds of prepausal instances of the word-final nasal were realised as [n], with the remaining third being realised as [m]. Instances of prepausal *kán* necessarily involve the content word ‘come’ rather than the homonymous preverbal aspect marker kán ‘pfv’. The Pichi equivalent of the content word ‘come’ is more often pronounced as [kám] than [kán] (34):

(32) A sabí=an. [à sàbíàn]

1sg.sbj know=3sg.obj

‘I know her.’

(33) A gɛ́t sɔn dɛn. [à gɛ́t sɔ̀n dɛ̀m]

1sg.sbj get some pl

‘I have some of them.’

(34) Kán! [kám]

come

Come!

The orthographic choice of <n> for for the word-final nasal with these grammatical words reflects these tendencies. Nevertheleless, the content word ‘come’ is also written as kán in order to preserve the orthographic unity of the etymologically related aspect marker and content word.

### Vowel assimilation

Pichi features a tongue root vowel harmony targeting mid-vowels. The distinction between the [+high] vowel /e/ and the [-high] vowel /ɛ/, and between [+high] /o/ and [-high] /ɔ/ is collapsed in stem vowels. Enclitics and adjoining function words harmonise with the stem. Hence we find → ‘I [pfv] drink (alcohol)’, and *dɛn de k****é****ch d****ɛ́****n* → [den de k**é**ch d**é**n] ‘they [ipfv] catch them’. Compare (35) and (36). Note that in (35), the speaker also collapses the phonemic contrast between /e/ and /ɛ/ in mék /mék/ ‘make’ (cf. 2.4):

(35) Dɛ́n dé mék=an só. [dɛ̀n dɛ̀ mɛ́kàn só]

3pl ipfv make=3sg.obj like.that

‘They do it like that.’

(36) Dɛ́n de kéch dɛ́n dé. [dèn dè kéch d**é**n dé]

3pl ipfv catch 3pl.indp there

‘They habitually catch them there.’

(37) E dɔ́n drɔ́ngo.[è d**ó**n dr**ó**ngò]

3sg.sbj pfv be.dead.drunk

‘He is dead drunk.’

These harmonic processes are reflective of a general tendency of function words to be phonologically assimilated to adjoining words.

### Insertion and deletion

We have seen that the insertion of consonants affects various types of words (cf. 2.5.2 and the entries /h/, /s/, /j/, and /n/ in 2.6.2.1). Deletion is less frequent. In general, vowels and consonants of content words tend to be fully articulated (except cf. (39)–(40)). Nevertheless, high-frequency (function) words tend to be phonologically reduced or fused with adjoining words to a greater degree than other words. One function word, the TMA marker nɛ́a ‘neg.prf’, is not pronounced as the fuller variant [nɛ́và~nɛ́bà] in natural speech in the corpus. The virtually complete sound change of this TMA marker is reflected in the orthographic choice of nɛ́a (38).

This contrasts with the pronunciation of the functionally equivalent word nɔ́ba [nɔ́bà~nɔ́à] ‘neg.prf’ which occurs equally often in the reduced and full variants. Note that segment deletion may have repercussions for the use of tone (cf. 3.2.2):

(38) Dɛn nɛ́a rích dé. [dɛ̀n nɛ́à rích dé]

3pl neg.prf arrive there

‘They haven’t arrived there yet.’

Pichi speakers exhibit a systematic tendency to break up onset consonant clusters in which the first segment is the fricative /s/ and the second a liquid or nasal. Both insertion and deletion are employed to achieve this end. The biconsonantal clusters /sl/, /sn/, and /sm/ are very often broken up by insertion of the vowels /i/ or /u/. Thus we have *slíp* [slíp~sìlíp] ‘lie down’, smɔ́l [smɔ́l~sìmɔ́l~sùmɔ́l] ‘be small’, and snék [snék~sìnék] ‘snake’. Biconsonantal sequences of /sk/ and /sp/ are not reduced – hence skín [skín] ‘body’ and spún [spún] ‘spoon’.

Optional reduction can be observed with onset clusters involving a sequence of the fricative /s/, a stop, and a fricative or approximant, namely the biconsonantal cluster /st/ and the triconsonantal clusters /str/, /skr/, and /skw/. The possibility of reduction is, however, lexically restricted to specific words in the corpus. Therefore \*[tímà] is, for example, rejected for stíma [stímà] ‘ship’. The pronunciation of the initial /s/ is optional in the following words, with either variant being equally common: skrách [skrátʃ~krátʃ] ‘scratch’, skwís [skwís~kwís] ‘squeeze’, stík [stík~tík] ‘tree’, *stón* [stón~tón] ‘stone’, *strít* [strít~trít] ‘street’, and strɔ́n [strɔ́n~trɔ́n] ‘be strong’. Next to the words listed above, four additional words occur with an initial /s/ only once in the corpus, namely tínap [stínàp~tínàp] and its variant tánap [stánàp~tánàp] ‘stand (up)’, pínch [spíntʃ~píntʃ] ‘pinch’, and trímbul [strímbùl~trímbùl] ‘tremble’. Most speakers do not, however, feel comfortable with the /s/-initial alternants of these words. I therefore assume that these alternants are the result of spontaneous back-formation. Words to which optional /s/ deletion applies are given with their alternate forms in the Pichi–English vocabulary list.

The tendency to avoid clustering also frequently leads to the insertion of an epenthetic vowel into coda consonant clusters featuring liquid-stop sequences. Hence, with the three possible coda clusters /lp/, /lt/, and /lk/ (cf. Table 2.8), insertion produces free variants like hɛ́lp [hɛ́lp~hɛ́lɛ̀p] ‘help’, bɛ́lt [bɛ́lt~bɛ́lɛ̀t], and milk [mílk~mílìk] ‘milk’. In addition, Pichi speakers manifest a marked tendency to avoid the clustering of consonants across word boundaries. This leads to the deletion of word-final consonants as in (39) and (40) below.

(39) A de sí bíg bíg fáya. [à dè sí bí bí fájà]

1sg.sbj ipfv see big rep fire

‘I was seeing a huge fire.’

(40) If yu hól wán motó (…). [ìf jù hó wã́ mòtó]

if 2sg hold one car

‘If you temporarily have a car (…).’

The deletion of word-final consonants and the reduction of word-initial clusters is indicative of a general tendency towards CV syllable structures where this is possible. Other processes in which insertion is relevant are covered in 2.2 and 2.6.3 and 3.3. The latter section also treats the insertion of a linking /r/.

## Phonotactics

The distribution of some consonants and vowels has already been touched upon in 2.2 and 2.4. The following sections provide details on the ordering principles of Pichi phonemes. Pichi also exhibits an instance of tone-conditioned suppletive allomorphy, a phenomenon relating to suprasegmental phonotactics covered after the basics of the tone system have been described (cf. 3.2.5).

### The word

The vast majority of Pichi words are mono- and bisyllabic. In addition, most words carry a single H tone over their only, penultimate, or final syllable (cf. 3.1.3). The presence of a single H tone per word and knowledge of the possible tonal configurations therefore provides a means of metrically delineating the prosodic word in very much the same way as the position of stress does in intonation-only languages.

### The syllable

The syllable template in Pichi is (C)(C)(C)(V)V(C)(C). A vowel consititutes the syllable nucleus. There are a few single-vowel roots, all of which are function words, e.g. a ‘1sg.sbj’, e ‘3sg.sbj’, or ó ‘sp’. There are no phonemic long vowels in Pichi, adjacent vowels are invariably heterosyllabic.

Pichi has many words with initial biconsonantal clusters. Some word-initial clusters consisting of three consonants also exist. But both bi- and triconsonantal word-initial onsets tend to be broken up by deletion and insertion (cf. 2.5.4). Word-final consonant clusters contain up to two segments and involve nasals, liquids and approximants as the penultimate segment, or the fricative /s/ as the final segment of the coda. In connected speech, a word-final consonant, whether as the final consonant of a clustered coda or the only consonant of a coda, is often deleted.

#### Distribution of consonants

Table 2.5 presents the distribution of the twenty-two Pichi consonants in syllables (syllable-initial in the onset and syllable-final in the coda) and words (initial, medial, and final). The following abbreviations apply: IO = word initial-onset; MO = word-medial onset; MC = word-medial coda; FC = word-final coda.

Table 2.5 Distribution of consonant phonemes

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | p | b | t | d | k | g | tʃ | dʒ | f | v | s | r | h | m | n | ɲ | ŋ | l | w | j | kp | gb |
| io | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| mo | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | - |
| mc | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - |
| fc | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - |

Table 2.5 allows the conclusion that all twenty-two consonant phonemes save /ŋ/ occur as word-initial onsets. All consonants except /ŋ/, /kp/, and /gb/ occur as word-medial onsets as well. The latter two phonemes are only attested as word-initial onsets in ideophones. Eleven consonants appear in word-medial codas out of which two consonants appear as word-medial onsets in only two words each, namely /ɲ/ (Panyá ‘Spain; Spanish’ and ményéményé ‘whine; nag in a childlike fashion’) and /h/ (bihɛ́n ‘behind’ and wahála ‘trouble’). Sixteen consonants occur in word-final codas. Examples for the distribution of consonants follow in Table 2.6:

Table 2.6 Examples for consonant distribution

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | io |  | MO |  | mc |  | fc |  |
| /p/ | pépa | ‘paper’ | kapú | ‘fight’ | baptáys | ‘baptise’ | tép | ‘tape’ |
| /b/ | bɛ́t | ‘bite’ | líba | ‘liver’ | ― | ― | híb | ‘throw’ |
| /t/ | tɔ́ch | ‘touch’ | nóto | ‘neg.foc’ | ― | ― | pút | ‘put’ |
| /d/ | dásɔl | ‘only’ | ɔ́da | ‘other’ | ― | ― | blɔ́d | ‘blood’ |
| dd/k/ | kúk | ‘cook’ | bɔkú | ‘much’ | dɔ́kta | ‘doctor’ | lúk | ‘look’ |
| /g/ | gɔ́d | ‘God’ | bigín | ‘begin’ | ― | ― | bɛ́g | ‘ask for’ |
| /tʃ/ | chɔ́p | ‘eat’ | máchis | ‘matches’ | ― | ― | wách | ‘watch’ |
| /dʒ/ | júmp | ‘jump’ | vájin | ‘virgin’ | ― | ― | ― | *―* |
| /f/ | fút | ‘foot, leg’ | fufú | ‘fufu’ | áfta | ‘then’ | lɛ́f | ‘leave’ |
| /v/ | visít | ‘visit’ | greví | ‘gravy’ | ― | ― | ― | *―* |
| /s/ | sté | ‘stay’ | pɔ́sin | ‘person’ | lístin | ‘listen’ | nɛ́ks | ‘next’ |
| /r/ | rɔ́b | ‘rub’ | torí | ‘story’ | malérya | ‘malaria’ | bɛ́r | ‘bury’ |
| /h/ | héd | ‘head’ | bihɛ́n | ‘behind’ | ― | ― | ― | ― |
| /m/ | mék | ‘make’ | mamá | ‘mother’ | hambɔ́g | ‘bother’ | ném | ‘name’ |
| /n/ | nák | ‘hit’ | fínis | ‘finish’ | wínda | ‘window’ | bin | ‘pst’ |
| /ɲ/ | nyɔ́ní | ‘ant’ | Panyá | ‘Spain’ | ― | ― | ― | ― |
| /ŋ/ | ― | ― | ― | ― | bangá | ‘palmtree’ | líng | ‘lean’ |
| /l/ | lét | ‘be late’ | pála | ‘parlour’ | sólya | ‘soldier’ | púl | ‘remove’ |
| /w/ | wín | ‘defeat’ | áwa | ‘hour’ | páwda | ‘powder’ | háw | ‘how’ |
| /j/ | yá | ‘here’ | fáya | ‘fire’ | dráyva | ‘driver’ | yáy | ‘eye’ |
| /kp/ | kpu | ‘ideo’ | ― | *―* | ― | ― | ― | *―* |
| /gb/ | gbin | ‘ideo’ | ― | *―* | ― | ― | ― | *―* |

Only roots are taken into account in the table above, not phonological words. In compounds, all consonants that may appear in word-final position in roots may additionally do so in word-medial coda position at the morpheme boundary. Compare the opaque compound big-dé ‘big.cpd-day’ = ‘festivity’, the reduplicative compound tɔch-tɔ́ch ‘touch repeatedly’, and the lexicalised reduplication and ideophone gbogbogbo ‘in haste’.

More than one consonant may appear in syllable onsets and codas. Table 2.7 lists the possible permutations of consonant clusters in syllable onsets, Table 2.8 lists consonant combinations in the coda. Table 2.7 shows that up to three consonants may cluster in onsets. Clusters of three consonants may be broken up by deletion and insertion (cf. 2.5.4). The sequences /gj/, /kj/, and /sj/ may be said to arise through phonological processes alone (cf. also 2.2). The sequences /gj/ and /kj/ surface through optional /j/ epenthesis in words like gál [gál~gjál] ‘girl’ and kɛ́r [kɛ́r~kjɛ́r] ‘carry’, while the sequence /sj/ appears in variants like sɔ́p [sɔ́p~sjɔ́p] ‘shop’ (cf. also 2.2).

Table 2.7 Onset consonant clusters

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Structure | Composition | Example | Translation |
| CCV | Stop + fricative | pré | ‘pray’ |
|  |  | brók | ‘break’ |
|  |  | trén | ‘train’ |
|  |  | drím | ‘dream’ |
|  |  | krés | ‘be crazy’ |
|  |  | grí | ‘agree’ |
|  | Stop + liquid | plé | ‘play’ |
|  |  | bló | ‘relax’ |
|  |  | glás | ‘glass’ |
|  |  | klás | ‘class’ |
|  | Stop + approximant | pyɔ́ | ‘be pure’ |
|  |  | bwɛ́l | ‘boil’ |
|  |  | ɛskyús | ‘excuse (me)’ |
|  |  | tyúsde | ‘Tuesday’ |
|  |  | gál [gjál] | ‘girl’ |
|  |  | kɛ́r [kjɛ́r] | ‘carry; take’ |
|  |  | kwáta | ‘quarter’ |
|  | Fricative + stop | spɛ́tikul | ‘glasses’ |
|  |  | stón | ‘stone’ |
|  |  | skúl | ‘school’ |
|  | Fricative + nasal | smɔ́l | ‘small’ |
|  |  | snék | ‘snake’ |
|  | Fricative + liquid | sló | ‘be slow’ |
|  | Fricative + approximant | kɔnfyús | ‘confuse’ |
|  |  | fwífwífwí | ‘sound of wind blowing’ |
|  |  | séb [sjéb] | ‘divide; share’ |
|  |  | swɛ́t | ‘(to) sweat’ |
|  | Fricative + fricative | fráy | ‘fry’ |
|  | Affricate + approximant | jwɛ́n | ‘join’ |
|  | Nasal + approximant | nyús | ‘news’ |
| CCCV | Fricative + stop + fricative | strét | ‘be straight’ |
|  |  | skrách | ‘scratch’ |
|  | Fricative + stop + approximant | spwɛ́l | ‘spoil; spend’ |
|  |  | styú | ‘stew’ |
|  |  | skwís | ‘squeeze’ |

Coda clusters are limited to maximally two consonants. Coda clusters always involve nasals or continuants, and liquid-stop sequences may also be broken up by epenthetic vowels (e.g. *hɛ́lp* [hɛ́lɛ̀p] ‘help’). Possible cluster permutations in the coda are listed in Table 2.8:

Table 2.8 Coda consonant clusters

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Structure | Composition | Example | Translation |
| VCC | Stop + fricative | ɛ́ks | ‘egg’ |
|  | Nasal + stop | lámp | ‘lamp’ |
|  |  | pént | ‘paint’ |
|  |  | kɔ́nk | ‘snail’ |
|  | Nasal + affricate | chénch | ‘change’ |
|  | Nasal + fricative | sɛ́ns | ‘brain’ |
|  | Liquid + stop | hɛ́lp | ‘help’ |
|  |  | bɛ́lt | ‘belt’ |
|  |  | milk | ‘milk’ |
|  | Liquid + affricate | bɛ́lch | ‘belch’ |
|  | Approximant + stop | wáyp | ‘wipe’ |
|  |  | dráyv | ‘drive’ |
|  |  | táyt | ‘be tight’ |
|  |  | háyd | ‘hide’ |
|  |  | láyk | ‘like’ |
|  |  | stáwt | ‘be corpulent’ |
|  |  | práwd | ‘be boastful’ |
|  | Approximant + fricative | láyf | ‘life’ |
|  |  | náys | ‘be nice’ |
|  | Aproximant + nasal | fáyn | ‘be fine’ |
|  |  | ráwn | ‘surround’ |
|  | Approximant + liquid | stáyl | ‘manner’ |

#### Distribution of vowels and approximants

All Pichi vowels may occur in the word-initial position. In general, however, vowels only appear in word-initial position in a small number of words. The majority of Pichi words, and content words in particular, either have a consonant, an approximant or a prothetic /h/, sometimes a prothetic /y/ or /w/, in the onset of their initial syllable.

Most words that do have an initial vowel are function words: personal pronouns (e.g. a ‘1sg.sbj’, e ‘3sg.sbj’, una ‘2pl’, and ín ‘3sg.indp), question words (e.g. údat ‘who’ and all words featuring the clitic question particle ús= ‘q’), clause linkers (e.g. adɔnkɛ́ ‘even if’, ɛf ‘if’, and áfta ‘then’), locative nouns (e.g. ínsay ‘inside’ and ɔntɔ́p ‘(on)top’), quantifiers (e.g. ɔ́da ‘other’, ɛ́ni ‘every’), and interjections (e.g. ékié ‘good gracious’, áy ‘expression of pain’). Some content words also feature a word-initial vowel (e.g. aráta ‘rat’, éch ‘age(-grade)’, ívin ‘evening’, and ɛ́nta ‘enter’). In contrast, vowels in word-final position are very common and we find them throughout all word classes (e.g. mí ‘1sg.sbj’, butú ‘stoop over’, sóté ‘until’, nó ‘know’, bɛlɛ́ ‘belly’, fɔ ‘prep’, and *sísta* ‘sister’). There are certain restrictions on sequences of vowels. Not only are there no phonemic strings of two identical vowels (i.e. long vowels) in Pichi; vowel-vowel sequences are heterosyllabic. In such cases of vowel hiatus, the immediately adjacent nuclei bear polar tones, e.g. *b****i****.****ó*** [L.H] ‘behold’, *kl****í****.****a*** [H.L] ‘clear’ vs. *\*fɔ=****a****n* [L.L] ‘for him/her’). This tonotactic restriction triggers a tone-conditioned suppletive allomorphy of two forms instantiating 3sg object case, a typologically interesting phenomenon not attested in other Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles (cf. 3.2.5). There are also only certain types of admissable vowel combinations, provided in Table 2.9:

Table 2.9 Vowel sequences

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | i | u | o | ɛ | a |
| i |  |  | ìó | íɛ̀ | íà |

Sequences involving an approximant and a vowel are presented in Table 2.10. Pichi features both falling and rising sequences. In the former, the vowel comes first (e.g. /ɔj/), while in rising sequences, the vowel follows the approximant (e.g. [wi]). The logically possible sequences \*[ji] and \*[ɔw] are not attested in the corpus:

Table 2.10 Sequences involving an approximant and a vowel

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | j | w | i | u | e | o | ɔ | ɛ | a |
| j |  |  | ― | ju | je | jo | jɔ | jɛ | ja |
| w |  |  | wi | wu | we | wo | wɔ | wɛ | wa |
| ɔ | ɔj | ― |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| a | aj | aw |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

A comparison of Table 2.9 and Table 2.10 shows that opening sequences are realised as vowel-vowel sequences, while closing sequences are realised as vowel-approximant strings. The circumstances surrounding cliticisation speak to the validity of differentiating between vowel-vowel and vowel-approximant sequences. Due to a restriction imposed by tonal phonotactics, =an may not encliticise to a vowel-terminal host if the final vowel of the host carries a low tone (cf. 3.2.5). Monosyllabic verbs featuring an approximant as the final segment may, however, take the object pronoun =an. Compare the verb báy ‘buy’ in (41):

(41) Yu wánt báy=an na puerto (...)

2sg want buy=3sg.obj loc port

‘(If) you want to buy it at the port (...).’

If the word-final approximant /j/ in báy [báj] ‘buy’ were an [i], i.e. a vowel, and a tone-bearing segment in its own right, it should be low-toned in accordance with Pichi tonal phonotactics (since it is preceded by a high-toned vowel [á]). A low-toned final vowel would, in turn, block the encliticisation of =an as it does with other verbs with a final low tone. This is, however, not the case, since the sequence [áj] is monomorphemic and bears a single high tone. There is thus no restriction on the encliticisation of =an. The same principle applies to other verbs with a final approximant, e.g. aláw=an ‘allow=3sg.obj’ = ‘allow her/him’.

The distribution of approximants in the syllable may be read from the tables given in 2.6.2.1. Some observations are in order here on variation in strings of approximants and vowels. The verb drɛ́b ‘drive’ features the variants [drɛ́b~drájb]. However this free alternation is not encountered with other words to which it could potentially apply. Hence on the one hand, we find bɛ́t [bɛ́t] and fɛ́t [fɛ́t] ‘fight’. On the other hand, words like bráyt [brájt] ‘be bright’, táyt [tájt] ‘be tight’, and wáyp [wájp] ‘wipe’ do not have less complex variants with a monosegmental [ɛ] instead of the bisegmental [aj].

The series [ɔj] is found in two groups of words. The first group consists of only two words in the corpus. A second group of words exhibits a free alternation between the strings [ɔj] and [wɛ] with a preference for the latter sequence. A third group of words invariably features [wɛ] and is not attested with the [ɔj] variant:

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (42) | Group 1 | bɔ́y | [bɔ́j] | ‘boy’ |
|  |  | ɔ́yl | [ɔ́jl] | ‘oil’ |
|  | Group 2 | spwɛ́l | [spwɛ́l~spɔ́jl] | ‘spoil; spend’ |
|  |  | bwɛ́l | [bwɛ́l~bɔ́jl] | ‘boil’ |
|  |  | jwɛ́n | [dʒwɛ́n~dʒɔ́jn] | ‘join’ |
|  | Group 3 | swɛ́la | [swɛ́là] | ‘swallow’ |
|  |  | kwɛ́nch | [kwɛ́ntʃ] | ‘die off’ |
|  |  | kwɛ́sɔn | [kwɛ́sjɔ̀n] | ‘question’ |
|  |  | wɛ́l | [wɛ́l] | ‘be well’ |

Note that group 1 contrasts with group 2 in that [ɔj] in group 1 is either word-final (i.e. bɔ́y) or word-initial and the nucleus of a syllable without an onset (i.e. ɔ́yl). In turn, words in group 3 are either bisyllabic (i.e. kwɛ́sɔn and swɛ́la) and feature a consonant cluster in the coda (i.e. kwɛ́nch) or begin with the alternating feature (i.e. wɛ́l). Hence the characteristic environment for the [wɛ́~ɔ́j] alternation is a monosyllabic word with a heavy syllable, a single consonant in the coda, and an onset featuring a stop (or a stop component like the affricate [dʒ].

### Cliticisation

Pichi has at least two clitics which participate in forming phonological words. The proclitic question particle ús= ‘q’ attaches to mostly generic nouns in order to form basic question words. The enclitic object pronoun =an ‘3sg.obj’ attaches to verbs, prepositions, locative nouns, and in double-object constructions to other object pronouns (i.e. “the hosts”).

Cliticisation in Pichi is characterised by segmental reduction, the loss of morphosyntactic independence, and inseparability from the host. Two elements can be considered full clitics by these criteria: The object pronoun =an ‘3sg.obj’ and the question particle ús= ‘q’. Other elements are clitic-like to a lesser degree: Dependent person pronouns may be said to be enclitic to the following element of the predicate, the pluraliser dɛn ‘pl’ to the preceding noun.

The question element ús= ‘q’ is proclitic to generic nouns in question words. These question words form single prosodic words, and the proclitic is phonologically adapted to the host; hence *ús=tín* [útín] ‘what’ and *ús=káyn* [úkájn] ‘which’.

The object pronoun =an ‘3sg.obj’ is enclitic to the preceding verb, preposition, or locative noun with which it forms a single phonological word. The pronoun =an ‘3sg.obj’ may also encliticise to a preceding H-toned object pronoun in double-object constructions (cf. 9.3.4). The pronoun undergoes a higher than usual degree of segmental reduction, hence we find the variants [=àn~ã̀~à]. Under certain conditions, the enclisis of *=an* triggers a tone-conditioned suppletive allomorphy, a (tonal) phonotactic phenomenon described in 3.2.5.

# Suprasegmental phonology

Pichi is a tone language. In previous work, I posited that Pichi has a mixed prosodic system in which individual words are either specified for pitch accent or tone (Yakpo 2008; Yakpo 2009a), similar to systems claimed for other European-lexifier creoles of the Atlantic basin (e.g. Rountree 1972; Alleyne 1980; Devonish 1989; 2002; Good 2004; Rivera-Castillo 1998; Rivera Castillo & Faraclas 2006). In subsequent work on Pichi and comparative work on the prosodic systems of other Afro-European contact varieties (e.g. Bordal Steien & Yakpo 2017), I found no evidence that the Pichi lexicon is stratified and that “tonal” and “pitch-accented” words differ with respect to their pitch-related properties or the tonal processes described in this chapter. I therefore treat the prosodic system of Pichi as a tonal system *tout court*. In the following, the term “tone class” designates the various fixed pitch patterns that Pichi words fall into.

The pitch analyses in this chapter were done from connected speech and from words pronounced in isolation using the Praat 5.0 software. The analyses are presented in figures containing a pitch trace and a syllabic segmentation of the utterance. The transcription employed for rendering syllabic segments is orthographic. Nonetheless, phonetic tones are marked on each syllable in the figures for easier recognition.

The approximate pitch values of each syllable are given in Hertz (Hz) on the vertical axis. The horizontal axis provides the time elapsed (1.0 = 1 second). In the examples in this chapter, the second line contains a phonetic tonal notation of the Pichi utterance above. When a tonal process is described, the relevant Pichi sentence is sometimes repeated after the arrow (→). The second line of the Pichi utterance following the arrow then provides phonetic tone, i.e. the actual pronunciation of the sentence after the tonal process under discussion has taken place. For clarity of presentation, text codes have been omitted with examples in this chapter.

## Characteristics of tone

Pichi has two distinctive tonemes, namely a High (H) and a Low (L) tone. The language employs lexical and morphological tone, and there is an unevenly distributed number of tone classes. Boundary tones at the right edge of utterances fulfil the pragmatic and grammatical functions of intonation (cf. 3.4).

The tone-bearing unit in Pichi is the syllable. Vowels and sonorants serve as tone-bearing segments. Evidence comes from the interaction of lexical tones and boundary tones over utterance-final syllables. In utterance-final position, a boundary tone will associate with the final tone-bearing unit of the utterance. The sonorants /n/, /m/, /l/, and /r/ may bear phonetic tone in Pichi. Hence, an utterance-final /n/, for example, may carry a boundary tone.

Consider the citation form of *tɛ́n* ‘time’ in Figure 3.1. Here the declarative L% (L boundary tone), which follows the lexical H tone over /ɛ́/, is spread out over the vowel and the final /n/. Sonorants like /n/ do not, however, bear lexical tone by themselves. Rather, they always bear the tone of the left-adjacent, i.e. preceding, vowel. In contrast, with non-sonorant final segments, tone is only borne by the preceding vowel. The final obstruent in *tɔ́k* ‘talk’ in Figure 3.2 cannot bear tone, so the utterance-final declarative L% is borne by the vowel alone:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Figure 3.1 Citation form of tɛ́n | Figure 3.2 Citation form of tɔ́k |

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| (43) Tɛ́n.  hl%  ‘Time’ | (44) Tɔ́k.  hl%  ‘Talk’ |

When the utterance-final word is a light (vowel-final) monosyllable, the vowel may be lengthened, sometimes up to two beats. I assume that the lengthening of light monosyllables is caused by the metric preference of Pichi for footed tonal domains within the word boundary. Heavy monosyllables with a final non-tone-bearing segment like tɔ́k ‘talk’ block the creation of footed domains in utterance-final position. But light syllables leave room for this option. The vowels of the light monosyllables in the following two figures have been lengthened in order to accommodate the HL contour consisting of the lexical H tone of the monosyllable and the declarative L% boundary tone:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Figure 3.3 Citation form of só | Figure 3.4 Citation form of dé |

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| (45) Só.  hl%  ‘Like that.’ | (46) Dé.  hl%  ‘There.’ |

### Distinctive tones

Pichi contrasts two level tones, a high tone (H) and a low tone (L). H tone is the more active tone in tonal processes. H rather than L participates in tone spreading and is more active in pitch register expansion. Contour tones do not constitute tonemes in their own right. Instead, they result from the succession of a lexical tone and a polar floating tone over a single tone-bearing unit (cf. 3.2.2).

Figure 3.5 and Figure 3.6 below present the pitch trace and segmentation of the two words hasis /H.L/ ‘ashes’ and dɔtí /L.H/ ‘be dirty’ said in isolation:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Figure 3.5 H.L pattern | Figure 3.6 L.H pattern |

The two words above represent the tone patterns of the two most frequent tone classes of Pichi (cf. Table 3.1). The mean pitch on the L-toned syllable of dɔtí is 109.17 Hz, that of the H-toned syllable 129.27 Hz. Hence, the difference in pitch between the H- and L-level tones amounts to 20.1 Hz. With hásis, the mean pitch of the H tone is 108.59 Hz, while the mean L tone stands at 99.72 Hz. The difference in mean pitch between H and L therefore stands at 8.87 Hz. This difference is just about half of that between L and H in dɔtí:

Table 3.1 Pitch values

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Hertz | dɔtí | hásis |
| Mean Hz of H | 129.27 | 108.59 |
| Mean Hz of L | 109.17 | 99.72 |
| Highest Hz of H | 132.20 | 110.33 |
| Lowest Hz of H | 127.26 | 107.35 |
| Highest Hz of L | 110.78 | 105.83 |
| Lowest Hz of L | 107.47 | 93.5o |

The relatively small difference in mean pitch between the syllables of hásis arises due to the fact that the H tone over the first syllable is carried over into the first half of the following L-toned syllable. In contrast, the L tone of the first syllable of *dɔtí* shows no signs of rightward spreading.

Words may bear a single or more H or L tones. Compare the pitch traces of the utterance-final tonal words nyɔ́ní ‘ant’ and Bata ‘Fang’ in the collocations lɛ́k nyɔ́ní ‘like ants’ and tɔ́k Bata ‘speak Fang’ below:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Figure 3.7 H.H pattern | Figure 3.8 L.L pattern |

Equatoguinean Spanish has been analysed as a tone language, in which the lexical stress characteristic of Spanish has been converted to lexical tone due to contact with the tone languages of Equatorial Guinea (Lipski 2015; Steien & Yakpo 2017). Words code-switched or borrowed from Equatoguinean Spanish are therefore specified for lexical tone just like Pichi words.

The two tables below feature the utterance-final Spanish words *abril* ‘April’ and nigeriano ‘Nigerian’, the latter in the collocation *na nigeriano* ‘foc Nigerian’ *=* ‘He is a Nigerian’. The pitch configurations over these two words conforms to those of Pichi words with a word-final (Figure 3.9) and a penultimate (Figure 3.10) H tone, respectively:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Figure 3.9 Pitch over Spanish abril | Figure 3.10 Pitch over Spanish *nigeriano* |

### Lexical and morphological tone

A small number of monosyllabic roots are distinguished from each other by pitch alone. The list in (47) contains most words in the corpus to which this applies. In conformity with a general pattern, (more) functional words are L-toned, while the corresponding content words are H-toned:

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (47) | L tone |  | H tone |  |
|  | bay | ‘by’ | báy | ‘buy’ |
|  | bɔt | ‘but’ | bɔ́t | ‘hit with the head’ |
|  | de | ‘ipfv’ | dé | ‘day; there’ |
|  | di | ‘def’ | dí | ‘this’ |
|  | lɛk | ‘like’ | lɛ́k | ‘(to) like’ |
|  | so | ‘so’ | só | ‘like this; sew; show’ |
|  | wet | ‘with’ | wét | ‘wait’ |

However, there are also numerous homophones, which can neither be distinguished segmentally, nor by their pitch properties. The following list contains most homophones in the corpus:

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (48) | Homophones | |  |  |
|  | dé | ‘day; there; be.loc’ | líf | ‘leaf; live’ |
|  | an | ‘3sg.obj; and’ | lɔ́s | ‘loose; louse’ |
|  | día | ‘deer; expensive’ | na | ‘foc; loc’ |
|  | bia | ‘beer; bear’ | nó | ‘know; neg’ |
|  | bló | ‘blow; relax’ | nyús | ‘news; use’ |
|  | fɔ́l | ‘fowl; to rain’ | pía | ‘avocado; pair’ |
|  | fɔ́s | ‘first; force’ | ráyt | ‘right; write’ |
|  | fíl | ‘feel; field’ | rɛ́s | ‘rest; rice’ |
|  | hát | ‘heart; to hurt’ | rɔ́n | ‘run; be wrong’ |
|  | hía | ‘hear; here; year; hair’ | só | ‘sew; show’ |
|  | hól | ‘hole; hold; whole’ | sɔ́t | ‘shirt; short’ |
|  | (h)ɔ́t | ‘extinguish; hot’ | tɔ́n | ‘town; turn’ |
|  | klós | ‘clothing’ | tú | ‘too (much); two’ |
|  | kɔ́s | ‘cost; (to) insult’ | wé | ‘way; sub’ |
|  | lɛ́f | ‘leave; left’ | wích | ‘bewitch; which’ |

Morphological tone is employed in the personal pronoun paradigm in order to distinguish morphologically different forms of the same lexeme from one another (e.g. mi ‘1sg.poss – mí ‘1sg.indp’, dɛn ‘3pl’ – dɛ́n ‘3pl.indp’). Pichi also features a morphological tonal process (cf. 3.2.4). In addition, there are three items which have morphologically different forms, but presumably derive from a common etymon and are distinguished by pitch alone: de ‘ipfv’ – dé ‘be.loc’, di ‘def’ – dí ‘this’, go ‘pot’ – gó ‘go’). All low-toned monosyllabic roots are words with more or less grammatical functions, such as personal pronouns (e.g. a ‘1sg.sbj’), determiners (e.g. di ‘def’), TMA markers (e.g. bin ‘pst’, kin ‘hab’), clause linkers (e.g. ɛf ‘if’), or prepositions (e.g. pan ‘on’). Low-toned function words, except dependent personal pronouns, are listed in (49):

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (49) | Low-toned function words | |  | |
|  | di | ‘def’ | lɛk(ɛ) | ‘like’ |
|  | sɔn | ‘some, a’ | na | ‘loc; foc’ |
|  | bin | ‘pst’ | pan | ‘on’ |
|  | de | ‘ipfv’ | to | ‘to’ |
|  | go | ‘pot’ | wet | ‘with’ |
|  | kin | ‘hab’ | an | ‘and’ |
|  | mɔs | ‘obl’ | ɔ | ‘or’ |
|  | bay | ‘by’ | ɛf(ɛ) | ‘if’ |
|  | fɔ | ‘prep’ | bɔt | ‘but’ |
|  | frɔn | ‘from’ | so | ‘so’ |

There are, however, limits to this pattern of functional differenciation by tone. The monosyllabic roots *dɔ́n* ‘down; done; prf’, *kán* ‘come; pfv’, *mék* ‘make; sbjv’, *sé* ‘say; quot’, and *wán* ‘one; a’ also have a more grammatical meaning besides their lexical one. Yet, their different functions are covered by segmentally and suprasegmentally identical forms.

Pichi also exhibits one morphological tonal process. In compounds and morphological reduplication, the H tones over all non-final components are deleted and replaced by an L tone (cf. 3.2.4).

### Tone classes

About 95 per cent of roots contained in my lexical data-base carry a single H tone over their only, penultimate, or final syllable. Other syllables in these words are L-toned. The remaining 5 per cent of roots feature diverse tone patterns with more than one H, or no H tone. Many (e.g. nyɔ́ní ‘ant’ < Mende yɔ́ní ‘red ant’) but not all (e.g. ápás ‘after’ < English ‘half-past’) of these words originate from African languages or are monosyllabic function words with an L tone over their only syllable (cf. (49), while words with a single H tone are mostly English-derived. This circumstance speaks to the fact that stress-to-tone conversion took place in the formation of the proto-language of Pichi, as in many other Afro-European creole and non-creole contact (e.g. Berry 1970; Criper 1971; 1990; Alleyne 1980; Gussenhoven & Udofot 2010; Steien 2015).

Table 3.2 below contains a listing of the tone classes of the simplex roots contained in the lexical data base of the corpus. (cf. Faraclas 1996; Good 2004, for pitch classes in Nigerian Pidgin and Saramaccan). A few examples are provided for each tone class. Not included in this table are ideophones, which feature a number of idiosyncratic tonal patterns and often involve lexicalised reduplication and triplication (cf. 4.5.3 and 12.1 for a detailed treatment).

Members of the monosyllabic L-toned tone class only contribute a total of nineteen roots and 2.5 per cent of the total in terms of individual entries and are hence listed as belonging to a minor tone class. The members of this class are, however, mostly function words that constitute the backbone of the grammatical system of Pichi: the personal pronouns *a* ‘1sg.sbj’, *e* ‘3sg.sbj’, =an ‘3sg.obj’; the TMA markers *de* ‘ipfv’, *go* ‘pot’, *bin* ‘pst’; the preposition *fɔ* ‘prep’ and the homonymous forms *na* ‘loc’ and *na* ‘foc’ outrank any other root of the language in a frequency count. This makes this tone class perceptually as salient as the H and H.L tone classes. In contrast, the members of the other minor tone classes are each composed of relatively few lexical words, which together make up 6 per cent of roots in the corpus.

Table 3.2 Distribution of tone classes over types

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Tone classes | Examples | No. of items | % of total |
| Major |  |  |  |
| H | báy ‘buy’, áks ‘ask’, kɛ́r ‘carry; take’ | 413 | 54.1 |
| H.L | drɔ́ngo ‘be dead drunk’, kɔ́mpin ‘friend’ | 178 | 23.3 |
| L.H | bɔkú ‘be much’, sabí ‘know’, watá ’water’ | 107 | 14.0 |
| *Subtotal* |  | *717* | *91.5* |
| Minor |  |  |  |
| L | de ‘ipfv’, go ‘pot’, sɔn ‘some, a’, fɔ ‘prep’ | 19 | 2.5 |
| L.H.L | ɔspítul ‘hospital’, wahála ‘trouble’ | 14 | 1.8 |
| H.H | nyɔ́ní ‘ant’, sóté ‘until’, sósó ‘only’, ápás ‘after’ | 11 | 1.4 |
| L.L.H | ɔndastán ‘understand’, prɔpatí ‘property’ | 10 | 1.3 |
| H.L.L | kápinta ‘carpenter’, mɛ́rɛsin ‘medicine’ | 6 | 0.8 |
| L.H.H | okóbó ‘impotent man’ | 3 | 0.4 |
| L.L | Bata ‘place’, jɔmba ‘affair’ | 2 | 0.3 |
| *Subtotal* |  | *46* | *8.5* |
| Total |  | *763* | *100.0* |

Table 3.2 points to additional characteristics of the corpus. With 54.1 per cent, about half the roots are H-toned monosyllables. Another 25.2 per cent are polysyllabic roots with an H tone over the penultimate syllable (of which a mere 1.8 per cent have more than two syllables). Together, these two groups constitute an overwhelming majority of 79.3 per cent of all roots. An additional 15.3 per cent bear an H tone over the final syllable. Most roots in the corpus, namely 94.6 per cent, therefore carry an H tone over the only syllable, the penultimate syllable, or the final syllable.

It should also be mentioned that many of the Spanish items that find their way into code-mixed Pichi sentences bear a penultimate H tone in accordance with their original Spanish penultimate syllable stress. This holds in particular for the invariant 3sg present insertion form of the Spanish verb (cf. 13.2.2). Spanish-origin items therefore align with the majority tone classes of Pichi.

## Tonal processes

Pitch changes conditioned by various factors may take place within a tonal domain. A tonal domain may be confined to the word, cut across a word boundary in specific phono-syntactic phrases, and involve a whole clause or sentence. The tonal processes attested in the data are described in 3.2.1 to 3.2.4. A summary of these processes is given in Table 3.3:

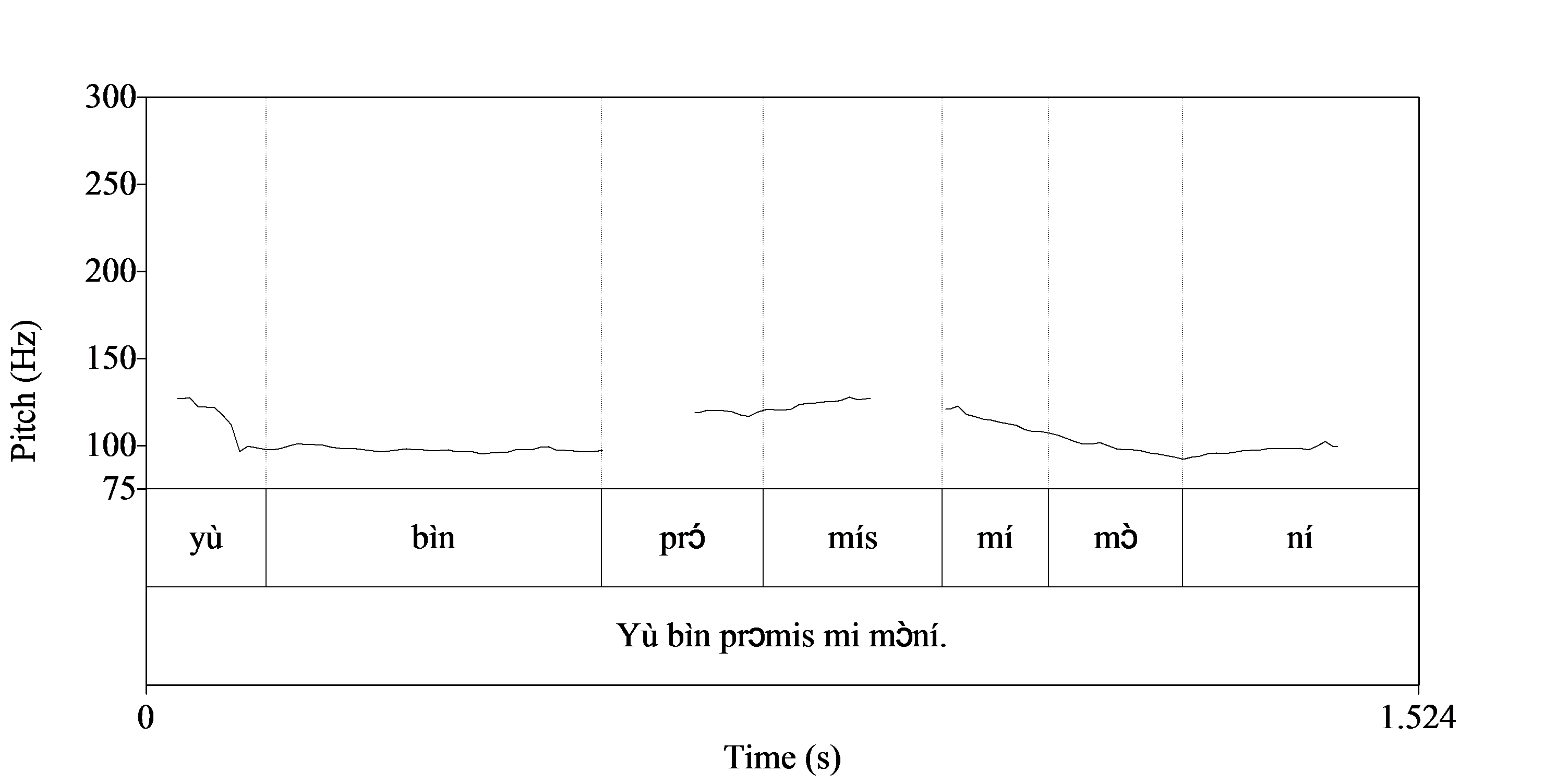
Table 3.3 Tonal processes

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Process | Description | Conditioning factor | Tonal domain |
| Spreading | H spreads rightwards to L-toned syllable(s) | H spreads rightwards to L-toned syllables | (1) Word |
| Floating | H is set afloat and docks onto a right-adjacent L-toned segment to form an HL contour tone | Vowel deletion and vowel merging | Adjacent function words |
| Declination | H tones are progressively lowered across the utterance | (1) Downdrift: an H is lowered by a preceding L  (2) Downstep: an H is lower in pitch than a left-adjacent H | Clause, sentence |
| Deletion | The lexical tone is deleted and realised as L | (1) Derivation of compounds and reduplicants  (2) Question boundary tone overrides lexical tone | (1) Phonological word  (2) Word |

### Tone spreading

H tones may spread to right-adjacent L-toned syllables within the word boundary. The H tone over the first syllable of prɔ́mis ‘promise’ in Figure 3.11 spreads to the second syllable:

Figure 3.11 H tone spreading



(50) Yu bin prɔ́mis mí mɔní. → Yu bin **prɔ́mis** mí mɔní.

l l h.l h l.h l l **h.h** h l.h

2sg pst promise 1sg.indp money

‘You promised me money.’

An environment that is particularly conducive to rightward tone spreading is when the L-toned syllable of a bisyllabic word with an H.L. pattern is hemmed in by the preceding H tone and the H tone of a following object. In Figure 3.12, the L-toned syllable of fínis ‘finish’ is raised in pitch approximately to the level of the following object *skúl* ‘school’. The pitch trace in Figure 3.13 exemplifies the same process with vɔ́mit ‘vomit’ and the following object chɔ́p ‘food’:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Figure 3.12 H tone spreading | Figure 3.13 H tone spreading |

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| (51) Wé a go fínis skúl (...)  h l l h.l h  sub 1sg.sbj pot finish school  ‘When I finish school.’ →  Wé a go finís skúl (...)  h l l **h.h** **h** | (52) E de vɔ́mit chɔ́p.  l l h.l h  3sg.sbj ipfv vomit food  ‘He is vomiting (the) food.’ →  E de vɔmít chɔ́p.  l l **h.h**  **h** |

A second phono-syntactic environment that favours rightward H tone spreading is a modifier-noun phrase. The L-toned syllable of a bisyllabic property item in prenominal position and with an H.L pattern may be raised to H if it is immediately followed by a noun with an initial (or only) H tone. An example for this process is provided in (58) further below. In the NP, the L-toned syllable of the modifier fúlis ‘foolish’ is raised to an H tone because it is followed by the H-toned noun mán ‘man’.

### Floating

Pichi makes extensive use of floating boundary tones for the purpose of intonation. Aside from that, a lexical tone may be set afloat when two adjoining vowels merge or one of two adjoining vowels is deleted. Tone floating is particularly likely to occur in the contact zone between an H-toned high-frequency function word and a following L-toned vowel. In Figure 3.14, the final consonant /k/ of mék ‘sbjv’ is deleted. This creates a vowel hiatus, which in turn leads to the deletion of the first, higher /e/ of mék in favour of the second, lower vowel /à/. The rising–falling contour over mâ (mék=à) is clearly visible.

In Figure 3.15, the final segment of *háw* ‘how’ is deleted and the lexical H tone is set afloat. The vowel merger between /a/ and the following low-toned dependent personal pronoun *e* creates an HL contour tone:

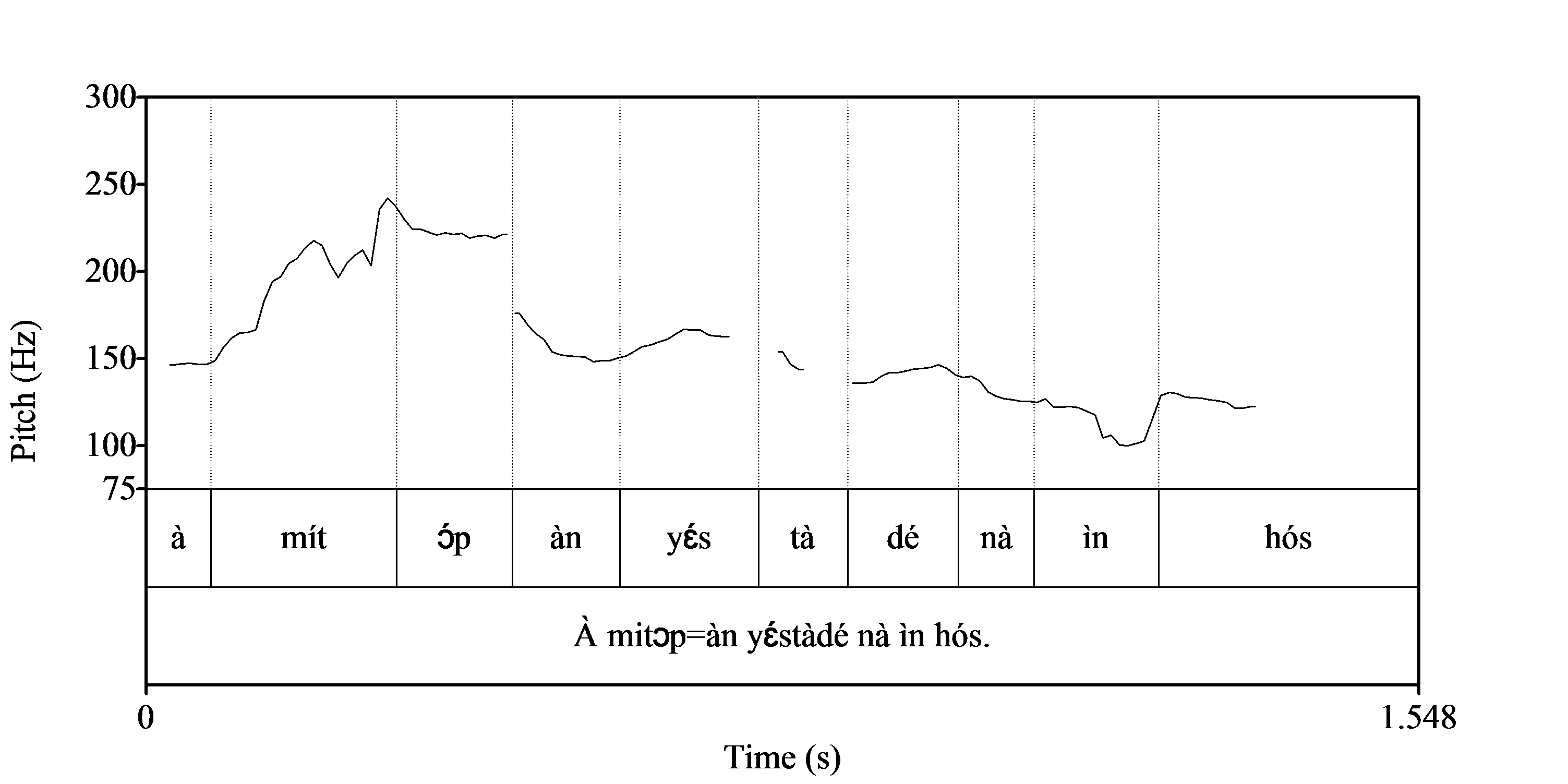
|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Figure 3.14 Vowel deletion sets tone afloat | Figure 3.15 Vowel merger sets tone afloat |

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| (53) Mék a tɛ́l yú di sáy.  h l h h l h  sbjv 1sg.sbj tell 2sg.indp def side  ‘Let me tell you the place.’ →  **Mâ** tɛ́l yú di sáy.  **hl** h h l h | (54) Pút=an lɛk háw e bin dé!  h l l h l l h  put=3sg.obj like how 3sg.sbj pst be.loc  ‘Put it like it was!’ →  Pút=an lɛk **hɛ̂** bin dé!  h l l **hl** l h |

### Downdrift and downstep

Downdrift and downstep contribute to a general downward cline of pitch in utterances. An utterance normally begins with a high pitch onset and declines progressively with every lexical tone. Downdrift (indicated by ↓H) causes an H to be lowered by a preceding L tone as in Figure 3.16. The overall effect of downdrift is visible by the roughly equivalent pitch over the initial L-toned personal pronoun a ‘1sg.sbj’ and the final H-toned noun hós ‘house’:

Figure 3.16 Downdrift



(55) A mítɔp=an **yɛ́stadé** na in **hós**.

l h.h=l ↓**h**.l.↓**h** l l ↓**h**

1sg.sbj meet=3sg yesterday loc 3sg.poss house

‘I met him yesterday in his house.’

The second phenomenon involving declination is downstep (indicated by –H). In a series of adjacent H tones, each tone may be lowered successively in relation to the preceding one. Downstep is exemplified below by the two successive homophones in Figure 3.17 and the iteration in Figure 3.18 below. We also find downdrift in both examples:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Figure 3.17 Downstep | Figure 3.18 Downstep |

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| (56) Chɔ́p wé e **dɔ́n** **dɔ́n**.  h **-h** l ↓h **-h**  food sub 3sg.sbj prf done  ‘Food that is done.’ | (57) Wáka sén **sén** **sén**.  h.l ↓h **-h** **-h**  walk same rep rep  ‘Walk exactly in one line.’ |

### Deletion

Tone deletion occurs in two contexts. In compounds (including reduplications), the lexical H tone over the first component is deleted (also see Yakpo 2012). The syllable whose tone has been deleted becomes L-toned. The second component retains its original tone pattern. Tone deletion therefore forms an intrinsic part of a derivational process in Pichi (cf. 4.3). The second context in which tone deletion occurs is when a boundary tone overrides the utterance-final lexical tone of a word (cf. 3.4.4 ).

Figure 3.19 presents the pitch trace of an NP headed by the noun mán ‘man’. The noun is modified prenominally by the verb fúlis ‘(be) foolish’, which has an H.L tone pattern. The pitch of the utterance-final H tone over mán stands at roughly the same level (albeit slightly downstepped and falling due to declarative intonation) as that of the preceding H tones over the first and second syllables of fúlis. Note that the second, lexically L-toned syllable of fúlis bears a phonetic H tone due to tonal plateauing (cf. 3.2.1):

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Figure 3.19 Simplex noun | Figure 3.20 Compound noun |

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| (58) Fúlis mán.  h.h h  foolish man  ‘Foolish man.’ | (59) Mared-mán  **l**.l-h  marry.cpd-man.  ‘Married man.’ |

In contrast, the pitch trace in Figure 3.20 above exemplifies tone deletion. The head noun mán ‘man’ is also modified by a verb with an H.L pattern, namely máred ‘marry; be married’. However, máred and mán form a single phonological word, the compound noun mared-mán ‘married man’. The H tone over the first syllable of máred has been deleted in the process and replaced by L (the downward cline over the first syllable is caused by a pitch reset at the beginning of the utterance). At the same time, mán, the final component of the compound, retains its H tone (which falls slightly due to its utterance-final position).

Reduplicated verbs exhibit the same suprasegmental characteristics as compound nouns. The pitch trace of the reduplicated (and sentence-medial) monosyllabic rɔ́n ‘run’ in Figure 3.21 shows an L.H pitch configuration over the two identical components. This parallels the pitch trace over the compound wach-mán ‘watchman’ above. Reduplication therefore involves the same derivational process as compounding: The lexical H-tone over the first component is deleted and replaced by an L tone:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Figure 3.21 Monosyllabic reduplicated verb | Figure 3.22 Bisyllabic reduplicated verb |

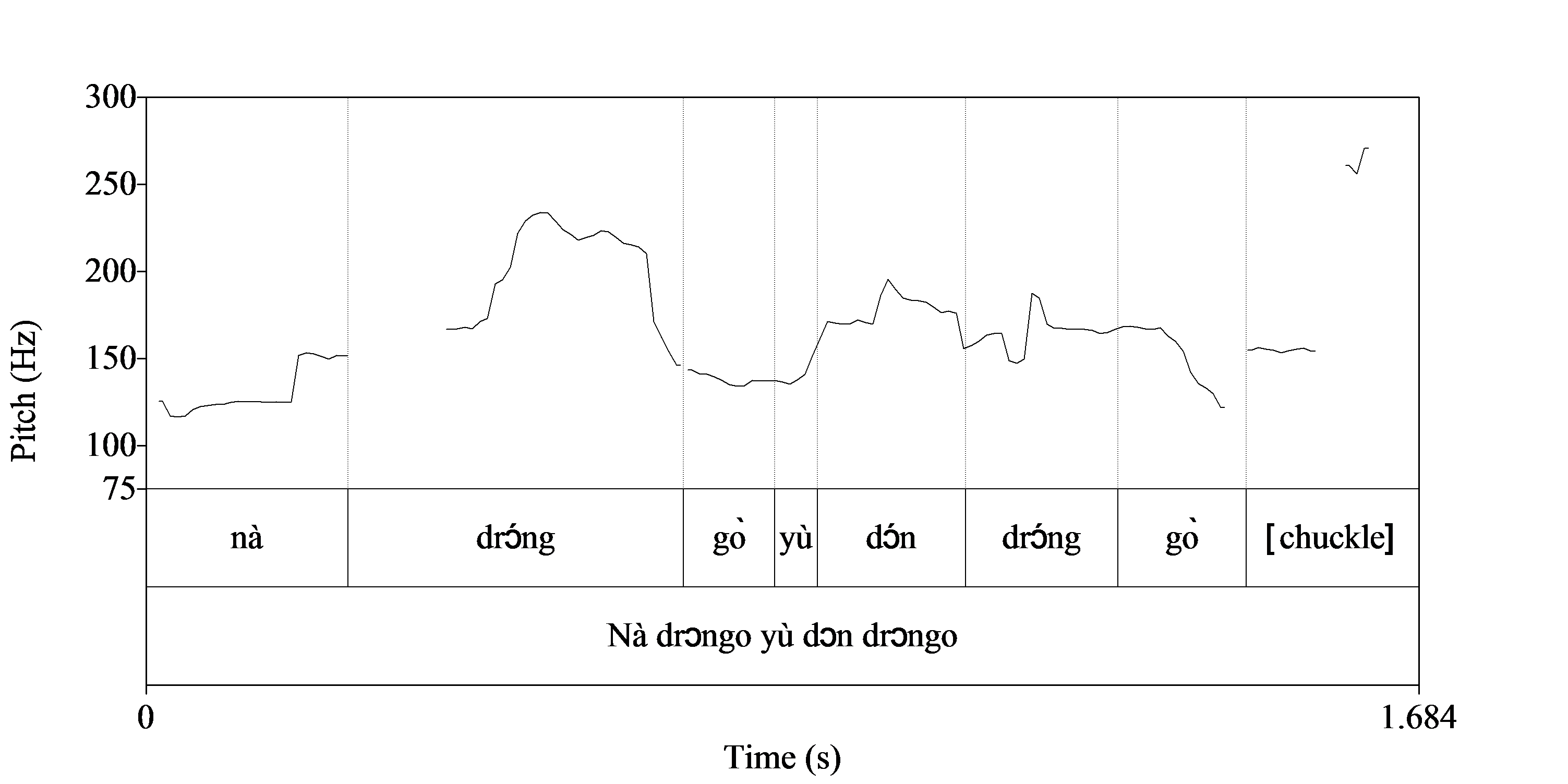
|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| (60) Dí rɔn-rɔ́n (…)  h l-h  this red.cpd-run  ‘This running around (…)’ | (61) Náw hala-hála.  h l.l-h.h  now red.cpd-shout  ‘Now, (it was) constant shouting.’ |

### Pitch range expansion

In Pichi, certain phonetic features may increase the prominence of a (series of) syllable(s). Segments may be lengthened or may be pronounced with increased volume, they may be pronounced with a breathy or creaky voice, and the speech rate may be slowed down or accelerated for stylistic effect. But there is no stress in Pichi in the sense of an automatic, metrically conditioned culmination of phonetic features as in intonation-only languages. Nor does Pichi make use of intonational melodies spanning the entire (or parts of the) utterance for the realisation of pragmatic functions, since these would override the lexical tone of individual words. Instead, pitch range expansion, and an extra-high tone in particular, are exploited to signal focus and emphasis. Focused or emphasised constituents may bear a higher than usual pitch, an extra-high tone on their H-toned syllable(s). The extra-high tone may spread rightwards onto following L-toned syllables until the word boundary is reached (cf. 3.2.1).

Figure 3.23 features the clefted verb drɔ́ngo ‘be dead drunk’. In the pitch trace, the emphatic character of the predicate cleft construction is evident in two ways. The H-toned syllable of drɔ́ngo bears an extra-high tone, and the segment /r/ is lengthened for emphasis. The utterance in Figure 3.23 shades off into a chuckle from the fifth syllable onwards, which produces a wavering pitch trace:

Figure 3.23 Predicate cleft and extra-high tone for emphasis



(62) Na [drrrɔ́ngò] yu dɔ́n drɔ́ngo.

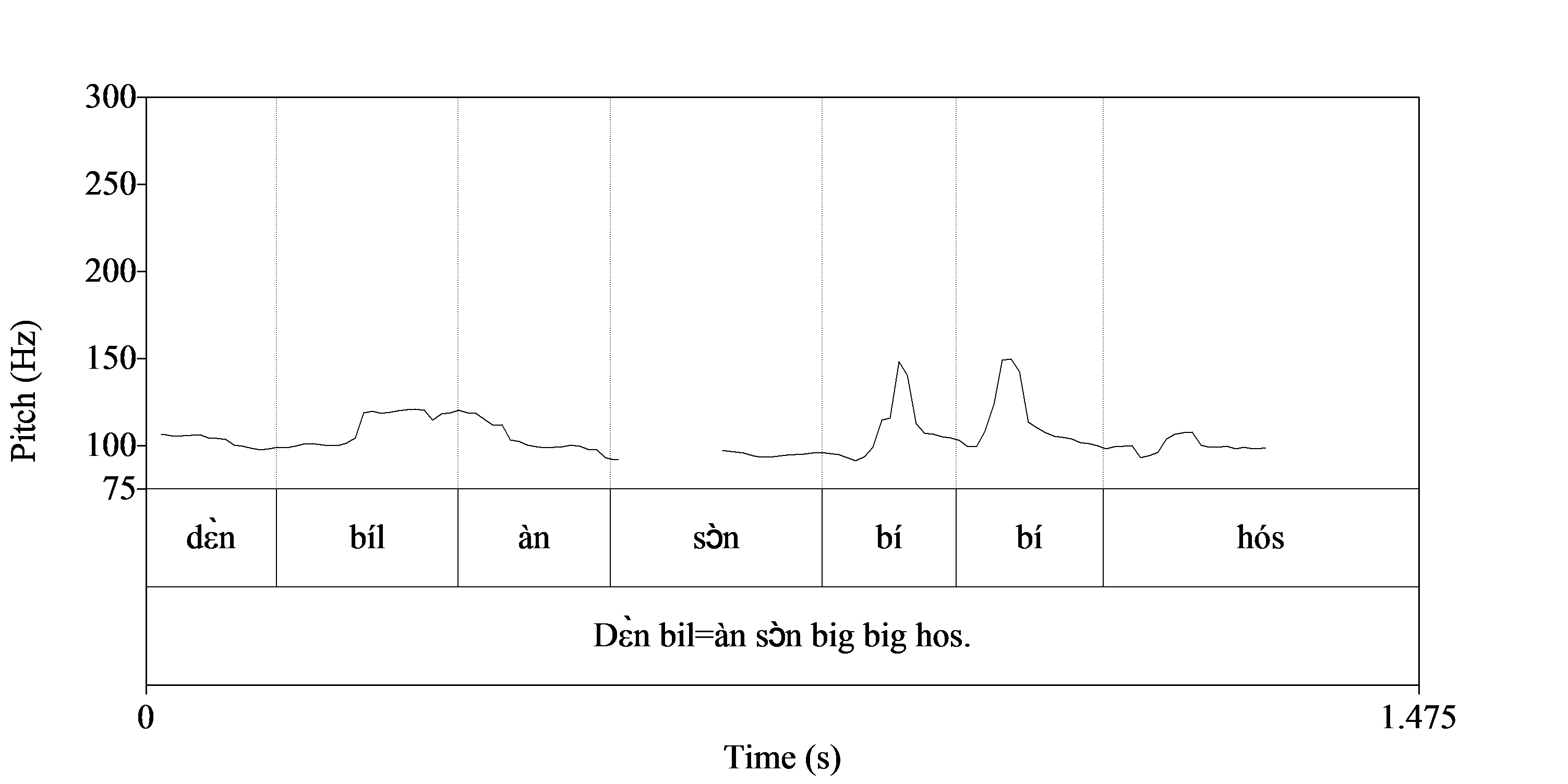
l **+h**.l l h h.l

foc be.dead.drunk 2sg prf be.dead.drunk

‘You’re absolutely dead drunk.’

Elements that fulfil central functions in pragmatically marked contexts are particularly common with extra-high tone, e.g. question elements like háw ‘how’, wétin ‘what’, údat ‘who’, ús=tín ‘what’, the negator nó, modifications of degree via repetition like bíg bíg ‘very big’, and the degree adverb bád ‘bad, extremely’. Both components of the repetition bíg bíg ‘be very big’ in Figure 3.24 below carry an extra-high tone. There is no sign of downstep within the reduplicated sequence:

Figure 3.24 Extra-high tone



(63) Dɛn bíl=an sɔn bíg bíg hós.

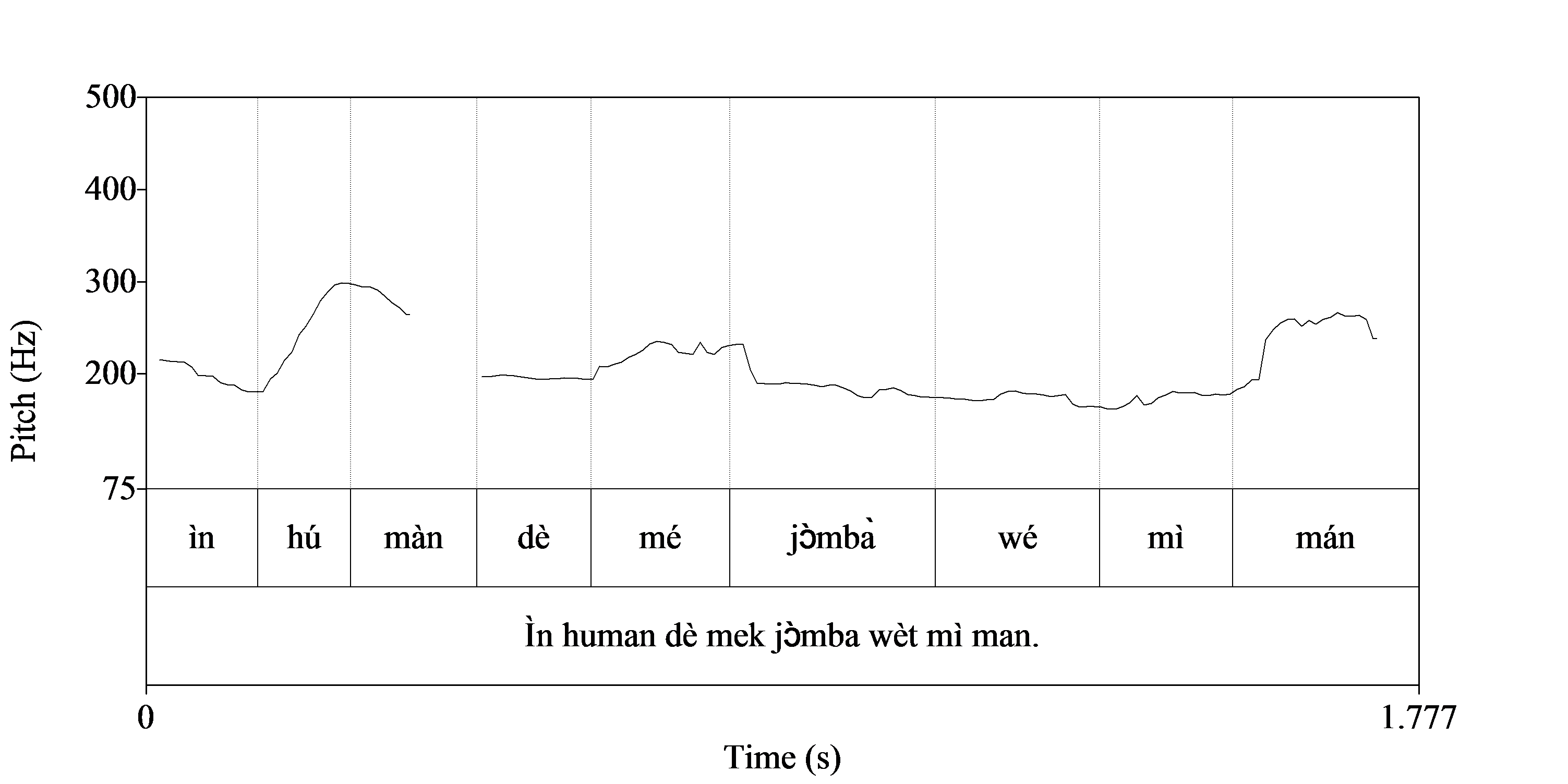
h h=l l **+h +h** h

3pl build=3sg.obj some big rep house

‘They built him a huge house.’

Entire clauses or sentences may also be placed under focus by (a series of) extra-high tones, which thereby (cumulatively) fulfil(s) the same function as emphatic intonation covered in 3.4.2 further below. There are two principal means of emphasising sentences, which are often used together. The last H tone of the utterance may be raised to an extra-high pitch as in Figure 3.25. Here the H tone of the utterance-final word mán ‘man’ has been raised to an extra-high level. The sentence nonetheless bears declarative intonation. The word mán still exhibits the utterance-final fall characteristic of declarative intonation (cf. 3.4.1) but at a significantly higher pitch level than in a non-emphatic context:

Figure 3.25 Utterance-final extra-high tone for emphasis



(64) Yu húman de mék jɔmba wet mi mán.

l h.l l h l.l l l **+h**l%

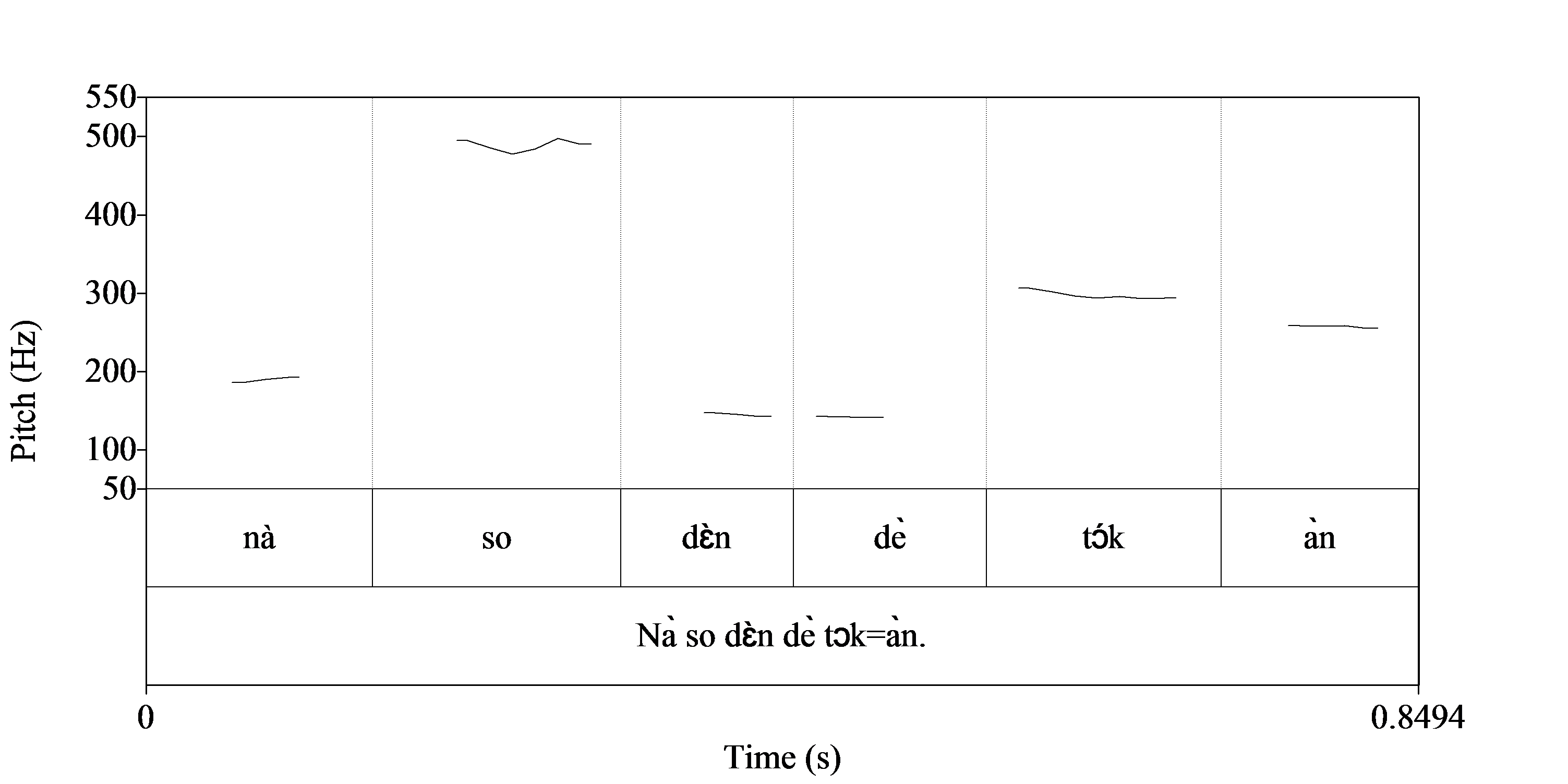
2sg woman ipfv make affair with 1sg.poss man.

‘Your wife is having an affair with my husband.’

Secondly, the use of an utterance-final extra-high tone is often accompanied by “pitch range expansion” (Yip 2002:276). Alternatively, pitch range expansion may be accompanied by the use of the emphatic boundary tone instead of the utterance-final extra-high tone (cf. 3.4.2). During pitch range expansion, the pitch range between H and L tones is widened throughout the entire utterance by pronouncing H tones with a higher-than-usual pitch and, optionally, L tones with a lower-than-usual pitch. This creates a strongly undulating pitch contour over the entire utterance.

Figure 3.26 graphically depicts the dramatic rises and falls that may characterise pitch range expansion. The female speaker begins with an L-toned na at 190 Hz, rises to 490 Hz with H-toned *só*, then falls to an all-time low with dɛn at 145 Hz, until the pitch range gradually evens out towards the end of the utterance:

Figure 3.26 Pitch range expansion for emphasis



(65) Na só **dɛn de tɔ́k**=an.

l **+h +l +l +h**=lh%

foc like.that 3pl ipfv talk=3sg.obj

‘That’s how they say it.’

## Tone-conditioned suppletive allomorphy

Pichi features a tone-conditioned suppletive allomorphy (TCSA) of the two pronominal variants *=an* ‘3sg.obj’ and *ín* ‘3sg.indp’, which may both instantiate (direct and indirect) object case (cf. 5.4.1 for an overview of the inflection of personal pronouns). Suppletive allomorphy is conditioned by a tonotactic prohibition of immediately adjoining or “string-adjacent” (Suzuki 1998) identical tones (cf. also 2.6.2.2). Suppletive allomorphy therefore relies on the conditioning environment of vowel hiatus. Further, there are no phonemic long vowels in Pichi. String-adjacent vowels within the same lexical word are always heterosyllabic, and in addition, invariably carry polar tones (cf. 2.6.2.2). TCSA can therefore only be triggered when the enclisis of *=an* ‘3sg.obj’ creates a phonological word. A head with an L-toned vowel-final syllable may therefore not take the vowel-initial L-toned clitic object pronoun =an. Instead, the independent (emphatic) personal pronoun *ín* ‘3sg.indp’ is recruited as a suppletive allomorph. Allomorph distribution according to the phonological class of the host is summarised in Table 3.4:

Table 3.4 Distribution of suppletive object pronouns

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Host class | Allomorph | Example |
| C/\_ # | =an | [márè**d**=àn] |
| V́/ \_# | =an | [tròw**é**=àn] |
| V̀/\_# | ín | [fíb**à** ín] |

There is no tonotactic restriction on the enclisis of *=an* with consonant-final hosts like *máred* ‘marry’, since the condition of tonal string-adjacency is not met:

(66) E go máre**d**=**an**.

3sg.sbj pot marry=3sg.obj

‘S/he’ll marry him/her.’

There are no restrictions on the enclisis of *=an* with vowel-final hosts with a word-final H-tone like *trowé* ‘throw, pour away’, since the vowel sequence across the morpheme boundary bears a polar [H.L] tone:

(67) A fít ték di wɔtá a trow**é**=**an**.

1sg.sbj can take def water 1sg.sbj throw=3sg.obj

‘I can take the water (and) pour it away.’

If the word-final vowel of the host is L-toned, as with *fíba* ‘resemble’, the pitch configuration after enclisis of *=an* across the clitic boundary would be [L.L]. This is an illicit pitch configuration over string-adjacent vowels in Pichi phonological words and triggers the use of suppletive *ín* ‘3sg.indp’. Compare the following two examples:

(68)  *\**Yu fíb**a**=**an** bɔkú*.*

2sg resemble=3sg.obj a.lot

‘You resemble him a lot.’

(69) Yu **fíba** **ín** bɔ́ku.

2sg resemble 3sg.indp a.lot

‘You resemble him/her a lot.’

The class of words that features the allomorph *ín* as an object pronoun also includes verbs of Spanish origin. Spanish verbs are always inserted into Pichi clauses in the Spanish 3sg present tense form, irrespective of their tense-aspect (cf. 13.2.2). Examples follow with the verbs *fírma* ‘sign’ (< Span. *firmar*) from the Spanish 1st conjugation class, and *sube* ‘go/bring up’ (< Span. *subir*) from the 3rd conjugation class:

(70) Dɛn nó **fírma** **ín** yét.

3pl neg sign 3sg.indp yet

‘They haven't signed it yet.’

(71) Dán mán go **súbe** **ín**.

that man pot bring.up 3sg.indp

‘That man will bring it [the suitcase] up.’

Pichi has a second mechanism next to tone-conditioned suppletive allomorphy to ensure that the requirement of a string-adjacent polar [H.L] tone is not breached. A buffer consonant /r/ can be inserted at the clitic boundary. Epenthesis forestalls the cross-morphemic vowel hiatus and makes the use of the allomorph *ín* unnecessary:

(72) Yu fíba[**r**]=**an** bɔkú.

2sg resemble=3sg.obj a.lot

‘You resemble him a lot.’

Once the epenthetic segment is present, there is no phonotactic difference with a word in which the final consonant forms an integral part of the root like *máred* ‘marry’ in (66). Another example featuring epenthesis follows, involving the general associative preposition *fɔ* ‘prep’. In (73), we find /r/ epenthesis, in (74), suppletive allomorphy:

(73) E tót=an fɔ[**r**]=**an**.

3sg.sbj carry=3sg.obj prep=3sg.obj

‘He carried it for her.’

(74) Dán tín dé **fɔ** **ín**.

that thing be.loc prep 3sg.indp

‘That thing is hers.’

Three aspects are noteworthy with respect to /r/ epenthesis in Pichi. Firstly, /r/ insertion is exceedingly rare in natural discourse. In the Pichi corpus, there are less than a dozen instances of /r/ epenthesis in natural discourse, involving a mere handful of lexemes, among them *kɔ́ba[r]=an* ‘cover it’, *klía[r]=an* ‘clear it’, *fía[r]=an* ‘fear him/her’, *fíba[r]=an* ‘resemble him/her, *drɔ́ngo[r]=an* ‘get him/her drunk’, and *fɔ[r]=an* ‘for him/her’. By contrast, the corpus contains hundreds of syntagmas involving the suppletive allomorph *ín.* I could therefore only uncover the distribution of the epenthetic /r/ and its role in TCSA by means of elicitation. Secondly, elicitation revealed that the availability of /r/ epenthesis is subject to considerable idiolectal variation. For some speakers, the use of epenthesis with many verbsis not acceptable, i.e. \**fála[r]=an* ‘follow him/her’, for others it is. All speakers, however, accepted TCSA with all verbs and prepositions, whether belonging to the native Pichi or the non-native Spanish lexical layer.

The third aspect of interest is that /r/ epenthesis is ungrammatical with Spanish derived verbs, cf. (75). Epenthesis is limited to the native layer of the Pichi vocabulary, thus excluding inserted Spanish verbs from the application of /r/ epenthesis, and limiting them to TCSA alone, hence the ungrammaticality of the following example.

(75) \*Yu gɛ́t fɔ fírma[**r**]=**an**.

2sg get prep sign=3sg.obj

‘You have to sign it.’

Pichi words with a word-final L-toned /ì/, e.g. *wɔ́ri* ‘worry’, merit some attention in the context of epenthesis. Such words exhibit the conditioning feature but neither trigger /r/ epenthesis nor TCSA, compare the ungrammatical sentences (76) and (77). Other verbs in this group are *sɔ́ri* ‘feel sorry’, *grídi* ‘be greedy’, *hángri* ‘be hungry’, *lési* ‘be lazy’, and *tɔ́sti* ‘be thirsty’.

(76) \*Dɛn wɔ́ri[**r**]=**an** bɔkú.

3pl worry=3sg.obj much

‘They worried him a lot.’

(77) \*Dɛn wɔ́ri **ín** bɔkú.

3pl worry 3sg.indp much

‘They worried him a lot.’

Instead, a word-final nasal /n/ appears at the clitic boundary, thus avoiding the LL vowel hiatus that should trigger suppletive allomorphy, as in (78):

(78) Di tín sɔ́rin=an bɔkú.

def thing make.sorry=3sg.obj much

‘This made her feel very sorry.’

Outside of the clitic environment, the wordfinal /ì/ in these words may, but need not be pronounced as a nasalised vowel, as shown in the phonetic transcription in (79):

(79) A sɔ́ri [**sɔ́rĩ̀**] sé e kíl di dɔ́g.

1sg.sbj feel.sorry quot 3sg.sbj kill def dog

‘I felt sorry that she killed the dog.’

The word-final /n/ in examples like (79) is therefore not epenthetic. It is morphologically affiliated to the verbal root and is realised in the clitic environment. The word-final /n/ in verbs like *sɔ́ri* (group 1) has been constructed by analogy with words like *físin* ‘(to) fish’, *hɔ́ntin* ‘(to) hunt’, *mɔ́nin* ‘morning’, *ívin* ‘evening’, and *plantí* ‘plantain’ (group 2). The construction of a word-final /n/ in group 1 words probably occurred in response to the ban on string-adjacent identical tones in the context of cliticisation.

## Intonation

The functions of intonation are realised by sentence-final particles and utterance-final boundary tones. Pichi boundary tones are floating tones, which are inserted at the right edge of an utterance. These boundary tones serve pragmatic functions by differentiating sentence types, such as declaratives from questions. They also fulfil grammatical functions by linking clauses.

Four boundary tones and contours, represented by <%> (Pierrehumbert 1980), were identified in the corpus. Their functions with declaratives and questions are summarised in Table 3.5 (cf. Hirst & Di Cristo 1998:18–20):

Table 3.5 Utterance type and boundary tones

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Boundary tone | Declaratives | Questions |
| L% | Non-emphatic | Content |
| LH% (additive) | Emphatic | ― |
|  | List | ― |
| ∅% (no tone) | Continuative | ― |
|  | Emphatic | ― |
| LH% (substitutive) | ― | Yes–no |

A boundary (contour) tone (henceforth only “boundary tone”) associates with the last syllable of an utterance. A boundary tone (BT) may either form a contour by itself (e.g. question intonation) or arise if the lexical tone (LT) of the utterance-final syllable is polar to the following BT. Otherwise, a BT produces a fall or a level tone over the utterance-final syllable.

Table 3.6 below shows how LTs and BTs interact. The leftmost column contains the word-final LT over the last syllable of the utterance. The top row contains the relevant BT. The boxes in the table contain the (contour) tones over the utterance-final syllable that result from the interaction of LT and BT. These tones represent the phonetic output, the way the tone is actually pronounced. Some of these output tones are level tones, others are contour tones of varying complexity:

Table 3.6 Interaction of lexical tones and boundary tones

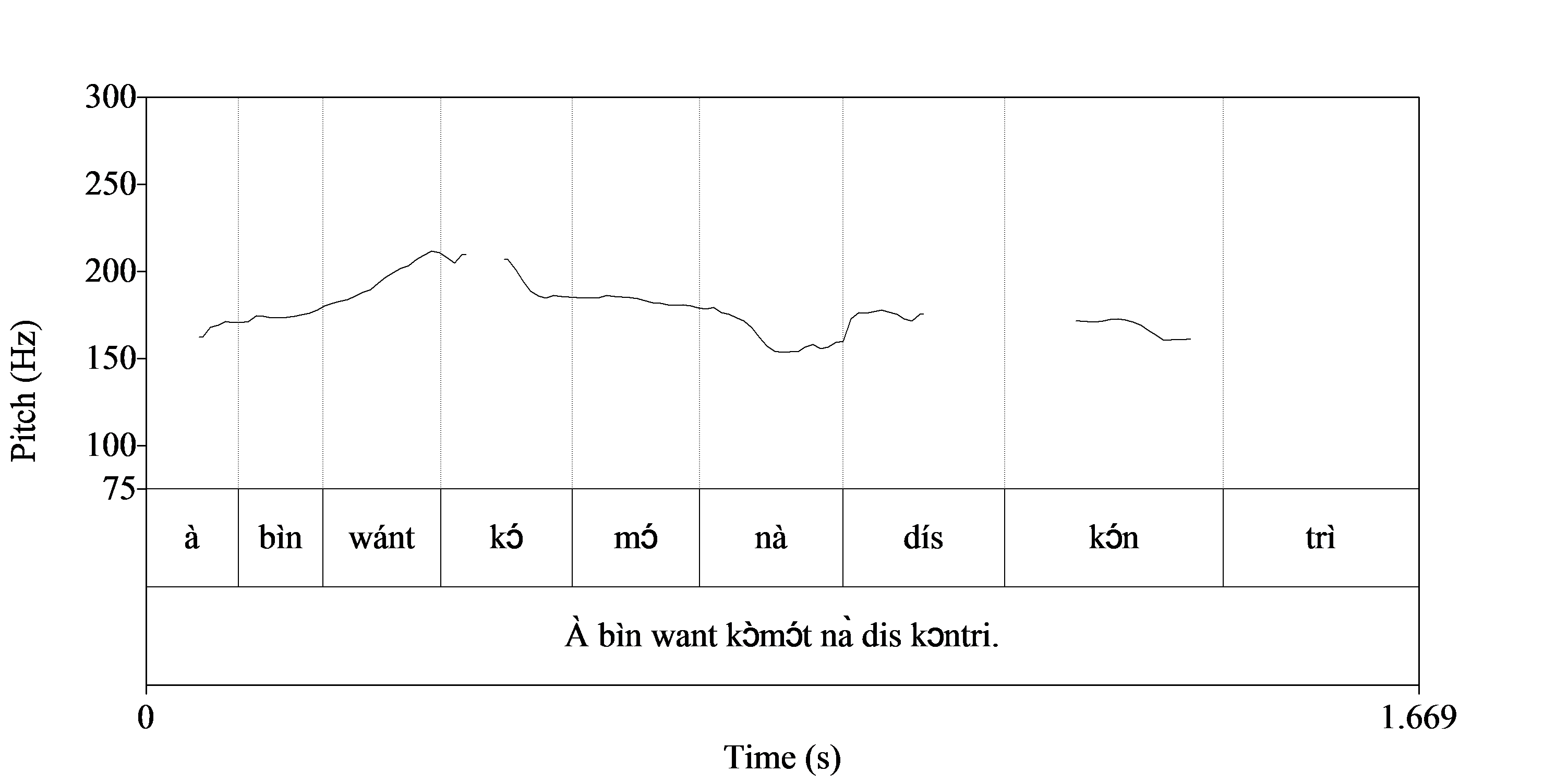
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| LT / BT | Example | Declarative  L% | Emphatic LH% | Cont./Emph.  ∅% | Question  LH% |
| l | *dɛn* ‘3pl’ *Píchi* ‘Pichi’  l h.l | L (fall) | LH | L (level) | lh |
| h | gó ‘go’ pikín ‘child’  h l.h | HL | hlh | H | lh |
| h | bɔbí ‘breast’  l.h | H | hlh | H | lh |

LTs are not overridden by BTs save in one instance. In yes–no questions, the utterance-final LT is deleted and replaced by the question boundary contour tone. This is why the rightmost column in Table 3.6 features the same LH% boundary tone in the utterance-final position with all tone classes.

### Declarative intonation

Non-emphatic declaratives feature an L%, which is also found on the right edge of the citation form of words. The declarative L% causes an utterance-final fall to the bottom of the pitch register. Compare the word-final L-toned syllable of kɔ́ntri ‘country’ in Figure 3.27:

Figure 3.27 Declarative L% over H.L word



(80) A bin wánt kɔmɔ́t na dís kɔ́ntri.

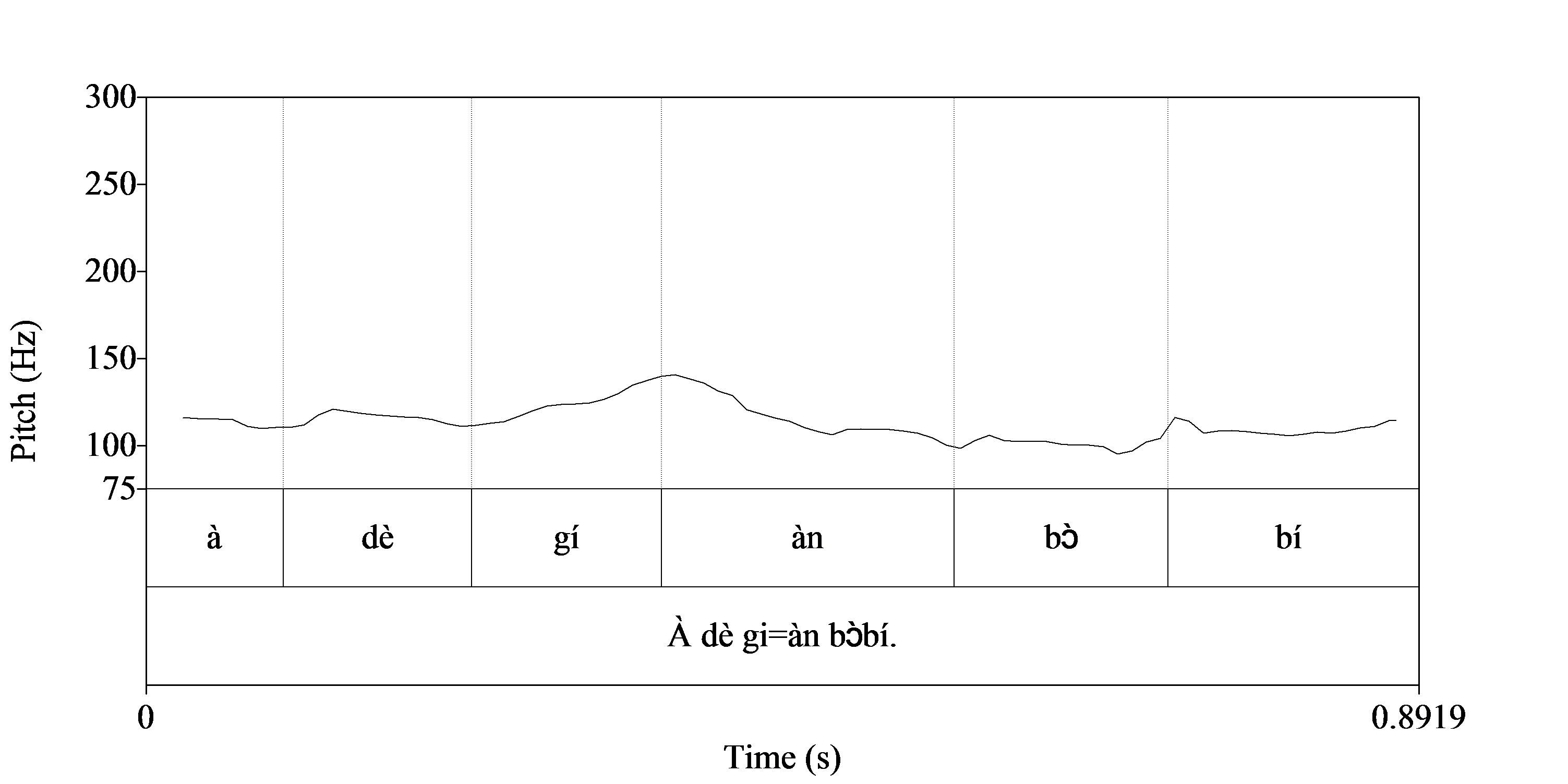
l l h l.h l h h.l**l%**

1sg.sbj pst want go.out loc this country

‘I wanted to leave this country.’→

In contrast, polysyllabic vowel-final words with a final lexical H tone do not usually feature an utterance-final fall in non-emphatic declaratives. They retain their word-final H tone. Compare bɔbí ‘breast’ in Figure 3.28:

Figure 3.28 Unpronounced declarative L% over L.H word



(81) A de gí=an bɔbí.

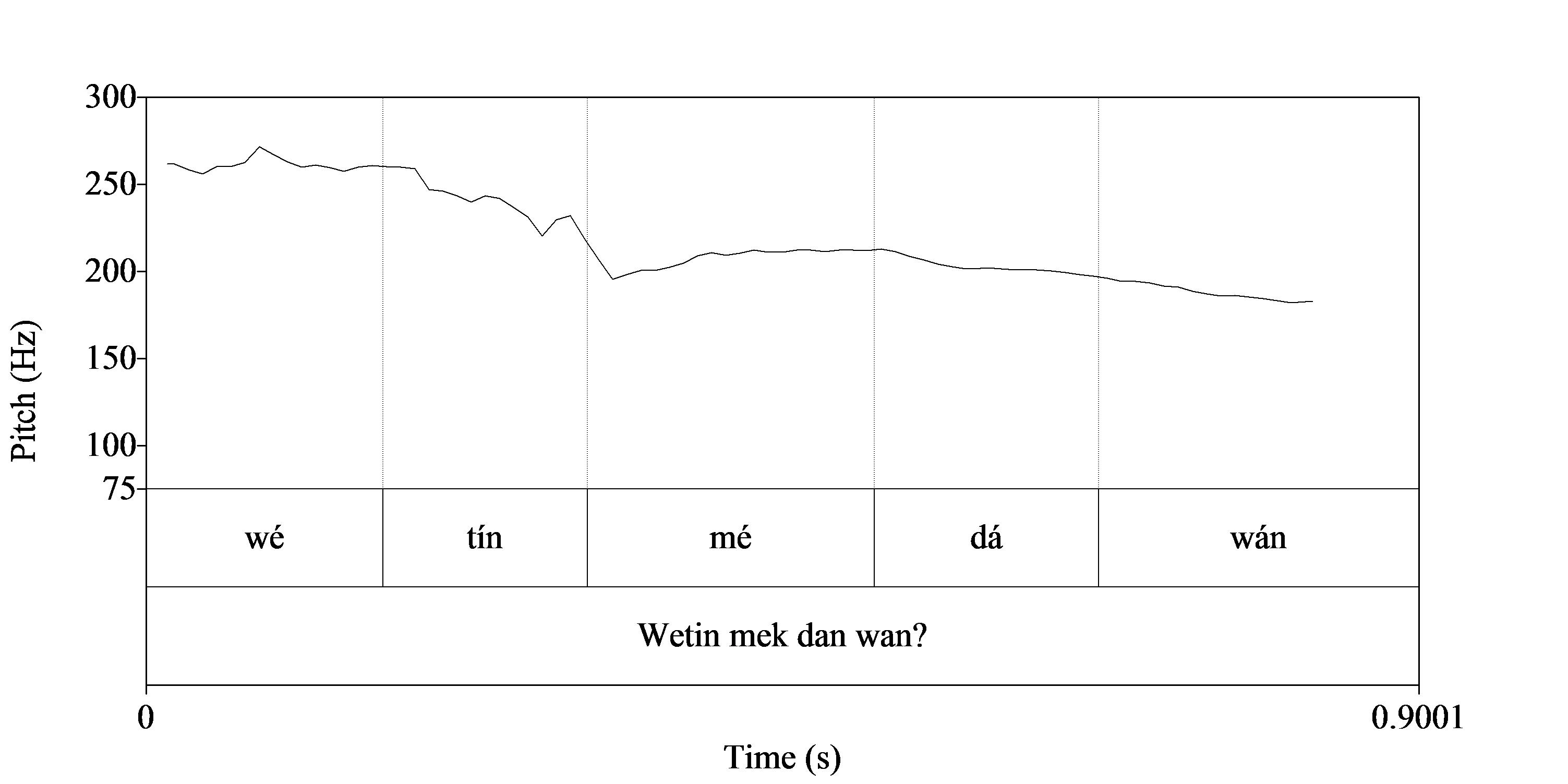
l l h=l l.**h**

1sg.sbj ipfv give =3sg.obj breast

‘I’m breast-feeding her.’

Content questions feature the same boundary tone as declaratives. Compare the utterance-final fall over the monosyllable in Figure 3.29:

Figure 3.29 L% with content question



(82) Wétin mék dán **wán**?

h.l h h **hl%**

what make that one

‘What causes this?’

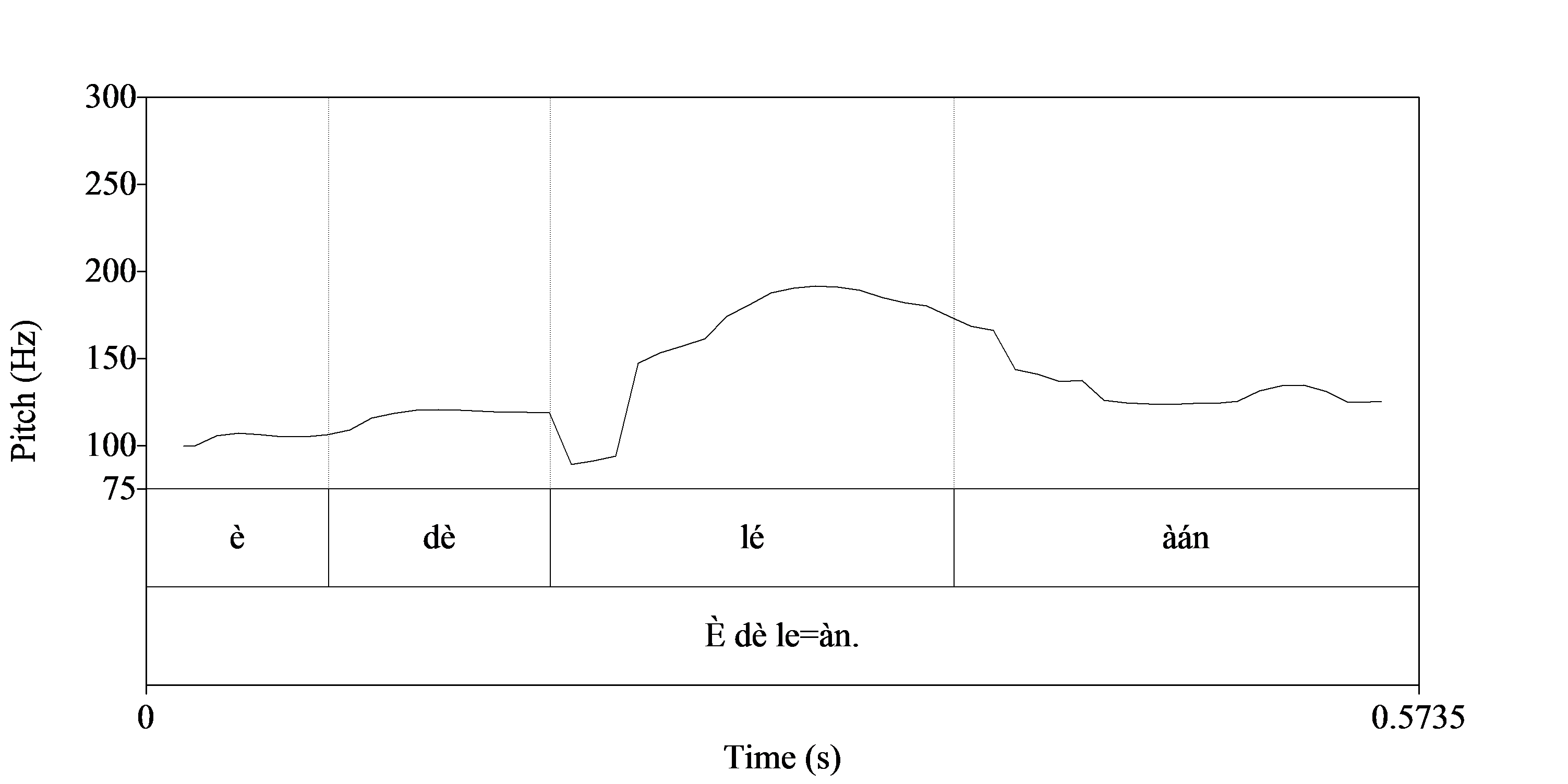
### Emphatic intonation

Emphatic intonation expresses meanings like extra-emphasis, insistence, impatience or reproach. There are two ways of signalling emphasis at the sentence level in Pichi. One way involves the use of the emphatic LH% boundary tone. A second way involves the use of pitch range expansion (cf. 3.2.5).

The emphatic LH% is an additive contour tone. It succeeds the lexical tone of the utterance-final syllable, which may therefore count up to three beats in length. Additionally, the last lexical H before the LH% boundary contour tone is often pronounced with an extra-high tone due to emphasis. This peculiar combination of an extra-high lexical tone and a contour boundary tone creates a highly perceptible utterance-final tonal melody.

Phonemically, an utterance-final L to which the emphatic LH% boundary tone associates bears an LHH sequence of tones. Phonetically, the utterance-final syllable is realised as an LH contour. Figure 3.30 depicts the utterance-final rise over the L-toned monosyllable *=an* ‘3sg.obj’.

Figure 3.30 Emphatic LH% over L-final word



(83) E de lé=an.

l l h=**lh%**

3sg.sbj ipfv lay=3sg.obj

‘She is laying it (on the table).’

When the emphatic boundary tone links with an utterance-final H-toned syllable the resulting contour features an initial rise, an intermediate fall, and a final rise. The utterance-final, extensively lengthened syllable thus bears an HLH contour. Compare the utterance-final H-toned monosyllables ín ‘3sg.indp’ and gó ‘go’ in the following two tables:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Figure 3.31 Emphatic LH% over H-final word | Figure 3.32 Emphatic LH% over H-final word |

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| (84) Na ín.  l **h**lh%  foc 3sg.indp  ‘That’s it [you should know that].’ | (85) A go **gó**.  l l **h**lh%  1sg.sbj pot go  ‘I’ll go [you don’t need to remind me to].’ |

An utterance-final, H-toned syllable of a polysyllabic word also bears this contour. Compare bɔbí ‘breast’ and chukchúk ‘thorn’ in the following tables. The two words were pronounced with emphatic intonation during vocabulary elicitation because the speaker expected me to be familiar with them:

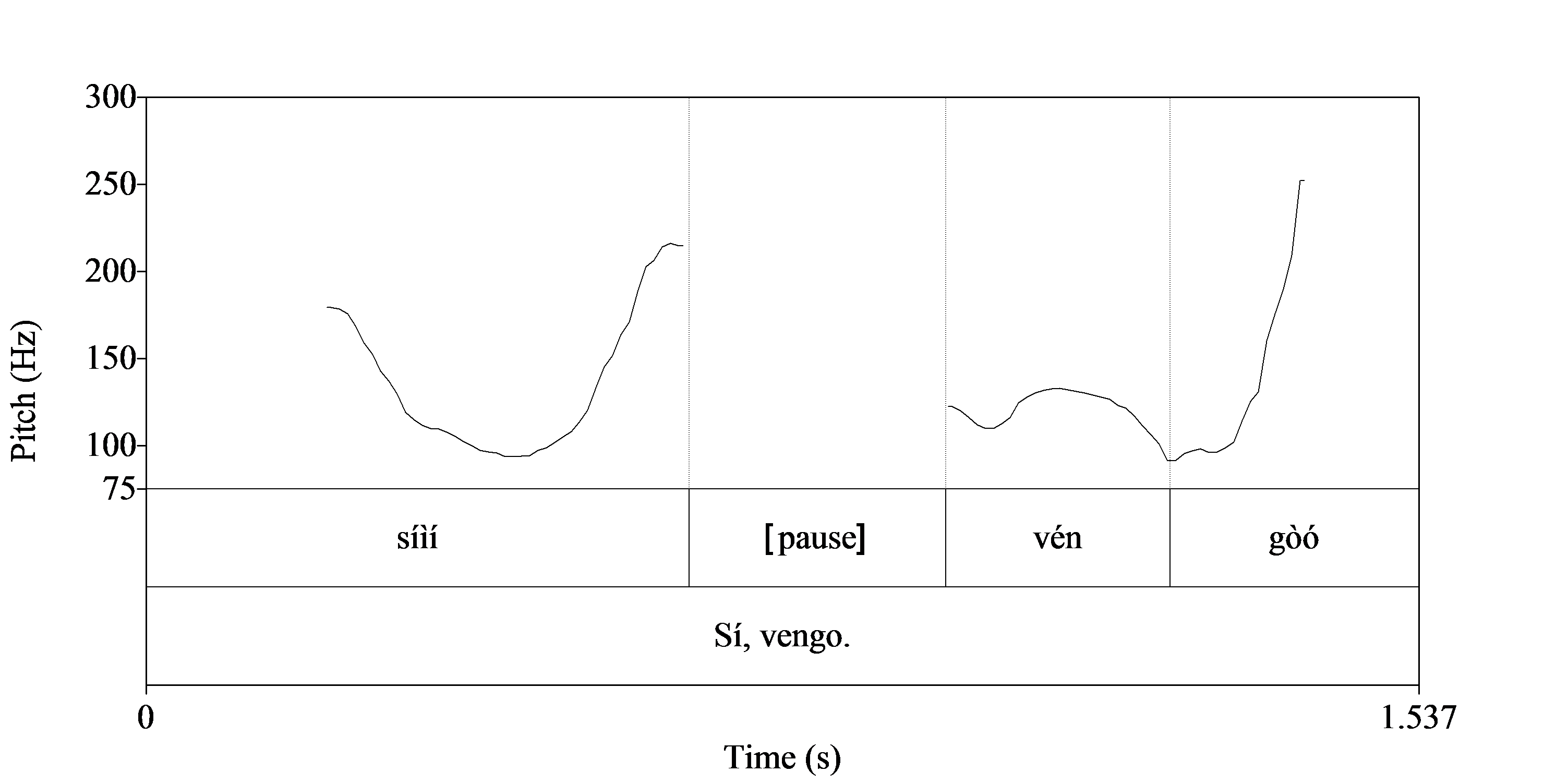
|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Figure 3.33 H% over vowel-final L.H word | Figure 3.34 H% over obstruent-final L.H word |

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| (86) Bɔbí.  l.**h**lh%  breast  ‘Breast [that’s self-evident!].’ | (87) Na chukchúk  l l.**hlh%**  foc thorn  ‘It’s a thorn [that’s self-evident].’ |

The LH% boundary contour tone is a loan from (Equatoguinean and, ultimately, Iberian) Spanish together with the meanings associated with it. The LH% contour boundary tone is also employed for list intonation (cf. 3.4.3). The following table presents the pitch trace of an utterance in Equatoguinean Spanish.

Compare the contour over the utterance-final L-toned syllable with that borne by the utterance-final L-toned syllable in Figure 3.30 further below. Also compare the emphatic contour over the phonologically independent sí ‘yes’ with that of the high-toned ín ‘3sg.indp’ in Figure 3.31:

Figure 3.35 Emphatic intonation in peninsular Spanish



(88) Sí vengo.

hlh% h.lh%

yes I.come

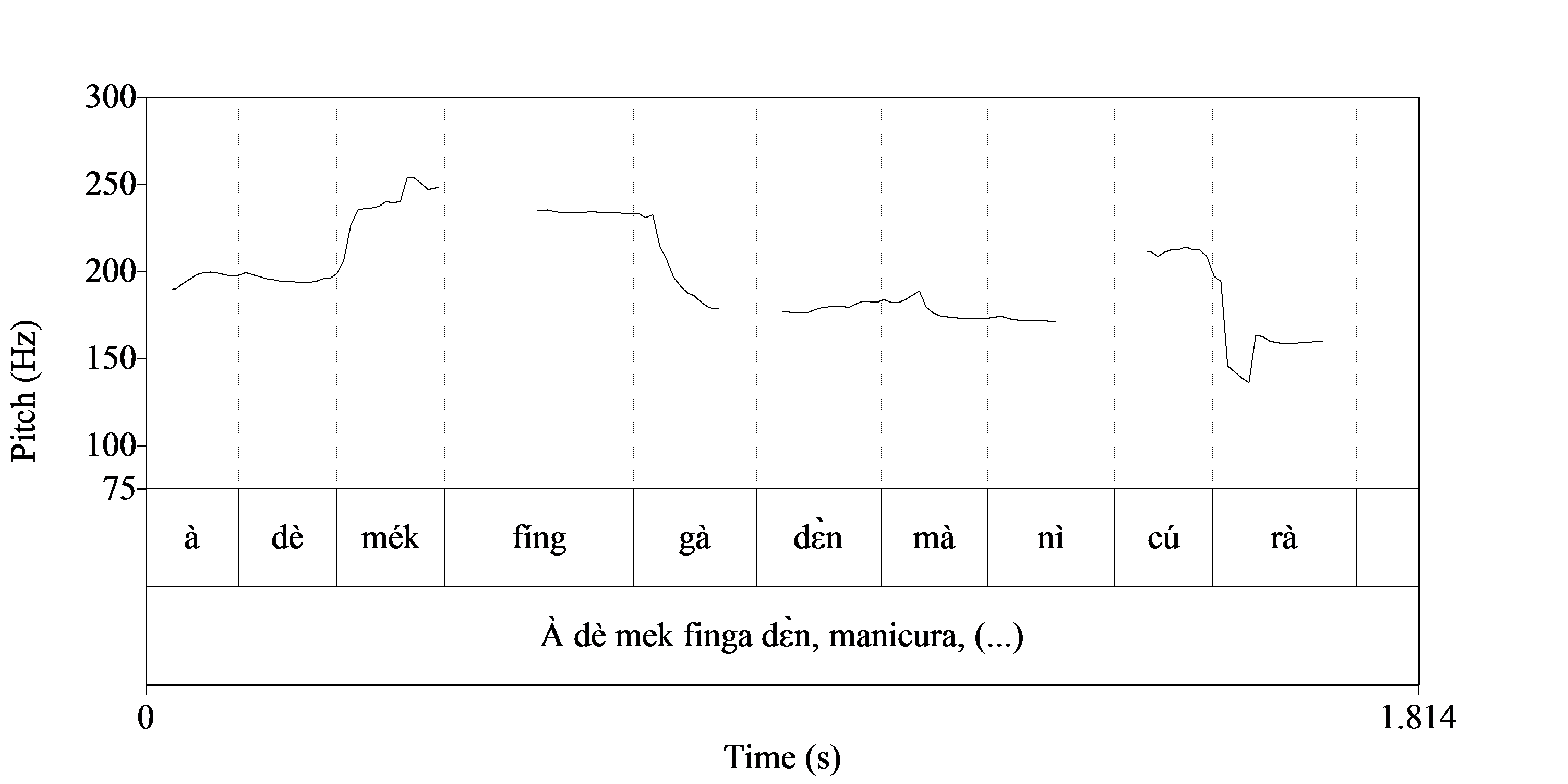
‘Yes [you should know that!], I’ll come.’

### List intonation

The additive LH% boundary tone employed for emphatic intonation is also used for list intonation. As in emphatic declaratives, LH% associates with the final syllable and creates an LH contour over an utterance-final L-toned syllable and an HLH contour over an utterance-final H-toned syllable. The same intonation contour is once more found in Equatoguinean (and Iberian) Spanish with a similar range of meanings.

The following three pitch traces form part of a list. Take note of the LH contour over the L-toned dependent pronoun dɛn ‘3pl’ before the short pause, as well as the LH contour borne by the L-toned final syllable of *manicura* ‘manicure’ in Figure 3.36 and chía ‘chair’ in Figure 3.36. Compare this with the declarative L% over *dé* ‘there’, the closing sentence of the list in Figure 3.38:

Figure 3.36 List intonation



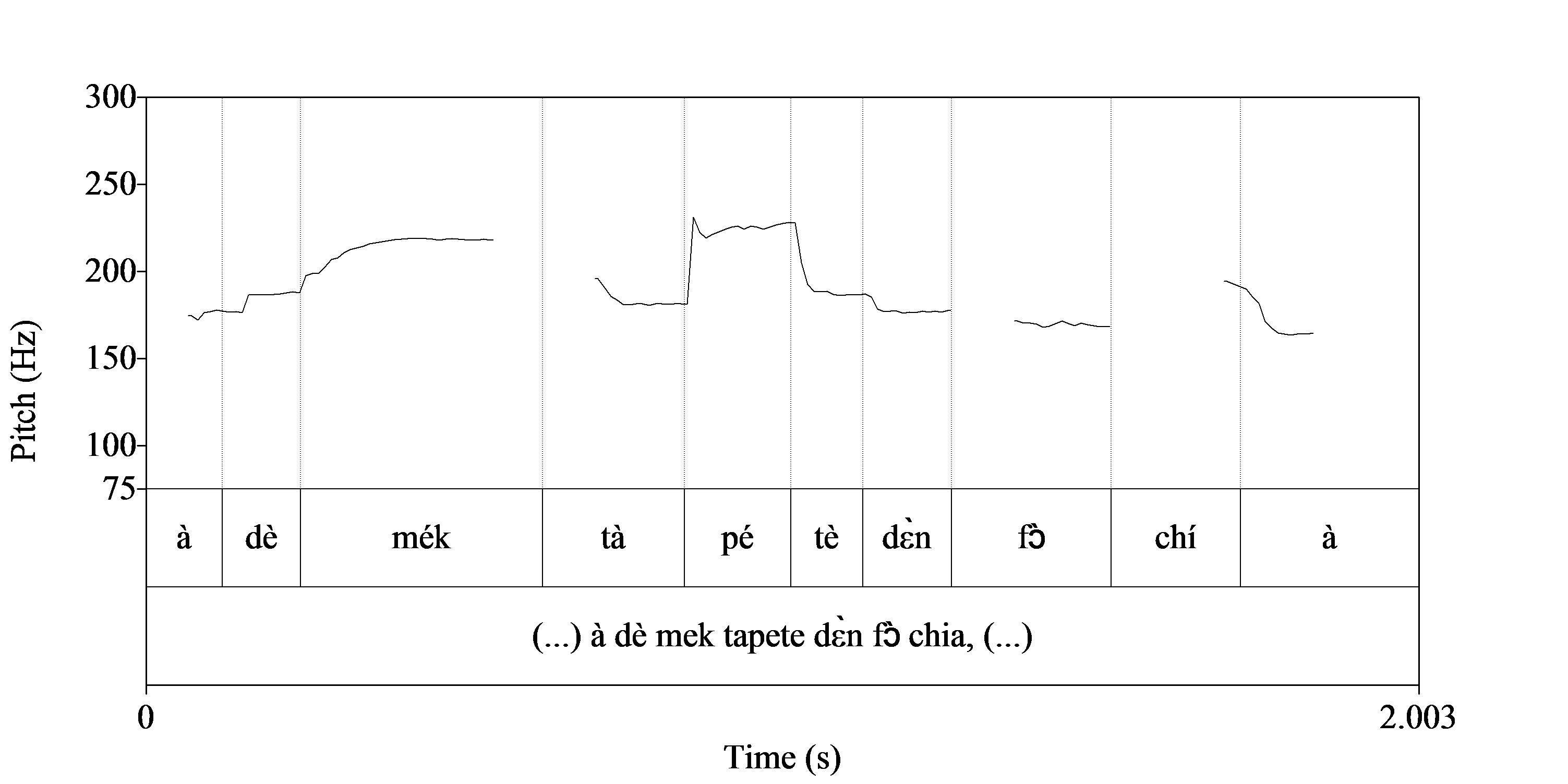
(89) A de mék fínga dɛn, manicu**ra**, (...)

l l h h.l **lh%** l.l.**h.lh%**

1sg.sbj ipfv make finger pl manicure

‘I was making fingers, manicure (...)’

Figure 3.37 List intonation



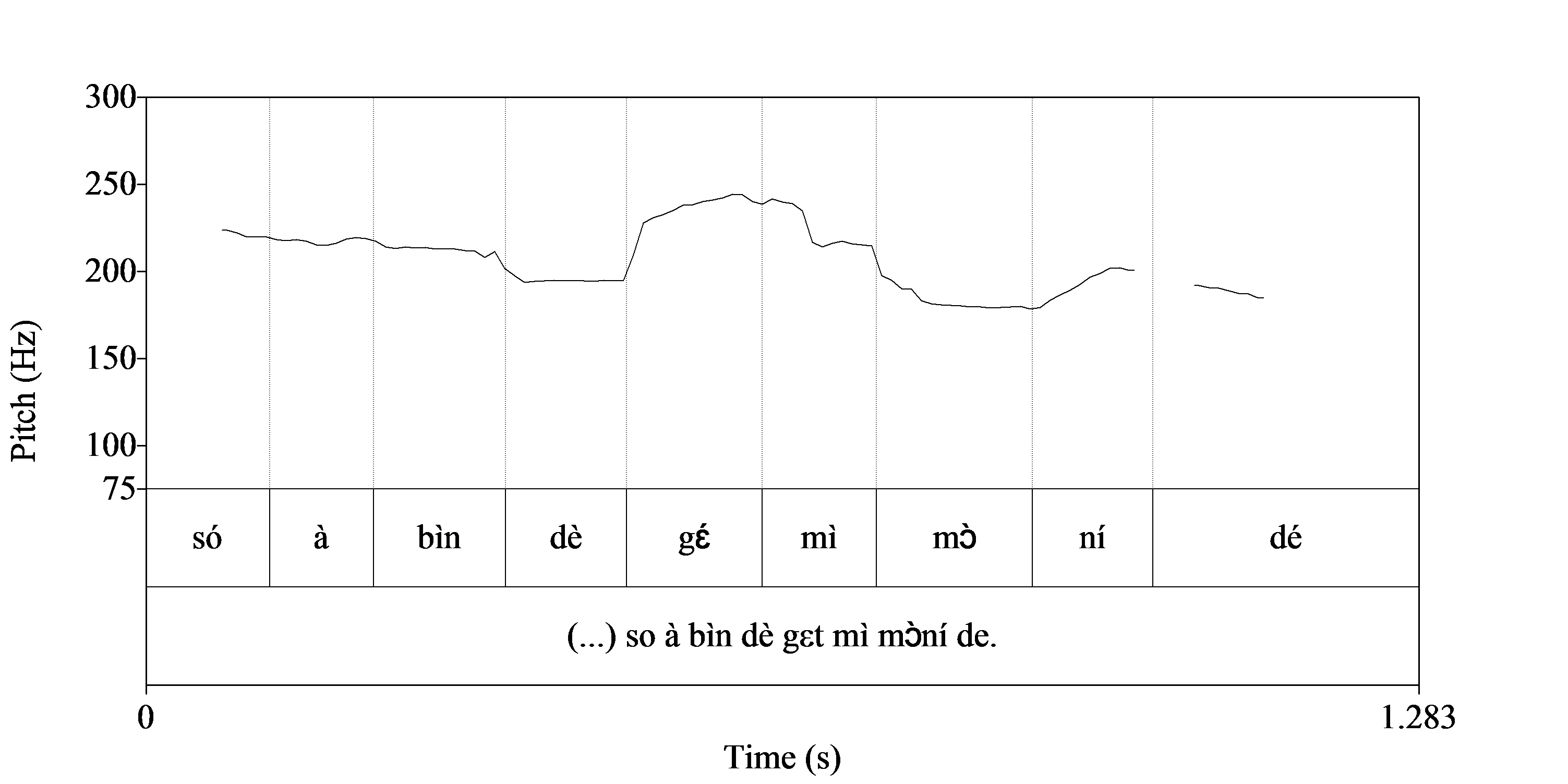
(90) (...) a de mék tapete dɛn fɔ chía, (…)

l l h l.h.l l l h.**lh%**

1sg.sbj ipfv make cloth pl prep chair

‘(...) I was making chair-drapings, (...)’

Figure 3.38 Declarative L% over final item in list



(91) (...) só a bin dé gɛ́t mí mɔní dé.

h l l l h l l.h h**l%**

so 1sg.sbj pst ipfv get 1sg.poss money there

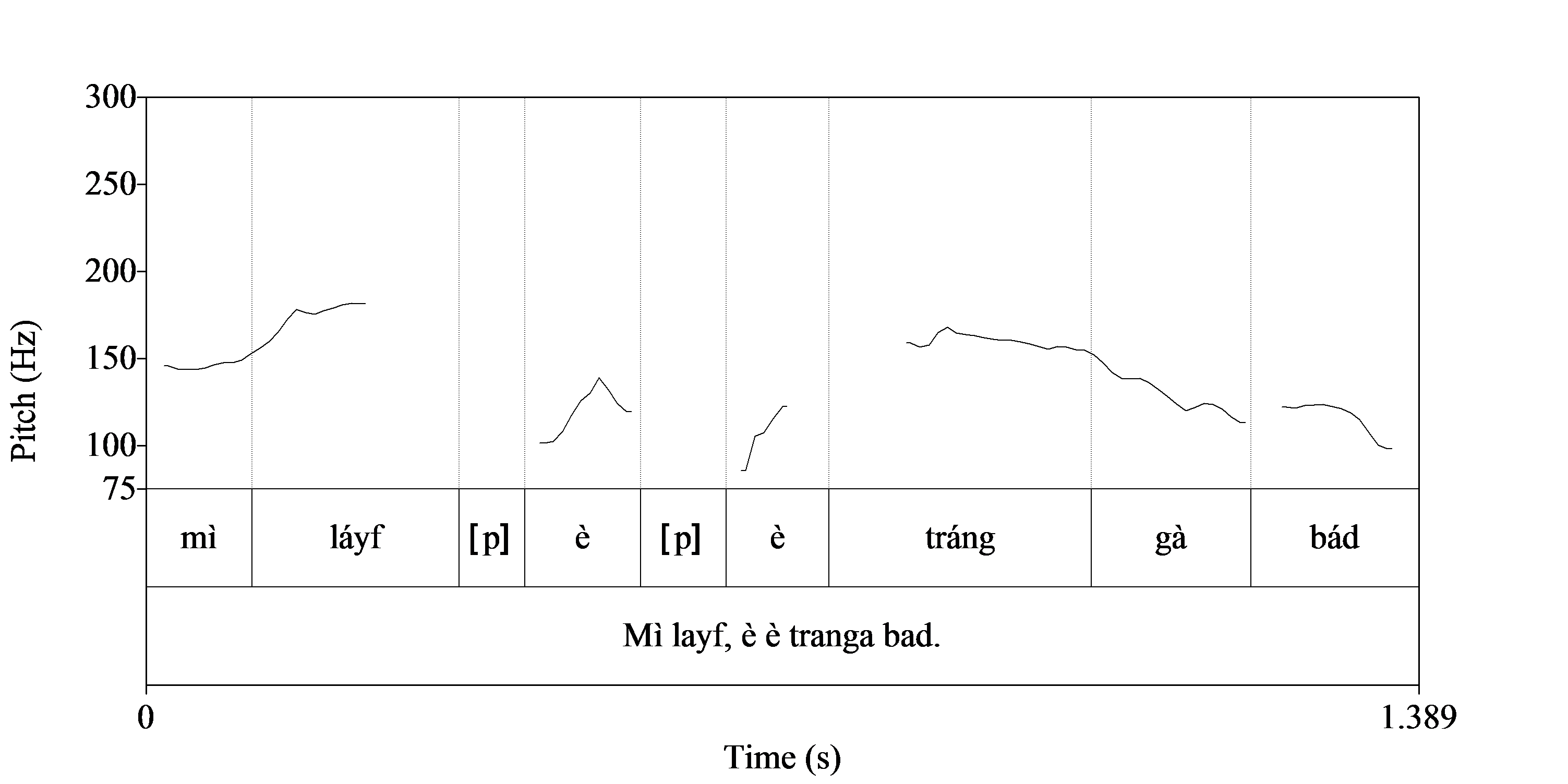
‘(...) so I was getting my money there.’

### Continuative intonation

The absence of a boundary tone, usually before a prosodic break (a brief but audible pause), signals continuative intonation. With continuative intonation, the lexical tone of the relevant syllable simply maintains its pitch and is therefore pronounced with the same pitch as it would in utterance-medial position. Continuative intonation functions as a floor-holding device, a juncture marker on the right edge of utterances in order to prepare the ground for following material. Continuative intonation therefore plays an important role in signalling topic and focus next to the particles employed for this purpose (cf. 7.4).

In Figure 3.39, the topical NP mi láyf ‘my life’ is set off from the rest of the utterance by a pause. The monosyllable láyf ‘life’ bears continuative intonation. Compare this to the utterance-final monosyllable bád ‘bad’, which features declarative intonation, signalled by L%. The symbol [p] indicates a pause. The pitch trace of the pronoun è ‘3sg.sbj’ is slighty distorted due to creaky voice:

Figure 3.39 Continuative intonation with topicalisation



(92) Mi láyf, e, e tránga **bád**.

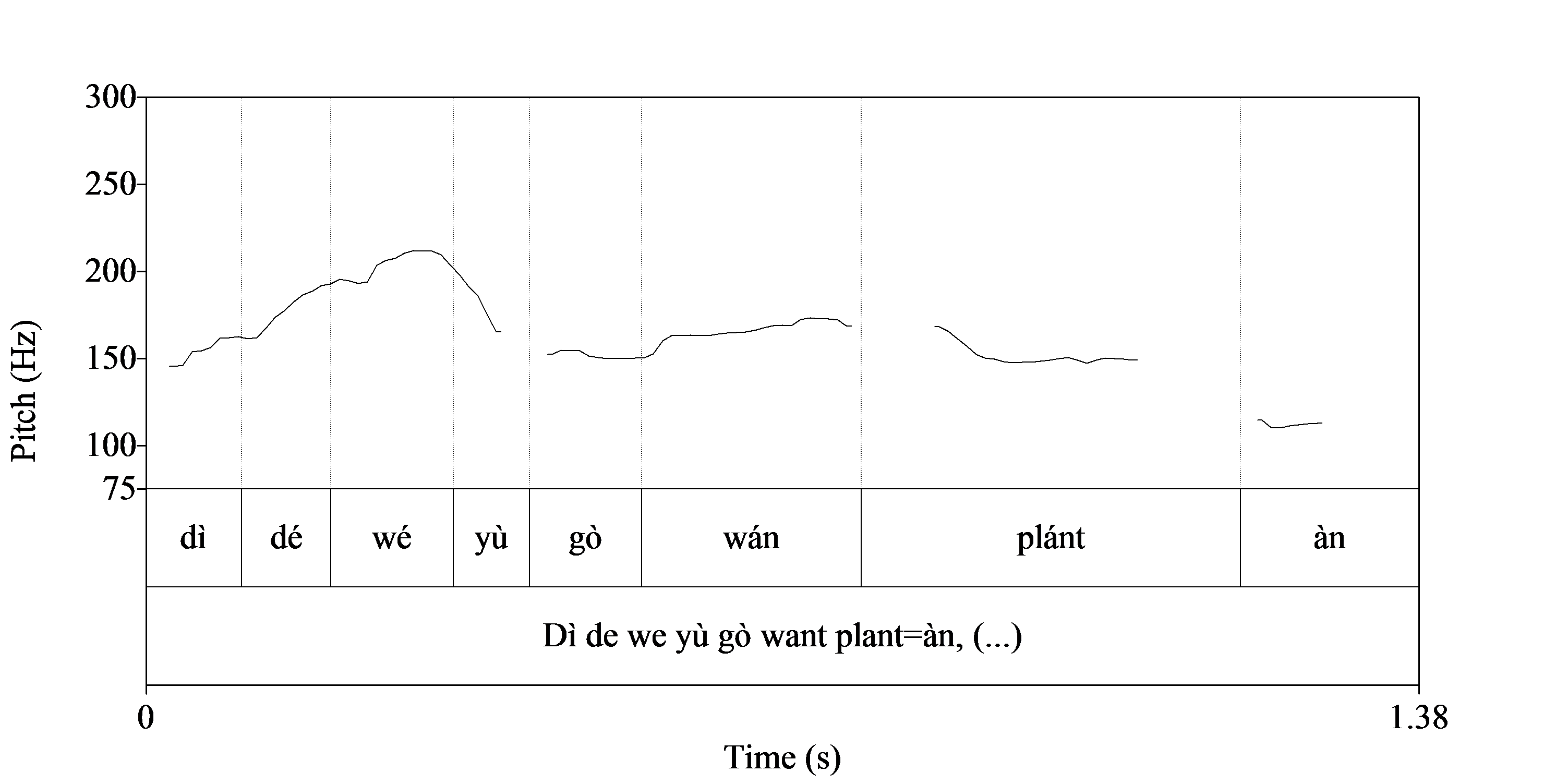
l h**∅%**  l l h.l h**l%**

1sg.poss life 3sg.sbj 3sg.sbj be.strong extremely

‘My life, it, it was really tough.’

Continuative intonation is also employed as a juncture marker between linked clauses. Here, it may occur alone as a prosodic clause linker between juxtaposed clauses, or in conjunction with an overt clause linker. Figure 3.40 and Figure 3.41 are two clauses linked in a sequential, temporal relation. The adverbial time clause is introduced by di *dé wé* ‘(the day) when’ in Figure 3.40. In the example, continuative intonation is found over the rightmost L-toned monosyllable *=an* ‘3sg.obj’. The absence of the utterance-final L% of declarative intonation halts the fall of the lexical L tone to the bottom of the pitch register:

Figure 3.40 Continuative intonation with clause linkage



(93) Di dé wé yu go wánt plánt=an, (...)

l h h l l h h=l**∅%**

def day sub 2sg pot want plant=3sg.obj

‘The day you would want to go plant it (...)’

The second clause in sequence features a lexical H over the utterance-final syllable. Here, continuative intonation produces no effect other than the maintenance of the lexical H tone. Compare dɔtalɔ́ ‘daughter-in-law’ and sɔnilɔ́ ‘son-in-law’ in Figure 3.41:

Figure 3.41 Continuative intonation over non-final clause



(94) E go tɛ́l in dɔta**lɔ́**, sɔnilɔ́, (...)

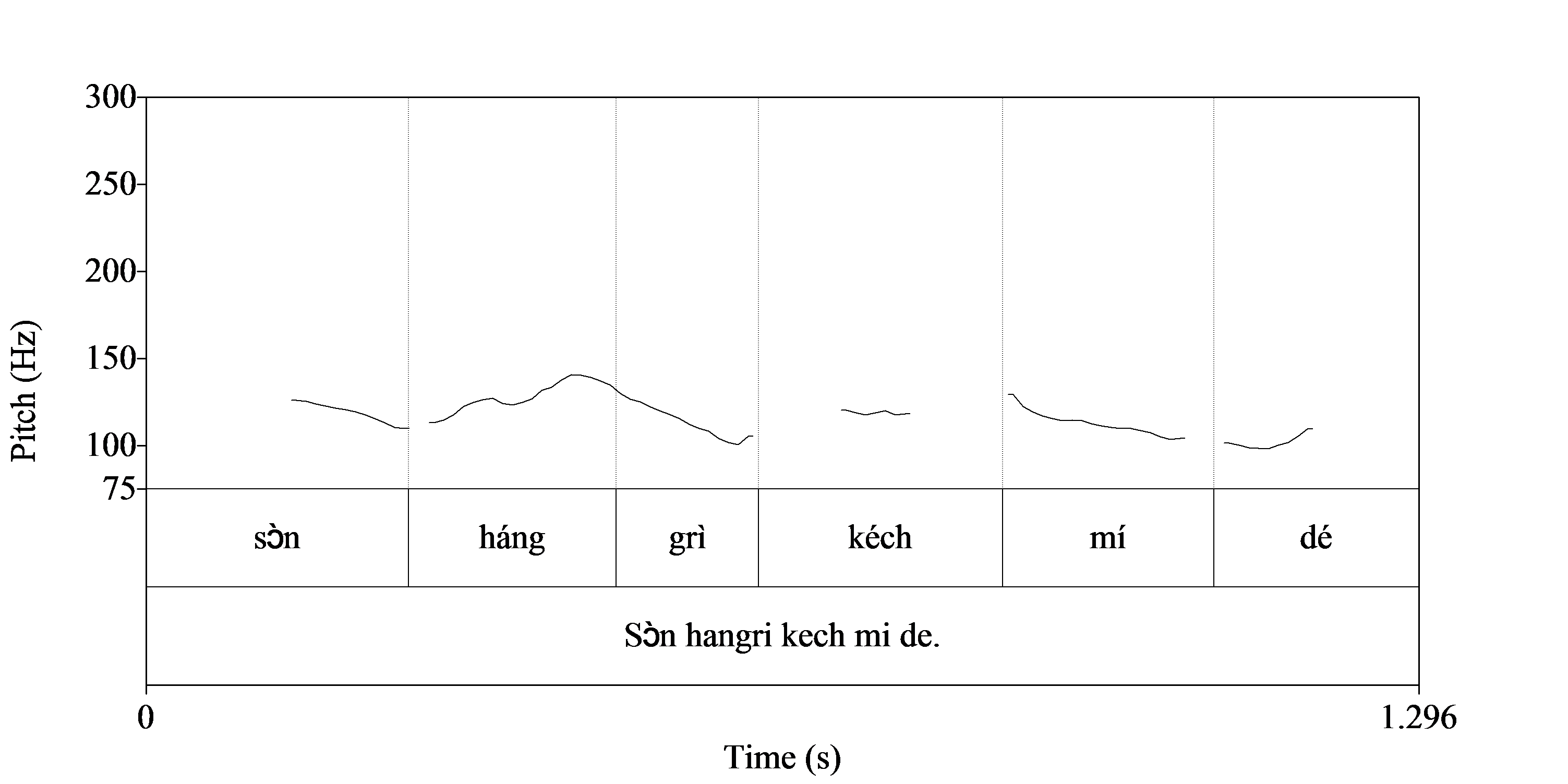
l l h l l.l.h**∅%** l.l.h**∅%**

3sg.sbj pot tell 3sg.poss daughter-in-law son-in-law

‘She would tell her daughter-in-law, son-in-law, (...)’

Continuative intonation is also used as a stylistic device in ‘unfinished’ utterances, such as the one in Figure 3.42. The final syllable retains its H tone or may even rise slightly towards the end. This emphatic variant of declarative intonation is employed for dramatic effect. Compare the utterance-final, H-toned monosyllable dé ‘there’:

Figure 3.42 Continuative intonation for stylistic effect



(95) Sɔn hángri kéch mí **dé**.

L h.l h h h**∅%**

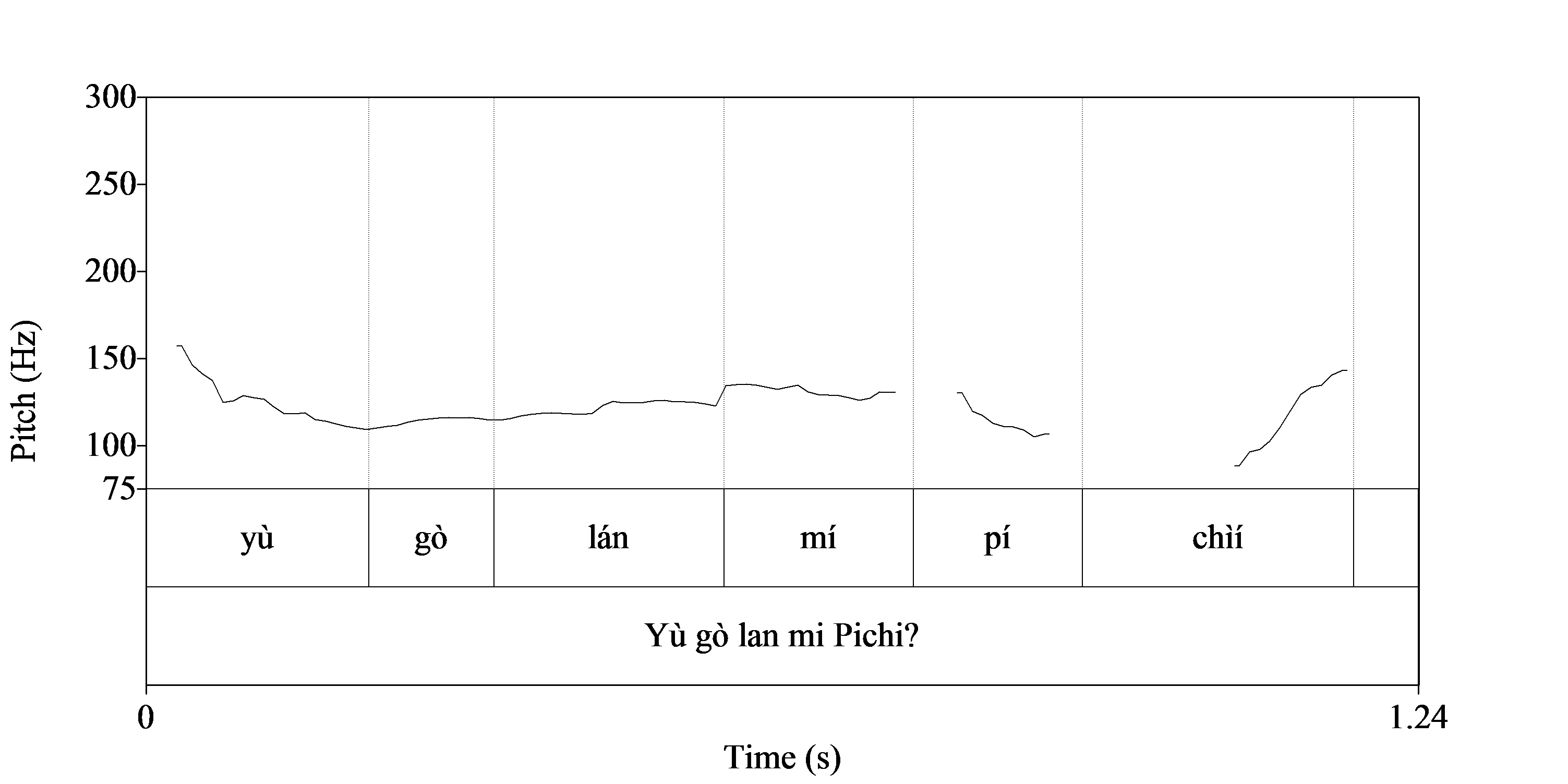
some be.hungry catch 1sg.indp there

‘I became really hungry there [you wouldn’t believe how much].’

### Question intonation

Yes–no questions are formed with an LH% contour boundary tone. Contrary to emphatic intonation, question intonation is substitutive: The lexical tone over the utterance-final syllable is replaced by the question LH%. In this way, the utterance-final syllable of a yes–no question invariably bears an LH contour, irrespective of its original tone. Compare the pitch contour over the L-toned second syllable of Píchi ‘Pichi’ in Figure 3.43:

Figure 3.43 Non-emphatic yes–no question



(96) Yu go lán mí Píchi?

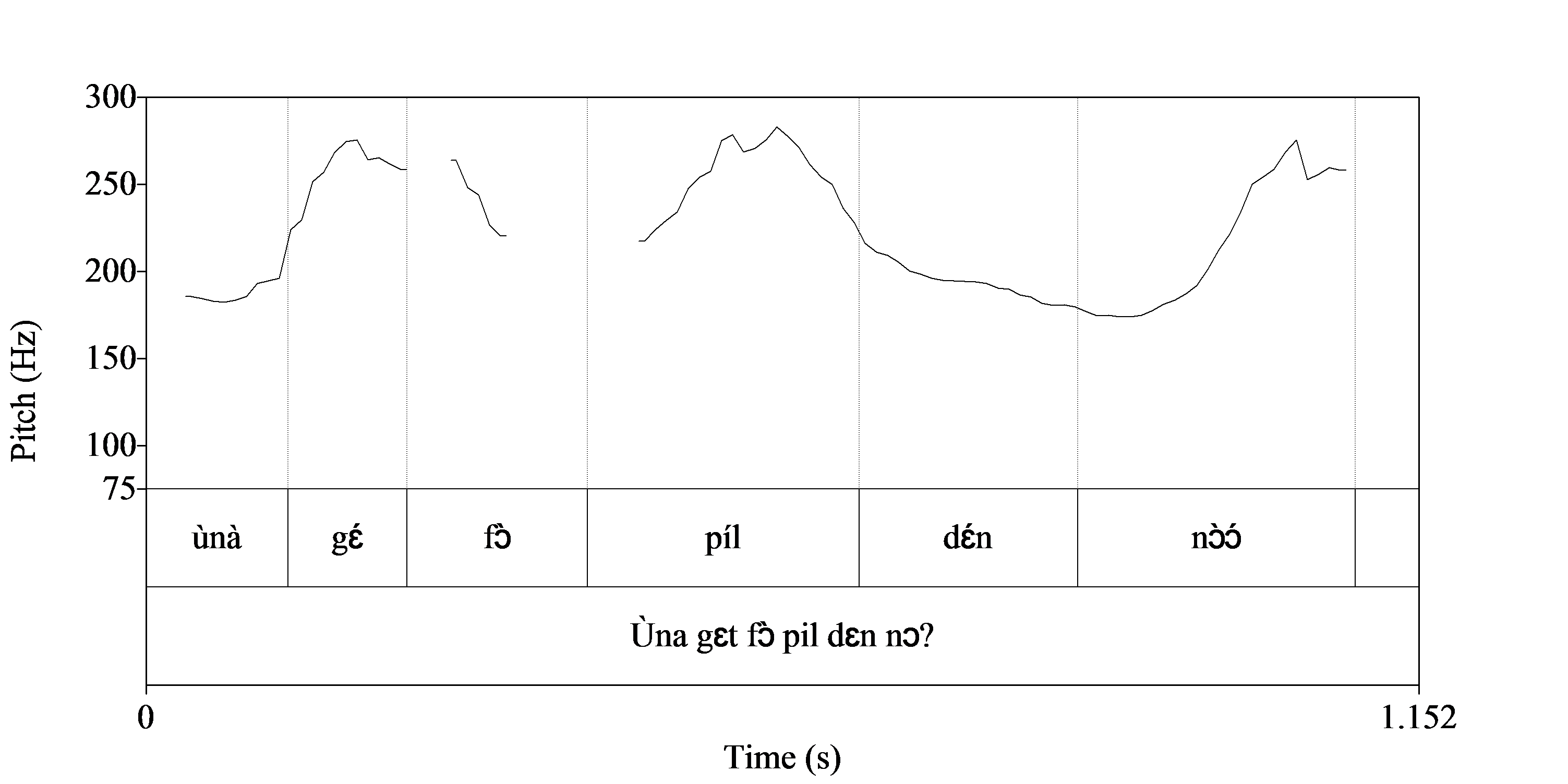
l l h h h.**lh%**

2sg pot teach 1sg.indp Pichi

‘Will you teach me Pichi?’

The H tone of the LH% contour may vary in pitch. While non-emphatic questions exhibit a gentle final rise and may therefore be similar in pitch to continuative intonation, more emphatic questions yield steeper rises. The more dramatic the rise, the more the question may additionally convey emphatic nuances like counter-expectation or insistence. I assume that in instances where the rise is particularly steep, the H tone component of the LH% boundary contour tone is raised to extra-high, thus rendering L+H%. Such an extra-steep rise is particularly common in rhetorical questions, optionally over the L-toned utterance-final question tag *nɔ́* as in the following example:

Figure 3.44 Emphatic yes–no question



(97) Una gɛ́fɔ píl dɛ́n **nɔ́**?

l.l h.l h l **l+h%**

2pl have.to peel 3pl.indp right

‘You [pl] have to peel them, right [you should know that]?’

The utterance-final syllable in the question above exhibits a particularly steep rise. At the same time, emphasis is additionally expressed through pitch range expansion. The contrast between H and L tones is widened across the entire utterance as can be seen by the deep troughs in the pitch trace.

# Morphology

Pichi nouns and verbs constitute two major word classes. Adjectives, prepositions, and adverbs constitute minor word classes with a few members each. Pichi word formation strategies are predominantly analytic. Besides that, the use of one (adverb-deriving) affix and morphological tone play a role in Pichi derivation and inflection.

## Word classes

Pichi word classes are differentiated by their syntactic functions (e.g. a noun may head an NP), distribution within the sentence (e.g. a preposition may not be preceded by an article), the morphosyntactic categories that may be specified for them (e.g. verbs may be specified for tense, aspect, and modality), their derivational potential (e.g. personal pronouns and prepositions are not normally reduplicated, and adverbs do not function as nouns), as well as semantic criteria (dynamic states-of-affairs and property concepts are generally expressed as verbs).

The major underived word classes, with the most members and the potential to occur in the largest range of environments, are nouns and verbs. The noun–verb distinction in Pichi is quite strong: although verbs may function as nouns in specific (e.g. in emphatic) contexts, the reverse is not usually the case. The verb–adjective distinction is weak. There are only a handful of adjectives, which are indistinguishable from verbs in most environments. The minor word classes consist of adjectives, prepositions, adverbs, as well as various sentence elements that contribute to the meaning of the sentence.

### Nominals

Nouns appear as one of up to three core participants of a verb, i.e. as subjects or up to two objects. Nouns also occur as objects of prepositions, and they may function as adverbials. They may be modified by other elements of the noun phrase (e.g. di ‘def’, dá(n) ‘that’, sɔn ‘some; a’ or dɛn ‘pl’), including other nouns in associative constructions and compounds. The vast majority of nouns bears a single H tone and belongs to one of the major tone classes (cf. Table 3.2). Underived nouns typically denote time-stable object concepts. Nouns also belong to an open class which may be extended by compounding, conversion, and borrowing from Spanish.

Personal pronouns, pronominals, and compound question words are subsets of nominals that exhibit a more restricted distribution. Personal pronouns are found in the same syntactic positions as noun phrases but do not cooccur with preposed modifiers. The latter usually also holds true for the pronominals nátin‘nothing’, sɛ́f ‘self’, and yón ‘own’. The pronominals káyn ‘kind’ and wán ‘one’ have a wider distribution but are also characterised by specific syntactic preferences. Locative nouns form a further subclass of nominals characterised by distributional specificities. Locative nouns are not often preceded by modifiers or determiners, and their distribution overlaps with that of prepositions.

### Verbs and adjectives

Verbs occupy the centre of the predicate. The predicate is best seen to include a number of functional elements that form a tightly-knit unit with the verb in order to constitute clauses: TMA markers, preverbal adverbs, the negator, dependent personal pronouns, as well as the clitic 3sg object pronoun. Verbs are usually preceded by a subject noun, pronoun, or both. Verbs may optionally be followed by objects. They are typically mono- or bisyllabic and usually belong to one of the three major tone classes.

There are numerous subclasses of verbs which can be defined along formal and semantic lines: Aspectual and modal verbs, transfer and communication verbs, stative, inchoative-stative, and dynamic verbs, labile verbs, and copula verbs. Other than reduplication, Pichi only has marginally productive means of verb derivation through compounding. There are numerous other strategies for the creation of new verbal meanings, e.g. light verb constructions, involving gɛ́t ‘get, have’, mék ‘make’, or gí ‘give’, as well as systematic borrowing from Spanish.

There is just a handful of adjectives in Pichi. A small set of property items alternate between uses as inchoative-stative verbs and as adjectives (cf. Table 7.11 below). The overwhelming majority of property concepts are lexicalised as inchoative-stative verbs in Pichi. The following “semantic types” (Dixon 2006: 3) are expressed through inchoative-stative verbs: Dimension (e.g. bíg ‘be big’, smɔ́l ‘be small’, and lɔ́n ‘be long’), age (e.g. ól ‘be old and yún ‘be young’), value (e.g. bád ‘be bad’, fáyn ‘be good’, and trú ‘be true’), and colour (e.g. blák ‘be black’, wáyt ‘be white’, rɛ́d ‘be red’, and yɛ́lo ‘be yellow’). Most physical properties are also lexicalised as inchoative-stative verbs (e.g. hád ‘be hard’, sáf ‘be soft’, sók ‘be wet’, évi ‘be heavy’, hɔ́t ‘be hot’, swít ‘be tasty’).

Human propensities are divided between inchoative-stative (e.g. gudhát ‘be good-hearted’, wíkɛd ‘be wicked’, badhát ‘be mean’, klɛ́va ‘be clever’) and dynamic verbs (e.g. gládin ‘be glad’, jɛ́lɔs ‘be envious’) according to whether they denote intrinsic or transient properties. Resultatives are exclusively expressed through the stative readings of labile change-of-state verbs (e.g. brók ‘break; be broken’, chɛ́r ‘tear; be torn’, lɔ́s ‘loose; be lost’ and wɛ́r ‘be dressed’). Semantic types like position or location are expressed through other means, such as copula clauses featuring the locative-existential copula dé (cf. e.g. (793)–(794)) in combination with adverbials, or through locative verbs like lé ‘lie’ and tínap ‘stand (up)’ (cf. 8.1.3).

### Other word classes

Most prepositions must be followed by an object, although some may be stranded, that is, they may occur in the clause-final position. Prepositional phrases are found in the clause-initial or –final position. A majority of prepositions is monosyllabic, a few are bisyllabic. Pichi exhibits a division of labour between prepositions, locative nouns, locative adverbs, and locative verbs in order to express spatial relations. The language has a small number of underived adverbs amongst them a group of four preverbal adverbs.

Each of the following groups of modifiers may also be said to constitute minor word classes unto themselves, because they occupy distinct syntactic positions in the noun phrase or predicate: the article, demonstratives, quantifiers, prenominal attributive modifiers, numerals, the pluraliser, emphasis markers, topicalisers, TMA markers, aspectual and modal verbs, the general negator, interjections, and ideophones. Certain elements modify sentences in their entirety with respect to pragmatic status (e.g. question words, tags, focus particles, interjections) or link sentences with each other (e.g. clause linkers and conjunctions). These sentential elements may also each be considered a separate word class due to their functions and syntactic behaviour.

## Inflection

Most grammatical functions are realised analytically by independent words without the morphological modification of heads or dependents. Participant-marking is taken care of by prepositions and locative nouns, serial verb constructions, and word order, and nominal modification by juxtaposition of adjectives and other modifiers. Number-marking is achieved by post-nominal modification.

The verbal category of number is signalled by personal pronouns and reduplication. Complementisers, preverbal TMA markers, serial verb constructions, and adverbs participate in expressing the grammatical categories of tense, modality, and aspect. Comparison is expressed by adverbs of degree, ideophones, verbs, phrasal expressions, suprasegmental modification, serial verb constructions, and prepositions. There are, however, exceedingly rare cases of number marking on gɛ́l/gál ‘girl’ and bɔ́y ‘boy’ by an apparently marginal plural affix {-s}, hence *gɛ́l-s, bɔ́y-s*.

A description of the only inflectional morphological processes follows. The expression of the grammatical relations of subject, object, and possessive case may be seen to involve the use of (tonal) suprafixation, summed up in Table 4.1 (cf. 5.4.1 for the full pronominal paradigm and examples).

Table 4.1 Suprafixation with personal pronouns

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Category expressed | Suprafix |
| Object case & independent pronouns | H tone |
| Subject & possessive case | L tone |

Tone-conditioned suppletive allomorphy also to fulfils inflectional functions in Pichi, even if it involves outright substitution rather than morphological modification (cf. 3.3). It has been suggested that the cognate form of the Pichi imperfective marker de ‘ipfv’ be analysed as an inflectional verbal prefix in Jamaican Creole (Farquharson 2007:30). In Pichi too, the use of resumptive imperfective marking with the preverbal aspectual adverbs *jís/jɔ́s* ‘just’ and *stíl* ‘still’ suggests a tighter-than-usual syntagmatic relation between the imperfective aspect marker and the verb it modifies:

(98) Náw dɛn de jís de kán.

now 3pl ipfv just ipfv come

‘Now, they’re just coming.’ [ye07je 179]

## Derivation

Pichi makes use of morphological processes for the purpose of derivation. One is a tonal process which derives compounds, including reduplications. The other is adverb-deriving suffixation. Compounding and reduplication are two highly productive derivational processes in Pichi.

### Affixation

Table 4.2 summarises the derivational processes found in Pichi. This section covers formal aspects of compounding and reduplication, which both receive a more detailed functional treatment in 4.4 and 4.5.1., respectively. Adverb-deriving suffixation is covered in this section in both its formal and functional aspects.

Table 4.2 Derivational processes

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Category expressed | Word class applied to | (Supr-)affix | Process | Productivity |
| Verbal plurality | Dynamic verbs | L tone + red | Tone deletion + iteration | High |
| Nominal and verbal compound | Nouns, pronouns verbs, adverbs, phrases | L tone | Tone deletion | Fair |
| Manner adverb | Verbs, adjectives | -wán ‘adv’ | Suffixation | Low |

Compounding and reduplication both make use of the same tonal derivation. Reduplication is therefore best seen as a form of (self-)compounding in Pichi. In the process, the H tone over the initial component(s) is deleted and replaced by an L tone. The final component retains its original tone configuration. The resulting compound word then features a single H tone like most Pichi words. Pichi compounds are therefore right-headed; the L-toned initial component(s) function as modifier(s) to the final component, which is the head.

Nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs participate in compounds. The resulting structures may function as nouns or verbs. Personal pronouns may also participate as modifiers in compound personal pronouns (cf. 5.4.2). Compounding is fairly productive (cf. 4.4 for details). Compare the compound in (99) featuring the modifier noun kɔ́ntri ‘country; home town’ and the modified noun chɔ́p ‘food’. While kɔ́ntri loses the H tone over its first syllable, the head noun chɔ́p retains its original H tone:

(99) Na in kɔntri-chɔ́p.

foc 3sg.poss country.cpd-food

‘That’s his local food.’ [au07ec 007]

Compounding through tone deletion also characterises the reduplication of dynamic verbs in order to derive verbal number (100). This kind of derivation is fully productive for all dynamic verbs. Equally, it can be observed with a small number of lexicalised reduplications involving other word classes (cf. 4.5.3):

(100) Kán tót bɛlɛ́, bigín de hala-hála náw, hala-hála.

pfv carry belly begin ipfv red.cpd-shout now red.cpd-shout

‘(Then she’s) bearing a pregnancy, begins to lament and lament.’ [ab03ay 118]

Adverbs are derived from verbs and adjectives by means of the suffix –wán ‘adv’, etymologically related to the numeral wán ‘one’. Amongst its numerous other uses (cf. 5.3.1), the cardinal numeral wán ‘one’ serves as a pronominal substitute for nouns in NPs featuring attributively used property items (i.e. di blák wán ‘the black one’; di bíg wán ‘the big one’). When such NPs appear in an adverbial slot in the clause, the resulting structure functions as a manner adverb.

The semantic link between the function of –wán ‘adv’ as an adverbialising suffix and the meaning of wán in other contexts is opaque. This warrants the analysis of –wán ‘adv’ as a suffix rather than seeing it as the second component of a compound word. The derivation of adverbs is a derivational process distinct from compounding and does not involve the tone deletion that accompanies the latter kind of word formation. In the following examples, the property items fáyn ‘(be) fine’ (101) and smɔ́l ‘(be) small’ (102) and the affix *–wán* retain their lexically assigned H tone. The resulting adverbs are bisyllabic, bimorphemic words with an H-H (downstepped H) tone configuration:

(101) E mék=an fáyn-wán.

3sg.sbj make=3sg.obj fine-adv

‘She made it nicely.’ [ra07ve 017]

(102) E fáyn fɔ dríng smɔ́l-wán.

3sg.sbj fine prep drink small-adv

‘It’s good to drink moderately.’ [ma03hm 071]

The derivation of manner adverbials through the suffixation of –wán is not particularly productive. In the corpus, it is unanimously accepted with a limited number of monosyllabic property items denoting physical properties, such as smɔ́l ‘be small’, kól ‘be cold’, hɔ́t ‘be hot’, fáyn ‘be fine’. In contrast, the formation of adverbials with many other property items was rejected by informants, amongst them dɔtí ‘be dirty’, bád ‘be bad’, bɛlfúl ‘be satiated’, nékɛd ‘be naked’, táya ‘be tired’, lét ‘be late’, frɛ́s ‘be fresh’, rɛ́p ‘be ripe’, and sáful ‘slow; diligent’.

The generic noun tɛ́n occurs in a small number of more or less lexicalised expressions functioning as sentence and temporal adverbs. All of the expressions contained in the corpus are listed in (103). Like derived adverbs featuring the suffix –wán ‘adv’, these bisyllabic expressions are not compounds, there is no tonal derivation.

The meanings of these expressions are semantically distinct from the meanings of their components in varying degrees. The degree of semantic opaqueness of each collocation is reflected in the orthographic choice of writing them as single or separate words. A good indicator of the degree of semantic unity of the collocations in (103) is their behaviour during repetition for emphasis (cf. (152)ff. further below). Even in the lexicalised expressions (e.g. *bádtɛn* ‘unfortunately) each morpheme nevertheless retains its original pitch, as shown by tone marking. This renders complex words with a sequence of two H tones (the second H undergoes downstep).

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (103) | Construction | Components | Gloss |
|  | lɔ́n tɛ́n | long time | ‘long time ago’ |
|  | (di) fɔ́s tɛ́n | (the) first time | ‘(the) first time; formerly’ |
|  | wán tɛ́n | one time | ‘once’ |
|  | wán.tɛn | one.time | ‘at once; suddenly’ |
|  | bád.tɛn | bad.time | ‘unfortunately’ |
|  | smɔ́l.tɛn | small.time | ‘shortly; nearly’ |
|  | sɔn tɛ́n dɛn | some time pl | ‘sometimes’ |
|  | sɔn.tɛ́n | some.time | ‘perhaps’ |

The largely unpredictable meanings of the adverbs in (103) are reason enough to consider them as lexicalised phrasal expressions, rather than analysing tɛ́n as a productive adverbialising suffix.

### Conversion

Some word classes are characterised by multifunctionality. They may undergo conversion and appear in a syntactic position reserved for another class without morphological derivation. Table 4.3 provides an overview of productive conversion. Some processes are unidirectional, others bidirectional. Arrows indicate the direction of conversion. The productivity of conversion varies with word class and is often subject to lexical idiosyncracies.

Table 4.3 Conversion

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Type of conversion | Word class | Direction | Word class |
| Change in | Verb | → | Noun |
| word class | Predicate adjective | → | Verb |
|  | Verb (property concept) | ← → | Attributive adjective |
|  | Noun | → | Adverbial |
| No change in | Inchoative-stative verb | ← → | Dynamic verb |
| word class | Noun | ← → | Modifier noun |

Verbs may be employed in the syntactic position of nouns. This process of conversion is very productive. The meanings of such nominalised verbs vary in accordance with their lexical aspect. A dynamic verb used as a noun denotes the nominalised activity, while an (inchoative-)stative verb used in such a way denotes the corresponding nominalised state.

In (104), the dynamic verb hála ‘shout’ is used as a dynamic noun or “action nominal”, (Comrie & Thompson 1985). In (105), the inchoative-stative verb gúd ‘be good’ is employed as a stative noun or “state nominal” (Comrie & Thompson 1985). The use of nominalised verbs as cognate objects is common for emphasis (cf. 9.3.3). Cognate objects behave no differently from other nominalised verbs:

(104) E sé frɔn dán hála dí pikín nó slíp mɔ́.

3sg.sbj quot from that shout this child neg sleep again

‘She said from that shout(ing) onwards this child didn’t sleep anymore.’ [ab03ab 075]

(105) Áfta ínsay dán gúd wé a trata yú na dé

then inside that good sub 1sg.sbj treat 2sg.indp foc there

mi mán go chɛ́k sé mi rabia dɔ́n fínis.

1sg.poss man pot think quot 1sg.poss anger prf finish

‘Then through that goodness that I treated you with, that’s where my

husband would think that my anger has finished.’ [ro05rr 003]

A verb can also appear in the nominal position together with its object, although this is rarely heard in natural speech:

(106) Na di wás klós, na di tín mék yu táya.

foc def wash clothing foc def thing make 2sg be.tired

‘It’s the washing of clothing, that’s why you’re tired.’ [dj05be 039]

In contrast, very few nouns are attested in the syntactic position of verbs. The noun bɛlɛ́ ‘belly’ (107) may be used as a verb with the meaning ‘impregnate’ (108). Other noun-verb pairs in the corpus that may be employed in a similar way are kaká ‘defecate; faeces’, pipí ‘urinate; urine’, rút ‘root; uproot’, latrín ‘toilet; go to toilet’. These rare cases are not listed in Table 4.3 because they are lexicalised, and there is hence no productive noun-verb conversion.

(107) Tidé pikín, yu go gɛ́t bɛlɛ́ yu púl=an

today child 2sg pot get belly 2sg remove=3sg.obj

yu go dáy wet bɛlɛ́.

2sg pot die with belly

‘(As for) children of today, you could get pregnant and remove it

and you could die due to pregnancy.’ [ab03ay 105]

(108) A fía sé dɛn go bɛlɛ́ mi pikín fɔ mí.

1sg.sbj fear quot 3pl pot impregnate 1sg.poss child prep 1sg.indp

‘I feared that they could impregnate me my child.’ [dj05be 055]

Other word classes are also characterised by multifunctionality. Members of the small adjective class of Pichi may be used as inchoative-stative verbs without a change in form (cf. 7.6.5). Property items, whether adjectives or verbs, may be employed as attributive adjectives (i.e. prenominal modifiers, cf. 5.2.1), and nouns may modify other nouns in associative constructions without an overt process of derivation (cf. 4.4.2). Further, labile verbs may be used in their respective lexical aspect classes without any formal change (cf. 9.2.3). Such multifunctionality with respect to lexical aspect class is very productive. It is lexically restricted to the class of labile verbs, which however constitutes a large verb class in Pichi. Aside from that, members of the small class of adverbs are not usually employed as nouns or verbs.

## Compounding

Pichi makes extensive use of compounding in order to derive nouns, verbs, and personal pronouns. Compound words are formed by combining two, sometimes more lexical items. Most types of compounding are covered in 4.4. Reduplication, which also involves compounding, is covered separately in section 4.5.1. Aspects of the morphophonology of compounding are covered in 3.2.4.

### General characteristics

Compounding forms part of a continuum of possessive constructions or relations of modification between constituents (cf. also 5.2.3). I only refer to those possessive constructions as “compounds” which form single phonological words via the tonal derivation described in 3.2.4. I nevertheless use the term “compounding” as a generic term to designate the formative processes that derive compounds associative constructions and *fɔ*-constructions. Compounds relate in interesting ways to associative constructions and fɔ-prepositional phrase constructions. The two latter types of possessive constructions are formed by syntactic concatenation alone. In the following, I refer to the individual lexical items occurring in these three types of possessive constructions as “components”. Table 4.4 provides an overview of relevant characteristics of the three types of compounding:

Table 4.4 Characteristics of compounding

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Features | Compounds | Associative constructions | Fɔ-construction |
| Morphosyntax | Tonal derivation | Syntactic concatenation | Syntactic concatenation |
| Productivity | Medium | Medium | High |
| Lexicalisation | High | Medium | Low |

Phonological and semantic factors determine the choice between compounding and the use of associative constructions for word formation. Speakers may opt to use a compound when the relevant concepts are commonly associated with each other, and the entire structure is conventionalised or lexicalised. In contemporary Pichi, there is no formal difference between compounds that may have been carried over from English (e.g. *pan-kék* ‘pancake’, *ren-sísin* ‘rain(y) season’) and language-internal formations (e.g. *kɔntri-chɔ́p* ‘local food’). The meanings of both groups may be more compositional or more idiosyncratic, and both undergo the same tonal derivation characteristic of compounding:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (109) | Compound | Components | Gloss |
|  | kɔntri-chɔ́p | country-food | ‘local food’ |
|  | kichin-písis | kitchen-cloth | ‘kitchen rag’ |
|  | waka-stík | walk-stick | ‘walking stick’ |
|  | ren-sísin | rain-season | ‘rainy season’ |
|  | pan-kék | pan-cake | ‘pancake’ |

Some semantically opaque compounds also exist, in which one component has no independent meaning (114)(a) or where one component is obsolete (b). It is noteworthy that the initial components of the first two compounds below exhibit a regular sound–meaning relation with the verbs spót ‘be stylish’ and lúk ‘look’, respectively, although there is no nominalising suffix \*-in in Pichi. However, there is one verb-noun pair in the corpus, in which the noun (bɛ́rin ‘burial’) is the action nominal to a verb (bɛ́r ‘bury’). The compound in (c) is therefore transparent and fully segmentable. Opaque and exocentric compounds are written without a hyphen in this work and their components are separated by a dot where relevant:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (110) | Compound | Components |  |
| a. | spotin.bɔ́y | \*spotin.boy | ‘stylish guy’ |
|  | lukin.glás | \*lukin.glass | ‘mirror’ |
|  | kobo.fút | \*kobo.foot | ‘bowlegs’ |
| b. | faya-wúd | fire-?wúd | ‘firewood’ |
| c. | bɛrin-grɔ́n | burial-ground | ‘burial ground’ |

Other collocations are also partially opaque but exhibit the prosodic characteristics of either associative constructions or compounds. These are structures that have inherited varying degrees of semantic opacity and lexicalisation from English, cf. (111)–(113). In the compounds in (111), both components before and after the dot retain their original pitch configurations. In collocations involving the generic noun dé ‘day’ as a modified noun, the “modifier” has no meaning of its own:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (111) | Compound | Components | Gloss |
|  | hɔ́li.dé | \*hɔ́li.day | ‘holiday’ |
|  | yɛ́sta.dé | \*yɛ́sta.day | ‘yesterday’ |
|  | sáti.dé | \*sáti.day | ‘Saturday’ |

The structure of two sets of kinship terms is also of interest. The root gran- ‘grand-’ is segmentable and has a discernible meaning. However, the root is never found independently of the word it modifies. It only appears in compounds (112)(a), which can, in turn, be preceded by the prenominal modifier grét ‘great’ (b):

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (112) | Compound | Components | Gloss |
| a. | gran-mɔ́da | grand-mother | ‘grandmother’ |
|  | gran-má, gran-mamá | grand-ma/-mother | ‘grandma/grandmother’ |
|  | gran-pá, gran-papá | grand-pa/-father | ‘grandpa/grandfather’ |
|  | gran-pikín | grand-child | ‘grandchild’ |
| b. | grét gran-pikín | great grand-child | ‘great grandchild’ |

The second set of kinship-denoting compounds contains the segmentable root lɔ́ ‘law’ as the final component. The composite meanings of these compounds are idiosyncratic. Additionally, some of the structures are fully segmentable, with the first component constituting an independent word (113)(a). Further, we find variants of group (a) compounds with slightly altered initial components (b). With these, the etymology is clear, but the altered initial component never occurs on its own. A final group contains an opaque initial element, which is a fossilised English morpheme that does not exist (any longer) in contemporary Pichi (c):

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (113) | Compound | Components | Gloss |
| a. | mɔda-lɔ́ | mother-law | ‘mother-in-law’ |
|  | fada-lɔ́ | father-law | ‘father-in-law’ |
|  | brɔda-lɔ́ | brother-law | ‘brother-in-law’ |
|  | sista-lɔ́ | sister-law | ‘sister-in-law’ |
| b. | mɔdɛ-lɔ́ | \*mɔdɛ.law | ‘mother-in-law’ |
|  | sistɛ-lɔ́ | \*sistɛ.law | ‘sister-in-law’ |
| c. | dɔta.lɔ́ | \*dɔta.law | ‘daughter-in-law’ |
|  | sɔni.lɔ́ | \*sɔni.law | ‘son-in-law’ |

In Spanish compounds and neologisms involving Spanish components (e.g. busca-blanco ‘female sex worker specialised to white men’), the initial component(s) is/are always low-toned, while the final component bears H tone on the penultimate or only syllable (114). This also holds for reduplicative compounds involving Spanish-derived dynamic verbs. The H tone is therefore found on the syllable that is stressed in standard Spanish. However, when these Spanish-derived compounds are employed in Pichi clauses, the H tone over the final component may not be shifted to other components of the compound for focus or emphasis (as the placement of stress may be in Spanish). This speaks for an analyisis of these collocations as Pichi-style compounds featuring the tonal derivation that other compounds have:

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (114) | Compound | Transcription | Components | Translation |
|  | vídeo-club | [vìdjò klúb] | video-club | ‘video rental shop’ |
|  | busca-blanco | [bùskà-blánkò] | search-white.male | ‘female sex worker specialised to white men’ |
|  | tres mil | [trɛ̀s míl] | three thousand | ‘three thousand’ |
|  | cuarenta y siete | [kwàrɛ̀nta ì sjétè] | forty and seven | ‘forty-seven’ |
|  | cruza-cruza | [krùsà-krúsà] | cross-cross | ‘cross repeatedly’ |

Although in many cases conventionalisation is a good indicator for the use of compounding, phonology may override semantics. Compounds are shunned in favour of associative constructions where the first component belongs to the L.H tone class featuring a word-final H tone. We have seen that this tone class remains unaffected by other tonal and intonational processes as well (cf. e.g. 3.4.1). Hence the concepts in (115), although conventionalised, are expressed as associative constructions, syntactic phrases consisting of prosodically independent components:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (115) | Ass. construction | Components | Gloss |
|  | bangá súp | palm-nut soup | ‘palm-nut soup’ |
|  | dɔtí pán | dirt pan | ‘dustbin’ |
|  | plantí fufú | plantain fufu | ‘fufu made from plantain’ |

The tonal derivation characteristic of compounding also distinguishes lexicalised compound verbs (116)(a) from verb-object phrases (b) (cf. also 4.4.3):

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (116) | Construction | Components | Gloss |
| a. | e opin.yáy | 3sg.obj open.eye | ‘s/he is enlightened; cultivated’ |
| b. | e ópin yáy | 3sg.sbj open eye | ‘s/he opened (her) eye(s)’ |

### Compound nouns

Compound nouns function as nouns in a clause. Their final component is always a noun, while their initial component(s) may be a noun, verb, or an adverb. Compound nouns are the most common type of compound in the corpus. They instantiate a relation of modification, with the first component serving as the modifier and the second as the modified element.

In a large number of collocations in the corpus, the modified noun is one of the generic nouns listed in (117), which serve other important functions in the language as well (cf. Faraclas 1996:252):

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (117) | Type | Generic noun | Gloss |
|  | Human | mán | ‘man; person’ |
|  |  | húman | ‘woman’ |
|  |  | bɔ́y | ‘boy’ |
|  |  | gɛ́l | ‘girl’ |
|  |  | pikín | ‘child; member of group’ |
|  |  | pɔ́sin | ‘person’ |
|  |  | pípul | ‘people’ |
|  | Place | sáy | ‘side; place’ |
|  |  | pát | ‘part; place’ |
|  |  | plés | ‘place’ |
|  | Manner | stáyl | ‘style’ |
|  |  | fásin | ‘manner’ |
|  | Time | tɛ́n | ‘time’ |
|  |  | áwa | ‘hour; time’ |
|  | Entity | tín | ‘thing’ |
|  |  | wán | ‘one’ |
|  |  | káyn | ‘kind’ |

The tendencies of nominal compounding are summarised in the following table. The column “modifier/modified” in Table 4.5 lists the types of modification relations attested in the data. I have added the third relevant possessive construction, the “fɔ-construction” for comparison. The columns headed by “compound”, “associative construction”, and “fɔ-construction” contain a cross (x) if the structure is employed to express the corresponding relation in the leftmost column. A blank space indicates that the structure is not employed for this purpose.

Table 4.5 Tendencies of nominal compounding

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Modifier/modified | Compound | Assosciative construction | fɔ-construction |
| Group/member of |  | x | x |
| Gender of/creature |  | x |  |
| Measure/entity |  | x |  |
| Kind of/entity | x | x | x |
| Activity/agent | x |  |  |

Compounds, associative constructions, and fɔ-prepositional constructions form part of a continuum of “possessive” constructions. In this continuum, associative constructions may express the widest range of modification relations, including most relations that may also be expressed as compounds and fɔ-prepositional constructions (cf. also 5.2.3). Table 4.5 shows that compound nouns are only used to express “kind of/entity” relations – the “activity/agent” relation being a subtype of the “kind of/entity” relation in which the first component is a dynamic verb and the second a human-denoting noun.

In turn, associative constructions represent the conventional means of expressing a measurement relation (referred to as “measure/entity” in Table 4.5), a “group/member of” relation featuring the modified noun pikín ‘child’, and a “gender of/creature” relation featuring the gender nouns mamá ‘mother’ and papá ‘father’, mán ‘man’ and húman ‘woman’, or bɔ́y ‘boy’ and gál ‘girl’ in the modifier position.

Secondly, associative constructions are the default option for expressing “kind of/entity” relations when these are not expressed as compounds. One criterion that determines the use of an associative construction as a default option is the nature of the modifier noun. Modifier nouns with an L.H pitch configuration and/or with more than two syllables are less likely to undergo the tone deletion that derives compound nouns. A second, subsidiary criterion is the lack of conventionalisation or lexicalisation of the collocation. In all other cases, “kind of/ entity” relations, including “activity/agent” relations are usually expressed through compounds. Nevertheless, allowance must be made for numerous lexicalised exceptions to these tendencies.

In “kind of/entity” compounds, the first component modifies the second as to certain qualities. These compounds encompass bicomponental food items and dishes (118)(a) and body parts (b), as well as other concepts commonly associated with each other (c). Note that kaka-rás ‘arse’ in (b) is a lexicalised compound and an exception to the tendency for collocations featuring an L.H modifier noun to be realised as associative constructions (the other most common exception being bɛlɛ́ ‘belly’ when used in the modifier position of a compound, cf. (124)). Compounds are also employed to form highly conventionalised quantifier compounds which express ordinal numerals (d) as well as dual and ɔ́l ‘all’ extensions of the pronominal system (e).

In sum, the use of “kind of/entity” compounds therefore reflects the degree of conventionalisation of the linkage between the participating nouns and in that a certain degree of inalienability:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (118) | Compound | Components | Gloss |
| a. | pɛpɛ-súp | pepper-soup | ‘pepper soup’ |
|  | bwɛl-plantí | boil-plantain | ‘boiled plantain’ |
|  | bit-fufú | beat-fufu | ‘pounded fufu’ |
| b. | finga-nél | finger-nail | ‘finger nail’ |
|  | kaka-rás | faeces-arse | ‘arse’ |
| c. | hɔt-watá | hot-water | ‘hot water’ |
|  | kol-watá | cold-water | ‘cool water’ |
| d. | nɔmba-tú | number-two | ‘second’ |
|  | nɔmba-trí | number-three | ‘third’ |
|  | las-nɛ́t | last-night | ‘last night’ |
|  | las-mán | last-man | ‘last person’ |
| e. | wi-ɔl-tú | 1pl-all-two | ‘the two of us’ |
|  | dɛn-ɔ́l | 3pl-all | ‘they all’ |

Certain “kind of/entity” relations follow in (119) that are expressed through associative constructions rather than compounds. Group (a) features collocations, in which the modifier noun belongs to the L.H tone class. Here we also find some highly conventionalised collocations (b). The words in (119)(c) contain associative constructions that involve trisyllabic modifier nouns from different tone classes. Other concepts are not sufficiently conventionalised or lexicalised to appear in compounds even if they present no formal obstacles (d). Also note the “kind of/entity” relations listed in (120):

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (119) | Compound | Components | Gloss |
| a. | granát pamáyn | groundnut oil | ‘groundnut oil’ |
|  | Lubá topé | place palmwine | ‘Palmwine from Luba’ |
| b. | dɔtí pán | dirt pan | ‘dustbin’ |
|  | plantí fufú | plantain fufu | ‘fufu made from plantain’ |
| c. | kápinta wók | carpenter work | ‘work of a carpenter’ |
|  | wahála húman | trouble woman | ‘female trouble maker’ |
|  | aráta hól | rat hole | ‘rat hole’ |
|  | dominó stón | domino stone | ‘domino stone’ |
| d. | Ghána mɔní | place money | ‘Ghanaian money’ |
|  | Píchi wɔ́d | Pichi word | ‘Pichi word’ |
|  | skúl plába | school problem | ‘problems related to school’ |

Other “kind of/entity” relations are also expressed through associative constructions, although they do not present any phonotactic or semantic obstacles either. For example, the generic noun tɛ́n ‘time’ is only recorded as a modified noun in the associative constructions listed in (120), even though these structures are lexicalised and occur very frequently. Note, however, that other, lexicalised collocations involving tɛ́n are not expressed as compounds either (cf. (103) above):

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (120) | Compound | Components | Gloss |
|  | mɔ́nin tɛ́n | morning time | ‘morning’ |
|  | sán tɛ́n | sun time | ‘(after)noon’ |
|  | ívin tɛ́n | evening time | ‘evening’ |

Compounds involving sáy ‘side; place’ are equally scarce. This noun is only attested as a modified noun in three compounds in the corpus, all of which have partially idiosyncratic meanings (121)(a). Other equally conventionalised collocations involving sáy are expressed through associative constructions (b) or via fɔ-prepositional constructions (c):

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (121) | Compound | Components | Gloss |
| a. | wok-sáy | work-side | ‘work-place’ |
|  | rɔn-sáy | wrong-side | ‘inside out; upside-down; reverse’ |
|  | gud-sáy | good-side | ‘the right way round’ |
| b. | ɔ́p sáy | up side | ‘(at the) upper part; up (there)’ |
|  | bihɛ́n sáy | behind side | ‘(at the) rear’ |
|  | dɔ́n sáy | down side | ‘(at the) lower part; down (there)’ |
| c. | sáy fɔ chɔ́p | place prep eat | ‘eating place; restaurant’ |
|  | sáy fɔ wás | place prep wash | ‘place for washing; washhouse’ |

“Group/member of” structures feature the human-denoting noun pikín ‘child’ in the modified position. The conventional way of expressing this relation is through the associative construction. The modified noun pikín may acquire quite an idiosyncratic meaning in the collocations listed under (122)(b). In these associative constructions, pikín ‘child’ denotes a typical member of the group specified by the modifier noun rather than a kind of child (cf. Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991:91–97). For example, the construction Guinea pikín is best translated as ‘person of Equatoguinean stock; typically Equatoguinean person’:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (122) | Compound | Components | Gloss |
| a. | tidé pikín | today child | ‘child(ren) of today’ |
|  | gɔ́d pikín | God child | ‘child of God’ |
| b. | Guinea pikín | place child | ‘person of Equatoguinean stock’ |
|  | gál pikín | girl child | ‘girl’ (but cf. also (123) below) |

“Gender of/creature” structures in which the modifier noun specifies the gender of a modified noun are also expressed as associative constructions. Compare the following collocations involving nouns with diverse pitch configurations:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (123) | Compound | Components | Gloss |
|  | bɔ́y pikín | boy child | ‘male child; son’ |
|  | gál pikín | girl child | ‘female child; daughter’ |
|  | húman fɔ́l | woman fowl | ‘hen’ |
|  | mán dɔ́g | man dog | ‘male dog’ |
|  | mamá Krió | mother Krio | ‘(elderly) Fernandino woman’ |

The human-denoting nouns mán ‘man; person’, húman ‘woman’, pípul ‘people’, and pɔ́sin ‘person’ usually appear as modified nouns in compounds only (124). The list also contains two compounds featuring bɛlɛ́ ‘belly’ as a modifier noun. Bɛlɛ́ and kaká ‘faeces’ are the only attested nouns with an L.H pattern that are subjected to the tonal derivation characteristic of compounding. In the two compounds, the H tone over bɛlɛ́ has been deleted:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (124) | Compound | Components | Gloss |
| a. | kɔntri-mán | country-man | ‘person from the same place of origin’ |
|  | layf-mán | life-man | ‘bon vivant’ |
|  | bɛlɛ-mán | belly-man | ‘pot-bellied man’ |
| b. | bɛlɛ-húman | belly-woman | ‘pregnant woman’ |
|  | makit-húman | market-woman | ‘market-woman’ |
| c. | yun-gɛ́l | young-girl | ‘(female) youngster’ |
|  | yun-bɔ́y | young-boy | ‘(male) youngster’ |
| d. | jɛntri-pípul | riches-people | ‘rich people’ |
|  | ya-pípul | here-people | ‘people of this place’ |
|  | Ghana-pípul | place-people | ‘Ghanaians’ |

The noun mán ‘man’ is encountered in “activity/agent” compounds in which the first component is a dynamic verb with mán instantiating the agent or “doer”. Such compounds are a subtype of the “kind of/entity” type of compound and serve to form agentive nouns as in the examples provided in (125):

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (125) | Compound | Components | Gloss |
|  | fisin-mán | fish-man | ‘fisher’ |
|  | hɔnti-mán | hunt-man | ‘hunter’ |
|  | tif-mán | steal-man | ‘thief’ |
|  | chak-mán | get.drunk-man | ‘drunkard’ |

Certain compounds involving mán ‘man’ are neutral in their gender reference (126)(a) and equivalent to the far less common pɔ́sin ‘person’ (b) in “activity/agent” compounds. However, mán is also employed with the meaning ‘person’ in other contexts (e.g. na mán ‘foc man’ = ‘that’s a human being’). Hence the gender-neutral use of mán is not necessarily an indication of the generalisation of its function. In fact, húman ‘woman’ always occurs as the “doer” when a female reference is desired (c) (cf. also mákit-húman ‘market woman’ in (124) above). The generic noun mán ‘man’ therefore falls short of functioning as an agentive suffix, inspite of its general, gender-neutral meaning in some contexts:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (126) | Compound | Components | Gloss |
| a. | day-mán | die-man | ‘dead person; corpse’ |
| b. | day-pɔ́sin | die-person | ‘dead person; corpse’ |
| c. | day-húman | die-woman | ‘dead woman’ |

### Compound verbs

Three types of compounds may function as verbs in a clause: verb-verb reduplications, adverb-verb degree compounds, and verb-noun property compounds. The latter two are treated in this section; reduplication is extensively covered in section 4.5.1.

A verb may appear as the head of a compound featuring the multifunctional word óva ‘over; be excessive; too much’ as the first component. The resulting compound verb expresses an excessive degree of the situation denoted by the verb. It is therefore normally formed with verbs denoting properties, such as dráy ‘be dry; lean’ (127), or verbs whose meaning contains an implicit gradation, such as dríng ‘drink (alcohol)’ (128).

Such compounding is therefore an integral part of the Pichi system of comparison and emphasis (cf. 6.9.1). Other degree compounds found in the data are ova-stáwt ‘be too corpulent’, ova-hɔ́t ‘overheat; be too hot’, ova-klín ‘clean excessively; be excessively clean’, and ova-fáyn ‘be excessively beautiful’:

(127) Dí gɛ́l pikín ova-dráy ó.

this girl child over.cpd-be.dry sp

‘This girl is really too lean.’ [dj07ae 207]

(128) A ova-dríng.

1sg.sbj over.cpd-drink

‘I drank too much.’ [au07ec 051]

Many speakers do not accept degree compounds formed with verbs that are not property items. The alternative to the ungrammatical example (129) is provided in (130):

(129) \*A dɔ́n ova-blánt na Panyá.

1sg.sbj prf over.cpd-reside loc Spain

\*I have lived in Spain for too long. [au07ec 052]

(130) A dɔ́n tú mɔ́ch sté na Panyá.

1sg.sbj prf too much stay loc Spain

‘I have stayed in Spain for too long.’ [au07ec 053]

Equally, degree compounding is not accepted with a degree verb like bɔkú ‘be much’ (131). Instead, óva may be employed as a degree verb on its own (132):

(131) \*Di chɔ́p ova-bɔkú.

def food over.cpd-much

\*The food is too much. [au07ec 041]

(132) Di chɔ́p óva.

def food be.over

‘The food is too much.’ [au07ec 042]

Property compounds are lexicalised compounds consisting of a property item and noun. Many of these compounds denote human propensities and emotions and involve a body part as the second component. The resulting structures are idionsyncratic and unpredictable in their meanings. Most property compounds are therefore exocentric. Consider bad-hát ‘bad.cpd-heart’ = ‘be mean’ in (133):

(133) Dɛn nó lɛ́k pɔ́sin, dɛn tú bad-hát.

3pl neg like person 3pl too bad.cpd-heart

‘They don’t like people, they’re too mean.’ [ma03hm 012]

Other compounds of this type are trɔn-yés ‘strong.cpd-ear’ = ‘be disobedient’, trɔn-héd ‘strong.cpd-head’ = ‘be stubborn’, gud-hát ‘good.cpd-heart’ = ‘be good hearted’, brok-hát ‘break.cpd-heart’ = ‘be broken-hearted’, and opin-yáy ‘open.cpd-eye’ = ‘be enlightened; cultivated’ (cf. (116) above).

There are also some semantically transparent endocentric compounds in the corpus involving dynamic verbs that nevertheless denote properties. Compare the nominalised compound verb chɔp-mɔní ‘eat.cpd-money’ = ‘expensive’ in (134):

(134) Dán sáy, na chɔp-mɔní.

that side foc eat.cpd-money

‘That place, it’s expensive.’ [ro07fn 203]

## Iteration

This section describes structures that involve the full iteration of a word. There are two distinct types of iteration in Pichi. Reduplication involves a morphological operation in addition to iteration, namely the tonal derivation also used in compounding (cf. 3.2.4). Repetition involves iteration alone, and is therefore limited to syntactic concatenation. Reduplication is only employed with dynamic verbs and expresses various meanings associated with verbal number. Repetition is attested with a wider range of word classes than reduplication and produces distributive, emphatic, and intensifying (Yakpo 2012).

A limited number of Pichi words consist of identical components that cannot be separated and used on their own. Such unsegmentable, lexicalised iterations are found in various word classes, including ideophones. In spite of the formal differences between them, reduplication and repetition are characterised by a functional overlap. Both types of iteration are associated with quantification. The following table summarises relevant features of the two types of iteration in Pichi:

Table 4.6 Types of iteration

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Features | Reduplication | Repetition |
| Morphosyntactic process | Iteration + tonal derivation | Iteration |
| Word classes | Dynamic verbs | Any lexical word class |
| Phonological domain | Lexical word | (Phonological) word, phrase |
| Meanings | Verbal number: Iterative aspect & dispersive readings | Intensity and emphasis; lexicalisation |
| Number of iterations | Duplication | Duplication, triplication and more |

### Reduplication

As a productive derivational process, reduplication is only attested with dynamic verbs. However, the pattern is also found in a few lexicalised iterations involving nouns (cf. 4.5.3). Reduplication involves a complex morphological process consisting of the two distinct and simultaneous processes of iteration and tonal derivation. In the process, the verb is reduplicated, and the high tone over the first, reduplicated component is deleted and replaced by an L tone.

Therefore, this kind of reduplication is formally no different from compounding, except that the first component is a copy of the root; hence it involves “self-compounding” (Downing 2001:6) (cf. 3.2.4 for a detailed treatment of the pitch-related aspects of reduplication). The application of the morphological process of tone deletion to the first component of the reduplicated verb suggests that Pichi reduplications, like compounds, are right-headed (cf. Odden 1996:117).

Reduplication modifies the meaning of the verb root. The reduplicated verb may therefore appear in any syntactic position that a non-reduplicated verb may be found in. In (135), a reduplicated wáka ‘walk’ appears as a V2 in an SVC. Sentence (136) features a reduplicated rɔ́n ‘run’ as a nominalised verb preceded by the demonstrative dí ‘this’:

(135) Yɛ́stadé wi kán gó waka-wáka mɔ́.

yesterday 1pl pfv go red.cpd-walk more

‘Yesterday we went walking around again.’ [ye 07fn 044]

(136) Pero dí rɔn-rɔ́n nó de gí nó nátín dé.

but this red.cpd-run neg ipfv give neg nothing there

‘But this running about aimlessly does not lead anywhere there.’ [dj07re 016]

In the same vein, reduplication may be applied to a complement verb irrespective of its reduced finiteness:

(137) Kán tót bɛlɛ́, bigín de hala-hála, náw hala-hála.

pfv carry belly begin ipfv red.cpd-shout now red.cpd-shout

‘Then (she) became pregnant, (and) began lamenting along, now (it was) all lamenting.’ [ab03ay 118]

Reduplication expresses verbal number. The range of meanings associated with verbal reduplication spans the semantically close notions of iterative aspect, dispersive, distributive, low intensity, and casualness. A befitting cover term for these functions therefore is “temporal and/or spatial disaggregation”. Reduplication also often co-occurs with several nominal participants. Pichi reduplication is “event-internal” (Cusic 1981: 238); it denotes the reiteration of a single event on a single occasion, consisting of repeated internal phases. Therefore reduplication does not express habitual aspect and is only found with dynamic verbs (cf. 6.3.6 for details on the expression of iterative aspect).

The iterative notion expressed by reduplication harmonises with the meanings expressed by imperfective aspect. There is a much stronger tendency for reduplicated predicates to co-occur with the imperfective aspect marker *de* ‘ipfv’ than with any other TMA marker. The presence of the imperfective marker and the reduplicated verb rɔ́b ‘rub’ in (138). Since the unmarked reduplicated verb acquires a factative reading (hence past and perfective) by default, the presence of *de* ‘ipfv’ provides an imperfective sense to the clause:

(138) Na ús=káyn tín mék yu de rɔb-rɔ́b yu sɛ́f nía mí

foc q=kind thing make 2sg ipfv red.cpd-rub 2sg self near 1sg.indp

bifó mi fámbul?

before 1sg.poss family

‘Why are you constantly rubbing yourself up to me [getting all cosy with me]

in front of my family?’ [ge07fn 129]

Further, iterative reduplication is also attested with the potential mood marker go ‘pot’, as in the following example, and the habitual marker *kin* (cf. (142)):

(139) A nó wánt nó nátín wé go tayt-táyt mi skín.

1sg.sbj neg want neg nothing sub pot red.cpd-tighten 1sg.poss body

‘I don’t want anything [clothes] that would be too tight for me (in various places).’

[ra07fn 045]

Further, the interaction of verbal and nominal plurality often characterises the use of iterative aspect. The presence of plural referents generally induces a sense of iterative-distributive action of the situation denoted by the verb. For example, the light verb construction in (140) features the reduplicated nominalised verb jwɛ́n ‘join’. The presence of the plural subject mí wet Rubi ‘me and Rubi’, which is picked up by the resumptive pronoun wi ‘1pl’, induces a cumulative meaning of the reduplicated and deverbal noun jwɛ́n ‘join’:

(140) Mí wet Rubi wi mék jwɛn-jwɛ́n, wi báy pía,

1sg.indp with name 1pl make red.cpd-join 1pl buy avocado

wi báy sadín, wi báy tomates, wi desayuna.

1pl buy sardine 1pl buy tomatoes 1pl breakfast

‘Me and Rubi, we joined up, we bought avocados, we bought sardines, we

bought tomatoes, we had breakfast.’ [ye03cd 152]

In turn, the presence of the plural object nɔ́mba dɛn ‘numbers’ in the following sentence renders an iterative and distributive reading of the reduplicated verb chénch ‘change’.

(141) Wétin yu de chench-chénch nɔ́mba dɛn só?

what 2sg ipfv red.cpd-change number pl like.that

‘Why do you constantly change (telephone) numbers like that?’ [ye03cd 131]

The iterative-distributive sense of the reduplicated verb is particularly evident in a reciprocal construction like (142). We have seen that a single form, the pronominal sɛ́f ‘self; emp’ is employed as both the reflexive and reciprocal anaphor. Hence there is room for ambiguity between the reflexive and reciprocal senses when a clause features a plural subject. One disambiguating feature amongst others is the presence of a reduplicated verb. There is no formal feature contained in (142) that would categorically force a reciprocal interpretation on the clause. But the use of reduplication, the presence of plural referents, and the meaning of the verb cháp ‘chop’ and its instrument object kɔ́tlas ‘cutlass’ collude to induce a reciprocal rather than a reflexive meaning of the clause:

(142) Dɛn kin de chap-cháp dɛn sɛ́f kɔ́tlas ó.

3pl hab ipfv red.cpd-chop 3pl self cutlass sp

‘(Mind you) they have the habit of chopping each other up with cutlasses

[referring to political violence in northern Nigeria].’ [ye07fn 239]

Conversely, where there are no plural subjects or objects, the iterative meaning of the reduplicated verb shades off into the nuances of low intensity or casualness of the action denoted by the verb. Once again, it is the cumulative meaning of the various elements of the clause that tilts the balance towards this particular reading.

In (143), the intransitive use of the reduplicated verb tɔ́n ‘turn’, in concert with the singular subject e ‘3sg.sbj’, favours the related readings of low intensity or casualness. Further examples for these nuances are the reduplication of rɔ́b ‘rub’ in (138) above, and of táyt ‘tighten’ in (145) below. All these examples may also be seen to involve a nuance of lack of control by the subject:

(143) E sé e wánt kán tɔn-tɔ́n fɔ Guinea.

3sg.sbj quot 3sg.sbj want come red.cpd-turn prep Equatorial.Guinea

‘He said he wanted to come move around a little in Equatorial Guinea.’ [ed03sb 190]

The distribution of verbal reduplication in my corpus also suggests that it principally occurs in contexts of low transitivity, even if reduplication does not categorically function as a detransitivising device. Hence, preceding examples featuring reduplication for one part involve verbs characterised by a low transitivity, such as locomotion verbs (wáka ‘wáka’, rɔ́n ‘run’) and other verbs denoting body movement (tɔ́n ‘turn; move around’, rɔ́b ‘rub (oneself)’, as well as verbs of sound emission (hála ‘shout’, kráy ‘cry’) in intransitive clauses.

Further, where reduplicated verbs (irrespective of their semantic class) do appear in transitive clauses, these clauses involve less prototypical transitivity, such as reflexive and reciprocal constructions, lexicalised verb-noun collocations (chénch nɔ́mba ‘change one’s telephone number’) or verbs followed by quantifier phrases like ɔ́l sáy ‘all place’ = ‘everywhere’. The latter type of phrase is functionally equivalent to an adverbial indefinite and is therefore not a prototypical undergoer object either:

(144) Dɛn de lɔk-lɔ́k ɔ́l sáy.

3pl ipfv red.cpd-lock all side

‘They’re constantly closing every place.’ [pa07fn 467]

Additionally, where reduplicated verbs with a higher transitivity occur, they are far more often found in intransitive clauses. In the following sentence, the reduplicated Spanish-origin verb pica ‘snip; cut up’ appears without a patient object:

(145) A bigín de pica-píca, wi fráy patata, wi fráy plantí.

1sg.sbj begin ipfv red.cpd-cut.up 1pl fry potato 1pl fry plantain

‘I began to (casually) snip (the trimmings), we fried potatoes, we fried plantain.’ [ye03cd.172]

### Repetition

Repetition in Pichi is a syntactic operation during which an item is duplicated or triplicated (more repetitions are not attested in the data). Although a pause or boundary tone is not normally inserted between the repeated elements, repetition does not involve the tonal process that characterises compounding and reduplication. Hence every repeated constituent retains its lexically determined tone pattern. Repetition involves syntactic concatenation. Normally, there is no pause or boundary tone between the repeated elements. Hence, the morphological operation characteristic of compounding and reduplication is not employed with this kind of iteration. Repetition is attested with a wider range of word classes than reduplication. My data features repetition of nouns, verbs, attributively used property items, adverbs, and ideophones.

Repetition produces a range of emphatic, intensifying nuances. The core meaning of repetition is augmentative, hence an iconic “more of the same”. However, the expression of plural number does not lie within the functional range of repetition. In the following three examples, we witness the use of intensifying repetition for emphasis with the temporal adverb náw ‘now’ (146), the locative noun dɔ́n ‘down’ (147), the common noun fámbul ‘family’, and the attributively used property item bɔkú ‘(be) much’ (148):

(146) A de kɔmɔ́t na tɔ́n náw náw.

1sg.sbj ipfv come.out loc town now rep

‘I coming from town right now.’ [ro05ee 076]

(147) Bɔt ín sidɔ́n dɔ́n dɔ́n dɔ́n yandá.

but 3sg.indp stay down rep rep yonder

‘But he stays far down over there.’ [ma03ni 026]

(148) Fɔ mi fámbul fámbul fámbul a nó sabí

prep 1sg.poss family rep rep 1sg.sbj neg know

bɔkú bɔkú pɔ́sin dɛn.

much rep person pl

‘Within my immediate family I don’t know a real lot of people.’ [fr03wt 031]

The repetition of numerals renders a distributive sense. Clauses in which numerals are used with a distributive sense very often also feature plural nominal participants. In this example, the repetition tú tú ‘two rep’ functions as a depictive adjunct and is oriented towards the plural object pronoun dɛ́n ‘3pl.indp’:

(149) Yu fít kɛ́r dɛ́n tú tú.

2sg can carry 3pl.indp two rep

‘You can carry them in pairs.’ [bo07fn 231]

Numerals of Spanish origin may be repeated for distributive meaning in the same way as Pichi numerals. Sentence (150) features the threefold repetition of the Spanish numeral quinientos ‘five hundred’. It is worthy of note that repeating the numeral more than twice merely extends the distributive sense to additional participants rather than providing an additional emphatic nuance as with the repetition of members of other word classes:

(150) Quinientos quinientos quinientos.

five.hundred rep rep

‘Five hundred each.’ [hi03cb 058]

The preceding examples have shown that various syntactic categories may be subjected to repetition. Nevertheless, the by far most commonly repeated categories are property items functioning as prenominal attributive modifiers like bɔkú in (148) above, distributive numerals used as depictive modifiers like tú ‘two’ in (149) above, and time expressions like náw ‘now’ in (146) above. This distribution points towards the fact that repetition is strongly associated with gradable, quantity- and quality-denoting lexical items, as well as with distribution.

The quantificational essence of repetition also transpires when it is applied to time expressions. The corpus contains numerous instances of repeated time expressions with an emphatic, quantificational meaning. The repetition of a temporal adverb like náw ‘now’ (146) above or a temporal noun like mɔ́nin ‘morning’ in the following sentence renders an intensive meaning ‘early in the morning, at dawn’:

(151) Áfta a de mít =an nía di klós dɛn

then 1sg.sbj ipfv meet=3sg.obj near def clothing pl

di mɔ́nin mɔ́nin tɛ́n.

def morning rep time

‘Then I ran into her by the clothes at dawn.’ [ru03wt 037]

Other time expressions that allow some form of gradation are also frequently repeated in this way. For example the property item lɔ́n ‘(be) long’ in the collocation lɔ́n tɛ́n ‘long time ago’ is very often repeated in order to indicate a larger degree of time-depth:

(152) E bin dɔ́n pás lɔ́n tɛ́n, nóto lɔ́n lɔ́n tɛ́n.

3sg.sbj ipfv prf pass long time neg.foc long rep time

‘It happened long ago, not very long ago.’ [ma03sh 001]

The repetition of time expressions involving the generic noun tɛ́n ‘time’ depends in form on the degree of semantic independence of the components of the collocation. When the collocation is endocentric, only the modifier element is reduplicated. In the following sentence, only wán ‘one’ is therefore repeated rather than the entire expression wán tɛ́n ‘once’. The same holds for lɔ́n tɛ́n ‘long ago’ in the preceding example:

(153) Na wán wán tɛ́n dásɔl.

foc one rep time only

‘It’s just once in a while.’ [fr03ft 053]

In contrast, once the two words wán and tɛ́n are employed as part of the lexicalised expression wántɛn ‘at once’, the entire collocation is repeated:

(154) Na wán mán wé de abraza tú húman wántɛn wántɛn só.

foc one man sub ipfv embrace two woman at.once rep like.that

‘That’s a man embracing two women at once.’ [dj07re 038]

Further, the repetition of periods of the day other than mɔ́nin (tɛ́n) ‘morning (time)’ is not encountered in the data. Expressions like *ívin* tɛ́n ‘evening’ or sán tɛ́n ‘noon’ do not appear to lend themselves to some concept of quantification or gradation. This is possibly so because the corresponding period is of no cultural relevance, while ‘at dawn’ in (151) above is, since this is when people usually get up. Hence, for example, there is no instance of ?sán sán tɛ́n with the intended reading ‘exactly at noon’.

We are therefore once more dealing with a degree of lexical specialisation here. Such lexicalisation is also attested with other common repetitions. For example, the two dimension concepts bíg ‘(be) big’ and smɔ́l ‘(be) small’ are two of the most commonly encountered repeated property items in the corpus. Compare the following two examples:

(155) A de sí bíg bíg fáya.

1sg.sbj ipfv see big rep fire

‘I was seeing a huge fire.’ [ab03ay 067]

(156) E de sɛ́l e de pút smɔ́l smɔ́l wán fɔ kɔ́na.

3sg.sbj ipfv sell 3sg.sbj ipfv put small rep one prep corner

‘She’s selling (and) she’s putting tiny ones [amounts] to the side.’ [hi03cb 220]

In the rarer cases where verbs that function as predicates rather than prenominal modifiers are repeated, these are usually not property items. Property items are most commonly repeated when they precede a head noun as attributive modifiers; there is not a single instance of a repeated property item functioning as a predicate, e.g. ?e bíg bíg ‘it is very big’.

The meanings of repeated verbs are closely tied to their semantic structure. Hence, a verb like kɔ́t ‘cut’ may imply a series of cyclic repetitions, particularly in the context of cooking as in (157). The resulting meaning of the repetition is very close to that of iterative reduplication in an example like (145) above. Note that this verb is repeated together with its clitic object pronoun *=an* ‘3sg.obj’:

(157) Di dé yu bwɛ́l jakató yu kɔ́t=an kɔ́t=an

def day 2sg boil bitter.tomato 2sg cut=3sg.obj rep

kɔ́t=an yu báy wán sardina

rep 2sg buy one sardine.

‘The day you boil bitter tomato, you cut it up into small bits (and) you buy a sardine.’ [ro05rt 063]

A similar case can be made for the repetition of the locomotion verb júmp ‘jump’. This verb also naturally lends itself to a cyclical movement. In (158), reduplication and the simultaneous use of repetition of the reduplicated sequence build up to an emphatic iterative sense with a cyclical meaning:

(158) Sɔntɛ́n e bin de jump-júmp jump-júmp,

perhaps 3sg.sbj pst ipfv red.cpd-jump rep

pero e strét náw.

but 3sg.sbj be.straight now

‘Let’s assume she was constantly jumping around but she’s upright now.’ [ye07je 111]

Two words in the corpus allow partial iteration. With the two inchoative-stative verbs and property items wɔwɔ́ ‘(be) ugly, messed up’ and lílí ‘(be) little, tiny’, one syllable rather than the entire word may be iterated. Both words share the characteristic that they already constitute lexicalised iterations or at least appear so by their their segmental structure. Sentence (159) exemplifies the partial iteration of lílí ‘(be) little’. A simplex word \*lí does not exist in Pichi. Since there is no sign of tone deletion over the first component of the iteration, I analyse lílí-lí as an instance of partial repetition rather than reduplication:

(159) Pero como di harina tú lílí-lí, kɔ́n tú smɔ́l náw,

but since def flour too little-rep corn too be.small now

a mezcla ín ɔ́l.

1sg.sbj mix 3sg.indp all

‘But since the flour is too little, the corn is too little now, I mixed all of it [in making the porridge].’ [dj03do 044]

Now compare the fully (160) and partially iterated (161) alternatives for wɔwɔ́ ‘(be) ugly, messed up’. In both examples, the property item wɔwɔ́ is employed as a prenominal modifier. Note that a monosyllabic root \*wɔ does not exist in Pichi:

(160) Na Afrika e gɛ́t wɔwɔ́ wɔwɔ́ tín dɛn

loc place 3sg.sbj get ugly rep thing pl

wé a nó sabí.

sub 1sg.sbj neg know

‘In Africa there are really messy things [happening] that I don’t know [how to explain].’ [ed03sb 187]

(161) Aa, guineano tú dé sɔn ?wɔ-wɔwɔ́ stáyl.

intj Guinean too be.loc some ?red.cpd-ugly style

‘Guineans behave in a too messed up way.’ [ed03sp 055]

The tonal characteristics of the partial iteration of wɔwɔ́ in (161) above are of interest. In the example, the original lexical H tone over the first syllable of the wɔ-wɔwɔ́ before the ligature has been replaced by an L tone. The presence of tone deletion points to the operation of partial reduplication rather than repetition. This contrasts with the iteration of other, attributively used property items in a similar way. In (155) and (156) above, bíg and smɔ́l undergo repetition not reduplication. Although this example stands alone, it may be indicative of an area of transition between reduplication and repetition not only in meaning but also in form.

There is often no sharp distinction in meaning between the repetition of single words and the iteration of larger chunks of a sentence. This is particularly so if the repeated elements are not separated from each other by a pause or declarative intonation (hence an utterance-final fall) as in the sentence below. The iteration of the NP in estómago ‘her stomach’ in (162) conveys a repetitive and emphatic meaning in very much the same way as the verb–object phrase kɔ́t=an ‘cut=3sg.obj’ in (157):

(162) Nɔ́, in estómago in estómago in estómago.

neg 3sg.poss stomach rep rep

‘[She would repeatedly say] No, (it’s) her stomach, her stomach, her stomach

[rather than a pregnancy].’ [ab03ay 122]

### Lexicalised iteration

A limited number of Pichi words consist of identical components that cannot be separated and used on their own. Such unsegmentable, lexicalised iterations are found in various word classes. An example follows featuring the ideophonic noun wuruwúrú ‘disgrace’. The (lexicalised) iteration of ideophones is covered separately in section 12.1.

(163) Dɛn de mék wuruwúrú.

3pl ipfv make disgrace

‘They’re having an affair.’ [be07fn 147]

The pitch structure of lexicalised iteration is characterised by diversity. Some words feature a pitch configuration suggestive of reduplication, others feature a configuration that points towards repetition. The former group comprises cases of lexicalised iterations (164)(a) with no attested simplex form but whose etymology can be established. It also encompasses words with identical components, of which the origin of the simplex form is difficult or impossible to establish – these words are probably reflexes of English or Portuguese lexicalised iterations (b). The group also contains words which have a deducible, but idiosyncratic semantic relation with a simplex form (c). With all these words, we find an L tone over the first component of the word, while the second component bears an H tone. Hence this is the pitch configuration that we have already seen with iterative, verbal reduplication in section 4.5.1. The only difference is that (164) also includes nouns:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (164) | a. | bya.byá | ‘beard’ |
|  |  | san.sán | ‘sand; soil’ |
|  |  | was.wás | ‘wasp’ |
|  |  | wɔ.wɔ́ | ‘be ugly; messed up’ |
|  | b. | ka.ká | ‘defecate; faeces’ |
|  |  | ma.má | ‘mother’ |
|  |  | pi.pí | ‘urinate; urine’ |
|  |  | pa.pá | ‘father’ |
|  | c. | chuk.chúk | ‘thorn’ (< chúk ‘pierce; sting’) |
|  |  | hayd.háyd | ‘secretely’ (< háyd ‘hide’) |

# The nominal system

Nouns are modified grammatically and pragmatically by means of pre- and postnominal elements. Common nouns are not inflected for number, case or gender in Pichi. In the personal pronoun paradigm, number and case are, however, morphologically marked. Generally, a noun phrase (henceforth NP) headed by a common noun has the structure given in Figure 5.1, which provides a (constructed) complex NP for exemplification.

Figure 5.1 Structure of the noun phrase

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| qnt | def/  dem | pron | card | ord | mod | n | pl | adv | poss | qnt | foc | top | relc |
| *ɔ́l* | *dí* | *mi* | *tú* | *lás* | *fáyn* | *torí* | *dɛn* | *yá* | *fɔ tidé* | *(ɔ́l)* | *sɛ́f* | *náw* | *wé* |
| all | this | my | two | last | nice | story | pl | here | of today | (all) | self | now | that |
| Prenominal | | | | | | Head | Postnominal | | | | | | |
| ‘As for all these my two last nice stories here of today that (…)’ | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

The possibilities for modifying nouns with determiners (def and dem) and quantifiers (qnt) depend on their lexical class. Pichi nouns fall into three lexical classes: count nouns (e.g. hós ‘house’) including collective nouns (e.g. pípul ‘people’), mass nouns (e.g. watá ‘water’), and proper nouns (e.g. place names, such as Panyá ‘Spain’, as well as personal names like Tokobé).

The definite article *di* (def) and the proximal and distal demonstratives *dí* and *dán* (dem) do not cooccur and are therefore separated by a slash. Possessive pronouns (pron) precede the head and may co-occur with demonstratives but not with the definite article. NP constituents in other slots featuring a single function label in Figure 5.1 may coocur.

There are two quantifier slots. The quantifiers *ɔ́l* ‘all’ and *dásɔl* ‘only’ (qnt) can be floated and may occur either in a pre- or post-head position (hence the postnominal *ɔ́l* in brackets). The possessor in compounds, associative constructions, and dislocated possessive constructions is best seen to fill the modifier (mod) slot. Several modifiers can therefore co-occur (e.g. *bíg blák kichin-písis* ‘big black kitchen rag’). The possessor in a *fɔ*-prepositional construction follows the head, but its exact position in the postnominal slot may depend on pragmatic factors, e.g. either before or after *sɛ́f* or *náw* depending on the scope of foc or top. Relative clauses (relc) invariable follow the head noun.

## Determination

This section covers the distribution and functions of the definite article, indefinite determiners, demonstratives, and number marking. Quantifiers are treated separately in section 5.3.

### Definiteness and specificity

Definiteness and specificity of nouns are marked by the prenominal definite article di ‘def’ and the indefinite determiners wán ‘one; a’ and sɔn ‘some; a’. In addition, bare nouns without a preceding determiner are marked for definiteness and specificity by default. Some relevant characteristics of definiteness marking are presented in Table 5.1. The use of bare nouns is covered in more detail in 5.1.4:

Table 5.1 Characteristics of definiteness marking

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | di ‘def’ | wán ‘one; a’ | sɔn ‘some; a’ | Bare noun |
| Definiteness | def | indf | indf | indf |
| Specificity | spec | spec | spec/non-spec | non-spec |
| Number | sg/pl | sg | sg/pl | sg/pl |
| Pronominal use | No | Yes | Yes | n.a |
| Used within negative scope? | Yes | Yes | No | Yes |

The definite article di signals definiteness of a noun phrase. It is neutral as to number and can be used with count, mass, and proper nouns alike. Di may precede NPs headed by full nouns (cf. (169) below), the numeral wán ‘one’ in its function as a pronominal (165), or any element functioning as a noun, such as the deverbal noun dú in (166):

(165) Di láyf fɔ́s tɛ́n e bin swít pás di wán tidé.

def life first time 3sg.sbj pst be.sweet pass def one today

‘Life in the past was more enjoyable than that of today.’ [ab03ay 104]

(166) Mék e bít yú, mék e dú yú di dú

sbjv 3sg.sbj beat 2sg.indp sbjv 3sg.sbj do 2sg.indp def do

e wánt, mék e hála, (...)

3sg.sbj want sbjv 3sg.sbj shout

‘Let him beat you, let him do to you what he wants to, let him shout (...)’ [bo03cb 135]

Proper nouns, such as the place name Camerún ‘Cameroon’ and personal names, do not usually co-occur with the article (167), but may appear with it if required (168):

(167) Porque a bin pás na Camerún fɔ́s.

because 1sg.sbj pst pass loc place first

‘Because I passed through Cameroon first.’ [fr03ft 98]

(168) Na di sén Jorge wé a sabí nɔ́?

foc def same name sub 1sg.sbj know right

‘It is the same Jorge that I know, right?’ [nn07fn 227]

The definite article di is employed in contexts, in which a noun is specific, identifiable, and familiar to discourse participants either through its presence in the immediate physical surrounding (e.g. maíz ‘maize’) (169), or through situational inference (e.g. mɔ́nin mɔ́nin tɛ́n ‘early in the morning’) (170):

(169) Yu ték di maíz yu hól=an.

2sg take def maize 2sg hold=3sg.obj

‘You take the maize and hold it.’ [fr03do 003]

(170) Áfta a de mít=an nía di klós dɛn

then 1sg.sbj ipfv meet=3sg.obj near def clothing pl

di mɔ́nin mɔ́nin tɛ́n.

def morning rep time

‘Then I met her near the clothes early in the morning.’ [ru03wt 037]

The associative use of the article is exemplified in (171). The referent leche ‘milk’ has been established earlier on in discourse. The Spanish noun *a*nimal ‘animal’ is therefore definite by association with the antecedent leche:

(171) Es que, e fáyn wé yu nó sabí sé

it.is that 3sg.sbj be.fine sub 2sg neg know quot

e kɔmɔ́t fɔ di animal.

3sg.sbj come.out prep def animal

‘It’s that it is fine when you don’t know that it [the milk] has just come out of the

animal.’ [ed03sp 105]

The anaphoric use of the article can be seen in the following examples. The referent mán ‘man’ is introduced in (172)(a) by speaker (hi) and taken up as a definite NP by speaker [bo] in (b). Note the presence of the Nigerian Pidgin form haws ‘house’ instead of Pichi hós in (b):

(172) a. Dɛn kin fíɛ dɛn mán dán káyn stáyl.

3pl hab fear 3pl man that kind style

‘They (usually) fear their husbands and the like.’ [hi03cb 131]

b. Yu de fíɛ di mán mék e nó bít yú ɔ mék

2sg ipfv fear def man sbjv 3sg.sbj neg beat 2sg.indp or sbjv

e nó drɛ́b yú fɔ haws ó.

3sg.sbj neg drive 2sg.indp prep house sp

‘You fear your man lest he should beat you or drive you out of the house.’ [hi03cb 132]

Cataphoric use of the article – where the identity of the definite noun is established in following discourse – can be seen in the relative construction in (173):

(173) Yu nó fít, porque yu mamá nó go hébul pé ɔ́l

2sg neg can because 2sg mother neg pot be.capable pay all

di wók wé dán mán dɔ́n dú fɔ yú

def work sub that man prf do prep 2sg.indp

‘You can’t because your mother wouldn’t be able to pay all that work

that the man has done for you.’ [ab03ay 021]

Singular count nouns are marked for indefiniteness with the cardinal numeral wán ‘one’ (174), or with the quantifier sɔn ‘some; a’ (cf. (175) below). The numeral *wán* is not a fully grammaticalised indefinite article. In many contexts, *wán* retains its lexical meaning of ‘one’. *Wán* also has pronominal functions and can itself be preceded by the demonstratives *dí* and *dán* and the definite article *di* (e.g. (165))

(174) A gɛ́t wán bíg sísta wé na mulata.

1sg.sbj get one big sister sub foc African-European.f

‘I have a/one big sister who is African-European.’ [fr03ft 022]

When used with count nouns, wán usually signals a higher degree of specificity than sɔn. However, there is no categorical distinction between specific and non-specific deixis in Pichi. This can be seen in the following two sentences. Here the noun fébɔ ‘favour’ appears with sɔn ‘some; a’ in (175) and wán ‘one; a’ in a specific and emphatic setting in (176):

(175) A wánt mék yu dú mí sɔn fébɔ,

1sg.sbj want sbjv 2sg do 1sg.indp some favour

mék yu wás mi sɔn klós dɛn.

sbjv 2sg wash 1sg.indp some clothing pl

‘I want you to do me a favour (and) wash some clothes for me.’ [ru03wt 030]

(176) Na sé, na layk sé di mán de mék yú wán fébɔ.

foc quot foc like quot def man ipfv make 2sg.indp one favour

‘It is that, it is as if the man is doing you a favour.’ [hi03cb 180]

Given that Pichi does not mark number on nouns morphologically, wán, rather than sɔn, is used to express that singular number is a significant feature of the referent as in wán motó ‘one car’ (177). Here an interpretation of wán as a numeral would appear awkward, since the speaker does not have more than one car in mind:

(177) Yu sabí sé wán motó fɔ wán mún na cincuenta dólar,

2sg know quot one car prep one month foc fifty dollar

ɛf yu hól wán motó fɔ wán mún .

if 2sg hold one car prep one month

‘You know that a car for one month is fifty dollars, if you keep a car for only one month.’

[ed03sp 076]

Wán rather than sɔn is also common in emphatic contexts. The data does not contain a single sentence in which a noun is preceded by sɔn in an equative clause of the type in (178), in which the identified entity is highly specific. The numeral wán may also signal additional emphasis when it precedes a noun under cleft focus in a presentative construction, as in (179) (cf. also 7.4.4):

(178) Na wán ɔnkúl directo, fɔ mi mamá in papá

foc one uncle direct prep 1sg.poss mother 3sg.poss father

in fámbul pát.

3sg.poss family part

‘(He) is a direct uncle on my mother’s father’s family’s side.’ [fr03ft 051]

(179) E dé complicado, na wán tín dat.

3sg.sbj be.loc complicated foc one thing that

‘It’s complicated, it’s one (kind of a) thing.’ [ye07de 017]

Contrary to what one would expect of a cardinal numeral that signals singular number, wán can also modify a noun containing a numeral above one (180). Such usage of wán is often found in conjunction with Spanish numerals and head nouns and is likely to be a case of structural borrowing from Spanish. In Spanish, the plural indefinite article (unos/unas) fulfills an identical function (cf. also 13.3.1):

(180) Áfta wi kán mít layk wán seis años después.

then 1pl real meet like one six year.pl afterwards

‘Then we met again some six years later.’ [fr03ft 191]

With plural count nouns, indefiniteness is signalled through the presence of sɔn alone (181) or the absence of a definiteness expression altogether (cf. 5.1.4). Mass nouns may only be modified by sɔn for indefiniteness, or they occur devoid of any determiner (182):

(181) Wi gɛ́t sɔn fámbul dé, na dán yu, na yu prima.

1pl get some family there foc that 2sg foc 2sg cousin.f

‘We have a family member there, it’s that your, it’s your female cousin.’ [ge07ga 048]

(182) Blɔ́d de kɔmɔ́t na in nós, e de kɔmɔ́t

blood ipfv come.out loc 3sg.poss nose 3sg.sbj ipfv come.out

na in mɔ́t.

loc 3sg.poss mouth

‘Blood was coming out of her nose, it was coming out of her mouth.’ [ab03ay 125]

Furthermore, wán, but not sɔn, may occur with NPs that are within the scope of negation, even if only with an emphatic meaning (183). In the absence of emphasis, NPs do not usually appear with a marker of indefiniteness in negative clauses (184) (cf. 7.2.2 for details):

(183) Sóté a nó tɔ́k nó wán wɔ́d.

until 1sg.sbj neg talk neg one word

‘Until I didn’t say a single word (anymore).’ [ab03ay 088]

(184) Yu sabí sé yu nó gɛ́t pikín?

2sg know quot 2sg neg get child

‘Do you (really) know that you don’t have a child?’ [fr03wt 181]

Both wán and sɔn can function as pronominals and refer anaphorically to a preceding indefinite NP. While wán is limited to anaphoric reference of a singular count noun, sɔn may be used to refer to preceding singular or plural count and mass nouns.

In both (185) and (186), wán and sɔn refer to a preceding NP televisión ‘TV set’. When referring to a plural noun, sɔn may optionally be followed by the pluraliser dɛn ‘pl’ (187):

(185) Yɛ́s, a gɛ́t wán.

yes 1sg.sbj get one

‘Yes, I have one [a TV set].’ [dj05ae 078]

(186) Na só mi yón sɛ́f, a jɔ́s báy sɔn.

foc like.that 1sg.poss own emp 1sg.sbj just buy some

‘That’s how it is with me as well, I just bought one [a TV set].’ [ma0305hm 072]

(187) A gɛ́t sɔn dɛn.

1sg.sbj get some pl

‘I have some (pl).’ [ro05fe 002]

Sɔn and wán may also be used with a partitive reading when followed by a definite possessed noun. Once more the nominal referent preceded by sɔn tends to receive a less specific reading than the one featuring wán. The same meaning may alternatively be expressed if sɔn or wán are followed by a definite fɔ-prepositional phrase (cf. e.g. (247)):

(188) Sɔn in sísta (...)

some 3sg.poss sister

‘A sister of hers (...)’ [ab03ay 058]

(189) A sé, wán mi kɔ́mpin nɔ́, (…)

1sg.sbj quot one 1sg.poss friend neg

‘I say one of my friends, right, (…)’ [ye07ga 001]

Finally, only the quantifier and indefinite, non-specific determiner sɔn appears in NPs which function as nominal and adverbial indefinite pronouns and involve generic nouns like tín ‘thing’, pɔ́sin ‘person’, tɛ́n ‘time’, sáy ‘side’, plés ‘place’, áwa ‘hour; time’, and stáyl ‘style’. Compare the following two examples (cf. 5.4.3 for a complete listing):

(190) Sɔn áwa a nó kin hébul mɔ́, mi

some hour 1sg.sbj neg hab be.capable more 1sg.poss

sísta dɛn kin sɛ́n mi mɔní.

sister pl hab send 1sg.indp money

‘Sometimes I wouldn’t cope any more, (so) my sisters would send me money.’ [ed03sp 087]

(191) Wán dé sɔn pɔ́sin bin kán sé, e de

one day some person pst come quot 3sg.sbj ipfv

tɔ́k sé yu dɔ́n gí wán golpe sɔn sáy.

talk quot 2sg prf give one blow some side.

‘One day somebody came that, he was saying that you had given a blow

somewhere [you had fathered a child somewhere].’ [fr03wt 185]

### Demonstratives

Pichi has a two-term demonstrative system that serves to express the notions of proximity and distance with the speaker as the deictic centre. The demonstratives dí/dís ‘this’ and dá/dán/dat ‘that’ and sometimes dɛn ‘those’ express the spatial, temporal, and discourse functions of proximal and distal reference respectively. Table 5.2 gives an overview of the forms and functions of Pichi demonstratives:

Table 5.2 Demonstratives

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Deixis type | Attributive | Pronominal | Presentative | Deictic adverbial |
| Proximal | dí/dís | dí/dís wán; dís | dís | yá |
| Distal | dá/dán | dá/dán wán; dat | dat | dé |
|  | dɛn | — | ― | not attested |

It is unclear whether dí and dá are distinct realisations or phonological variants with a deleted final consonant of the forms dís and dán/dat. The differenciation between dán and dat suggests that the “short” and the “long” forms may be distinct developments from their respective English etymons (< ‘this/that’). Likewise, the use of either form as attributive demonstratives could not be correlated to any (socio-)linguistic conditioning factor.

In contrast, it is very likely that *dí* ‘def’ is a reflex of English *the*, while *dí* ‘this’ is a reflex of the English proximal demonstrative *this*. The evidence is prosodic. Pichi *dí* ‘def’ was lexicalised as L-toned because English *the* is usually untressed, while *dí* ‘this’ received a lexical H because *this* is usually stressed in English.

Demonstratives may be used attributively as prenominal modifiers. The forms dí and dís are equivalent in function, although dí is more common as a proximal demonstrative (192):

(192) Djunais tɔ́k sé, nɔ́ Rubi dí gɛ́l lɛ́k yú.

name talk quot neg name this girl like 2sg.indp

‘Djunais said, really Rubi, this girl likes you.’ [ru03wt 021]

The two forms dá and dán serve as distal attributive demonstratives (193). The form dán is used in the majority of cases, irrespective of the word-initial onset of the following noun. NPs featuring an attributively used demonstrative are pluralised in the usual way by means of the postposed pluraliser dɛn (193):

(193) Ɔ́l dán pikín dɛn na dán mán in yón.

all that child pl foc that man 3sg.poss own

‘All those children are that man’s.’ [hi03cb 190]

Dí and dís (194), as well as dá and dán (cf. e.g. (202)) may combine with the numeral and pronominal wán ‘one’, in order to form singular (194) and plural (195) demonstrative pronominals:

(194) A tínk sé dí wán na wán problema fɔ Afrika, ɛ́n.

1sg.sbj think quot this one foc one problem prep place sp

‘I think that this is a problem in Africa.’ [fr03ft 105]

(195) Na dé dís wán dɛn mamá dɛn de mék ɛ́ni tín.

foc there this one 3pl mother 3pl ipfv make every thing

‘It is then that these ones’ mothers do every thing.’ [ab03ay 047]

The forms dís and dat may be employed as independent pronominals on their own, although this use is marginal compared to that involving the pronominal wán:

(196) Dís nóto Manolete.

this neg.foc name

‘This is not Manolete (oil).’ [ab03ab 029]

(197) Dát nó go dú ó!

that neg pot do sp

‘That really won’t do.’ [nn07fn 216]

*Dís* and *dat*, but never *dí* and dá/dán, also occur in sentence-final position in a presentative construction of the type presented in (198) and (199), where the demonstratives are anaphoric to an antecedent focused NP (cf. 7.4.4):

(198) Sé na ín dís, na yu húman dís, yu wánt

quot foc 3sg.indp this foc 2sg woman this 2sg want

ɔ yu nó wánt, na in dís.

or 2sg neg want foc 3sg.poss this

‘(She said) that this is her, this is your wife, you like it or not,

this is her.’ [ed03sp 009]

(199) Na in vida dát.

foc 3sg.poss life that

‘That’s his (kind of) life.’ [he07fn 228]

Demonstrative adjectives do not co-occur with the definite article. They may, however, precede proper nouns (200) and possessive pronouns (201):

(200) Lúk=an, di dé wé dís Paquita in papá

look =3sg.obj def day sub this name 3sg.poss father

bin kán ték=an, e pé avioneta.

pst come take =3sg.obj 3sg.sbj pay small aircraft

‘Look at this, the day that Paquita’s father came to take her,

he hired a small aircraft.’ [ab03ay 140]

(201) Cuñado, mí gɛ́fɔ fɛ́n dán mi

brother-in-law 1sg.indp have.to look.for that 1sg.poss

prima ó, Cristina.

cousin.f sp name

‘Brother(-in-law), I [emp] really have to look for that my

(female) cousin, Cristina.’ [ge07ga 046]

Demonstratives are often reinforced through the deictic locative adverbs yá ‘here’, dé ‘there’, and sometimes yandá ‘yonder; over there’ (202):

(202) Ɛhɛ́, wán glás watá aparte, yu pút=an ínsay, dán wán

intj one glass water separate 2sg put=3sg.obj inside that one

dé, yu fít ték medio fɔ dán sén glas (...)

there 2sg can take half prep that same glass

‘Exactly, one glass of water separately, you put it inside, as for that one, you can

take half in that very glass (...)’ [dj03do 054]

The idiom dís-tín ‘this-thing’ may substitute for a inanimate noun. Example (203) shows that this expression has been lexicalised to an extent which allows the occurrence of the demonstrative *dán* ‘that’ with its full referential meaning:

(203) A ték tú peso a báy dán dís-tín (...)

1sg.sbj take two peso 1sg.sbj buy that this-thing

‘I took two pesos (and) I bought this whatsit (…)’ [ed03sp 083]

The 3pl dependent personal pronoun and pluraliser dɛn occasionally occurs in the determiner position at the very left of the NP. In this position, dɛn simultaneously functions as a plural definite article and a demonstrative with a largely discourse deictic function. Prenominal dɛn usually also has emphatic force. This use of dɛn however is marginal in the corpus. Note the additional presence of dɛn as a pluraliser after the noun fronteras ‘borders’:

(204) Wet ɔ́l dɛn fronteras dɛn wé dɛn de chénch.

with all those borders pl sub 3pl ipfv change

‘With all those borders that are changing.’ [fr03ft 102]

In their function as markers of spatial deixis, the proximal and distal demonstratives serve to locate referents in physical space with the speaker as the deictic centre (205):

(205) Wi de gó dɔ́n, wi de gó lɛ́f=an di sáy

1pl ipfv go down 1pl ipfv go leave=3sg.obj def side

dán motó dé.

that car be.loc

‘We’re going down, we are going to leave it where that car is.’ [ma03ni 043]

The demonstrative pronouns also serve to express discourse-pragmatic deixis. I reiterate example (202) above in (206) below in context. In the excerpt, speaker (dj) explains how to cook corn porridge. The interjection ɛhɛ́ ‘exactly’ confirms the interruptive question posed in (206)(a). The topical dán wán dé in (b) is therefore anaphoric to the process explained just beforehand in the same sentence.

The anaphoric function of the distal demonstrative pronoun is frequently made use of in order to refer to preceding NPs, phrases, and entire sentences. Dán sén glás ‘that very glass’ represents (202) an additional means of referent tracking via the use of the focus and emphasis marker sén ‘same; very’:

(206) a. Wán glás watá?

one glass water

‘One glass of water?’ [fr03do 053]

b. Ɛhɛ́, wán glas watá aparte, yu pút=an ínsay, dán wán

exactly one glass water separate 2sg put=3sg.obj inside that one

dé yu fít ték medio fɔ dán sén glas (...)

there 2sg can take half prep that same glass

‘Exactly, one glass of water separately, you put it inside, that one [that method],

you can take half in that very glass (...)’ [dj03do 054]

### Number

Pichi marks plural number via the postposed pluraliser dɛn which is identical to the 3pl dependent pronoun. The pluraliser is clitic-like in one respect: It may not be separated from the noun it refers to by any constituent. Typically, the pluraliser occurs with count nouns (207), but it may also follow collective nouns like pípul ‘people’ (208):

(207) Yu nó fít jɔ́s trowé di tín dɛn na strít só.

2sg neg can just throw.away def thing pl loc street like.that

‘You can’t just throw the things into the street like that.’ [hi03cb 031]

(208) Fɔ pípul dɛn, pípul dɛn kin dé na ród, plɛ́nte.

prep people pl people pl hab be.loc loc road plenty

‘Because of people, people are usually on the road, a lot.’ [ma03ni 011]

The pluraliser is also encountered with mass nouns denoting liquids such as watá ‘water’ (209) or leche ‘milk’ in (210):

(209)Fít sifta ín sóté tú tɛ́n mék mék

can sieve 3sg.indp until two time make sbjv

dán smɔ́l smɔ́l watá dɛn nó lɛ́f.

that small rep water pl neg leave

‘(You) can sieve it up to two times in order not to make that

little bit of water remain.’ [dj03do 008]

(210) A bin de vɔ́mit dán leche dɛn fɔ́s fɔ́s tɛ́n dɛn.

1sg.sbj pst ipfv vomit that milk pl first rep time pl

‘I was throwing up that milk during the first few times.’ [ed03sp 104]

NPs featuring a cardinal numeral can also optionally be marked for plural number (211), although in the majority of instances, speakers prefer not to use the pluraliser together with a numeral (212):

(211) E gɛ́t tú pikín dɛn na Panyá sɛ́f.

3sg.sbj get two child pl loc Spain emp

‘She even has two children in Spain.’ [fr03ft 140]

(212) E bríng trí kasára, e lé dɛ́n pantáp di tébul.

3sg.sbj bring three cassava 3sg.sbj lie 3pl.indp on def table

‘He brought three cassavas and put them on the table.’ [li07pe 067]

Furthermore, the pluraliser may co-occur with quantifiers that indicate plurality of the referent such as ɔ́l ‘all’ (213), and bɔkú ‘many; much’ (214), although the absence of plural marking is equally common (215):

(213) Yu wánt báy cuaderno, bolí ɔ́l dán tín dɛn

2sg want buy exercise.book pen all that thing pl

na wet dólar.

foc with dollar

‘You want to buy an exercise book, pen and all those things, it’s with dollars.’ [ed03sp 096]

(214) Bɔkú motó dɛn dé yá só, (...)

much car pl be.loc here like.that

‘(Since) there were many cars around, (...)’ [ye03cd 178]

(215) Mí, lɛk háw yu de sí mí, a dɔ́n

1sg.indp like how 2sg ipfv see 1sg.indp 1sg.sbj prf

sí plɛ́nte tín.

see plenty thing

‘As for me, as you see me (now), I’ve seen many things (in life).’ [ab03ab 023]

The pluraliser is also consistently made use of with inserted Spanish nouns marked with the Spanish plural morpheme {-s} (216). The same is true of the few instances in the corpus, in which the nouns bɔ́y ‘boy’ and gál ‘girl’ are marked for plural with the marginal Pichi plural morpheme {-s} as in (217):

(216) Áfta dɛ́n na mi sobrinos dɛn.

then 3pl.indp foc 1sg.poss nephew.pl pl

‘So, they are my nephews.’ [fr03ft 060]

(217) Ɔ́l Ghána bɔ́y-s dɛn, wé dɛn dé (...)

all Ghana boy- pl pl sub 3pl be.loc

‘All the Ghanaian guys that were around (...)’ [ed03sp 076]

Personal names may be pluralised in order to form an associative plural (218). The resulting meaning is ‘X and those associated with her/him habitually or at the time of reference’:

(218) A dɔ́n explica Boyé dɛn, sé na só

1sg.sbj prf explain name pl quot foc like.that

mi de mɛ́mba, ɔ́l tín.

1sg.indp ipfv remember all thing

‘I have explained to Boyé and the others that this is how I remember everything.’ [ru03wt 045]

Plural number need not be marked on the head noun of a relative clause and may instead be expressed via the coreferential subject pronoun in the relative clause:

(219) Di húman wé dɛn fáyn mɔ́ na América Latina

def woman sub 3pl fine more loc place

húman dɛn.

woman pl

‘The women who are the most beautiful are Latin American women.’ [ed03sp 025]

Syntactic factors may also constrain plural marking. One of the instances in which plurality is not overtly expressed and left to inferral is in dislocated possessive constructions.

I repeat sentence (195) in (220) below. As is generally the case in dislocated possessive constructions, a personal pronoun coreferential with the possessor (dɛn ‘3pl’) links the plural possessor (dís wán dɛn ‘these ones’) and the possessed noun (mamá ‘mother’). I interpret the linker dɛn in these cases as the 3pl pronoun rather than the pluraliser, since singular possessors require the use of the corresponding singular possessive pronoun in ‘3sg.poss’ in the same position. Hence the pluraliser remains unexpressed in the construction in order to avoid doubling of the two homophonous forms:

(220) Na dé dís wán dɛn mamá dɛn de mék ɛ́ni tín.

foc there this one 3pl mother 3pl ipfv make every thing

‘It is then that these ones’ mothers do every thing.’ [ab03ay 047]

In (221), we encounter a similar overlap of pl and 3pl. Here, dɛn may be interpreted as the pluraliser postposed to the NP or instead, as a resumptive pronoun and the subject of the following verb. In contexts such as these, where a predicate immediately follows a plural-referring NP, the distinction between the pluraliser and a 3pl resumptive pronoun is not possible, since doubling of the form is normally avoided. The distributional characteristics of dɛn in these contexts indicate the significant functional overlap of NP and verbal number marking in Pichi:

(221) Estudiante fɔ Guinea dɛn de sɔ́fa plɛ́nte.

student prep place 3pl/pl ipfv suffer plenty

‘Guinean students were suffering a lot.’ [ed03sp 086]

Finally, I point out that Pichi has at least two nouns with suppletive plural forms which are occasionally employed instead of the regular plural involving dɛn ‘pl’. The relevant singular-plural pairs are gál–gáls ‘girl-girls’ and bɔ́y-bɔ́ys ‘boy-boys’. However, these forms are not suppletive in the true sense, since they feature the segmentable but only marginally productive plural morpheme {-s}, which is only attested with these two nouns. As example (217) above shows, these forms may also be followed by the pluraliser dɛn.

### Genericity

Generic reference of an NP can be established through the use of bare nouns with or without plural marking, as well as the use of the definite article di ‘def’. A noun phrase may only consist of a bare noun. The demarcation between count and mass nouns is blurred when they are used as “non-individuated” (Mufwene 1986) nouns in this way, since the number distinction is now irrelevant for both entity types.

Generalisations may be made about a whole class of referents by using the bare form of the corresponding count noun in generic statements like the following ones:

(222) Na mán in suerte.

foc man 3sg.poss luck

‘That’s the fortune of men.’ [fr03ft 194]

(223) Dɔ́g kin bɛ́t.

dog hab bite

‘Dogs bite.’ [dj07ae 371]

In contrast, the use of the bare form is the normal way of referring to indefinite and non-specific mass nouns like chɔ́p ‘food’ and pamáyn ‘oil’, while definite (and specific by default) mass nouns are preceded by the definite article di ‘def’ like count nouns:

(224) Chɔ́p dé na hós, pamáyn dé (…)

food be.loc loc house oil be.loc

‘There’s food in the house, there’s oil (…)’ [ro05rt 050]

(225) Yu fɔ trowé di watá yá só.

2sg prep pour def water here like.that

‘You have to pour (out) the water here.’ [dj03do 039]

In Pichi, weather mass nouns like brís ‘wind’, tináda ‘thunderstorm’, and rén ‘rain’ also have non-specific NP marking and reference when they occur in weather condition clauses like the following one:

(226) Brís de bló.

air ipfv blow

‘The wind is blowing.’ [dj07ae 242]

However, with count nouns, generic reference can also be established by employing a plural noun without a determiner (227):

(227) Mán dɛn nó de bísin fɔ mék fám mɔ́.

man pl neg ipfv be.busy prep make farm more

‘People are no more into farming.’ [ed03sp 053]

Further, the reference of the definite article di ‘def’ may also be construed as generic if it co-occurs with generic TMA marking. In this example, imperfective marking expresses a habitual, generic sense, and the nouns gabonés and guineano designate the whole class of referents rather than specific ones:

(228) Pero di gabonés wé de tɔ́k Bata wet di guineano

but def Gabonese sub ipfv talk Fang with def Guinean

wé de tɔ́k Bata, di sonido nó dé di sén.

sub ipfv talk Fang def sound neg be.loc def same

‘But the Gabonese who talks Fang and the Guinean who talks Fang, the sound is not the same.’ [ma03hm 048]

Example (229) illustrates how generic meaning arises through the interplay of NP marking (the bare NP tidé pikín ‘children of today’), impersonal use of 2sg, and the habitual reading of the potential modality marker go:

(229) Tidé pikín yu go gɛ́t bɛlɛ́, yu púl=an

today child 2sg pot get belly 2sg remove=3sg.obj

yu go dáy wet bɛlɛ́.

2sg pot die with belly

‘As for children of today, they get pregnant, they abort it and die because of the pregnancy.’ [ab03ay 105]

Bare nouns are also encountered in many idiomatic verb-object collocations involving count nouns such as mék fám ‘to farm’, gɛ́t bɛlɛ́ ‘to be pregnant’, or fála húman ‘to womanise’. Such noun phrases are also characterised by genericity by virtue of their non-specific reference. They equally reflect a general tendency to omit indefiniteness and number marking with non-specific objects (230):

(230) A ralla ín wet rallador.

1sg.sbj grate 3sg.indp with grater

‘I grated it with a grater.’ [dj03do 004]

## Noun phrase modification

Nouns are modified by pre- and post-nominal modifiers and possessive constructions. Postnominal modification via focus and topic markers is treated separately in sections 7.4.2 and 7.5, respectively. Nouns may also be modified through relative clauses (cf. 10.6) and noun complement clauses (cf. 10.5.8).

### Prenominal modification

Head nouns of noun phrases may be modified prenominally by other nouns and by verbs in compounds, by nouns in associative constructions, as well as by quantifiers and property items that have been converted to attributive adjectives. In (231), the nouns mán ‘man’ and húman ‘woman’ are modified by the preposed property item bíg ‘(be) big’.

(231) Bɔt wé di mán na bíg mán, di húman sɛ́f na bíg húman,

but sub def man foc big man def woman emp foc big woman

porque ɔ́l tɛ́n na húman dé bɔtɔ́n mán.

because all time foc woman be.loc under man

‘But when the man is a big man, the woman, too is a big woman, because

it is always the woman who is below the man. [hi03cb 152]

An ordinal numeral or similar quantifier such as ɔ́da ‘other’ immediately follows the article and precedes other modifiers (232):

(232) Yu pút ɔ́da nyú wán ínsay, dán wán sé

2sg put other new one inside that one quot

mék e nó smɛ́l.

sbjv 3sg.sbj neg smell

‘(Then) you put another one inside, that in order for it

not to smell.’ [dj03do 048]

Speakers show clear preferences in their use of verbs for prenominal modification in NPs. Firstly, only numerals and other quantifying expressions (e.g. nɛ́ks ‘next’, plɛ́nte ‘(be) plenty’) as well as other property items usually function as attributive modifiers.

Secondly, the following more “basic” semantic types of property items have the strongest likelihood of occurring as prenominal modifiers to head nouns: dimension (e.g. bíg ‘(be) big’ in (231) and smɔ́l ‘(be) small), age (e.g. ól ‘(be) old’, cf. (232)), value (e.g. bád ‘(be) bad’, bɛ́ta ‘(be) very good’, fáyn ‘(be) fine; beautiful’, trú ‘(be) true’, and (s)trɔ́n ‘be strong; profound (cf. (233)), colour (e.g. blák ‘(be) black’, wáyt ‘(be) white’, and rɛ́d ‘(be) red’):

(233) E gɛ́t wán trɔ́n stáyl fɔ tɔ́k=an.

3sg.sbj get one strong style prep talk=3sg.obj

‘There’s a profound way of saying it.’ [ye07je 020]

(234) Dán wáyt tín wé e dé na in yáy.

that white thing sub 3sg.sbj be.loc loc 3sg.poss eye

‘That white thing that’s in his eye.’ [dj03cd 103]

Physical properties (e.g. swít ‘(be) tasty’, évi ‘(be) heavy’, hád ‘(be) hard’, sáf ‘(be) soft’) are far less likely to appear in the prenominal position. So are human propensities, be they lexicalised as dynamic (e.g. krés ‘(be) crazy’, jɛ́lɔs ‘(be) envious’) or inchoative-stative verbs (e.g. wíkɛd ‘(be) wicked’). Further, the corpus contains no instance of a prenominal, modifying use of labile change-of-state verbs like brók ‘(be) broken; break,’ lɔ́s ‘(be) lost; lose,’ lɔ́k ‘close; (be) closed’, and locative verbs like sidɔ́n ‘sit; seat’.

Instead, members of the semantic classes listed above preferably occur in other kinds of modifying structures, such as relative constructions (235) and compounds (236):

(235) Na wán mán wé e lɔ́s.

foc one man sub 3sg.sbj lose.

‘He’s a lost man [a hopeless case].’ [be07fn 217]

(236) Wán dé wán dé dís húman go tɔ́n kres-húman.

one day rep this woman pot turn crazy.cpd-woman

‘Someday this woman will turn into a crazy woman.’ [ro05ee 039]

The few members of the Pichi adjective class (e.g. fáyn ‘be fine) may appear in the prenominal modifier position like other property items. However, only adjectives may function as complements to the locative-existential copula dé in predicate adjective constructions (cf. 7.6.5).

### Postnominal modification

Nouns may be modified by postposed elements of two types: focus particles (cf. 7.4.2), the topic marker náw ‘now’, and optionally, by quantifiers like wán ‘alone’ (cf. (257)–(258), ɔ́l ‘all’ (cf. (260)), and dásɔl ‘only’ (cf. (270)).

### Possessive constructions

Pichi employs four types of possessive constructions through which possessive relations and relations of modification are established between nouns: compounding, the associative construction, the “dislocated possessive construction” (Kouwenberg 1994:160) and a prepositional phrase construction involving the associative preposition fɔ. Compounding shares much of its functional space with the associative construction and both constructions are covered extensively in section 4.4.

Table 5.3 shows that the order of the participating NPs and forms of linkage are relevant for the way in which possessive relations and relations of modification are established. For ease of exposition, these relations are summarily referred to as “possessive” constructions and the participating NPs as “possessor” and “possessed”, respectively:

Table 5.3 Possessive constructions

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Construction | NP 1 | Type of linkage | NP 2 |
| Compound | Possessor | Tonal derivation | Possessed |
| Associative | Possessor | Juxtaposition | Possessed |
| Dislocated possessive | Possessor | in ‘3sg.poss’, dɛn ‘3pl’ | Possessed |
| fɔ-prepositional | Possessed | fɔ ‘prep’ | Possessor |

In the associative construction, two nouns are juxtaposed, whereby the “possessor” (the modifier noun) modifies the “possessed” noun (the modified noun). Firstly, this construction is always employed when the possessor is instantiated in a possessive pronoun. Secondly, associative constructions express various relations of modification, either exclusively or in complementarity with compounds (cf. 4.4). One relation of modification that is always expressed as an associative construction if the possessor is not a multi-constituent NP is a “measure/entity” relation (237). In such constructions, the modifier noun is the measure (glás ‘glass’) and the modified noun the entity measured (watá ‘water’):

(237) Wán glás watá.

one glass water

‘One glass of water’ [dj03do 053]

Unlike the associative construction, which typically instantiates a relation of modification between two noun phrases, the dislocated possessive construction typically serves to express a possessive relation. The possessor is therefore usually animate and human – the data contains no instance of a dislocated possessive construction involving an inanimate possessor.

In the dislocated possessive construction, a possessive pronoun that is co-referential with the possessor intervenes as a linker between the possessor and the possessed noun. With a singular possessor, the 3sg possessive pronoun in is therefore chosen, and with a plural possessor the 3pl possessive pronoun dɛn:

(238) Pero chico na yu pikín in láyf.

but boy foc 2sg child 3sg.poss life

‘But boy, it is your child’s life.’ [hi03cb 133]

(239) (...) wáyt pípul dɛn wáyf.

white people pl wife

‘(...) white people’s wives.’ [ed03sp 042]

The dislocated possessive construction requires coreferentiality of the possessive pronoun and the possessor. Hence (240), which involves a 2sg person possessor, is ungrammatical:

(240) \*Na yú in hós.

foc 2sg.indp 3sg.poss house

\*It’s your house. [ne07fn 231]

Recursive possessive relations can be expressed by the juxtaposition of possessive constructions, as in (241):

(241) Na dé a kán sabí **mi** mamá in papá

foc there 1sg.sbj pfv know 1sg.poss mother 3sg.poss father

in fámbul.

3sg.poss family

‘It is there that I got to know my mother’s father’s family.’ [fr03ft 044]

In the fɔ-prepositional construction, the possessed noun is followed by a prepositional phrase that contains a full noun functioning as a possessor (242) or modifier (243):

(242) Áfta Miguel Ángel wé na di lás pikín fɔ mi antí.

then name name sub foc def last child prep 1sg.poss aunt

‘Then (there is) Miguel Ángel who is the last child of my aunt.’ [fr03ft 143]

(243) Áfta dɛn de gɛ́t fisionomía fɔ Afrika dɛn.

then 3pl ipfv get physiognomy prep place pl

‘Then, they have African physiognomies.’ [ed03sp 031]

Unlike the dislocated possessive construction, the “possessor” in the fɔ-construction may be inanimate. This construction therefore typically expresses a relation of modification between a modified (“possessed”) and a modifier (“possessor”) entity. The construction may express various semantic roles including source (244) and material (245) (cf. 9.1.3 for a complete description of the semantic roles covered by fɔ ‘prep’):

(244) Yu nó go gɛ́t hambɔ́g fɔ pípul dɛn.

2sg neg pot get irritation prep people pl

‘You won’t get any irritation from people.’ [ma03ni 009]

(245) Dán casa verde, dán casa fɔ madera (...)

that house green that house prep wood

‘That green house, that wooden house (...)’ [hi03cb 037]

The fɔ-construction is also used to express part–whole relations in the idiomatic expression pát fɔ ‘part of’ (246) or a partitive construction involving the determiner sɔn ‘some’ (247):

(246) Gɔ́bna de gí yu pát fɔ di mɔní.

government ipfv give 2sg part prep def money

‘Government gives you part of the money.’ [hi03cb 064]

(247) Sɔn fɔ di watá dé yét.

some prep def water be.loc yet

‘Some of the water still remains.’ [ab07fn 224]

The fɔ-construction is also employed to express a possessive relation in the same way as the dislocated possessive construction. There appears to be a stronger likelihood for the use of fɔ-prepositional constructions instead of dislocated possessive constructions when the possessed NP is complex and features more than one constituent. This is the case in the following example, in which the possessed noun pikín ‘child’ is additionally modified by the quantifier lás ‘last’:

(248) Áfta Miguel Ángel wé na di lás pikín fɔ mi antí.

then name name sub foc def last child prep 1sg.poss aunt

‘Then, there is Miguel Ángel who is the last child of my aunt.’ [fr03ft 143]

A second factor that contributes to the use of the fɔ-construction is animacy. The resumptive pronoun in the dislocated possessive construction is typically coreferential with an animate, usually human possessor. Therefore, an inanimate possessor is best expressed through the fɔ-construction:

(249) Na wán prensa internacional wán ministro fɔ Gabón

loc one press international one minister prep place

kán tɔ́k sé dán isla na Gabón.

pfv talk quot that island foc place

‘In an international press [newspaper] a secretary of state of Gabon said that that island is [belongs to] Gabon.’ [fr03ft 111]

## Quantification

Quantification is expressed through numerals, as well as a variety of relative, absolute, and negative quantifying expressions.

### Numerals

Pichi has a decimal numeral system. Cardinal numerals up to ten are as follows:

Table 5.4 Cardinal numerals

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Numeral | Cardinal | Ordinal |
| 1 | *wán* | *fɔ́s* |
| 2 | *tú* | *sɛkɔ́n, sɛ́kɔn; nɔmba-tú* |
| 3 | *trí* | *nɔmba-trí* |
| 4 | *fó* | *nɔmba-fó* |
| 5 | *fáyf* | *nɔmba-fáyf* |
| 6 | *síks* | *nɔmba-síks* |
| 7 | *sɛ́ven* | *nɔmba-sɛ́ven* |
| 8 | *ét* | *nɔmba-ét* |
| 9 | *náyn* | *nɔmba-náyn* |
| 10 | *tɛ́n* | *nɔmba-tɛ́n* |

In the corpus, no numeral higher than seven was used in natural speech and no speaker except one could list numerals higher than ‘ten’ without fault. The Spanish numeral system is employed by all speakers and has largely replaced Pichi cardinal numerals above three (cf. 13.3.1 for additional details). Cardinal numerals occur in the prenominal modifier position (250) and may be used independently as pronominals (251). The repetition of cardinal numerals renders a distributivesense (252):

(250) So a dɔ́n gɛ́t trí nacionalidad na dís wɔ́l.

so 1sg.sbj prf get three nationality loc this world

‘So I have three nationalities in this world.’ [fr03ft 102]

(251) Ɛf yu de ték trí, treinta mil.

if 2sg ipfv take three thirty thousand

‘If you take three, (it is) thirty thousand.’ [f103fp 016]

(252) Yu fít kɛ́r dɛ́n tú tú.

2sg can carry 3pl.indp two rep

‘You can carry them two by two.’ [bo07fn 231]

Pichi has the three lexical ordinal numerals fɔ́s ‘first’ (253), sɛkɔ́n/sɛ́kɔn ‘second’ (254), and lás ‘last’ (255). The first two occur as attributive prenominal modifiers like other property items, while lás ‘last’ preferably occurs in quantifier compounds :

(253) Na di fɔ́s tín (…)

foc def first thing

‘It’s the first thing (…)’ [ab0310ay 010]

(254) E gó blánt wet di sɛkɔ́n papá.

3sg.sbj go reside with def second father

‘She went to stay with the second father [stepfather].’ [hi07fn 225]

(255) Mí na di las-mán.

1sg.indp foc def last.cpd-man

‘I’m the last person (here).’ [nn07fn 234]

Ordinal numerals except ‘first’ may also be formed productively through the use of quantifier compounds involving the modifier noun nɔ́mba ‘number’ and a cardinal numeral as the head. Most people also use this construction to express ‘second’ (256):

(256) Di nɔmba-tú pikín, e kán tɛ́l mí di sén tín.

def number.cpd-two child 3sg.sbj pfv tell 1sg.indp def same thing

‘(As for) the second child, she told me the same thing.’ [ed03sb 027]

The numeral wán has a number of functions that are derived from its cardinality sense. We have seen that it functions as an indefinite deteminer and a pronominal or nominal substitute (cf. (194)–(195)). The adverbialising suffix –wán ‘adv’ is also etymologically related to the cardinal numeral wán (cf. also 5.2.1 and 5.4.4). The numeral wán also expresses adverbial meanings such as ‘alone; single-handedly’ with an emphatic nuance, as in (257). When used in this way, wán may modify a head noun post-nominally like a postnominal modifier, such as the focus particle sɛ́f ‘self; emp’. However, wán does not modify full nouns by itself. It rather appears after an independent (emphatic) personal pronoun that is coreferential with the full noun in question (258) (cf. also (289)–(290)):

(257) Dɛn tɛ́l=an sé ‘nóto ín wán’.

3pl tell=3sg.obj quot neg.foc 3sg.indp one

‘They told her “it’s not only her”.’ [ed03sb 067]

(258) Mi brɔ́da ín wán mɛ́n di pikín.

1sg.poss brother 3sg.indp one raise def child

‘My brother raised the [his] child single-handedly.’ [he07fn 444]

### Other quantifying expressions

Non-numeral words express relational, absolute and negative quantification (cf. Table 5.5). Some of these words modify nouns in a way similar to determiners. One of them is the indefinite determiner sɔn ‘some; a’. Some are only employed attributively with nouns (e.g. hól ‘whole’). Yet others are only used as pronominals (e.g. nátin‘nothing’).

Table 5.5 Non-numeral quantifiers

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Type | Quantifier | | Pronominal use |
| Relational | ɔ́l | ‘all’ | Yes |
|  | ɛ́ni | ‘every’ | No |
|  | ɔ́da | ‘other; next’ | No |
|  | nɛ́ks | ‘next’ | No |
|  | hól | ‘whole’ | No |
|  | háf | ‘half’ | Yes |
|  | ónli | ‘only’ | No |
|  | dásɔl | ‘only’ | No |
|  | sósó | ‘only; abundant(ly)’ | No |
|  | grén | ‘only; exactly’ | No |
| Absolute | sɔn | ‘some; a’ | Yes |
|  | bɔkú | ‘much; many’ | Yes |
|  | plɛ́nte | ‘plenty’ | Yes |
|  | smɔ́l | ‘a bit; few’ | Yes |
|  | mɔ́ch | ‘much’ | No |
| Negative | nó | ‘no’ | No |
|  | nátin | ‘nothing’ | Yes |

The quantifier ɔ́l ‘all’ occurs with count and mass nouns alike. Ɔ́l is encountered in a pre- (259), and postnominal position (260), yet without any effect on its quantificational properties:

(259) (...) yu de bák ɔ́l di mɔní (...)

2sg ipfv give.back all def money

‘(...) you return all the money (...)’ [hi03cb 184]

(260) **D**i pikín ɔ́l sé na mi yón bikɔs

def child all quot foc 1sg.poss own because

a dɔ́n pé mɔní.

1sg.sbj pfv pay money

‘(...) all the children are mine, because I have paid money [the dowry].’ [hi03cb 196]

When ɔ́l appears immediately before the noun, it is most often found to modify generic nouns like tín ‘thing’, tɛ́n ‘time’, pɔ́sin ‘person’, mán ‘human being’, plés ‘place’, sáy ‘side; place’, and stáyl ‘manner’, as in the two following sentences (cf. 5.4.3. for a complete listing):

(261) Ɔ́l mán kin lúk=an, yu go sí wi nó go

all man hab look=3sg.obj 2sg pot see 1pl neg pot

mít nó bɔ́di na hós.

meet neg body loc house

‘Everybody watches it, you’ll see, we won’t run into anybody

in the house.’ [ma03ni 038]

(262)Porque na mí mí de prepara ɔ́l tín.

because foc 1sg.indp 1sg.indp ipfv cook all thing

‘Because it was me, I was cooking everything.’ [dj03do 025]

Rather than seeing syntagmas like ɔ́l mán ‘everybody’ and ɔ́l tín ‘everything’ above as belonging to a word class termed “indefinite pronouns”, they are best seen as ordinary NPs involving a quantifer and a generic noun, which may function as equivalents of nominal and adverbial indefinite pronouns in other languages. This analysis is supported by the fact that the generic nouns involved retain their full distributional potential as ordinary nouns; there are no signs of specialisation or grammaticalisation (cf. Haspelmath 1994:182–183).

The occurrence of plural marking in the quantifier phrase in (263) also illustrates that a distinction between the meanings of ‘everybody’ and ‘all persons/people’ is irrelevant in Pichi, since genericity can be expressed through bare “singular” nouns and plural-marked nouns alike (cf. 5.1.4):

(263)Mí sɛ́f, ɔ́l pɔ́sin dɛn kin áks mí sé yu dɔ́n bɔ́n?

1sg.indp emp all person pl hab ask 1sg.indp quot 2sg pfv give.birth

‘As for me, all people ask me, “do you have a child?”’ [fr03ft 152]

Ɔ́l ‘all’ may quantify over temporal (264) and locative (265) expressions. This function may also be fulfilled by the attributive quantifier hól ‘whole’ (266). In general, the use of hól is, however, rare:

(264) ‘Ɔ́l tidé e bin de kɔ́l mí’, e kɔ́l mí

all today 3sg.sbj pst ipfv call 1sg.indp 3sg.sbj call 1sg.indp

wán tɛ́n dásɔl.

one time only

‘“All of today he was calling me [so he says]”, he [actually] called me only

once.’ [fr03cd 022]

(265) Ɔ́l hía pák polvo.

all here pack dust

‘All this place is full of dust.’ [ge07fn 127]

(266) (...) adɔnkɛ́ e nó sí yú wán hól dé, (…)

even.if 3sg.sbj neg see 2sg.indp one whole day

‘(…) even if she didn’t see you for a whole day, (…)’

The quantifiers ónli ‘only’ and sósó ‘only; abundant’ have a distribution similar to hól above and may appear as prenominal, attributive modifiers to the noun. However, contrary to hól, both ónli and sósó may additionally function as quantifying adverbs. Compare the attributive (a) and adverbial (b) uses of ónli (267) and sósó (268) in the following two sentence pairs:

(267) a. Di ónli lángwech wé dɛn de tɔ́k fáyn fáyn, (…).

def only language sub 3pl ipfv talk fine rep

‘The only language that they speak really well (…).’ [au07se 265]

b. Ónli dɛn wánt hía Panyá.

only 3pl want hear Spanish

‘They only want to hear Spanish.’ [au07se 211]

(268) a. A bin bríng wán bláy só, sósó jakató.

1sg.sbj pst bring one bag like.this only bitter.tomato

‘I brought a bag like this, full of bitter tomatoes.’ [ro05rt 068]

b. Aa sósó yandá.

intj only yonder

‘Ah, all the way over there.’ [ge07ga 050]

In contrast, the relational quantifier dásɔl ‘only’ behaves like the universal relational quantifier ɔ́l ‘all’. Hence, dásɔl may appear to the very left of the reference noun (269) or occur after the reference noun (270). Aside from that, dásɔl is used as a sentence adverb and clause linker (cf. 10.7.9):

(269) Dásɔl wán smɔ́l, wán glas, yu fúlɔp=an.

only one small one glass 2sg fill=3sg.obj

‘Only one small, one glass, you fill it up.’ [dj03do 052]

(270) Pero di fíba bin kɛ́r wán dé dásɔl.

but def fever pst carry one day only

‘But the fever lasted only one day.’ [ru03wt 062]

The quantifier ɛ́ni ‘every’ quantifies over sets. It therefore has a distributive meaning and can only occur with singular count nouns (271):

(271) Ɛ́ni dé dɛn de chɔ́p rɛ́s, ɛ́ni dé.

every day 3pl ipfv eat rice every day

‘Every day they eat rice, every day.’ [ed03sp 117]

The quantifier grén ‘only; exactly’ (< grén ‘grain’) only occurs in fixed collocations as a measure word with a preceding cardinal numeral, and followed by a count noun. Like ɛ́ni ‘every’, grén therefore quantifies over sets. The resulting quantifier compound functions as an attributive quantifier to the following noun pikín:

(272) Na yu wan-grén pikín.

foc 2sg one.cpd-grain child

‘That’s your one and only [single] child.’ [ge07fn 015]

The relative or partitive quantifiers sɔn ‘some’, bɔkú ‘much’, plɛ́nte ‘plenty’, and smɔ́l ‘few; a bit’ may quantify over count and mass nouns alike. NPs featuring one of these forms may be compared to an implicit standard of comparison as are smɔ́l ‘few; a bit’ in (273) and sɔn ‘some’ in (274):

(273) A kin wánt kɔ́f dɛn de trowé smɔ́l mélk,

1sg.sbj hab want cough 3pl ipfv pour small milk

leche tibia na mi trót.

milk lukewarm loc 1sg.poss throat

‘I would have to cough (and) they would throw away a little bit of milk,

lukewarm milk inside my throat.’ [ab03ay 087]

(274) Sɔn fés dɛn dé wé a sabí nɔ́.

some face pl be.loc sub 1sg.sbj know intj

‘There are some faces that I know, right.’ [fr03ft 033]

When the standard of comparison is explicit, the quantifier participates in a partitive construction. Compare bɔkú ‘much; many’ in (275) which precedes the standard mi kɔntri-mán dɛn ‘my countrymen’:

(275) Bikɔs a gɛ́t bɔkú mi kɔntri-mán dɛn

because 1sg.sbj get much 1sg.poss country.cpd-man pl

wé dɛn húman kin dé fɔ Annobón.

sub 3pl woman hab be.loc prep place

‘Because I have many of my countrymen whose wives are (usually)

in Annobón.’ [ed03sb 157]

The negative quantifier nó ‘neg; no’ is preposed to its referent. This includes the inherently negative indefinite pronoun nátin‘nothing’. Additionally, negative quantifier phrases generally appear with support from verb negation. The resulting clause always yields a single negation reading (cf. 7.2.3 for more details). Compare the following sentence:

(276) Nó nátín nó dé pantáp=an.

neg nothing neg be.loc on=3sg.obj

‘Nothing is on it [the table].’ [li07pe 011]

Some of the quantifiers covered can function as pronominals, as exemplified with ɔ́l‘all’ in (277) (cf. Table 5.5 for a complete overview). However, a quantifier phrase featuring a generic noun (e.g. ɔ́l tín ‘all thing’ = ‘everything’) is usually preferred:

(277) Ɔ́l di tín wé yú an dán mán bin gɛ́t,

all def thing sub 2sg.indp and that man pst get

ɔ́l de lɛ́f fɔ dán mán.

all ipfv remain prep that man

‘All the things that you and that man had, all remains for that man.’ [hi03cb 191]

## Pronouns

Pronouns may occur in the syntactic positions of common nouns. At the same time, they fulfil specific grammatical functions and are characterised by distributional preferences and restrictions.

### Personal pronouns

Four features are distinguished in the use of personal pronouns: person, number, syntactic (in)dependence, and case (cf. Table 5.6 below). The majority of “dependent pronouns” (with the exception of mi ‘1sg.poss’ and in ‘3sg.poss’) employed for subject case are also used for the expression of possessive case. Where the “possessive” column has no entry, the corresponding “subject” form is used. At the same time, the “object” column is separated from the other dependent pronouns by a line, because none of the forms in the “subject” and “possessive” columns are simultaneously employed as object pronouns.

At the same time, there is an overlap in forms for the expression of object case. The “object” and “object & emphatic” columns are not separated by a line, beause all forms in the latter column are employed as object pronouns and emphatic pronouns at the same time. However, the 3sg pronouns =an and ín are suppletive allomorphs. The choice of either of the two forms is phonologically conditioned (cf. 3.2.5). One of these forms, i.e. the clitic =an ‘3sg.obj’, is the only dependent object pronoun of Pichi.

The 2pl pronoun una/unu is normally invariable throughout the entire paradigm. Both forms are employed with any difference in meaning, but una is used in the vast majority of cases. Independent personal pronouns may undergo tonal derivation in order to participate in compound pronouns which express universal and dual number (cf. Table 5.7).

Table 5.6 Personal pronouns

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Person & Number | Dependent pronouns | | | Independent pronouns |
|  | Subject | Possessive | Object | Object & emphatic |
| 1sg | a | mi |  | mí |
| 2sg | yu |  |  | yú |
| 3sg | e | in | =an | ín |
| 1pl | wi |  |  | wí |
| 2pl | una, unu |  |  | una, unu |
| 3pl | dɛn |  |  | dɛ́n |

Dependent subject pronouns always occur in finite clauses together with verbs. They may only be separated from the verb by TMA markers, the negator, and preverbal adverbs. Only independent personal pronouns may be focused (278), topicalised, modified by postposed elements, and conjoined by the coordinators àn ‘and’ or ɔ̀ ‘or’ (279):

(278) Mí gɛ́t tú brɔ́da.

1sg.indp get two brother

‘I [emp] have two brothers.’ [ro07fn 501]

(279) Bɔt di gɛ́l nó kán grí mék e gí in bɔ́y frɛ́n

but def girl neg pfv agree sbjv 3sg.sbj give 3sg.poss boy friend

ɔ di pikín ɔ ín sénwe, e kán rɔ́n.

or def child or 3sg.indp self 3sg.sbj pfv run

‘But the girl didn’t agree to surrender her boyfriend or the child or herself (and) she ran (away).’ [ed03sb 032]

A focused or topicalised independent pronoun may be followed by a resumptive dependent pronoun (280). This alternative is not very common in the data:

(280) Mí a nó gɛ́t.

1sg.indp 1sg.sbj neg get

‘As for me, I don’t have (one).’ [ma03ni 041]

Likewise, only independent personal pronouns occur under focus in cleft constructions involving the focus markers na ‘foc’ (281), and nóto ‘neg.foc’. The example also shows the use of independent pronouns (i.e. dɛ́n ‘3pl.indp’) as regular object pronouns (save the clitic =an for 3sg.obj):

(281) E wás dí klós dɛn, e dráy dɛ́n,

3sg.sbj wash this clothing pl 3sg.sbj dry 3pl.indp

nɔ́ na mí dráy dɛ́n.

intj foc 1sg.indp dry 3pl.indp

‘She washed the clothes, she dried them, no, it is me (who) dried them.’

[ru03wt 034]

The independent form is also selected when a personal pronoun heads a relative clause (282) or is employed as a vocative (283):

(282) Lɛk náw só, mí [wé a nó máred,

like now like.that 1sg.indp sub 1sg.sbj neg marry

ɛf a bɔ́n pikín]?

if 1sg.sbj give.birth child

‘Like right now, me who is not married, if I had a child?’ [ab03ab 193]

(283) Yú, kán yá!

2sg.indp come here

‘(Hey) you, come here!’ [ch07fn 232]

Table 5.6 above shows that suppletion and grammatical tone are employed for case and number marking. The following two sentences exemplify the use of tone for pronominal inflection. Sentence (284) is a double-object construction. The object and emphatic pronoun mí is high-toned. Hence mí must be interpreted as the maleficiary object of the verb tíf ‘steal’, while ordenador ‘computer’ functions as the patient object:

(284) Dɛn tíf mí ordenador.

3pl steal 1sg.indp computer

‘They stole a computer from me.’ [ge07fn 169]

Conversely, (285) is a single object construction. The low-toned ponoun mi is a possessive pronoun to the noun ordenador ‘computer’ which functions as a patient NP to the verb tíf ‘steal’:

(285) Dɛn tíf mi ordenador.

3pl steal 1sg.poss computer

‘They stole my computer.’ [ge07fn 170]

The form =an ‘3sg.obj’ is exclusively employed to express object case. It functions as a pronominal object to verbs, prepositions, and locative nouns. It is a clitic that forms a single phonological word with the immediately preceding verb, preposition or locative noun. The pronoun =an is sometimes employed indiscriminately for singular or plural reference. In such cases, it may be considered to function as a kind of transitivity or verbal agreement marker. In (286), *=an* is coreferential with the plural-referring pronominal ɔ́l:

(286) Mí sénwe a mɛ́n=an ɔ́l.

1sg.indp emp 1sg.sbj care.for=3sg.obj all

‘I [emp] myself brought them [the children] all up.’ [ma03ni 030]

Dependent possessive pronouns appear before the noun and may in turn be preceded by a demonstrative (287):

(287) Pero dís una baf-rúm.

but this 2pl bath.cpd-room

‘But this your [pl] bathroom [look how dirty it is].’ [ge07fn 184]

Independent possessive pronouns are formed by placing a possessive pronoun to the left of the pronominal yón ‘own’ (288):

(288) E sé a gó mɛ́n pikín dásɔl ɛf a

3sg.sbj quot 1sg.sbj go care.for child only if 1sg.sbj

dɔ́n sí yu yón.

prf see 2sg own

‘She said I will only care for a child when I have seen yours.’ [fr03ft 159]

### Modification of personal pronouns

Subject and object pronouns can be modified by postposed quantifiers including numerals, focus markers and the topic marker, as well as nouns. Aside from that, the pronominal system may be extended through the formation of compound pronouns.

In (289), the pronoun yú ‘2sg.indp’ is modified by wán ‘one; alone’. Wán is semantically compatible with plural referents (290). In (291), the pronoun ín ‘3sg.indp’ is modified by dásɔl ‘only’. Note the obligatory use of independent (emphatic) pronouns with these quantifiers:

(289) Ɛf yu bin dé yú wán yu nó bin fɔ tɔ́k só.

if 2sg pst be.loc 2sg.indp one 2sg neg pst cond talk like.that

‘If you had been alone, you wouldn’t have talked like that.’ [nn07fn 390]

(290) Na dɛ́n wán de disfruta ó.

foc 3pl one ipfv enjoy sp

‘It is them alone who are enjoying [it].’ [ed07fn 280]

(291) Na ín dásɔl dán húman dɔ́n de wók fɔ.

foc 3sg.indp only that woman prf ipfv work prep

‘It is only that that that woman is working for.’ [hi03cb 219]

Sentence (292) provides an example of modification by a noun. The country name Camerún ‘Cameroon’ modifies the personal pronoun una ‘2pl’ by apposition. The modifier noun does not take the pluraliser dɛn ‘pl’:

(292) A sé bikɔs una Camerún una gɛ́t (...)

1sg.sbj quot because 2pl place 2pl get

‘I said because you Cameroonians, you have (...)’ [ab03ay 151]

Compound pronouns feature a personal pronoun and the quantifiers tú ‘two’ and/or ɔ́l ‘all’. They are formed by the same means as other compounds: The lexical H tone of the initial component(s) is erased and replaced by an L tone while the final component retains its lexically assigned H tone. Evidence that compounding is indeed at work in the formation of compound pronouns comes from (289)–(291) above. The presence of the postposed quantifiers wán ‘alone’ and dásɔl ‘only’ in these examples requires the use of H-toned emphatic personal pronouns. In contrast, the 3pl form of the personal pronoun in (293) below is L-toned, although the quantifier ɔ́l ‘all’ is in the same syntactic position as wán and dásɔl in (289)–(291) above.

The collocation dɛn-ɔ́l ‘pl-all’ may be employed in order to signal inclusivity of all referents. The use of a resumptive simplex dependent pronoun as in (293) is optional but very common:

(293) Dɛn-ɔ́l dɛn de salút dɛn sɛ́f.

3pl.indp.cpd-all 3pl ipfv greet 3pl self

‘They are all greeting each other.’ [dj07re 009]

A compound pronoun may also feature the numeral tú ‘two’ as the second component and thereby express dual number (294). Such dual compound pronouns are most frequently formed by additionally incorporating the quantifier ɔ́l ‘all’ into the compound (295). The data contains no trial compound pronouns formed with the numeral trí ‘three’:

(294) Dɛn go reúne, dɛn-tú dɛn go kɔ́l di bɔ́y (...)

3pl pot meet 3pl.indp.cpd-two 3pl pot call def boy

‘They would meet, the two of them would call the boy (...)’ [ab03ay 042]

(295) Yu sí, dɛn-**ɔl**-tú júmp fɔ bɔ́t di bɔ́l.

2sg see 3pl.indp.cpd-all.cpd-two jump prep head def ball

‘You see, they both jumped to head the ball.’ [au07se 058]

Compound personal pronouns are employed in a regular and conventionalised way in order to express dual number with any of the three plural personal pronouns. Note the deletion of the H tones and replacement by L tones over all components of the dual object wi-ɔl-tú ‘the two of us’ save the last one (i.e. tú ‘two’, which bears its original lexical H tone) in (296):

(296) Lɛk sé dɛn de hía wi-ɔl-tú wi de tɔ́k yét.

like quot 3pl ipfv hear 1pl.indp.cpd-all.cpd-two 1pl ipfv talk yet

‘Like if they heard both of us still talking.’ [au07se 217]

Examples (294) and (296) also show that dual pronouns are anaphorically referred to (i.e. through the resumptive pronouns dɛn ‘3pl’ and wi ‘1pl’, respectively) by making use of the corresponding plural pronoun.

The extension of the Pichi pronominal system by compounding is summarised in Table 5.7. Compound object, subject, and emphatic pronouns are identical. For possessive and resumptive pronouns, the regular plural pronouns are employed. Optional elements are in parentheses:

Table 5.7 Compound personal pronouns

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Person &  number | Subject/object/  emphatic | Possessive/  resumptive |
| 1 dual | wi-(ɔl)-tú | wi |
| 2 dual | una-(ɔl)-tú | una |
| 3 dual | dɛn-(ɔl)-tú | dɛn |
| 1 universal | wi-ɔ́l | wi |
| 2 universal | una-ɔ́l | una |
| 3 universal | dɛn-ɔ́l | dɛn |

### Indefinite pronouns

In Pichi, the functional equivalents of indefinite pronouns are phrases involving generic nouns preceded by the quantifier and indefinite determiner sɔn ‘some; a’ as well as the quantifiers ɔ́l ‘all’, ɛ́ni ‘every’, and nó ‘neg’. The following table provides an overview of ‘some’ and ‘every’ indefinites involving the generic nouns pɔ́sin ‘person’, mán ‘man; person’, tín ‘thing’, sáy ‘side; place’, (káyn) stáyl ‘(kind of) style’, tɛ́n ‘time’, and áwa ‘hour; time’. Some examples for their use are provided in (190)–(191) above as well as (261)–(263) above.

An extensive treatment of ‘no’ and ‘any’ forms, hence negative phrases with the functions of negative indefinites is provided in 7.2.3:

Table 5.8 Indefinite pronouns

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | ‘Some’ |  | ‘Every’ |  |
| “person” | sɔn pɔ́sin | ‘somebody’ | ɔ́l pɔ́sin, | ‘everybody’ |
|  | sɔn mán |  | ɔ́l mán |  |
| “thing” | sɔn tín | ‘something’ | ɔ́l tín, | ‘everything’ |
|  |  |  | ɛ́ni tín |  |
| “place” | sɔn sáy | ‘somewhere’ | ɔ́l sáy, | ‘everywhere’ |
|  |  |  | ɛ́ni sáy |  |
| “manner” | sɔn (káyn) stáyl | ‘somehow’ | ɔ́l (káyn) stáyl, | ‘(in) every way’ |
|  |  |  | ɛ́ni (káyn) stáyl |  |
| “time” | sɔn tɛ́n dɛn | ‘sometimes’ | ɔ́l tɛ́n | ‘always’ |
|  | sɔn áwa (dɛn) |  | ɔ́l áwa |  |
|  |  |  | ɛ́ni tɛ́n | ‘every time’ |
| “kind” | sɔn káyn | ‘some kind of’ | ɔ́l káyn | ‘every kind of’ |
|  |  |  | ɛ́ni káyn |  |

A few characteristics of the NPs in Table 5.8 are worthy of note. Firstly, Pichi makes no difference between “some” indefinites used in affirmative and realis modality declarative sentences and “free-choice” indefinites (Haspelmath 1997:48–52) of the “any” type.

Secondly there are a few idiosnycracies in the formation of indefinites: while sɔn pɔ́sin ‘somebody’ is more common than sɔn mán, ɔ́l mán ‘everybody’ is favoured over ɔ́l pɔ́sin; “manner” is equally often expressed as sɔn stáyl as it is involving the modifier substitute káyn ‘kind’. Finally, note that ‘sometimes’ is expressed as sɔn tɛ́n dɛn, hence a plural NP while sɔn.tɛ́n is a lexicalised collocation functioning as an adverb with the meaning ‘perhaps’. Also note that tɛ́n ‘time’ is a count noun, hence quantification with ɛ́ni ‘every’ renders the distributive meaning ‘every time’.

### Pronominals

The pronominals sɛ́f ‘self’, yón ‘own’, and nátin‘nothing’ occur in the syntactic positions of nouns. At the same time, they are characterised by a preference for specific environments or show distributional restrictions. The anaphoric pronominals sɛ́f ‘self’ and yón ‘own’ are employed to form independent reflexive and possessive pronouns and do not co-occur with determiners either. Instead, they are usually preceded by possessive pronouns. The negative indefinite pronoun nátin‘nothing’ only occurs in negative clauses.

There is a transition from these more specialised pronominals characterised by restrictions to pronominals like káyn ‘kind’ and wán ‘one’, which favour specific environments, to generic nouns like mán ‘man; person’, sáy ‘place’, stáyl ‘manner’, and tɛ́n ‘time’, which behave like other common nouns but fulfil important functions in the grammatical system of Pichi. For example, káyn ‘kind’ and wán ‘one’ may co-occur with a determiner or a prenominal modifier. Káyn appears as a head noun in question words and as a generic noun in the modifier or modified position of certain conventionalised collocations (e.g. na wán káyn tín ‘foc one kind thing’ = ‘that’s really something’).

Wán also functions as a generic substitute for any other common noun, and in this function, it may be preceded by prenominal modifiers or determiners (e.g. di ɔ́da wán ‘def other one’ = ‘the other one’).

## Coordination

The most commonly employed form for signalling coordination between two noun phrases is the comitative preposition wet ‘with’ (297). The form an ‘and’ is also used to coordinate noun phrases (298) next to being employed as a sentential coordinator (cf. 10.3). However, most speakers have a clear preference for wet rather than an:

(297) Lydia wet Junior, na dɛ́n a sabí.

name with name foc 3pl.indp 1sg.sbj know

‘Lydia and Junior, it’s them I know.’ [fr03ft 134]

(298) Ɔ́l di tín wé yú an dán mán bin gɛ́t (...)

all def thing sub 2sg.indp and that man pst get

‘All the things that you and that man had (...)’ [hi03cb 191]

The disjunctive coordinator is ɔ̀ ‘or’, which alternates in pronunciation between [ɔ̀] and [ò]. This variation in form is likely to be reinforced by the existence of the equivalent Spanish coordinator o ‘or’:

(299) (...) wé a tínk sé na judías blancas ɔ rɛ́s.

sub 1sg.sbj think quot foc bean.pl white.pl or rice.

‘(...) of which I think that it is white beans or rice.’ [ed03sp 122]

# The verbal system

Pichi verbs fall into three lexical aspect classes. The verbal system of Pichi is characterised by the use of preverbal particles, which modify the verb for tense, aspect, and modality. These three grammatical categories are interlocked in various ways, which transpire best when larger stretches of discourse are analysed. The system also includes numerous aspectual and modal auxiliary constructions. Verbs, and those denoting properties in particular, may be modified for degree in comparative constructions.

## Lexical aspect

Pichi verbs fall into three lexical aspect classes: stative, inchoative-stative, and dynamic. Most subclasses of inchoative-stative verbs may receive a stative or a dynamic interpretation in the right context, but the reverse is not the case, hence my use of the term “lexical” aspect. In this chapter and others, I employ “situation” as a cover term for events denoted by dynamic verbs as well as states denoted by (inchoative-)stative verbs and predicate adjectives. When a situation is construed as stative, it has no inherent boundaries, e.g. e dé ‘3sg.sbj be.loc’ = ‘s/he/it exists’.

When a situation is construed as inchoative-stative, it encompasses the entry-into-state (inchoative), as well as the ensuing state (stative), e.g. e chák ‘3sg.sbj get.drunk’ = ‘he got drunk’. Since inchoative-stative verbs may also be read with a stative meaning, the preceding clause may also be translated as ‘he is drunk’. Situations denoted by dynamic verbs are conceived of as being bounded; they have an inherent beginning and end (wi chɔ́p ‘1pl eat’ = ‘wé ate’) (Sasse 1991).

I expressly avoid the terms telic (with an inherent endpoint) and atelic (without an inherent endpoint) (Comrie 1976:44–51) in the description of lexical aspect. The telic–atelic distinction blurs the boundaries between lexical aspect (as part of the meaning of the verb), grammatical aspect (expressed e.g. in the perfective–imperfective opposition), and clausal aspect (expressed e.g. by clausal transitivity and temporal adverbs), and is therefore of limited usefulness in this regard.

The inherent temporal structure of Pichi verbs co-determines the meanings that arise when aspect markers co-occur with a verb (cf. 9.2.3 for further valency-related effects of lexical aspect). Therefore, I apply two distributional criteria for delineating the three lexical aspect classes: firstly, co-occurrence with the imperfective marker de ‘ipfv’ and secondly, co-occurrence with the aspectual/phasal verb bigín ‘begin’ in an ingressive aspect auxiliary construction (Sasse 1991:8). The latter criterion is particularly useful, because the imperfective marker de ‘ipfv’ optionally intervenes between bigín and the following verb.

The corpus contains only a handful of verbs that can be classified as stative with sufficient certainty. These are listed in Table 6.1 together with the semantic classes they belong to:

Table 6.1 Stative verbs

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Semantic class | Verbs |  |
| Modal | fít | ‘can’ |
|  | hébul | ‘be capable’ |
|  | lɛ́k | ‘like’ |
|  | mín | ‘mean (to)’ |
|  | níd | ‘need’ |
|  | wánt | ‘want’ |
| Existence | bí | ‘be’ |
|  | dé | ‘be.loc’ |
|  | blánt | ‘reside’ |
|  | fíba | ‘resemble; seem’ |
| Cognition | tínk | ‘think’ |

Stative verbs do not co-ocur with the imperfective marker de ‘ipfv’. Secondly, they do not normally appear with the aspectual/phasal verb bigín ‘begin (to)’. For most speakers, a clause like the following one is therefore ungrammatical:

(300) \*A bigín (de) hébul dú=an.

1sg.sbj begin ipfv be.capable do=3sg.obj

\*I began to be capable of doing it. [to07fn 226]

The two modal verbs lɛ́k ‘like’ and wánt ‘want’ are ambivalent in their lexical aspect. I suggest that wánt is ambivalent between a dynamic and a stative sense, while lɛ́k vacillates between a stative and an inchoative-stative sense. Most of the time, these two verbs do not co-ocur with de ‘ipfv’ in imperfective situations. They sometimes do, however, and they are also attested in phasal constructions involving bigín ‘begin’:

(301) Na ín a bigín de lɛ́k=an.

foc 3sg.indp 1sg.sbj begin ipfv like=3sg.obj

‘That’s when I began liking her.’ [he07fn 228]

The class of inchoative-stative verbs includes three semantic classes that belong to the large group of labile verbs (cf. 9.2.3 for details): change-of-state verbs, locative verbs, and property items. It also includes two verbs of possession, two verbs of cognition, a verb of perception, and a verb denoting existence in time and space. The class of inchoative-stative verbs is therefore much larger than that of stative verbs, which only has a few members.

In this, I concur with analyses that posit a similar distribution of lexical aspect classes in other Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles (e.g. Winford 1993; Migge 2000). Table 6.2 below lists the relevant (groups of) verbs:

Table 6.2 Inchoative-stative verbs

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Semantic class | Verbs |  |
| Change of state; | Labile verbs | |
| Property items; |  | |
| Locative verbs |  | |
| Possession | gɛ́t | ‘get; have’ |
|  | hól | ‘seize; keep’ |
| Cognition | sabí | ‘(get to) know’ |
|  | nó | ‘(get to) know’ |
| Perception | sí | ‘see; catch sight of’ |
| Existence | kɔmɔ́t | ‘come from; hail from’ |

All inchoative-stative verbs may potentially be interpreted as stative or inchoative in the absence of disambiguating information. This is for example the case when these verbs remain unmarked in basic intransitive clauses (cf. 6.3.1). However, such ambivalence between an ongoing state (stative) and an entry-into-state (inchoative) reading occurs with differing likelihood with the relevant semantic classes.

Within the group of labile verbs, property items are far more likely to be interpreted as stative than inchoative when left unmarked in an intransitive clause. In contrast, most change-of-state verbs and locative verbs may receive a stative and an inchoative interpretation with equal likelihood (cf. 9.2.3). This also holds for inchoative-stative cognition, possession, and perception verbs.

Inchoative-stative verbs are compatible with the imperfective marker de ‘ipfv’ (302) The use of de ‘ipfv’ with these verbs renders an inchoative meaning, which is in the present tense in relation to event time (cf. 6.3.4 for details). Likewise, inchoative-stative verbs may combine with the verb bigín ‘begin’. The resulting ingressive aspect construction highlights the inchoative, entry-into-state meaning component of the verb (303):

(302) Dís bɔ́y, ɛ́ni dé e de fáyn mɔ́-ɛn-mɔ́.

this boy every day 3sg.sbj ipfv be.fine more-and-more

‘This boy is getting more and more handsome every day.’ [ro05ee 046]

(303) Wi bigín de nó wi sɛ́f.

1pl begin ipfv know 1pl self

‘We began to get to know each other.’ [ye07fn 019]

The inchoative-stative posture verbs sidɔ́n ‘sit (down)’, slíp ‘lie down; sleep’ and tínap ‘stand (up)’ may co-ocur with the imperfective marker without necessarily acquiring the usual inchoative sense. These verbs appear to vacillate in their lexical aspect between an inchoative-stative and a dynamic sense. Consider the use of slíp ‘lie sleep’ as an inchoative-stative verb in (304) and as a dynamic verb in (305):

(304) Yu de respira, yu sɛ́ns de lɔ́s, e dé

2sg ipfv breathe 2sg mind ipfv lose 3sg.sbj be.loc

lɛk sé yu slíp.

like quot 2sg sleep

‘You’re breathing, your mind is slipping away, it is as if you’re sleeping.’ [ed03sb 120]

(305) Di dɔ́g de slíp bɔtɔ́n di tébul.

def dog ipfv slíp under def table

‘The dog is sleeping/lying under the table.’ [ro05ee 072]

The verb tínap ‘stand (up)’ may also be used as a dynamic verb. However, it is then also usually employed with the different meaning of ‘begin to stand (of a toddler)’. Compare the following two uses of this posture verb:

(306) E tínap bihɛ́n di hós.

3sg.sbj stand.up behind def house

‘He’s standing behind the house.’ [ye0502e2 181]

(307) E de tínap, smɔ́l pikín wé e de tráy

3sg.sbj ipfv stand.up small child sub 3sg.sbj ipfv try

fɔ tínap yet.

prep stand.up yet

‘He is beginning to stand, a small child that’s still trying to stand.’ [dj0502e2 219]

A semantic specialisation of the inchoative vs. the dynamic meanings of the verb is also present with the verb kɔmɔ́t. When unmarked, it is left to context to disambiguate the meanings ‘come from’ (dynamic) and ‘hail from’ (inchoative-stative) from each other. This is illustrated in (308) and (309), respectively:

(308) Wi kɔmɔ́t dé, wi kán gó fɔ, fɔ Akebeville.

1pl go.out there 1pl pfv go prep prep place

‘(When) we left there, we went to, to Akebeville.’ [ma03hm 039]

(309) Ús=sáy yu kɔmɔ́t?

q=side 2sg come.from

‘Where do you come from? or ‘Where did you exit [e.g. the market]?’ [dj050e3 167]

A comparison of (309) and (310) shows that ambiguity does not arise once kɔmɔ́t is marked for imperfective aspect:

(310) Yu de kɔmɔ́t ús=sáy?

2sg ipfv come.out q=side

‘Where are you coming from?’ [dj05ce 170]

(311) Mí gɛ́t dán problema wet bɔ́y dɛn wé dɛn kɔmɔ́t

1sg.indp get that problem with boy pl sub 3pl come.out

Bata nɔ́, sé ‘no Pichi es un dialecto.’

Bata intj quot no Pichi it.is a dialect

‘I have that problem with guys who are from Bata, right, [they] say

“no, Pichi is a dialect [not a language].”’ [au07se 219]

The data contains a large number of dynamic verbs from a wide range of semantic classes. Dynamic verbs may appear freely with the imperfective marker de ‘ipfv’ (312) and in ingressive auxiliary constructions featuring the aspectual/phasal verb bigín ‘begin’ (313). The use of the imperfective marker renders a progressive or habitual aspect reading with dynamic verbs. Note that labile inchoative-stative verbs may also be used as dynamic verbs in transitive clauses (cf. 9.2.3 for further details):

(312) Dɛn de sláp dɛn sɛ́f.

3pl ipfv slap 3pl self

‘They’re slapping each other.’ [dj07re 020]

(313) A bigín gó skúl.

1sg.sbj begin go school

‘I began going to school.’ [fr03ft 018]

## The TMA system

Pichi has a core and a non-core system of tense-mood-aspect (TMA) marking. The core system is constituted by TMA particles which express central TMA notions. These particles (henceforth TMA markers) may be combined with each other, share phonological characteristics, such as monosyllabicity, and form a unit with the verb between which only a small group of preverbal adverbs may intervene. In the non-core system, auxiliary verbs express aspectual and modal notions as minor verbs in serial verb constructions. Besides TMA markers and auxiliary verbs, Pichi also makes use of complementisers in order to express modality.

The markers of the core TMA system and their linear order relative to each other and the verb root are provided in the following figure. The figure shows that all TMA markers are found to the left of the root. The modal complementiser mék ‘sbjv’ is the only TMA marker found to the left of the dependent subject pronoun in a position occupied by clause linkers. It should also be borne in mind that factative TMA is achieved via the bare, unmarked verb, hence involves no overt marker:

Figure 6.1 Ordering of TMA markers

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Mood | Pronoun | Negation | Tense | Mood | Aspect | Aspect | Stem | Root |
| mék  sbjv | yu  2sg | nó  neg | bin  pst | go  pot  fɔ  obl/cond  mɔs  obl | dɔ́n  prf  nɛ́a  neg.prf  kin  hab/abl | *de*  ipfv  kán  pfv | red- | verb |

The markers that express the two basic aspect categories of imperfective (i.e. de ‘ipfv’) and narrative perfective (i.e. kán ‘pfv’) are closest to the verb root. The marker kin ‘hab; abl’ has the same position when used in its habitual function as with its (marginal) function as a modality marker of ability. The same holds for *fɔ* when it instantiates conditional or obligative mood. When it occurs with the abilitive function it is glossed as ‘abl’. There are co-occurrence restrictions for the expression of composite TMA categories (cf. Figure 6.2).

Table 6.3 presents the focal functions of TMA categories that are expressed when markers occur on their own. Factative TMA is included under all relevant categories in recognition of the multiple functions the unmarked verb plays in the TMA system. Factative TMA is indicated by a dash (―) in the column headed by “Marker”.

Table 6.3 Functions of TMA markers

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Category | Marker | Function |
| Tense | *―* (factative TMA) | Past |
|  | bin ‘pst’ | Past |
| Mood | *―* (factative TMA) | Realis |
|  | go ‘pot’ | Potential |
|  | mék ‘sbjv’ | Subjunctive; complementiser |
|  | fɔ ‘prep; cond’ | Obligative, complementiser; conditional |
|  | mɔs ‘obl’ | Obligative |
| Aspect | ― (factative TMA) | Perfective |
|  | kán ‘pfv’ | Narrative perfective |
|  | de ‘ipfv’ | Imperfective |
|  | dɔ́n ‘prf’ | Perfect |
|  | kin ‘hab’ | Habitual |
|  | Reduplication ‘red’ | Iterative |

Combinations of the TMA markers listed above may render composite TMA categories. All attested combinations are listed in Figure 6.2 below. TMA markers follow the linear order established in Figure 6.1 where possible. Crossferences to examples featuring uses of composite categories are provided in the first column.

Figure 6.2 Composite TMA categories

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Ex. | sbjv | pst | pot | cond | prf | hab | ipfv | pfv | red | Function |
| (427) | *mék* |  |  |  |  |  | *de* |  |  | Subjunctive imperfective |
| (1529) |  | *bin* |  | *fɔ* |  |  |  |  |  | Counterfactual |
| (396) |  | *bin* |  | *fɔ* | *dɔ́n* |  |  |  |  | Counterfactual perfect |
| (663)(a) |  | *bin* |  |  |  |  |  | *kán* |  | Past perfective |
| (401) |  | *bin* |  |  | *dɔ́n* |  |  |  |  | Past perfect |
| (456)(e) |  | *bin* |  |  |  |  | *de* |  |  | Past imperfective |
| (402) |  | *bin* |  |  | *dɔ́n* |  | *de* |  |  | Past perfect imperfective |
| (742) |  |  |  |  | *dɔ́n* |  | *de* |  |  | Perfect imperfective |
| (397) |  |  | *go* |  | *dɔ́n* |  |  |  |  | Potential/future perfect |
| (391) |  |  | *go* |  |  |  | *de* |  |  | Potential/future imperfective |
| (139) |  |  | *go* |  |  |  |  |  | red | Iterative potential/future |
| (138) |  |  |  |  |  |  | *de* |  | red | Iterative imperfective |
| (142) |  |  |  |  |  | *kin* | *de* |  | red | Iterative habitual |
| (343) |  |  |  |  |  | *kin* | *de* |  |  | Habitual |

In the corpus, the maximal number of TMA markers encountered in one clause is three (e.g. (402)). The markers bin ‘pst’, go ‘pot’, and *kin* ‘hab’ are mutually exclusive. The imperfective marker *de* has the widest distribution and co-occurs with all markers except *fɔ* ‘cond’. In contrast, the narrative perfective marker *kán* has a far more restricted distribution. It only co-occurs with *bin* ‘pst’, and it does so only in two instances in the corpus. Iterative aspect, expressed by reduplication, is most compatible with the imperfective senses expressed by *de* ‘ipfv’ and *kin* ‘hab’, but it is also compatible with the tense/mood markers *bin* ‘pst’ and *gó* ‘pot’. The imperfective aspect harmonises with the habitual aspect. When de ‘ipfv’ and kin ‘hab’ co-occur, there is no additional composite sense*.* The co-occurrence of subjunctive *mék* ‘sbjv’ and imperfective *de* ‘ipfv’ is very rare in the corpus.

The markers nɛ́a ‘neg.prf’ and mɔs ‘obl’ are not attested with any other marker and hence not included. Also unattested is the co-occurrence of fɔ ‘cond’ with the potential mood marker go ‘pot’.

## Aspect

Sections 6.3.1 to 6.4.4 cover aspect marking by means of TMA markers and auxiliary verbs.

### The unmarked verb

Pichi employs factative TMA marking, a phenomenon well known from other languages in the region (cf. Welmers 1973: 348). When the unmarked verb occurs in an intransitive main clause and the clause contains no additional information that may have an effect on the interpretation of TMA, it acquires default interpretations of tense, aspect, and modality in accordance with its lexical aspect. The effect of factative TMA marking (or absence of marking) is summarised in Table 6.4. Bearing in mind that tense is relational, a factative marked (inchoative-)stative verb is interpreted as “present tense” with respect to event time not speech time (cf. 6.5.1).

As Table 6.4 shows, inchoative-stative verbs may receive an imperfective interpretation if focus is on the end-state, i.e. the stative meaning component of the verb. Alternatively, these verbs may receive a perfective interpretation, if focus is on the entry-into-state, i.e. the inchoative meaning component of the verb. The modality reading “realis” indicates that factative TMA in an intransitive clause does not normally render meanings associated with the irrealis domain, i.e. future tense or subjunctive and potential mood.

Table 6.4 Default readings of factative TMA according to lexical aspect class

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Lexical aspect | Tense | Aspect | Modality | Example |
| Stative | Present | Imperfective | Realis | A hébul ‘I am capable’ |
| Inchoative-stative | Present,  past | Imperfective, perfective | Realis | A chák ‘I am drunk;  I got drunk’ |
| Dynamic | Past | Perfective | Realis | A gó ‘I went’ |

The unmarked verb also occurs in contexts that are removed from the immediate function of signalling aspect relations. Hence, the unmarked verb occurs in contexts of reduced finiteness (cf. 10.5.3). It occurs in the if-clauses of conditionals (cf.10.7.11) and with non-initial verbs in clause chaining (cf. 11.4). Equally, verbs in subjunctive clauses usually appear devoid of TMA marking (cf. e.g. 10.5.5). The unmarked verb also occurs in singular imperatives (cf. 6.7.3.3).

Perfective aspect via factative TMA marking with dynamic verbs yields an interpretation of the situation as bounded and terminated, hence past by default. Compare pás ‘pass’ and gó ‘go’ in (314):

(314) A pás di domɔ́t bihɛ́n sáy a gó fɛ́n sigá.

1sg.sbj pass def door behind side 1sg.sbj go look.for cigarette

‘I passed through the entrance at the back, I went to look for a cigarette.’ [ro05rt 016]

Since stative verbs have no inherent boundaries, the unmarked stative verb receives an imperfective, i.e. present tense or present state reading (315). Tense is relational in Pichi, so a stative verb like wánt ‘want’ is in the present tense in relation to “event time” (Chung & Timberlake 1985), which is past tense in this example:

(315) Ɛ́ni sáy wé pɔ́sin wánt sidɔ́n, dɛn de sidɔ́n.

every side sub person want stay 3pl ipfv stay

‘Anywhere that a person wanted to stay, they stayed.’ [ma03hm 042]

Given the right context, all factative-marked inchoative-stative verbs may be interpreted as stative or inchoative (hence denoting entry-into-state). While sabí ‘(get to) know’ in (316) may be interpreted as either stative or inchoative in the absence of disambiguating cues, an inchoative reading is forced upon the factative marked verb évi ‘be heavy’ in (317). This is due to the presence of a relational element, namely the temporal clause linker bifó ‘before’, which induces an implicit comparison with the prior empty state of the bag:

(316) A sabí sɔn kápinta dɛn.

1sg.sbj know some carpenter pl

‘I know some carpenters.’ or ‘I got to know some carpenters.’ [ro05fe 001]

(317) Bifó wi rích fɔ carretera di bolsa évi.

before 1pl arrive prep road def bag be.heavy

‘Before we reached the road the bag had become heavy.’ [ed03sb 198]

However, when labile inchoative-stative verbs occur in transitive clauses they automatically acquire a dynamic reading, in which case they receive a perfective, bounded and past tense interpretation like any other dynamic verb. Compare the meaning of the labile change of state verb brók ‘break; be broken’ in this example:

(318) Dán húman e brók di plét

that woman 3sg.sbj break def plate

‘That woman (she) broke the plate.’ [au07se 006]

In addition, even in intransitive clauses, adverbials, and preceding tense-aspect marking in the same sentence, paragraph or text will usually disambiguate an inchoative from a stative interpretation. In (319), for example, factative marking with the dynamic verb ték ‘take’ leads to an entry-into-state interpretation of the following factative marked inchoative-stative verb sidɔ́n ‘sit (down)’:

(319) A ték di trí chía dɛn, dán butaca ɔ́p sáy,

1sg.sbj take def three chair pl that elbow.chair up side

mí sidɔ́n dé, e sidɔ́n dís pát.

1sg.indp sit.down there 3sg.sbj sit.down this part

‘I took the three chairs, that elbow chair up there, I [emp] sat down

there, he sat down on this side.’ [ro05rt 006]

Beyond the expression of aspect taxis, the factative perfective aspect expresses conditional modality in the if-clause of conditionals with dynamic (320) and stative verbs alike (321):

(320) E go dé fáyn ɛf e kán.

3sg.sbj pot be.loc fine if 3sg.sbj come

‘It will be nice, if he comes.’ [dj05ae 205]

(321) If yu wánt, a fít sɛ́l yu mi hós.

if 2sg want 1sg.sbj can sell 2sg 1sg.poss house

‘If you want, I can sell you my house.’ [dj07ae 342]

Beyond that, factative marking is encountered in procedural texts in contexts that suggest a habitual reading. In the following excerpt, speaker (dj) is asked by (ge) to explain how ógi ‘corn porridge’ is prepared. The dynamic verb pút ‘put’ in (b) has a habitual sense but remains bare. Note that imperative clauses are not formed with 2sg personal pronouns:

(322) a. Áfta háw fɔ mék di ógi?

then how prep make def corn.porridge

‘Then how do you make the corn porridge?’ [ge03do 050]

b. Yu fít ték náw, wán, wán smɔ́l kɔ́p nɔ́, yu pút=an

2sg can take now one one small cup intj 2sg put=3sg.obj

na fáya, ínsay di pɔ́t.

loc fire inside def pot

‘Now you can take, a, a small cup, right, you put it on the fire, inside

the pot.’ [dj03do 051]

### Perfective and imperfective aspect

The Pichi system of aspect marking represents a typologically widespread type in which the expression of perfective and imperfective aspect is not fully symmetrical (Dahl 1985:69–102). The system features a general imperfective aspect marker de. Its function is to suppress the inherent boundaries of a situation (Breu 1985; Sasse 1991b; 1991a). Although Pichi has other markers that encode imperfective notions (e.g. kin ‘hab’), the marker de ‘ipfv’ alone may cover their functions, as well as those of others generally associated with the imperfective domain (e.g. future tense).

At the same time, the expression of perfective aspect is less uniform. On the one hand, perfective aspect is covered by factative TMA for dynamic verbs. Factative marking activates the inherent boundaries of dynamic verbs and thereby expresses perfective aspect by default. However, factative marked (inchoative-)stative verbs do not receive the corresponding perfective reading of entry-into-state by default. Instead, factative marking with stative verbs yields an imperfective reading, namely present or ongoing state, while inchoative-stative verbs are not automatically interpreted with an entry-into-state meaning either.

The narrative perfective marker kán ‘pfv’, rather than factative TMA, is therefore a better candidate for the expression of perfective meanings. As shown in section 6.3.3, the use of kán ‘pfv’ yields typically perfective meanings with all lexical aspect classes. The difference between the marking of dynamic verbs with perfective aspect by factative TMA and by narrative perfective aspect emerges most clearly in their uses in narrative discourse (cf. section 6.8).

Elements like the perfect marker dɔ́n and its negative counterpart nɛ́a, as well as ingressive, egressive and completive aspect auxiliaries also express various perfective readings. The following table provides an overview of the formal means of core perfective and imperfective marking and their readings in the three lexical aspect classes. The default tense interpretation of each aspect reading is provided in parentheses (prs = present tense, pst = past tense):

Table 6.5 Perfective and imperfective readings according to lexical aspect class

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Stative verbs | Inchoative-stative verbs | Dynamic verbs |
| Factative | Stative (prs) | Stative (prs), inchoative (pst) | Bounded (pst) |
| kán ‘pfv’ | Inchoative (pst) | Inchoative (pst) | Bounded (pst) |
| de ‘ipfv’ | ― | Inchoative (prs) | Progressive (prs), continuative (prs), habitual (prs), future, hypothetical, non-finiteness |

### Narrative perfective

The marker kán ‘pfv’ expresses narrative perfective aspect (cf. Jaggar 2006). It encodes perfective aspect and consequently, past tense by default. Kán ‘pfv’ occurs in salient [+high] foreground sequences of narrative discourse, while factative perfective marking is employed for less salient [-high] foreground sequences (cf. 6.8.1). The narrative perfective marker therefore shares its functional space with factative TMA, and hence falls short of functioning as a general perfective marker. Although kán ‘pfv’ is homophonous with its lexical source verb kán ‘come’, there is no restriction on its co-occurrence with directional verbs, such as gó ‘go’ (323) or kán ‘come’ (324):

(323) Dán mán e bin kán gó na jél lɔ́n tɛ́n.

that man 3sg.sbj pst pfv go loc jail long time

‘That man went to jail a long time ago.’ [ma03sh 015]

(324) E gí di papá di pikín, kɔmɔ́t, e kán

3sg.sbj give def father def child go.out 3sg.sbj pfv

kán na Malábo.

come loc place

‘She gave her child to the father, left, (and then) she came to Malabo.’ [ed03sb 036]

The marker kán ‘pfv’ is largely specialised to use in the foregrounded main line of narrative discourse. Here, it usually marks consecutive and bounded events denoted by dynamic verbs. In this function, the narrative perfective overlaps with perfective marking via factative TMA. But contrary to the latter, narrative perfective marking is employed in foregrounded sequences containing particularly salient, important information. Kán is preferred to factative perfective marking when new events unfold. In that, kán serves to highlight and focus the event denoted by the verb it refers to.

The three sentences below are an excerpt from a personal narrative. The speaker relates how she went to stay with her paternal uncle during a critical illness. This new information is provided in clauses (325)(a) and (b), and the relevant verbs (gó ‘go’ and dé ‘be.loc’) are marked by narrative perfective. In (c), the speaker reverts to factative TMA because the sentence now contains given information. Note that the same stative verb dé ‘be.loc’, which occurs with narrative perfective marking in the foregrounded sentence (b), appears with factative TMA in the backgrounded sentence in (c):

(325) a. A kán gó na mi ɔnkúl in papá in lét brɔ́da.

1sg.sbj pfv go loc 1sg.poss uncle 3sg.poss father 3sg.poss late brother

‘I went to my uncle’s father’s late brother.’ [ab03ay 098]

b. Mi lét papá in brɔ́da, a kán dé na in hós.

1sg.poss late father 3sg.poss brother 1sg.sbj pfv be.loc loc 3sg.poss house

‘My late father’s brother, I came to be in his house.’ [ab03ay 099]

c. Na dé a dé wán hía a nó fít dú nó nátin.

foc there 1sg.sbj be.loc one year 1sg.sbj neg can do neg nothing

‘It’s there that I was (for) one year, I couldn’t do anything at all.’ [ab03ay 100]

The narrative perfective marker kán, even though specialised to narrative discourse, is a typical perfective marker (cf. Table 6.5). Irrespective of the lexical class of the verb, kán always activates the potential boundaries of a situation. With dynamic verbs, the situation is bounded and seen as a whole, hence past tense by default (cf. (325) above). The consistent meaning associated with the narrative perfective marker kán ‘pfv’ therefore contrasts with diametrically opposed meanings that arise through factative TMA marking with stative and dynamic verbs respectively.

The use of kán with stative (cf. dé ‘be.loc’ in (325)(b) above) and inchoative-stative verbs (cf. (326) below) activates the initial boundary of the situation and focuses the ensuing state. Hence, it yields an inchoative (entry-into-state) meaning with a past tense interpretation in relation to event time. The different meanings that arise when a stative verb like *lɛ́k* ‘like; love’ is marked for perfective aspect and for factative aspect respectively, is shown by comparison of (327) and (335) further below.

(326) Pero ɛf di tín kán bɔkú mɔ́ pás di watá,

but if def thing pfv much more pass def water

e go lɛ́f wán pasta.

3sg.sbj pot leave one paste

‘But if the thing has become more than the water, a paste will remain.’ [dj03do 059]

(327) E kán lɛ́k ɔ́da húman.

3sg.sbj pfv like other woman

‘(Then) he fell in love with another woman.’ [ma03ni 022]

Like factative TMA, the narrative perfective is sometimes employed, albeit rarely, in contexts other than aspect taxis. In (328), kán appears in the if-clause of a past conditional (cf. also (320)). Maybe this usage reflects a tendency for kán to extend its function even further to that of a generalised perfective marker:

(328) Ɛf yu bin kán bigín lás semana, yu bin fɔ dɔ́n fínis tidé.

if 2sg pst pfv begin last week 2sg pst cond prf finish today

‘If you had begun last week, you would have finished by today.’ [dj05ae 057]

### Imperfective

The general imperfective marker de ‘ipfv’ encodes various aspectual readings associated with the imperfective domain (cf. Table 6.5). Imperfective marking may express progressive aspect with dynamic verbs and present tense by default. Compare smɛ́l ‘smell’ and kúk ‘cook’ in (329):

(329) A de smɛ́l di sɛ́nt fɔ lɛk háw e de kúk plantí.

1sg.sbj ipfv smell def scent prep like how 3sg.sbj ipfv cook plantain

‘I smell the scent of him cooking plantain.’ [dj05ae 025]

Context may force a habitual interpretation on imperfective marked dynamic verbs. In (330), the habitual reading of chɔ́p ‘eat’ is signalled through the presence of the time adverbial ɛ́ni dé ‘every day’:

(330) Ɛ́ni dé dɛn de chɔ́p rɛ́s, ɛ́ni dé.

every day 3pl ipfv eat rice every day

‘Every day they eat rice, every day.’ [ed03sp 117]

Certain human propensities and body states that may potentially be conceived as stative are expressed as dynamic verbs in Pichi. These include property items such krés ‘be crazy’ and sík ‘be sick’ (cf. 5.2.1 and 7.6.5 for more details). These verbs also take imperfective marking when progressive, continuous, or habitual aspect is to be expressed:

(331) Yu de krés.

2sg ipfv be.crazy

‘You are crazy.’ [ro05ee 038]

(332) E de sík malérya.

3sg.sbj ipfv sick malaria

‘He is sick with malaria.’ [dj05be 091]

The imperfective marker does not normally co-occur with stative verbs. Yet de ‘ipfv’ is sometimes found with non-dynamic verbs. In (333) and (334) the inchoative-stative verb gɛ́t ‘get; have’ and the stative verb lɛ́k ‘like’ take the imperfective marker without acquiring an inchoative sense. This usage appears limited to modal verbs and verbs of possession like the following two:

(333) Áfta dɛn de gɛ́t fisionomía fɔ, fɔ Áfrika dɛn.

then 3pl ipfv get physiognomy prep prep Africa pl

‘Then they have the physiognomy of, of Africans.’ [ed03sp 031]

(334) A nó, a nó de lɛ́k=an mɔ́, nó.

1sg.sbj neg 1sg.sbj neg ipfv like=3sg.obj more neg

‘I don’t, I don’t love him any longer, no.’ [ma03ni 037]

The conventional way of expressing imperfective aspect with (inchoative-)stative verbs is, however, by way of factative TMA. In (335) the stative verb lɛ́k ‘like’ remains unmarked, hence is imperfective by default:

(335) Dɛn nó lɛ́k pɔ́sin, dɛn tú badhát.

3pl neg like person 3pl too be.mean

‘They don’t like people, they’re too mean.’ [ma03hm 012]

In contrast, de ‘ipfv’ is regularly made use of with most inchoative-stative verbs in order to express an inchoative reading with a present tense interpretation in relation to event time. Compare the following two examples, as well as (371) below:

(336) In mɔní de bɔkú.

3sg.poss money ipfv be.much

‘Her money is getting more.’ [ro05ee 047]

(337) In mɔní de smɔ́l.

3sg.poss money ipfv be.small

‘His money is getting less.’ [ro05ee 048]

Besides its use for expressing aspectual relations, the functions of de reach into the domain of modality and overlap with those of the potential marker go ‘pot’. The imperfective marker may express future tense in combination with an appropriate time adverbial (338). It can also express conditional modality in then-clauses and hypothetical statements contingent upon inferred conditions (339):

(338) A de lɛ́f na Lubá sóté di nɛ́ks wík.

1sg.sbj ipfv remain loc place until def next week

‘I’m staying in Luba until next week.’ [dj05ce 014]

(339) A de ték mi pikín gó na hospital claro.

1sg.sbj ipfv take 1sg.poss child go loc hospital clear

‘I would take my child to hospital, of course.’ [hi03cb 140]

We also encounter the imperfective marker in environments characterised by reduced finiteness. Thus, de optionally intervenes between certain aspectual auxiliaries (cf. 6.4.1) and modal verbs and the verbs that follow them (cf. 10.5.3 for more details). Compare the following modal verbs gɛ́fɔ ‘have to’ (340) and wánt ‘want’ (341):

(340) Yu gɛ́fɔ de tɔ́n=an.

2sg have.to ipfv turn=3sg.obj

‘You need to be stirring it.’ [dj03do 057]

(341) Yu wánt de gó?

2sg want ipfv go

‘Do you want to go?’ [nn07fn 227]

### Habitual

The central function of the marker kin ‘hab’ is to express the imperfective reading of habitual aspect. Next to that, kin is also employed to express iterative aspect (cf. 6.3.6), and it marginally functions as a modal verb of ability (cf. (411)). The marker either appears alone in preverbal position (342) or is optionally followed by the imperfective marker de if the reference verb is dynamic (343). There is no discernible semantic difference between *kin* and *kin de*. The optional co-occurrence of the two can be seen as a form of aspectual harmony or mutual reinforcement:

(342) E tɛ́l mí sé ‘wi kin mítɔp ínsay wán motó’.

3sg.sbj tell 1sg.indp quot 1pl hab meet inside one car

‘He told me (that) “we would meet inside a car.”‘ [ro05rt 019]

(343) Nit na in éks dɛn wé e kin de pút.

nit foc 3sg.poss egg pl sub 3sg.sbj hab ipfv put

‘The nits are the eggs that it lays.’ [ye05ce 293]

Since stative verbs are not normally marked by means of de ‘ipfv’, an important function of kin ‘hab’ is therefore to overtly mark stative verbs for habitual aspect. The habitual marker is therefore compatible with all lexical aspect classes. When used with (inchoative-)stative verbs, kin may additionally emphasise the habitual nature of the situation. Examples follow with the stative copula dé ‘be.loc’ (344) and the inchoative-stative verb nó ‘(get to) know’ (345):

(344) Sé ús=tín kin dé ínsay dé?

quot q=thing hab be.loc inside there

‘(She) said “what is usually in there?”‘ [ed03sb 052]

(345) Dɛn nó kin nó sɛ́f.

3pl neg hab know emp

‘They didn’t even use to know.’ [bo03cb 118]

The habitual marker is also employed in generic statements, such as the following one:

(346) Dɔ́g kin bɛ́t.

dog hab bite

‘Dogs bite.’ [dj07ae 371]

The habitual marker does not co-occur with the tense marker bin ‘pst’ or the potential mood and future tense marker go ‘pot’. Like the imperfective marker de ‘ipfv’, kin ‘hab’ is itself unspecified for tense. Accordingly, sentence (345) above is translated as past habitual, because the time frame of the corresponding discourse context suggests so.

### Iterative

The reduplication of dynamic verbs yields the imperfective reading of iterative aspect when the reduplicated verb serves as the predicate of a clause. I refer the reader to section 4.5.1 for a detailed treatment of the phonology, morphosyntax, and semantics of reduplication.

Sentence (347) shows a typical context in which an iterative reading of reduplication arises. The reduplicated verb is accompanied by imperfective marking and co-occurs with the plural count noun object nɔ́mba dɛn ‘numbers’:

(347) Wétin yu **de chench-chénch** nɔ́mba dɛn só?

what 2sg ipfv red.cpd-change number pl like.that

‘Why do you constantly change (telephone) numbers like that?’ [ye03cd 131]

In a small number of cases in the corpus, the habitual marker kin also expresses iterative aspect by itself without additional reduplication. The speaker in the two consecutive sentences in (348) narrates how she repeatedly felt the temperature of her sick grandchild:

(348) a. Wé a kin mék só, a nó de fíl hɔ́t.

sub 1sg.sbj hab make like.that 1sg.sbj neg ipfv feel heat

‘Anytime I would do like this, I wouldn’t feel heat.’ [ab03ab 065]

b. Pero wé a kin tɔ́ch in fút, in hán dé,

but sub 1sg.sbj hab touch 3sg.poss foot 3sg.poss hand there

na só dɛn [kó:::l].

foc like.that 3pl be.cold.emp

‘When I would touch his leg, his hand there, that’s how terribly cold they were.’

[ab03ab 066]

## Aspectual auxiliaries

A specific set of verbs and adverbs function as auxiliaries in constructions that express aspectual notions. These constructions involve the verbs bigín ‘begin’ (ingressive), kɔmɔ́t ‘go out’ (egressive), fínis ‘finish’ (completive), wánt ‘want’ (prospective), and the Spanish-origin verb sigue ‘continue’ (continuative). The expression of egressive and continuative aspect may also involve the preverbal adverbs jɔ́s/jís ‘just’ and stíl ‘still’, either in conjunction with the corresponding auxiliary verbs or alone.

These auxiliary verbs function as main verbs to complement verbs that are, in turn, specified for an aspect reading by the auxiliary verb. I analyse these aspectual (and modal, cf. 6.7.1) structures as involving complementation rather than verb serialisation. This is because the imperfective marker de may optionally intervene between the main and complement verb in some of these structures (cf. 10.5.1). When this the case, *de* ‘ipfv’ functions as a complementiser while emphasising the continuous nature of the situation denoted by the complement verb. The following table provides an overview of the functions of aspectual auxiliaries. Optional elements are in parentheses:

Table 6.6 Functions of aspectual auxiliaries

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Aspect reading | Auxiliary | Translation |
| Ingressive | bigín (de) | ‘begin’ |
| Egressive | (jís/jɔ́s) kɔmɔ́t | ‘just have’ |
|  | jís/jɔ́s | ‘just’ |
| Completive | fínis | ‘finish’ |
| Continuative | (stíl) sigue | ‘continue’ |
|  | stíl (de) | ‘still’ |
| Prospective | wánt (de) | ‘be about to’ |

Not included in the table are constructions involving the verbs sté ‘stay’ and lás ‘end up’. These verbs participate in adverbial SVCs with a certain degree of aspectual meaning (cf. 11.2.5). However, these constructions are more specialised in their meaning and not as grammaticalised to warrant being seen as aspectual auxiliaries in the same way as the ones covered in this section.

### Ingressive

The aspectual verb verb bigín ‘begin’ expresses ingressive aspect. The function of bigín as a transitive dynamic verb is exemplified in (349), where it is followed by the object NP di wók ‘def work’ = ‘the work’:

(349) A bigín di wók wé yu dɔ́n gó.

1sg.sbj begin def work sub 2sg prf go

‘I began the work when you had gone.’ [ro05de 024]

Ingressive aspect highlights the crossing of the initial boundary of a situation (350). When employed as an aspectual auxiliary, bigín may be immediately followed by a lexical verb (350) or optionally be followed by the imperfective marker de (351), which stresses the continuous or extended nature of the transition to the situation denoted by the lexical verb:

(350) A bigín gó skúl.

1sg.sbj begin go school

‘I began going to school.’ [fr03ft 018]

(351) A bigín de lás, a de kɔ́stɔn.

1sg.sbj begin ipfv endure 1sg.sbj ipfv get.used

‘I began enduring (it), I was getting used (to it).’ [ed03sp 110]

The auxiliary bigín itself can be marked by tense-aspect markers like any other dynamic verb. In (352), bigín cooccurs with the narrative perfective aspect marker kán ‘pfv’. The auxiliary bigín is not attested with stative verbs. But it may combine with inchoative-stative verbs, in order to highlight the entry-into-state meaning of verbs from this lexical aspect class (353):

(352) Dɛn kán bigín kɔ́l mí Francisca.

3pl pfv begin call 1sg.indp name

‘They began to call me Francisca.’ [fr03ft 095]

(353) Wi bigín de nó wi sɛ́f.

1pl begin ipfv know 1pl self

‘We began to get to know each other.’ [ye07fn 019]

### Egressive

The verb kɔmɔ́t expresses egressive aspect. The egressive highlights the crossing of the terminal boundary of the situation described by the verb. This auxiliary construction is not attested with stative verbs. The egressive aspect neither carries a connotation of completion like the completive, nor does it establish a relation to reference time like the perfect. The auxiliary kɔmɔ́t may optionally be preceded by the preverbal adverb jís/jɔ́s ‘just’ and is immediately followed by the complement verb.

(354) E tɛ́l mí sé dán papá wé e jɔ́s kɔmɔ́t

3sg.sbj tell 1sg.indp quot that father sub 3sg.sbj just come.out

cobra in mɔní fɔ cacao, salút=an!

receive 3sg.poss money prep cocoa greet=3sg.obj

‘He said to me “that elderly man that just received the money for his cocoa,

greet him!”’ [ed03sb 196]

The verb kɔmɔ́t has various meanings ranging from more lexical to more grammatical (cf. e.g. uses as a copula verb in 7.6.2 and as a directional verb in motion-direction SVCs in 11.2.1). In the following sentence, kɔmɔ́t is used with its presumably focal spatial meaning of ‘go/come out’:

(355) Di gɛ́l kán kɔmɔ́t dé.

def girl pfv go.out there

‘The girl left there [that place].’ [ed03sb 030]

In other instances, the meaning of kɔmɔ́t is intermediary between a spatial and a more grammatical sense. In (356), it is the presence of the locative question word ús=sáy ‘where’ that creates ambiguity between the literal and the egressive senses of kɔmɔ́t. In sentence (357), semantic ambiguity is produced by the presence of wók which may mean ‘work’ (the noun) or ‘to work’ (the verb). If the former translation is preferred, wók is analysed as the (source) object of kɔmɔ́t. With the latter translation wók is a complement verb:

(356) Ús=sáy yu kɔmɔ́t chák só?

q=side 2sg come.out get.drunk like.that

‘Where do you come from drunk like this?’ [ye07fn 126]

The verb kɔmɔ́t may co-occur with any TMA marker compatible with its status as a dynamic verb. Compare its appearance with the habitual marker kin ‘hab’ in (357):

(357) Wé e kin kɔmɔ́t wók, a kin

sub 3sg.sbj hab come.out work 1sg.sbj hab

mék=an so, lɛk háw mún fínis.

make=3sg.obj like.that like how month finish

‘When he comes from work/ when he has barely finished working, I do like

this to him [stretches out hand], as soon as the month is over.’ [ro05rt 042]

The synonymous and equally common adverbials jís and jɔ́s can express an egressive notion by themselves when they appear in the preverbal adverb position (358), and thereby be functionally equivalent to egressive kɔmɔ́t. The adverb jís/jɔ́s may be preceded by a TMA marker and be followed by the lexical verb that it modifies. Note the occurrence of resumptive imperfective marking in (359) (cf. also (98):

(358) A jɔ́s báy sɔn.

1sg.sbj just buy some

‘I just bought some.’ [ma03hm 072]

(359) Náw dɛn de jís de kán.

now 3pl ipfv just ipfv come

‘Now they’re just coming.’ [ye07je 179]

I analyse jís/jɔ́s as an adverb rather than a preverbal TMA marker or a verb since it occasionally also occurs in the sentence-initial adverbial position with no difference in meaning (360). The adverb jís/jɔ́s is also used with no temporal meaning at all (361):

(360) Jɔ́s e kɔmɔ́t na Baney (...)

just 3sg.sbj come.out loc place

‘She had just left Baney (...)’ [ab03ay 079]

(361) Yu nó gɛ́fɔ pút=an fɔ plástik yu jɔ́s gó

2sg neg have.to put=3sg.obj prep plastic 2sg just go

na bús yu trowé=an.

loc forest 2sg throw=3sg.obj

‘You don’t have to put it into a plastic (bag), you just go to the

forest and throw it away.’ [hi03cb 034]

### Completive

The verb fínis ‘finish’ expresses completive aspect. The use of fínis as a lexical verb with the meaning ‘finish’ is exemplified in (362):

(362) Bɔt dá mɔní de fínis kwík.

but that money ipfv finish quickly

‘But that money used to finish quickly.’ [ed03sp 088]

The completive indicates the crossing of the terminal boundary of a situation and adds the nuance of completion. Compare (363):

(363) E fínis bɛ́n di písis fáyn.

3sg.sbj finish bend def piece.of.cloth fine

‘She has finished folding the piece of cloth real nice.’ [li07pe 043]

The completive may signal a thorough consumption of the subject by the situation (364). This is particularly so when fínis co-occurs with the perfect marker dɔ́n or with the emphatic imperfective dɔ́n de ‘pfv ipfv’:

(364) Náw a dɔ́n de fínis sém fɔ wɛ́r dán sús,

now 1sg.sbj prf ipfv finish be.ashamed prep wear that shoe

ɛf a bin nó a fɔ kɛ́r ɔ́da sús.

if 1sg.sbj pst know 1sg.sbj cond carry other shoes

‘Now I am really ashamed to be wearing those shoes, if I had known I would have

brought other shoes.’ [ma03hm 021]

The completive auxiliary fínis ‘finish’ also co-occurs with the narrative perfective marker kán:

(365) Di prɔ́blɛm dɛn dɔ́n tú mɔ́ch, kán fínis tɛ́l= àn sé ‘lɛ́f’.

def problem pl prf too much pfv finish tell=3sg.obj quot leave

‘The problems had become too much, (I) then finally told him “leave”.’ [ma0313ni 035]

### Continuative

The Spanish-origin dynamic verb sigue ‘continue’ expresses continuative aspect. The continuative construction is usually encountered with dynamic verbs and inchoative-stative verbs with inherently more dynamic meanings (i.e. with change-of-state verbs but not with property items):

(366) A sigue plé bɔ́l sóté ívin tɛ́n.

1sg.sbj continue play ball until evening time

‘I continued playing ball until the evening.’ [be07fn 189]

Alternatively, the preverbal temporal adverb stíl ‘still’ may function as an auxiliary in its own right to express continuative aspect. Contrary to sigue, the adverb stíl is also found to modify stative verbs like the copula dé in (367):

(367) Mi gran-má wet mi gran-pá wé

1sg.poss grand-ma with 1sg.poss grand-pa sub

dɛn stíl dé láyf, dɛn-ɔ́l dɛn dé na Panyá.

3pl still be.loc life 3pl.cpd-all 3pl be.loc foc Spain

‘My grandmother and my grandfather, when they were still alive,

they were all in Spain.’ [fr03ft 038]

When stíl co-occurs with a dynamic verb, the verb is normally marked for imperfective aspect (368):

(368) Ɛf yu stíl de smók, yu go sík.

if 2sg still ipfv smoke 2sg pot sick

‘If you continue smoking, you’ll be sick.’ [ro05ee 041]

A negative continuative meaning is generally expressed by means of discontinous negation involving the degree and temporal adverb mɔ́ ‘again; more’ as in (369):

(369) E nó dé mɔ́.

3sg.sbj neg be.loc more

‘He’s no longer (here/there).’ [ye03cd 155]

Like the preverbal adverb jís ‘just’ (cf. 6.4.2), stíl may also be preceded by TMA markers. Also like the former adverb, the latter appears with resumptive imperfective marking (370):

(370) E de stíl de wáka.

3sg.sbj ipfv still ipfv walk

‘He’s still walking.’ [dj05ae 050]

A gradual and inherently comparative nuance of the continuative aspect can be expressed by employing the quantifying adverb mɔ́-ɛn-mɔ́ ‘more and more’ (371):

(371) Dís bɔ́y, ɛ́ni dé e de fáyn mɔ́-ɛn-mɔ́.

this boy every day 3sg.sbj ipfv be.fine more-and-more

‘This boy, everyday he is getting more handsome.’ [ro05ee 046]

### Prospective

The lexical verb wánt ‘want’ participates in an auxiliary construction that expressess “prospective aspect” (Comrie 1976:64–65), also referred to as “proximative” (Heine 1994:36). The prospective aspect denotes imminence of a situation:

(372) Layk háw dɛn wánt kɛ́r yu na hospital

like how 3pl want carry 2sg loc hospital

yu dɔ́n dáy.

2sg prf die

‘As they’re about to carry you to hospital, you’re already dead.’ [ed03sb 100]

The modal readings of desire and intention (cf. 6.7.2.2) and the aspectual reading of prospective are related in their meanings. Hence the difference between modal and prospective wánt is not always clear-cut.

For example, (373) is uttered when the speaker looks at a photograph of a father and his daughter, who is very tall for her young age. A desire reading of wánt as ‘want to’ is conceivable if lɔ́n ‘be long; tall’ is seen as a property that can be controlled by the speaker (even if humorously). However, a prospective reading denoting imminence appears more reasonable. Note that the prospective aspect reading of wánt triggers an imminent entry-into-state interpretation of the inchoative-stative verb lɔ́n ‘be long; tall’:

(373) E wɔ́nt lɔ́n lɛkɛ in papá.

3sg.sbj want be.long like 3sg.poss father

‘She’s about to become as tall as her father.’ [ma03fn 003]

## Tense

The tense system of Pichi is relational, and in principle, bipartite. There is only one form – the past marker bin ‘pst’ – which has the focal function of a tense marker. Past tense can be expressed by means of bin ‘pst’ with any verb irrespective of its lexical aspect. Next to the past marker, the narrative perfective marker kán ‘pfv’, factative marking and other perfective aspectual readings (i.e. perfect, egressive, and completive) express past tense by default.

In contrast, there is no single form to mark non-past tense. Non-past marking is taken care of by a variety of means, none of which exclusively serves the expression of tense. Hence, the potential mood marker go and the imperfective marker de express future tense next to their respective modal and aspectual functions. Present tense arises by default through imperfective marking, either via factative TMA with (inchoative-)stative verbs, or through overt marking by markers that express imperfective readings (i.e. de ‘ipfv’ and kin ‘hab’).

Table 6.7 summarises the overt and default basic tense readings that arise through the use of core TMA marking with the three lexical aspect classes. Non-basic, mixed tense-aspect readings (i.e. past/future perfect, past/future progressive) are taken up in the relevant sections (cf. also Table 6.5):

Table 6.7 Overt and default tense marking

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Class/Tense | Past-before-past | Past | Present | Future |
| Stative | bin ‘pst’ | bin ‘pst’, kán ‘pfv’, dɔ́n ‘prf’ | kin ‘hab’, factative | go ‘pot’ |
| Inchoative-stative | bin ‘pst’ | bin ‘pst’, kán ‘pfv’, dɔ́n ‘prf’, factative | kin ‘hab’, de ‘ipfv’, factative | go ‘pot’, de ‘ipfv’ |
| Dynamic | bin ‘pst’ | bin ‘pst’, kán ‘pfv’, dɔ́n ‘prf’, factative | de ‘ipfv’, kin ‘hab’ | go ‘pot’, de ‘ipfv’ |

The following sections provide an overview of the general characteristics of tense marking in Pichi (6.5.1) as well as the expression of past (6.5.2), present (6.5.3), and future tense (6.5.4). The potential mood and future tense marker go is covered in 6.7.4.1 in the section on modality. In order to do justice to the workings of relative tense in Pichi (cf. 6.5.1), I use the labels “anterior”, “simultaneous”, and “posterior” interchangeably with “past”, “present”, and “future”, respectively, where necessary.

### Relational tense

Tense is relational (or “relative”) in Pichi. Overt or default tense is assigned in relation to “event time” (Chung & Timberlake 1985) rather than speech time. Relational tense manifests itself in two ways. Firstly, in complex sentences, a subordinate clause is assigned tense in relation to the tense value of the main clause, and there is no need for corresponding overt tense or mood marking in the subordinate clause. Hence, there is no *consecutio temporum* in Pichi.

In (374), the main clause is marked for past tense by bin ‘pst’. The subordinate clause (which begins with wé ‘sub’), although simultaneous with the main clause, is not also marked for past. Instead, the factative marked stative verb dé ‘be.loc’ is assigned present tense by default, hence it is interpreted as simultaneous to the main clause verb sí ‘see’:

(374) A nó bin sí mi gran-má wé e dé láyf.

1sg.sbj neg pst see 1sg.poss grand-ma sub 3sg.sbj be.loc life

‘I didn’t see my grandmother while she was alive.’ [ro05ee 147]

In (375), the main clause is also marked for past tense. This time, the subordinate clause (which begins with sé ‘quot’) is posterior to the main clause. Posteriority is expressed via the use of the potential marker go. Yet there is no additional past tense marking in the subordinate clause, and indeed, it would be ungrammatical. This in spite of the fact that both the main clause and the subordinate clause are set in the past from the vantage point of the speaker. Hence, the event in the main clause, not speech time, is the reference point for the tense assignment of the subordinate clause:

(375) A bin chɛ́k sé rén go fɔ́l.

1sg.sbj pst check quot rain pot rain

‘I thought it might rain.’ [ma03hm 022]

A second manifestation of relational tense in Pichi is the absence of explicit tense marking whenever context offers enough information on tense anchoring. Contextual information may be provided by time adverbials as in (376). Here, yɛ́stadé náyt ‘yesterday night’ anchors time reference in the past. Consequently, the imperfective marked verb kɔ́l ‘call’ receives a present tense/simultaneous interpretation in relation to past tense anchoring. Further marking by bin is unnecessary, although possible (cf. 6.5.2):

(376) Yɛ́stadé náyt wé a de kɔ́l yú, yɛ́stadé náyt,

yesterday night sub 1sg.sbj ipfv call 2sg.indp yesterday night

nɔ́ dís mɔ́nin náw.

neg this morning now

‘Yesterday night, when I was calling you, yesterday night,

no this morning.’ [hi03cb 083]

In (377), past tense reference is established through the adverbial wán ívin tɛ́n ‘one evening’ and the factative marked, perfective, hence past tense dynamic verbs kɔmɔ́t ‘go out’ and gó ‘go’. The imperfective marked verb rích ‘arrive’ in the subsequent clause remains unspecified for tense and receives a simultaneous reading, once more in relation to the past tense anchoring provided by the preceding adverbial and factative-marked dynamic verbs:

(377) Wán ívin tɛ́n a kɔmɔ́t mɔ́, a gó wáka,

one evening time 1sg.sbj go.out more 1sg.sbj go walk

wé a de rích na hós, hía Djunais (...)

sub 1sg.sbj ipfv reach loc house hear name

‘One evening, I went out again, I went for a stroll, when I was arriving

at the house, [I] hear Djunais [say that…].’ [ro05rt 001]

### Past

Two types of past tense expression exist in Pichi. The principal means of expressing past tense by default are factative marking (cf. e.g. (314)) and the use of the narrative perfective marker kán ‘pfv’ (cf. (323)–(324)). With (inchoative-)stative verbs, factative TMA gives rise to present tense reference by default. This is illustrated in (378) with the stative verb fíba ‘resemble’ and the inchoative-stative verbs lɛ́k ‘like’ and sabí ‘(get to) know’ in (378).

(378) Mí nó sabí, e fíba sé e nó lɛ́k

1sg.indp neg know 3sg.sbj seem quot 3sg.sbj neg like

tín dɛn fɔ súp.

thing pl prep soup

‘I [emp] don’t know, it seems that she doesn’t like soupy things.’ [ma03hm 059]

If, on the contrary, pragmatic context suggests an inchoative reading of inchoative-stative verbs, a past tense interpretation is also possible. The change-of-state verb brók ‘break; be broken‘ has factative TMA in the following example. Without contextual information the clause e brók could mean either ‘it broke’ or ‘it is broken’. However, in this example, factative past tense marking on the preceding dynamic verbs ték ‘take’ and nák ‘hit’ only allows the first translation of di plét brók:

(379) E ték di háma, e nák ɔntɔ́p di tébul,

3sg.sbj take def hammer 3sg.sbj hit on def table

di plét brók.

def plate break

‘She took the hammer, she hit [it] on the table, (and) the plate broke.’ [ra07se 023]

Factative-marked stative verbs have a default present tense reference in relation to event time. Hence past tense reference can only be established for stative verbs by means of explicit past tense marking (i.e. via bin ‘pst’) or by means of contextual cues in the clause. In (380), the time adverbial dán tɛ́n ‘that time’ anchors time reference in the past, so the stative copula dé is interpreted as simultaneous to this tense anchor:

(380) Dán tɛ́n a dé fáyn.

that time 1sg.sbj be.loc fine

‘That time, I was fine.’ [ru03wt 024]

Secondly, past tense may be explicitly marked by means of the past marker bin ‘pst’, which encodes relational past tense. Bin is not obligatory in clauses with past reference. Instead, its use depends on discourse-pragmatic factors. The past marker is generally employed in temporally remote, backgrounded, orienting, and supportive sections of narratives. In this function, bin ‘pst’ is diametrically opposed to the narrative perfective marker kán ‘pfv’. It should therefore come as no surprise that bin has a default imperfective reading next to its function as a past tense marker. Consider sentence (381):

(381) Mí bin dé dé, a bin 1mék dásɔl, dís,

1sg.indp pst be.loc there 1sg.sbj pst make only this

a de 2mék fínga dɛn, manicura.

1sg.sbj ipfv make finger pl manicure

‘(As for) me, (when) I was there, I only made, this,

I used to make fingers, manicure.’ [ma03hm 055]

Sentence (381) above is part of an orienting section of a narrative and provides background information to a story. The stative copula dé and the first dynamic verb (marked by superscript as *1*mek ‘make’) are overtly marked for past tense with bin. Once the use of bin with these two verbs has anchored the sentence (and in fact, the entire following narrative) in the past, overt past tense marking is unnecessary with subsequent verbs as is the case with the second dynamic verb (marked by superscript as 2mek in (381)).

The fact that bin also incorporates imperfective aspect transpires in the TMA marking choices of the sentence. All three verbs denote situations simultaneous to each other, an aspect relation that usually requires imperfective marking with dynamic verbs. However, *1*mek is only marked for past tense with bin, whereas 2mek, which is devoid of past tense marking, must be marked for imperfective aspect via de in order to express simultaneity of the situation.

While past reference may be established by factative TMA alone with dynamic verbs, overt past tense marking is often encountered with stative verbs where the occurrence of the unmarked form would give rise to ambiguity. In (382), wánt ‘want’ is explicitly marked for past tense by bin, because the unmarked form would favour a present tense, simultaneous reading. The same holds for the copula verb dé in (383):

(382) Mí dú=an fɔséko sé a bin wánt hɛ́lp=an.

1sg.indp do=3sg.obj due.to quot 1sg.sbj pst want help=3sg.obj

‘I [emp] did it because I wanted to help him.’ [ro05ee 069]

(383) A kán kɔmɔ́t na dán hós wé a bin dé.

1sg.sbj pfv go.out loc that house sub 1sg.sbj pst be.loc

‘I left that house where I had been.’ [ab03ay 097]

Bin can also express past-before-past tense when specifying a situation that is set in the past. In (384)(a), perfect marking with the dynamic verb dáy ‘die’ anchors time reference in the past. The subsequent clause (b) featuring the stative copula verb dé is marked for bin. Hence, the situation referred to by dé ‘be.loc’ is anterior to dáy ‘die’ in the preceding clause.

(384) a. Náw e dɔ́n dáy sɛ́f.

now 3sg.sbj prf die emp

‘Now he’s even dead.’ [ma03sh 016]

b. E bin dé na jél.

3sg.sbj pst be.loc loc jail

He had been to prison.’ [ma03sh 017]

Bin marks past-before-past in the same way in (385). Here, pás ‘pass’ in (b) is anterior to the past tense point of reference provided by sík ‘be sick’ in (a). In this example, we once more witness relational tense at work:

(385) a. Wán dé wán pikín bin de sík.

one day one child pst ipfv sick

‘One day a child was sick.’ [fr03cd 071]

b. A nó sabí ús=káyn tín bin pás.

1sg.sbj neg know q=kind thing pst pass

‘I don’t know what had happened.’ [fr03cd 072]

The past marker also plays an important role as a modal element. Bin is used as a conditional modality marker in the if- and then-clauses of past (counterfactual) conditionals (cf. 10.7.11).

### Present

Present tense is not expressed by means of elements specialised to this function. Instead, present tense reference is established by default through a variety of means. Bare stative verbs (cf. (315)) and in the appropriate context inchoative-stative verbs (316) are assigned present tense by default when marked for factative TMA. Present tense reference is also established with inchoative-stative verbs via the use of the imperfective aspect marker de (cf. (336)) and with both lexical aspect classes by the use of the habitual marker kin (cf. (344)–(345)). Dynamic verbs are assigned present tense by default when they appear with the imperfective marker de (cf. (329)) and the habitual aspect marker kin (cf. (342)).

### Future

Future tense may be expressed explicitly by means of the potential mood marker go ‘pot’. The marker can be used indiscriminately with stative (386), inchoative-stative (cf. máred ‘marry, be married’ in (390) below) and dynamic verbs (387):

(386) Mí go bí dɔ́kta.

1sg.indp pot be doctor

‘I’ll be doctor.’ [ro05ee 025]

(387) Ín go chɔ́p=an, e nó gɛ́t nó problema.

3sg.indp pot eat=3sg.obj 3sg.sbj neg get neg problem

‘He [emp] will/would eat it, he has no problem whatsoever

[with this kind of food].’ [ro05rt 066]

The expression of future tense is part of a field of interrelated mood and tense-marking functions (cf. 6.7.4.1). I assume that the expression of epistemic possibility is a central function of go, which is reflected in the gloss ‘pot’. Nevertheless, the function of go also leans strongly towards that of a future tense marker in certain contexts.

When a situation is set in a hypothetical frame, hence based on an inferred or explicit condition, the meaning of go is modal. When context provides no such frame, the meaning of go tilts towards a tense reading. This is particularly the case in the presence of time adverbials (e.g. tumɔ́ro ‘tomorrow’ in (388)) or where an intention of the speaker may be deduced from context (389):

(388) E go púl yú=an tumɔ́ro.

1sg.sbj pot pull 2sg.indp=3sg.obj tomorrow

‘He’ll tell it [the story] to you tomorrow.’ [ye07de 018]

(389) Lɛ́f=an, a go chɔ́p, áfta a go dríng.

leave=3sg.obj 1sg.sbj pot eat then 1sg.sbj pot drink

‘Leave it, I will eat, then I will drink.’ [ye03cd 080]

Relational tense marking in Pichi allows a future projection from a speaker’s vantage point in the past without the tense or mood change characteristic of *consecutio temporum* in languages with absolute tense systems. In (390), the verb in the main clause is marked for past tense. The verb in the subordinate clause introduced by sé ‘quot’ is marked for future, not future-in-the-past:

(390) A bin de chɛ́k sé a go máred.

1sg.sbj pst ipfv check quot 1sg.sbj pot marry

‘I was thinking that I would marry/get married.’ [fr03ft 165]

The marker go may also combine with de ‘ipfv’ to form a future imperfective, as in (391) below, and with dɔ́n ‘prf’ to form a future perfect (cf. e.g. (400)). Go may also precede any of the aspectual auxiliaries covered in section 6.4.

(391) Dɛn tɛ́l mí sé ɛf a pút=an,

3pl tell 1sg.indp quot if 1sg.sbj put=3sg.obj

a **go** **de** kéch Panya.

1sg.sbj pot ipfv catch Spain

‘The told me if I put it [the antenna], I will be receiving Spain.’ [ma0313ni 047]

Other elements that may express future tense notions are the imperfective marker de (cf. e.g. (338)) and the prospective auxiliary wánt (cf. e.g. (373).

## Perfect

The marker dɔ́n expresses the affirmative perfect, while the synonyms nɛ́a and nɔ́ba express negative perfect. The Pichi perfect is a hybrid category that expresses aspectual and temporal notions simultaneously. The perfect expresses the aspectual notion of completive aspect in combination with the temporal notion of relevance to event time.

The perfect is encountered with dynamic verbs, where it highlights the current relevance of the completed situation (392):

(392) Di aráta dɔ́n kɔmɔ́t ínsay di hól.

def rat prf come.out inside def hole

‘The rat has come out of the hole [it is outside now].’ [ro05ee 085]

The combination of perfect marking with an inchoative-stative verb usually yields a resultant state interpretation (393).

(393) Ɛ, dán bɔ́y dɔ́n kɔ́t ó.

intj that boy prf cut sp

‘Hey, that guy is badly cut.’ [dj05ce 226]

In combination with stative verbs, perfect marking may convey a sense of total affectation of the referent by the state. In (394), this sense is reinforced through the presence of the degree adverb bád ‘extremely’:

(394) Dán gál, e dɔ́n lɛ́k=an bád.

That girl 3sg.sbj prf like=3sg.obj extremely

‘That girl, he really loves her.’ [bo07fn 232]

Perfect marking is asymmetrical in Pichi. The marker dɔ́n ‘prf’ may not appear next to the negator nó ‘neg’. The negative affirmative marker is therefore in complementary distribution with the forms nɛ́a and nɔ́ba, which both function as negative perfect markers. Negative perfect marking often yields the meaning ‘not yet’:

(395) E de fɔgɛ́t sé Rubi nɔ́ba chɔ́p.

3sg.sbj ipfv forget quot name neg.prf eat

‘He forgets that Rubi has not yet eaten.’ [dj03cd 148]

The negative restriction on dɔ́n ‘pfv’ is suspended when it co-occurs with a tense or mood marker. In that case, the ordering rules applying to TMA markers forestall adjacency of the negator and the perfect marker. Examples follow with bin ‘pst’ (396) and go ‘pot’ (397):

(396) Ɛf e bin kán listin wí, e nó bin

if 3sg.sbj pst pfv listen 1pl.indp 3sg.sbj neg pst

fɔ dɔ́n dáy náw só.

prep prf die now like.that

‘If he had listened to us, he would not be dead now.’ [dj05ae 058]

(397) Mék yu nó kán a las cinco, dán tɛ́n a nó

sbjv 2sg neg come at the.pl five that time 1sg.sbj neg

go dɔ́n fínis.

pot prf finish

‘Don’t come at five o’clock, (at) that time I won’t have finished yet.’ [he07fn 276]

The clause-final adverbial yét ‘yet’ may reinforce the negative perfect without contributing additional meaning (398). A negated factative marked verb in conjunction with yét (398) can by itself be functionally very similar to the negative perfect expressed by nɛ́a/nɔ́ba:

(398) Yu sísta e nɛ́a máred yét?

2sg sister 3sg.sbj neg.prf marry yet

‘Your sister isn’t married yet?’ [dj05ce 066]

(399) E nó máred yét?

3sg.sbj neg marry yet

‘She isn’t married yet?’ [dj05ce 064]

The perfect marker dɔ́n may be cobined with other TMA markers. Compare the future perfect in (400) and the past perfect in (401):

(400) Las cuatro wi go dɔ́n dé dé, mí sɛ́f a wánt,

the.pl four 1pl pot prf be.loc there 1sg.indp emp 1sg.sbj want

a gɛ́fɔ gó na hós.

1sg.sbj have.to go loc house

‘At four o’clock we will already be there, I myself want, I have to go home.’ [ma 03ni 005]

(401) Di tín wé a bin dɔ́n fɔ́s sí wé a bin

def thing sub 1sg.sbj pst prf first see sub 1sg.sbj pst

dɔ́n tráy=an (...)

prf try=3sg.obj

‘The thing that I had first seen when I had tried it (...)’ [ed03sb 188]

With dynamic verbs, the combination of dɔ́n ‘prf’ with the imperfective aspect marker de renders a perfect progressive meaning. The combination of the notion of current relevance and progressivity in the marker sequence dɔ́n de ‘prf ipfv’ renders an emphatic imperfective with dynamic verbs. It signals that the situation designated by the verb is (already) in full course (402) or on the brink of unfolding (403). Note that the situation in (402) is set in the past, hence the sequence of the three TMA markers *bin dɔ́n de* in (402):

(402) Wé e **bin** dɔ́n de gó, e tɛ́l mí sé di tín wé

sub 3sg.sbj pst prf ipfv go 3sg.sbj tell 1sg.indp quot def thing sub

e fít gí mi, e wánt lɛ́f mi sɔn ríng.

3sg.sbj can give 1sg.indp 3sg.sbj want leave 1sg.indp some ring

‘When he was just about to go, he told me that the thing he could give me,

he wanted to leave me a ring.’ [ed03sb 193]

(403) Di bɔ́y dé dé e dɔ́n de dáy.

def boy be.loc there 3sg.sbj prf ipfv die

‘The boy is just there in his death throes.’ [ye03cd 075]

This perfect progressive sense is sometimes additionally reinforced by placing the marker sequence dɔ́n de before the completive auxiliary verb fínis ‘finish’:

(404) Náw a dɔ́n de fínis sém fɔ wɛ́r dán sús,

now 1sg.sbj prf ipfv finish be.ashamed prep wear that shoe

ɛf a bin nó a fɔ kɛ́r ɔ́da sús.

if 1sg.sbj pst know 1sg.sbj prep carry other shoe

‘Now I am completely ashamed to be wearing those shoes, if I had known

I would have brought another (pair of) shoes.’ [ma03hm 021]

Perfect marking plays an important role in narrative discourse. The marker dɔ́n appears in backgrounded, scene-setting and out-of-sequence discourse sections. Sentence (405) begins with an adverbial time clause. It provides background information to the subsequent main clause that is part of the foregrounded main line of the story:

(405) Wé a dɔ́n jɔ́ch dɛ́n, a sé tumɔ́ro sénwe

sub 1sg.sbj prf judge 3pl.indp 1sg.sbj quot tomorrow emp

a de gó mít in mán.

1sg.sbj ipfv go meet 3sg.poss man

‘When I had judged [scolded] them, I said tomorrow [emp]

I’m going to meet her husband. [ro05rt 023]

## Modality

The modal system of Pichi employs functional elements to express mood, and lexical words to express various types of modality. In my classification of modality into the dynamic, deontic, and epistemic categories, I rely on (Palmer 2001).

Pichi has two overtly marked major mood distinctions. The subjunctive mood is employed in the realm of deontic modality. The potential mood serves to express interrelated meanings in the domains of epistemic modality and tense. Two minor moods are the abilitive and obligative moods which are encoded in the preverbal elements kin ‘abl’ (which otherwise expresses habitual aspect) as well as mɔs ‘obl’ and fɔ ‘prep’. Aside from that, modal verbs and adverbials encode various types of modality. In the Pichi modal system, a number of TMA markers, rather than a single one, therefore share the semantic space of irrealis modality. Subjunctive–indicative and potential–factual are the most general and most systematically applied mood distinctions. Besides that, the imperfective aspect marker de, factative TMA, and the past marker bin fulfil distinct functions in the modal system of Pichi.

### Modal elements

In Pichi, modality is instantiated in adverbs and particles, clause linkers, TMA markers, and modal auxiliary verbs. An overview of the inventory of modal elements according to the modal categories they express is provided in Table 6.8. Elements appearing in the same line co-occur in the corpus, with the exception of the sentential modal elements *ó* ‘sp’ and *sɛ́f* ‘emp’, which express assertion and may co-occur freely with other elements in the table.

Conditional modality has been included in the table for the sake of completeness and is covered separately in sections 10.7.11 and 10.7.12 on adverbial clauses and relations. Details on the subjunctive mood are provided in sections 6.7.3.3, 10.5.5, and 10.7.6.

Table 6.8 Modal categories and elements

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Modal category/element | Verbs | TMA markers | Clause linkers | Sentential |
| **Dynamic** |  |  |  |  |
| Physical ability |  | kin ‘abl’ |  |  |
|  | fít ‘can’ |  |  |  |
|  | hébul ‘be capable’ |  |  |  |
|  | mánech ‘manage’ |  |  |  |
| Root possibility | fít ‘can’ |  |  |  |
| Mental ability | sabí ‘know’ |  |  |  |
| desire | wánt ‘want’ |  |  |  |
| intention | wánt ‘want’ |  |  |  |
|  | mín ‘mean to’ |  |  |  |
| **Deontic** |  |  |  |  |
| Obligation | gɛ́fɔ ‘have to’ |  |  |  |
|  |  | fɔ ‘prep’ |  |  |
| Strong obligation |  | mɔs ‘obl’ |  |  |
| Necessity | gɛ́fɔ ‘have to’ | fɔ ‘prep’ |  |  |
|  | níd ‘need to’ |  |  |  |
| Permission | fít ‘can’ |  |  |  |
|  | grí ‘agree; allow’ |  |  |  |
|  | lɛ́f ‘allow’ |  |  |  |
| Directives |  |  | mék ‘sbjv’ |  |
| **Epistemic** |  |  |  |  |
| Possibility | fít (bí) ‘can (be)’ |  |  |  |
|  | fíba ‘seem’ |  |  |  |
|  |  | go ‘pot’, go dɔ́n ‘pot prf’ |  | sɔntɛ́n ‘perhaps’, mebi ‘maybe’ |
| Certainty | gɛ́fɔ ‘have to’ | dɔ́n ‘prf’ |  |  |
| Assertion |  |  |  | ó ‘sp’; sɛ́f ‘emp’ |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Conditional** |  |  |  |  |
| Real |  |  | ɛf ‘if’, lɛ́k (sé) ‘if’ |  |
|  |  |  | adɔnkɛ́ ‘even if’ |  |
| Potential |  | go ‘pot’, de ‘ipfv’ | ɛf ‘if’ |  |
| Counterfactual |  | bin ‘pst’, fɔ ‘cond’ | ɛf ‘if’ |  |

### Dynamic modality

Dynamic modality is concerned with the existence of factors internal to the subject with respect to the completion of the situation denoted by the reference verb (Palmer 2001:76ff.). In the following, the dynamic modality categories of ability, desire and intention are covered. These categories are primarily expressed through modal auxiliary verbs.

#### Ability

Pichi has a three-way distinction of ability. The modal verb fít ‘can’ expresses ability in a general sense, but it does not normally cover mental ability (406):

(406) A nó bin fít tɔ́k, bikɔs a nó fít tɔ́k,

1sg.sbj neg pst can talk because 1sg.sbj neg can talk

a kán a de lúk yú.

1sg.sbj come 1sg.sbj ipfv look 2sg.indp

‘I couldn’t talk, because I couldn’t talk, I came (and) was just looking at you.’ [ed03sb 165]

The verbs hébul ‘be capable’ (407) and mánech ‘be capable; manage’ (408) are usually employed to express capacity rather than ability:

(407) Yu mamá nó go hébul pé ɔ́l dán wók

2sg mother neg pot be.capable pay all that work

wé di mán dɔ́n dú fɔ yú.

sub def man prf do prep 2sg.indp

‘Your mother won’t be able to pay all that work that the man has done

for you.’ [ab03ay 021]

(408) A nó mánech mít=an tidé.

1sg.sbj neg manage meet=3sg.obj today

‘I didn’t manage to meet her today.’ [lo07fn 190]

The modal verb fít ‘can’ may also express root possibility. It predicates the existence of general (usually social) circumstances that affect the ability of the person involved to perform the situation denoted by the reference verb. The subject of the following sentence has been put to shame by being caught committing a moral offence:

(409) E nó fít dú=an mɔ́.

3sg.sbj neg can do=3sg.obj more

‘He can’t do it again [he wouldn’t dare do it again].’ [ro05rt 041]

The verb sabí ‘(get to) know how to’ is used to express mental or learned ability (410). Compare the uses of the modal auxiliaries fít and sabí with the reference verb tɔ́k ‘talk’ in (406) above and (410):

(410) Di mán e nó sabí tɔ́k Panyá.

def man 3sg.sbj neg know talk Spanish

‘The man doesn’t know how to speak Spanish.’ [ye03cd 063]

The corpus features a single instance in which the habitual marker kin ‘hab’ is unequivocally used to express physical ability (411). The use of kin as a marker of abilitive mood is marginal and obsolescent. The abilitive *cum* habitual function is, however, still widely attested in Krio. Both functions of *kin* grammaticalised from the English ability modal *can*. The fact that the habitual function alone was retained in Pichi might suggest that continuing contact with English has reinforced the ability function in Krio, while absence of contact with English has led to the erosion of the abilitive sense and expression by the modal verbs *fít* ‘can’ and *hébul* ‘be capable’ alone in Pichi.

(411) Bifó a kin gráp, a de sí bíg bíg fáya.

before 1sg.sbj abl get.up 1sg.sbj ipfv see big rep fire

‘Before I could get up, I was seeing a huge fire.’ [ab03ay 067]

#### Desire and intention

The modal verb wánt ‘want’ expresses the often indistinguishable notions of desire and intention (412). The verb mín ‘mean’ may also express intention (413). Note the exceptional modal use of the imperfective aspect in (413), in a complement clause introduced by sé ‘quot’ where one would usually find a subjunctive clause introduced by mék ‘sbjv’:

(412) A wánt tɔ́k dán smɔ́l tɔ́k dé.

1sg.sbj want talk that small talk there

‘I want to say that particular small word.’ [dj05ae 037]

(413) Dɛn gɛ́fɔ mín sé e de hambɔ́g wí.

3pl have.to mean quot 3sg.sbj ipfv bother 1pl.indp

‘They must mean for it [the dog] to bother us.’ [ma03hm 002]

### Deontic Modality

Deontic modality is concerned with the existence of factors external to the subject which condition the completion of the situation denoted by the reference verb. The deontic category of obligation is expressed by means of the TMA marker mɔs ‘obl’, obligation and necessity by gɛ́fɔ ‘have to’ or the multifunctional element fɔ ‘prep’ alone. Permission is expressed through the verb fít ‘can’. Aside from that, the expression of deontic modality is characterised by the use of the subjunctive mood. Directives as well as the entire range of manipulative-directive meanings covered by the complement-taking verbs listed in section 10.5.1 induce the use of subjunctive clauses introduced by the modal complementiser mék ‘sbjv’.

#### Subjunctive mood

Subjunctive mood is instantiated in the modal complementiser mék ‘sbjv’ and the specific TMA marking properties of the subjunctive clause. Subjunctive mood appears in directive main clauses (cf. 6.7.3.3). It is also present in the subordinate clauses of deontic modality inducing main verbs (cf. 10.5), i.e. verbs whose meaning contains an element of causation, manipulation, proposal, desire and other affective nuances compatible with deontic modality. Thirdly, subjunctive mood occurs in purpose and consecutive clauses (cf. 10.7.6).

#### Obligation, necessity, and permission

Obligation denotes the existence of compelling factors in the social world. Both strong and weak obligation are most commonly expressed through the verb gɛ́fɔ ‘have to’ (414). Negative obligation is formed by standard negation of gɛ́fɔ and yields a prohibitive meaning (415):

(414) Ɛf yu **gɛ́fɔ** **baja** diez veces yu gɛ́fɔ

if 2sg have.to go.down ten time.pl 2sg have.to

calcula dán mɔní.

calculate that money

‘If you have to go down ten times, you have to calculate that

(amount of) money.’ [f103fp 006]

(415) E nó gɛ́fɔ lúk yú na fés.

3sg.sbj neg have.to look 2sg.indp loc face

‘He [the child] shouldn’t look you in the face [while responding].’ [au07se 140]

The verb *gɛ́fɔ* (<gɛ́t fɔ ‘get/have prep) is a lexicalised collocation also attested in Krio (Fyle & Jones 1980) and Cameroon Pidgin (Nkengasong 2016). It was probably calqued from English ‘have to’ in the protolanguage, but has probably also been reinforced by Spanish *tener que* ‘have to’. The verb has the distribution of a monorphemic lexeme in contemporary Pichi. It may therefore be followed by *de* ‘ipfv’ in complement constructions.

Alternatively, Pichi employs the two obligative mood markers fɔ ‘prep’ (416) and mɔs ‘obl’ (cf. (421) below) in order to express obligation. The marker fɔ may express both weak and strong obligation. The function of fɔ extends further to uses as a TMA marker to indicate counterfactual mood in the then-clause of conditionals, cf. the first and second occurrence of fɔ in (416):

(416) Ɛf dán pikín bin tɔ́k trú, dɛn fɔ púl dán pikín,

if that child pst talk true 3pl cond remove that child

dán pikín e nó bin fɔ dáy.

that child 3sg.sbj neg pst cond die

‘If that child [girl] had told the truth, the child [foetus] would have been removed,

(and) that child [girl] wouldn’t have died.’ [ab03ay 121]

Impersonalised purposive constructions like (417) are likely to be one point of departure for the occurrence of fɔ as a mood marker in finite clauses like (418). The various uses of fɔ as a clause linker form part of a web of interrelated functions of this element (cf. 10.2 for an overview):

(417) Na fɔ gó las seis y media.

foc prep go the.pl six and half

‘It is in order to go at six thirty.’ [ye07fn 191]

(418) Áfta yu fɔ pé dɛ́n.

then 2sg prep pay 3pl.indp

‘Then you have to pay them.’ [ye03cd 113]

The element fɔ ‘prep’ also appears with a directive tint in non-assertive contexts like direct (419) and indirect (420) questions featuring the question word háw ‘how’:

(419) Háw a fɔ dú, háw a fɔ dú wet=an?

How 1sg.sbj prep do how 1sg.sbj prep do with=3sg.obj

‘How should I do (it), how should I do [proceed] with him?’ [ab03ay 136]

(420) Yu fít hɛ́lp mí, a nó sabí háw fɔ dú=an.

2sg can help 1sg.indp 1sg.sbj neg know how prep do=3sg.obj

‘Can you help me, I don’t know how I should do it/how to do it.’ [ro05de 020]

Certain characteristics speak for an analysis of fɔ as a TMA marker when it appears in the preverbal position in finite clauses. Like other TMA markers of Pichi, fɔ is monosyllabic and low-toned. Equally, it is subject to restrictions. Although fɔ ‘prep’ is attested together with bin ‘pst’ in order to express counterfactual conditional modality (cf. (416) above), it is not encountered with any other TMA marker – unlike modal verbs. Hence, we have e go gɛ́fɔ pé {3sg.sbj pot have prep pay} ‘she’ll have to pay’ but not \*e go fɔ pé {3sg.sbj pot prep pay}.

The same characteristics hold for the element mɔs ‘obl’, which also expresses obligative mood. However, the use of mɔs usually renders a strong obligation sense often coupled with a sense of internal compulsion (421). Generally, speakers do not accept the use of mɔs ‘obl’ in syntactic positions which would suggest a verbal status of this element either. For instance, like fɔ above, mɔs is not attested in conjunction with other TMA markers (422):

(421) A mɔs gó Alemania wán dé.

1sg.sbj obl go place one day

‘I absolutely have to go to Germany one day.’ [to07fn 197]

(422) \*A bin mɔs gó dé.

1sg.sbj pst obl go there

\*I had to go there. [ne 07fn 196]

Prohibitive clauses featuring mɔs ‘obl’ are formed like regular negative imperatives without a 2sg personal pronoun (423):

(423) Nó mɔs gó dán sáy!

neg obl go that side

‘(You) must not go to that place! [ne 07fn 194]

Necessity may be differentiated from obligation by making use of the modal verb níd ‘need (to)’ in affirmative (424) and negative (425) clauses. This modal auxiliary can be employed with same and different subject complement clauses in accordance with the pattern outlined in examples (1392)–(1394):

(424) A níd fɔ mék yu gó dé.

1sg.sbj need prep sbjv 2sg go there

‘I need you to go there.’ [to07fn 200]

(425) Fɔ tɔ́k Píchi yu nó níd fɔ gó skúl.

prep talk Pichi 2sg neg need prep go school

‘In order to talk Pichi you don’t need to go to school.’ [au07se 267]

Permission is expressed by way of fít ‘can’, a causative/permissive construction involving lɛ́f ‘leave; allow’ (cf. (1332)ff. for details) or the main verb grí ‘agree; allow’ and a complement clause (427) (cf. also (1389)). Note the presence of the imperfective marker de in the subjunctive clause in the second example:

(426) A bɛ́g, yu go ɛskyús mí pero yu nó fít

1sg.sbj beg 2sg pot excuse 1sg.indp but 2sg neg can

ték=an sóté e gɛ́t quince años.

take=3sg.obj until 3sg.sbj get fifteen years

‘Sorry, you’ll excuse me but you can’t take her along until she is fifteen

years old.’ [ab03ay 150]

(427) So na dán tín mék, e de grí sé mék

so foc that thing make 3sg.sbj ipfv agree quot sbjv

a de gí=an smɔ́l tín ɔ́l tɛ́n.

1sg.sbj ipfv give=3sg.obj small thing all time

‘So that’s why she allows me to give her a small amount all the time.’ [ma03hm 061]

#### Directives

Directives impose conditions of obligation on the addressee. The central form for expressing this modal category is the modal complementiser and subjunctive marker mék. The subjunctive marker may be employed to express directives throughout the entire person-number paradigm, which renders the modal categories traditionally referred to as imperative (2nd person directives) (428) and jussive (1st and 3rd person directives) (429)–(430). The addition of the sentence final particle ó gives directives an admonitive tinct (428):

(428) Mék yu mɛ́n=an ó!

sbjv 2sg care.for=3sg.obj sp

‘Make sure to take care of her!’ [ab03ay 082]

(429) Mék a gí yú di cheque, (...)

sbjv 1sg.sbj give 2sg.indp def cheque

‘Let me give you the cheque (...)’ [ye03cd 119]

The subjunctive marker also introduces cohortatives (1st person plural invitations) (438) and optatives (1st, 2nd, 3rd person wishes):

(430) tín fɔ fɔ́s tɛ́n mék e dé, bikɔs pípul

thing prep first time make 3sg.sbj be.loc because people

de kán fɔ kán sí=an.

ipfv come prep come see=3sg.obj

‘(The) thing of the past, let it be, because people come to see it.’ [hi03cb 068]

Subjunctive clauses must be employed for all directives except 2sg and 2pl imperatives. With imperatives, subjunctive clauses are optional. There appears to be no difference in meaning between bare and subjunctive marked imperatives. However, singular imperatives must be expressed by the bare verb without a personal pronoun if subjunctive marking is absent (431). Conversely, 2pl imperatives take the corresponding personal pronoun (432):

(431) Údat tíf? Tɛ́l mí di ném!

Who steal tell 1sg.indp def name

‘Who stole (something)? Tell me the name!’ [fr03cd 049]

(432) Una mék chénch!

2pl make change

‘Swap [plural]!’ [ro05rt 025]

Negative imperatives (prohibitives) are formed by placing the negator nó before the verb (433) or by employing a negative subjunctive clause (434):

(433) Nó láf!

neg laugh

‘Don’t laugh!’ [ru03wt 022]

(434) Mék yu nó pút di watá mék e fɔdɔ́n

sbjv 2sg neg put def water sbjv 3sg.sbj fall

fuera fɔ di glas.

outside prep def glass

‘Don’t put the water (in such a way) that it drops outside

of the glass.’ [dj05be 167]

All other (i.e. 1st and 3rd person) directives may only be negated by means of a negative subjunctive clause (435):

(435) Mék e fɔdɔ́n ínsay di glás, mék e

sbjv 3sg.sbj fall inside def glass sbjv 3sg.sbj

nó fɔdɔ́n na grɔ́n!

neg fall loc ground

‘Let it flow into the glass, don’t let it flow onto the floor!’ [dj05be 170]

Sequences of imperatives are frequent in discourse. Here, the final verb must be marked for subjunctive mood, while preceding verbs may optionally remain bare. In these circumstances, the subjunctive additionally functions as a marker of consecutive modality:

(436) Tɔ́n=an tɔ́n=an mék yu nó para!

turn=3sg.obj turn=3sg.obj sbjv 2sg neg stop

‘Stir, stir it, and don’t stop!’ [dj03do 058]

The verb kán ‘come’ (437) may be employed in a way that parallels the use of the subjunctive marker in syntactic position and function (438). However, this usage is restricted to cohortatives:

(437) Ɛhɛ́, kán wi sigue!

intj come 1pl continue

‘Let’s continue!’ [ye05ce 101]

(438) Mék wi sí!

sbjv 1pl see

‘Let’s see!’ [ma03ni 002]

The force of imperatives can be attenuated. An example follows in (439) of a weakened imperative involving the idiom a bɛ́g ‘please’ and the adverbial smɔ́l ‘a bit’:

(439) A bɛ́g, kán yá smɔ́l!

1sg.sbj beg come here a.bit

‘Please come here a bit [would you please come here?].’ [ch07fn 233]

Alternatively, a directive may involve one of the politeness markers dúya ‘please’ (cf. (1651) or plís ‘please’ it may be couched in a question featuring the modal verb fít ‘can’ (440), or be formed through circumlocution featuring the verb tráy ‘try’ (441):

(440) Yu fít pás yá?

2sg can pass here

‘Can you pass here?’ [ma03ni 001]

(441) **Tráy** reduce ín!

tráy reduce 3sg.indp

‘Try to reduce it [please reduce it]!’ [ru03wt 043]

### Epistemic modality

Epistemic modality serves the expression of a speaker’s commitment to asserting a given situation. The epistemic notions of possibility, certainty and assertion are covered in the following four sections. Part of the expression of epistemic possibility accrues to the potential mood marker go, which is also employed to express future tense.

#### Potential mood

The central function of the TMA marker go ‘pot’ is the expression of potential mood, hence the epistemic notion of possibility. With this analysis, I follow Essegbey (2008), who analyses a functionally similar morpheme of Ewe as an instantiation of the potential mood. From this point of departure, the marker go ‘pot’ expresses additional related modal and temporal notions like future tense, conditional, hypothetical, and habitual.

The following sentence illustrates the modal use of go ‘pot’. In the example, speaker (ge) explains what prompted her to leave her teenage daughter in Madrid instead of bringing her along with her to Malabo on vacation. Obviously, speaker (ge) is not making a prediction; this is corroborated by the presence of the experiential verb fía ‘fear’. Rather, the verb bɛlɛ́ ‘impregnate’ is marked by go ‘pot’ in order to express an epistemic possibility:

(442) A fía sé dɛn go bɛlɛ́ mi pikín fɔ mí.

1sg.sbj fear quot 3pl pot impregnate 1sg.poss child prep 1sg.indp

‘I feared that my child might be impregnated (on me).’ [ge05be 055]

In this example, the potential mood expresses an epistemic possibility, rather than a prediction, in a similar way:

(443) (...) mék yu tɔ́n=an, porque bɔtɔ́n go rós.

sbjv 2sg turn=3sg.obj because bottom pot burn

‘(...) turn it, because the bottom might burn.’ [dj03do 055]

The marker go frequently occurs with the epistemic adverbs sɔntɛ́n ‘perhaps’ and mebi ‘maybe’ in order to indicate a future (444) or a present possibility (445):

(444) Pero bambáy bambáy sɔntɛ́n yu go sí di wán

but gradually rep perhaps 2sg pot see def one

wé go máred yú.

sub pot marry 2sg.indp

‘But very gradually perhaps you will find the one who will marry you.’ [ab03ab 204]

(445) Porque mébi a go wánt fɛ́n di ném.

because maybe 1sg.sbj pot want look.for def name

‘Maybe I might want to find the name [for this word, you never know].’ [au07se 007]

Since go alone can express potential mood and future tense, the TMA marker sequence go dɔ́n ‘pot prf’ can indicate a future perfect (cf. (400)) or a potential perfect. The latter use of potential mood produces a reading of inferred certainty (cf. also 6.7.4.3).

(446) E go dɔ́n drɔ́ngo, e go dɔ́n slíp.

3sg.sbj pot prf be.dead.drunk 3sg.sbj pot prf sleep

‘He should be dead drunk, he should already be sleeping.’ [ge07fn 088]

Besides its use as a potential mood marker and future tense marker in predictions (cf. 6.5.3), hypothetical statements are among the most common contexts in which go ‘pot’ occurs. A common form of expressive communication in Pichi involves the use of emphatic speech and figurative language and is set within a potential (or hypothetical) modal frame.

The following discourse excerpt involves two speakers who hypothesise about the potential advantage of having a pair of sunglasses that would allow them to see people naked. The use of the linker *if* ‘if’ signals entry into the realm of potential modality (447)(a), which is repeatedly marked by go in (a), (c) and (e). Note the presence of other modal elements, such as fít ‘be able, possible’ in (a), the imperfective marker *de* instead of *go* in (d), and the use of the factative marked stative verb *wánt* ‘want’ with a potential meaning once this modal frame has been established (f):

(447) a. A fít sé **if** yu consigue gafa we/

1sg.sbj can quot if 2sg obtain glasses sub

yu go wɔ́k na ród.

2sg pot walk loc road

‘I can tell you if you obtained glasses which/ you would

walk on the road.’ [ne07ga 007]

b. Eyé.

intj

‘Good gracious.’ [ye07ga 008]

c. Dán gafa, yu go slíp wet=an.

that glasses 2sg pot sleep with=3sg.obj

‘Those glasses, you would sleep with them.’ [ne07ga 009]

d. A de slíp wet=an cuñado.

1sg.sbj ipfv sleep with=3sg.obj brother-in-law

‘I would sleep with them brother.’ [ye07ga 010]

e. A go púl=an na mi yáy sé wétin?

1sg.sbj pot remove=3sg.obj loc 1sg.poss eye quot what

‘I would remove them [the sunglasses] from my eyes for what?’ [ye07ga 011]

f. A **wánt** dé flipado ɔ́l áwa, ɔ́l áwa.

1sg.sbj want be.loc turned.on all hour all hour

‘I would want to be turned on all the time, all the time.’ [ye07ga 012]

Potential mood is also systematically exploited to render a habitual reading in narrative discourse anchored in the past (448) and in procedural discourse. Note the presence of the generic phrase di dé wɛn ‘(on) the day that’ in (448), which tallies with the non-specific meaning of the habitual sense of go in this example:

(448) Di dé wɛ́n mi mamá go gɛ́t sɔn faya-wúd wé

def day sub 1sg.poss mother pot get some fire.cpd-wood sub

dɛn brók=an na fám, e go tɛ́l dɛ́n, dɛn go gó

3pl break=3sg.obj loc farm 3sg.sbj pot tell 3pl.indp 3pl pot go

tót=an fɔr=an.

carry=3sg.obj prep=3sg.obj

‘On those days that my mother would get some fire wood that had been

broken up at the farm, she would tell them (and) they would go and carry

it for her.’ [ab03ay 023]

#### Possibility

The epistemic notion of possibility may be expressed through the use of the potential mood and the epistemic adverbs sɔntɛ́n ‘perhaps’ (cf. (444) above) and mebi ‘maybe’ (cf. (445) above). Besides that, possibility can be signalled when the verb fít ‘be able; be possible’ functions as a modal auxiliary verb (449) or with an expletive subject and a fuller complement clause (450):

(449) E fít kán tumára.

3sg.sbj can come tomorrow

‘He might come tomorrow.’ [dj03do 032]

(450) E fít bí sé na paludismo.

3sg.sbj can be quot foc malaria

‘It might be malaria.’ [ru03wt 058]

Possibility can also be expressed through a construction involving an expletive fíba ‘seem’ (451) or the adverb sɔntɛ́n ‘perhaps’ with or without potential mood marking (452):

(451) E fíba sé Boyé gɛ́t mɔní.

3sg.sbj seem quot name get money

‘It seems that Boyé has money.’ [dj07ae 255]

(452) (...) sɔntɛ́n di bɔ́y nó gɛ́t páwa, sɔntɛ́n di gál

perhaps def boy neg get power perhaps def girl

gɛ́t sɔn defecto.

get some defect.

‘(...) the boy might have no power [be impotent], (or) the girl

might have a defect.’ [ab03ay 044]

#### Certainty

Inferred certainty, the firmest degree of assertion, can be expressed by way of inferral from obligation with gɛ́fɔ ‘have to’ as in (453). The potential mood marker go is also employed in this function, in particular in combination with dɔ́n ‘prf’ (cf. (446) above)):

(453) Dɛn bin gɛ́fɔ sabí sé e go kán.

3pl pst have.to know quot 3sg.sbj pot come

‘They must have known that she would come.’ [ab03ay 128]

(454)Iris gɛ́fɔ gɛ́t, a tínk sé diez años.

name have.to get 1sg.sbj think quot ten years

‘Iris should be, I think ten years old.’ [fr03ft 121]

#### Assertion

The emphatic and focus particle sɛ́f ‘emp’ (cf. 7.4.2) and the sentence particle ó (cf. 12.2.4) function as general markers of assertion when they signal clausal focus. Other than that, the verb trú ‘be true’ may be employed as an adverbial, oftentimes repeated for additional force, in order to signal assertion:

(455) Dɛn bɔ́n na Corisco trú trú.

3pl be.born loc place true rep

‘They were really born on [the island of] Corisco.’ [to07fn 201]

Beyond that, constructions involving cognition verbs (e.g. sabí ‘(get to) know’, nó ‘know’, chɛ́k ‘think; check (out)’, tínk ‘think’, mɛ́mba ‘think; remember’, and perception verbs (e.g. sí ‘see’, hía ‘hear’) by themselves also signal different degrees of certainty.

## Tense, modality, and aspect in discourse

In preceding sections, I have provided some examples on the functions of TMA markers in discourse. In the following, I explore these functions further by looking at extracts of narrative discourse. The two relevant, intimately connected discourse-pragmatic notions are sequencing, i.e. the ordering of events along the time axis (Hopper 1982), and grounding, i.e. the distinction between the narrative main line or foreground from the less salient, narratively subordinate background (e.g. Hopper & Thompson 1980; Longacre 1996; Youssef & James 1999).

The picture that emerges from the analysis of the functions of Pichi TMA markers in narrative discourse with respect to grounding and sequencing is presented in Figure 6.3. The distribution of TMA markers in Pichi narrative discourse suggests the existence of a grounding continuum. Figure 6.3 takes this into account by differentiating between a more [+high] and a less salient [-high] foreground, marked by the narrative perfective marker kán ‘pfv’ and the factative marked (hence perfective) dynamic verb, respectively. The feature [+/-sequence] denotes the property of TMA markers to signal successive and discrete events along the narrative time line. Temporal and aspectual characteristics are therefore collapsed in this feature. So [+sequence] typifies consecutive, bounded, and dynamic situations, which may not be reordered without changing the iconic temporal order of the narrative at the same time.

The feature [+/-deixis] allows differentiation between aspect markers without an explicit temporal reference and markers that encode time-deictic reference to a point outside of the predicate. These reference points are event time for bin ‘pst’ and dɔ́n ‘pfv’, and a hypothetical contingency for go ‘pot’ in habitual discourse.

Figure 6.3 Functions of TMA markers in narrative discourse

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| [+deixis] | [+foreground] | | [-foreground] |
| [+high] | [-high] |  |
|  |  |  |
| kán ‘pfv’ | Factative TMA | go ‘pot’ (=habitual) |
|  | with dynamic and | dɔ́n ‘prf’ |
|  | inchoative-stative | bin ‘pst’ |
|  | verbs |  |
| [-deixis] |  | |  |
| de ‘ipfv’ |
| Factative TMA with (inchoative)- |
| stative verbs |
| kin ‘hab’ |
|  | |  |
| [+sequence] | | [-sequence] |

### Sequencing and grounding

The beginning of narratives anchored in the past very often features the past marker bin ‘pst’ in the “orientation” section (cf. Labov 1972:358) characterised by aspect marking of the imperfective domain (hence imperfective and/or habitual aspect). In this, the past marker is true to its role as a device for backgrounding situations and contributing a sense of temporal remoteness. For similar observations on cognate forms of bin, see Winford (2000:398ff.) for Sranan and Pollard (1989:63) Jamaican Creole. The marker bin ‘pst’ fulfills this dual function in the orientation section (456)(b)–(e) of the excerpt of a personal narrative below. The backgrounding function of bin ‘pst’ correlates with its default aspectual interpretation.

Sentences (456)(a)–(d) demonstrate that there is a strong tendency to conceive of situations marked by bin as unbounded, hence imperfective by default. The free variation between bin ‘pst’, the imperfective marker de ‘ipfv’, and the marker sequence bin de in (b)–(e) with dynamic verbs for the expression of backgrounded, unbounded, and overlapping situations demonstrates the functional similarity of the three marking options:

(456) a. Dé, ɛ́ni káyn tín na mɔní,yu fít

there every kind thing foc money 2sg can

mék ɛ́ni káyn tín, yu go sí mɔní.

make every kind thing 2sg pot see money

‘There, everything is money, you can do anything, you will earn

money.’ [ma03hm 054]

b. Mi bin dé dé a bin mék dásɔl,

1sg.indp pst be.loc there 1sg.sbj pst make only

dís, a de mék fínga dɛn, manicura.

this 1sg.sbj ipfv make finger pl manicure

‘(When) I was there, I only used to do, I used to do fingers,

manicure.’ [ma03hm 055]

c. A de mék tapete dɛn fɔ chía,

1sg.sbj ipfv make table.cloth pl prep chair

a bin gɛ́t mi mɔní.

1sg.sbj pst get 1sg.poss money

‘I used to make table cloths [covers] for chairs, I used to

get my money.’ [ma03hm 056]

d. Áfta mɔ́ a bin wók dís sén

then more 1sg.sbj pst work this same

wók wé a de dú, a de dú=an

work sub 1sg.sbj ipfv do 1sg.sbj ipfv do=3sg.ob

dé sɛ́f.

there emp

‘Apart from that, I used to work in this very job that I do

(now), I did it there, too.’ [ma03hm 057]

e. So a bin de gɛ́t mi mɔní dé

so 1sg.sbj pst ipfv get 1sg.poss money there

pero yá al contrario nada.

but here at.the contrary nothing

‘So I used to get my money there but here, on the contrary, nothing.’ [ma03hm 058]

In its functions, bin ‘pst’ is therefore antipodal to the narrative perfective marker kán ‘pfv’ (cf. (459)–(461) below). Like the former, the latter also simultaneously encodes a tense (past tense) and an aspectual value (perfective), and thereby plays an important role in the organisation of narrative discourse. However, the marker kán ‘pfv’ occurs in the most salient, foregrounded sections of the narrative, while bin ‘pst’ appears in backgrounded, supportive, and orienting sections.

Temporal sequence can also be iconically encoded through the linear ordering of bare dynamic verbs as in the “complicating action” (Labov 1972) of the narrative in (457) below. The temporal interpretation of factative marked inchoative-stative verbs hinges on grounding. The inchoative-stative bare verb slíp ‘lie down’ (457)(c) receives an inchoative, dynamic reading as it is foregrounded and forced into sequence in the narrative main line:

(457) a. E gó, e wás di klós dɛn.

3sg.sbj go 3sg.sbj wash def clothing pl

‘She went off, she washed the clothes.’ [ru03wt 033]

b. E wás dí klós dɛn, e dráy dɛ́n,

3sg.sbj wash this clothing pl 3sg.sbj dry 3pl.indp

nó na mi dráy dɛ́n.

neg foc 1sg.indp dry 3pl.indp

‘She washed the clothes, she dried them, no I dried them.’ [ru03wt 034]

c. Pero di klós dɛn slíp na dɔ́n ó.

but def clothing pl lie.down loc down sp

‘But the clothes came to lie on the ground.’ [ru03wt 035]

d. Mɔ́nin tɛ́n wé a kán lúk, a de sí sɔn

morning time sub 1sg.sbj come look 1sg.sbj ipfv see some

klós dɛn, a nó de sí mi yón dɛn.

clothing pl 1sg.sbj neg ipfv see 1pl own pl

‘(In the) morning, when I looked, I saw some clothes, (but) I didn’t

see mine.’ [ru03wt 036]

In contrast, backgrounded and out-of-sequence stative and inchoative-stative verbs, whether bare or marked with bin ‘pst’, receive a stative reading. Sentence (458) below is an orientation section. The stative copula dé ‘be.loc’ has a stative reading in the sentence. The same holds true for the inchoative-stative verb sidɔ́n ‘sit (down)’. It co-occurs with the past marker bin ‘pst’, which once more not only signals the presence of backgrounded information. The imperfective, unbounded reading of bin also resolves the potential ambiguity between an inchoative and a stative interpretation of sidɔ́n in favour of the latter:

(458) Mí bin dé na bích wé a bin sidɔ́n wet

1sg.indp pst be.loc loc beach sub 1sg.sbj pst sit.down with

mi papá, mi bin dé na bích mɔ́nin tɛ́n

1sg.poss father 1sg.indp pst be.loc loc beach morning time

a gó latrin a gó kaká (...)

1sg.sbj go latrine 1sg.sbj go defecate

‘I [emp] was at the beach while I was sitting with my father, I [emp] was

at the beach in the morning, I went to the latrine, I went to shit (…)’ [ed03sb 171]

Both (inchoative-)stative and dynamic verbs can also be explicitly marked for [+sequence] by the narrative perfective marker kán ‘pfv’. The boundary-activating function of kán propels verbs marked by kán into the temporally sequenced narrative main line irrespective of their lexical aspect. With (inchoative-)stative verbs, this invariably induces an inchoative reading. With dynamic verbs, both boundaries of the situation are activitated. These two aspect readings – bounded for dynamic verbs and inchoative for stative verbs – make kán ‘pfv’ a typical perfective marker (cf. Sasse 1991b:11–14), even if its use is specialised to narrative discourse in Pichi.

The orientation section in (459)(a)–(b) is followed by a complicating action section in (c), which contains the first foregrounded situation, the inchoative-stative verb sabí ‘(get to) know’. The verb is marked by kán ‘pfv’ and receives an inchoative reading:

(459) a. Bueno, mi mamá, mi gran-má wet

good 1sg.poss mother 1sg.poss grand-ma with

mi mamá, nɔ́, dɛn kɔmɔ́t na wán pueblo

1sg.poss mother intj 3pl hail.from loc one village

wé in ném na Basakato dé la Sagrada Familia

sub 3sg.poss name foc place

‘Well, my mother, my grandmother and my mother, right, they

hail from a village whose name is Basakato dé la Sagrada Familia.’ [fr03ft 042]

b. Sɔn tɛ́n dɛn wi kin de gó dé sɛ́f fɔ gó,

some time pl 1pl hab ipfv go there emp prep go

bueno, fɔ gó visít nɔ́, fɔ pás vacaciones dɛn.

good prep go visit intj prep pass holiday.pl pl

‘Sometimes we even used to go there in order to, well, in order

to go visit, in order to spend our holidays.’ [fr03ft 043]

c. Na dé a kán sabí mi mamá

foc there 1sg.sbj pfv know 1sg.poss mother

in papá in fámbul.

3sg.poss father 3sg.poss family

‘That’s where I got to know my mother’s father’s family.’ [fr03ft 044]

The following extract illustrates the importance that kán ‘pfv’ has for organising the events of a paragraph with respect to narrative saliency. The verbs in (460)(a)–(d) are marked for perfective aspect due to the novel information they contain. Meanwhile, (460)(e) reiterates information already contained in (460)(c) and (d), therefore dispenses with perfective marking and is characterised by the presence of stative, narratively downshifted verbs:

(460) a. A kán recupera smɔ́l.

1sg.sbj pfv recover small

‘(Then) I recovered a bit.’ [ab03ay 096]

b. A kán kɔmɔ́t na dán hós wé a bin dé.

1sg.sbj pfv go.out loc that house sub 1sg.sbj pst be.loc

‘Then I left that house where I was.’ [ab03ay 097]

c. A kán gó na mi ɔnkúl in papá

1sg.sbj pfv go loc 1sg.poss uncle 3sg.poss father

in lét brɔ́da.

3sg.poss late brother

‘Then I went to my uncle’s father’s late brother.’ [ab03ay 098]

d. Mi lét papá in brɔ́da, a kán dé

1sg.poss late father 3sg.poss brother 1sg.sbj pfv be.loc

na in hós.

loc 3sg.poss house

‘My late father’s brother, I came to stay at his house.’ [ab03ay 099]

e. Na dé a dé wán hía a nó fít

foc there 1sg.sbj be.loc one year 1sg.sbj neg can

dú nó nátin.

do neg nothing

‘It is there that I was for one year, I couldn’t do anything.’ [ab03ay 100]

The use of kán ‘pfv’ in (461)(b) points to the role of the perfective marker in additionally highlighting narratively salient, [+high] foreground information. At the same time, less salient [-high] foreground occurs in the unmarked form of the verb (i.e. the two occurrences of sɛ́n ‘send’ in (461)(b)), which incidentally coincides with a backgrounding passive construction, another downshifting device (i.e. dɛn sɛ́n mí (...) ‘I was sent (...)’). The introduction of information considered more relevant, and with it the resumption of the main line, then once more features the perfective marker kán ‘pfv’ with the verb lɔs ‘lose’:

(461) a. E kán gó na hós e kán lɛ́f mí

3sg.sbj pfv go loc house 3sg.sbj pfv leave 1sg.indp

sɔn dirección fɔ Chicago, a kán ráyt.

some address prep place 1sg.sbj pfv write

‘He went home (and) he left me an address in Chicago (and)

I wrote to him.’ [ed03sb 206]

b. E de ánsa mi, a sɛ́n mɔní,

3sg.sbj ipfv answer 1sg.indp 1sg.sbj send money

dɛn sɛ́n mí sɔn portamonedas bɔt e kán lɔs.

3pl send 1sg.indp some wallet but 3sg.sbj pfv lose

‘He used to reply to me, I sent money (and) I was sent a wallet

but it got lost.’ [ed03sb 207]

Like the imperfective marker de ‘ipfv’, the habitual marker kin ‘hab’ marks [-sequence] situations that furnish the background frame for the narrative main line. One may find entire paragraphs marked for habitual aspect in order to provide orientation. Next to the habitual marker kin, the potential marker go also fulfils an important role in expressing habituality with respect to routine procedures. This is shown in the following extract that relates the effect zombification has on its victims. Consider the prolific use of go ‘pot’ to signal (potential) habituality set in a hypothetical frame:

(462) a. Porque if yu mék, yu sí dán polvo e de

because if 2sg make 2sg see that powder 3sg.sbj ipfv

pút=an ínsay, yu **kán** yu **dríng**, dɛn go gó

put=3sg.obj inside 2sg come 2sg drink 3pl pot go

na hós.

loc house

‘Because if you make, you see that powder (as) he’s putting it inside, (after)

you’ve come and drunk (it) they go back home.’ [ed03sb 099]

b. Lɛk háw dɛn wánt kɛ́r yú na hospital yu dɔ́n dáy.

like how 3pl want carry 2sg.indp loc hospital 2sg prf die

‘Just when they want to bring you to hospital, you’re already dead.’

[ed03sb 100]

c. Lɛk háw dɛn go pút yú na tébul yu dɔ́n de rɔ́tin,

like how 3pl pot put 2sg.indp loc table 2sg prf ipfv rot

fɔ mék dɛn gó bɛ́r yú kwík.

prep sbjv 3pl go bury 2sg.indp quickly

‘As soon as they put you on the table, you’re already about to rot,

in order for them to bury you quickly.’ [ed03sb 101]

d. Ɛf dɛn go gó bɛ́r yú, dɛ́n sénwe go gó

if 3pl pot go bury 2sg.indp 3pl.indp emp pot go

na dán bɛ́rin.

loc that burial

If they go to bury you, they themselves will go to that burial.’ [ed03sb 102]

e. Na nɛ́t a las doce dɛn go kán dɛn púl yú

loc night at the.pl twelve 3pl pot come 3pl remove 2sg.indp

yu nɔ́ba dáy.

2sg neg.prf die

‘In the night, at twelve o’clock they’ll come and remove you (and)

you haven’t died.’ [ed03sb 103]

f. Dɛn go rɛdí yú dɛn go mék lɛk háw dɛn de

3pl pot prepare 2sg.indp 3pl pot make like how 3pl ipfv

mék fɔ wích, dɛn **ték** yú dɛn **pút** yú

make prep sorcery 3pl take 2sg.indp 3pl put 2sg.indp

na avión dɛn **sɛ́n** yú fɔ ɔ́da kɔ́ntri

loc plane 3pl send 2sg.indp prep other country

yu **gó** wók mɔní.

2sg go work money

‘They’ll prepare you the way it’s done with sorcery, they’ll take you,

put you into a plane and send you to another country (and) you’ll go

earn money (for them).’ [ed03sb 104]

Foregrounded sections of sequential action conceived of as particularly tightly-knit may feature clause chaining (cf. 11.4). In chained clauses, tense, aspect and mood marking is overtly expressed with the first initial verb(s) in order to provide orientation and grounding. Subsequent clauses remain bare and occur one after the other without an intonation break or intervening clause linkers. Chained predicates invariably feature resumptive personal pronouns; the subject is repeated with each verb in the series. Verbs that participate in clause chaining are always dynamic, and are hence part of the foregrounded narrative main line. Sequences of chained clauses can be found in (462)(a) (*yu kán yu dríng*), (e) (*dɛn púl yú*), and (f) (beginning with *dɛn ték yú* until the end of the paragraph).

After a brief interruption by a listener comes a transition to habitual marking via kin ‘hab’ in (463) below. Extracts (462)–(463) lay bare the difference between habitual discourse centred on go ‘pot’ and kin ‘hab’, respectively. The expression of habituality with go rests on the prior establishment of a hypothetical contingency. Hence, paragraph (462) is interlaced with elements characteristic of irrealis modality. The extract begins in (462)(a) with a conditional clause serving as the referential frame for the go-marked discourse up to (f); another conditional clause follows in (d), and the habitual, generic use of go coincides with the impersonalised, non-referential use of the 2sg personal pronoun yu.

In contrast herewith, habitual discourse centred on kin in (463) is introduced by the phrase e kán bí sé ‘3sg.sbj pfv be quot’ = ‘it came to pass that’, a conventionalised opening formula employed in personal accounts and other types of factual narrative. The subjectively high truth value of (462) is underlined by the closure in (g) a dɔ́n sí, yɛ́s ‘1sg.sbj prf see yes’ = ‘I have seen (this before), yes’.

(463) a. Dɛn go púl dán mán, a sé

3pl pot remove that man 1sg.sbj quot

e kán bí sé dɛn/ pípul dɛn

3sg.sbj pfv be quot 3pl people pl

kɛ́r=an, dɛn lɛ́f di cadáver dɛn rɔ́n.

carry=3sg.obj 3pl leave def corpse 3pl run

‘They’ll remove that man, I say, it came to pass that they/

people carried him, they left the corpse and run away.’

[ed03sb 107]

b. A tínk sɔn fámbul dɛn wé dɛn kin sí sé

1sg.sbj think some family pl sub 3pl hab see quot

dí mi fámbul dé lɛk háw e dáy

this 1sg.poss family there like how 3sg.sbj die

e nó kɔrɛ́t.

3sg.sbj neg be.correct

‘I think some families, when they see that this my family member

there, how he died that’s not correct.’ [ed03sb 108]

c. Dɛn kin gó na bɛrin-grɔ́n wet gɔ́n.

3pl hab go loc burial.cpd-ground with gun

‘They go to the cemetery with a gun.’ [ed03sb 109]

d. A hía sé Bata dɛn kin sút yú.

1sg.sbj hear quot place pl hab shoot 2sg.indp

‘I heard that the mainlanders (even) shoot you.’ [kw03sb 110]

e. Dɛn kin sút.

3pl hab shoot

‘They shoot (you).’ [ed03sb 111]

f. Wé dɛn sút di pɔ́sin, di pɔ́sin kin sék.

sub 3pl shoot def person def person hab shake

‘When they’ve shot the person, the person shakes.’ [ed03sb 112]

g. A dɔ́n sí, yɛ́s.

1sg.sbj prf see yes

‘I have experienced (this), yes.’ [ed03sb 113]

The perfect tense-aspect marker dɔ́n ‘pfv’ is employed with [-sequence] situations that digress from the linear narrative main line. The use of this marker prepares terrain for foregrounded and bounded action, a role reserved for functionally equivalent forms in many languages (cf. Anderson 1982; Li, Thompson & Thompson 1982; Thompson & Thompson 1982; Slobin 1994). The perfect marker may therefore play an important role in signalling the anteriority and causality of a situation immediately relevant to the situations of the narrative main line. Consider (464), which is an excerpt of a narrative about a woman who wants to divorce her husband and is obliged by tradition to pay back the dowry. In this excerpt, the perfect aspect lends itself to use in an “embedded abstract” (Labov 1972), which often occurs in a well-formed Pichi narrative. Through this technique, a speaker steps out of the story line, condenses and adds on to previous foreground material in a series of perfect marked verbs as in (a–c).

Note that the speaker employs some features characteristic of Nigerian (Pidgin) English, since she lived in Nigeria for some time (i.e. (dé) yɔ́ng ‘be young’, dé frɛ́sh ‘be fresh’, sɛventín ‘seventeen’, etín ‘eighteen’, twɛ́nti ‘twenty’, and yíɛs ‘years’):

(464) a. Yu yɔ́ng, yu jɔ́s/ sɔntɛ́n yu gɛ́t sɛventín, etín yíɛs

2sg be.young 2sg just perhaps 2sg get seventeen eighteen years

ɔ twɛ́nti, yu dé yɔ́ng yu dé frɛ́sh, yu dɔ́n kɔmɔ́t,

or twenty 2sg be.loc young 2sg be.loc fresh 2sg prf go.out

yu dɔ́n bɔ́n fó pikín, yu **dɔ́n bɔ́n** fáyf,

2sg prf give.birth four child 2sg prf give.birth five

yu dɔ́n bɔ́n tɛ́n.

2sg prf give.birth ten

‘You’re young, you just/ perhaps you’re seventeen, eighteen years old or twenty,

you’re young, you’re fresh, you’ve left [the parental home], you’ve given birth

to four children, you’ve given birth to five, you’ve given birth to ten.’ [hi03cb 187]

b. Náw wé yu dɔ́n de gó yu dɔ́n/

now sub 2sg prf ipfv go 2sg prf

‘Now that you’re about to leave [the man], you’ve/ [hi03cb 188]

c. Dɛn tɛ́l yú sé mék yu bák dán mɔní wé

3pl tell 2sg.indp quot sbjv 2sg return that money sub

yu dɔ́n, dán mán dɔ́n pé fɔ yu héd.

2sg prf that man prf pay prep 2sg head

‘They tell you to return that money that you have, that man

has paid for you.’ [hi03cb 189]

The completive aspect involving the auxiliary fínis ‘finish’ may fulfil a discourse function similar to that of the perfect. The use of the completive aspect in signalling precedence of a situation in relation to reference time in ground-preparing, digressive sequences is illustrated in (465), where it appears together with dɔ́n ‘prf’:

(465) Kip, dɛn dɔ́n fínis remata ín dé, Boyé dɔ́n kán

ideo 3pl prf finish finish.off 3sg.indp there name prf come

e púl wí torí torí.

3sg.sbj remove 1pl.indp story rep

‘(When) they had finished him off there [by hitting him with blunt objects]

(and) Boyé had come, he told us the story.’ [dj05ce 101]

## Comparison

Pichi employs particles and verbs for expressing comparative, superlative, and equative degree. Sentence (466) exemplifies one of the most common ways of expressing comparative degree. It features the comparee di tín ‘the thing’, the parameter verb bɔkú ‘be much’, the comparative particle mɔ́, the standard marker pás ‘(sur)pass’, and the standard di watá ‘the water’. As can be seen, the expression of comparison involves a participant-introducing comparative SVC, in which the V2 pás ‘(sur)pass’ functions as the standard marker:

(466) Pero ɛf di tín kán bɔkú **mɔ́** **pás** di watá,

but if def thing pfv be.much more pass def water

e go lɛ́f wán pasta, (...)

3sg.sbj pot remain one paste

‘But if the thing has become more than the water, a paste

will remain (...)’ [dj03do 059]

Pichi exhibits a rich variety of constructions for comparison. They include the cross-linguistic types of “Exceed-1” and “Exceed-2” comparatives (Stassen 1985). The “Exceed-1” comparative involves a comparative SVC featuring the V2 pás ‘(sur)pass’. We also find a mixture of a Particle and Exceed comparatives (cf. 6.9.1). Equatives, which express equality of degree between a comparee and a standard, may appear in a construction involving a particle, or alternatively, one involving the verb rích ‘arrive; equal’.

Table 6.9 provides an overview of Pichi constructions employed for comparison as well as “similatives” (cf 6.9.3). For illustration, it contains elicited variations of the same sentence. The more common constructions are found under the heading “primary”, while the column “secondary” features less common ones. Glosses for the Pichi words in the table are: e ‘3sg.sbj’, fɔ ‘prep’, kin ‘hab’, lɛ́k ‘like’, lɔ́n ‘be long; tall’, mán ‘man; person’, mí ‘1sg.indp’, mɔ́ ‘more’, ɔ́l ‘all’, pás ‘(sur)pass’, rích ‘arrive; equal’, sɛ́ns ‘intelligence’ and wáka ‘walk’:

Table 6.9 Comparison

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Primary | | Secondary | |
| Type | Subtype | Example | Subtype | Example |
| Comparative | (1) Particle + Exceed-1 | e mɔ́ lɔ́n pás mí;  e lɔ́n mɔ́ pás mí | Exceed-2 | e pás mí fɔ sɛ́ns |
|  | (2) Exceed-1 SVC | e lɔ́n pás mí |  |  |
| Superlative | (1) Particle + Exceed-1 | e mɔ́ lɔ́n pás ɔ́l mán | Exceed-2 | e pás ɔ́l mán fɔ sɛ́ns |
|  | (2) Exceed-1 SVC | e lɔ́n pás ɔ́l mán |  |  |
| Equative | Particle | e lɔ́n lɛk mí | Equal | e rích mí fɔ sɛ́ns |
| Similative | Particle | e kin wáka lɛk mí | — |  |

In general, relative comparison featuring an explicit standard is less common than absolute comparatives and superlatives, in which the standard must be recovered from discourse context. Speakers often employ the rich inventory of inherently graded verbs, adverbs, particles, phrasal expressions and suprasegmentals for the expression of gradation.

### Comparatives

A participant-introducing SVC featuring the verb pás ‘(sur)pass’ is employed to express comparative degree in an “Exceed-1” comparative (Stassen 1985). The following example features the property item bíg ‘be big’ as the parameter verb:

(467) Dán gɛ́l, a tɛ́l yú sé e chapea

that girl 1sg.sbj tell 2sg.indp quot 3sg.sbj weed

lɛk wán sáy wé e bíg pás dí wán.

like one side sub 3sg.sbj be.big pass this one

‘That girl, I tell you that she weeded like a place that was bigger

than this.’ [ed03sb 060]

In contexts other than comparison, the verb pás occurs as a lexical verb with the meanings ‘(sur)pass; pass by; move along’ as in the following three examples:

(468) Porque a bin **pás** na Camerún fɔ́s.

because 1sg.sbj pst pass loc place first

‘Because I passed through Cameroon first.’ [fr03ft 098]

(469) Tú dé wé e **pás** bihɛ́n, a sí mi mamá.

two day sub 3sg.sbj pass behind 1sg.sbj see 1sg.poss mother

‘Two days ago, I saw my mother.’ [ye05ce 044]

(470) Yu sí di stík e de **pás** ɔntɔ́p watá?

2sg see def tree 3sg.sbj ipfv pass on water

‘Do you see the stick passing by on the water?’ [ro05de 002]

An SVC can express comparison (467) on its own. However, the adverb of degree mɔ́ ‘more’ is equally often employed in addition to pás to form a “mixed comparative” (Stassen 1985). The adverb mɔ́ ‘more’ functions as an intensifier, albeit highly conventionalised in its use, rather than being an indispensable element of the comparative construction. It exhibits word order flexibility and may occur after (471) or before (472) the parameter verb:

(471) Dán wán wé e lɔ́n mɔ́, na ín

that one sub 3sg.sbj be.long more foc 3sg.indp

de salút dán ɔ́da tú húman dɛn.

ipfv greet that other two woman pl

‘The one who is taller, it’s her that’s greeting the other two

women.’ [dj07re 039]

(472) Náw náw mí de chɛ́k sé Libreville wet yá,

now rep 1sg.indp ipfv check quot place with here

yá mɔ́ día pás dé.

here more be.expensive pass there

‘Right now, I [emp] think that Libreville and here, here is more expensive

than there.’ [ma03hm 052]

I assume that preverbal mɔ́ ‘more’ is being reinforced by the Spanish comparative construction featuring the adverb más ‘more’. The comparative constructions of both languages exhibit an identical linear structure. Compare (473) in colloquial Spanish with (472) above:

(473) Aquí es **más** **caro** que allá.

here is more expensive than there

‘Here [it] is more expensive than there.’

In the absolute comparative in (474) below, *mɔ́* ‘more’ occurs as a prenominal modifier to the Spanish noun *énfasis* ‘emphasis’. The categorial flexibility of *mɔ́* ‘more’ is exploited by insertion in a Spanish adjective position in a code-mixed collocation. This Pichi-Spanish verb-noun combination is creatively used to render the meaning ‘be emphatic’:

(474) Mék e gɛ́t mɔ́ énfasis.

sbjv 3sg.sbj get more emphasis

‘Let it be more emphatic [than usual].’ [dj05ce 126]

The corpus also contains an example in which mɔ́ ‘more’ is employed both in pre- and post-verbal position in order to signal an emphatic absolute comparative:

(475) E púl mɔ́ plɛ́nte mɔ́.

3sg.sbj remove more be.plenty more

‘He removed much more.’ [au07fn 109]

However, unmixed “Exceed” comparatives are particularly common when the parameter is dynamic, not a property item, and hence semantically neutral as to gradation. The use of mɔ́ ‘more’ with such verbs automatically results in a quantity gradation, and mɔ́ can only occur after the parameter in order to modifiy the predicate in its entirety (476):

(476) Porque ɔ́da sáy fít dé wé, a go wók só,

because other side can be.loc sub 1sg.sbj pot work like.that

a go wín mɔ́ pás dé.

1sg.sbj pot earn more pass there

‘Because there could be another place where, (if) I worked like this,

I might earn more than there.’ [dj07ae 495]

When a verb is to be graded as to some defined quantity or some kind of quality, mɔ́ ‘more’ is usually omitted. Instead, a degree modifier or an object that specifies the quality or quantity may intervene between the parameter and pás ‘(sur)pass’. Compare the adverbial modifier fáyn ‘fine’ in (477) and the object Bubɛ ‘Bube’ in (478):

(477) Dí wán dɔ́n de tɔ́k, dí wán de tɔ́k fáyn

this one prf ipfv talk this one ipfv talk fine

pás in sísta

pass 3sg.poss sister

‘This one talks, this one talks [the Bube language]

better than her sister.’ [ab03ab 010]

(478) Lage de tɔ́k Bubɛ pás mí.

name ipfv talk Bube pass 1sg.indp

‘Lage talks Bube (better) than me.’ [fr03ab 012]

When the parameter is a motion verb, the “Exceed” comparative may acquire quite a literal meaning as in (479). The example below also shows that the standard can be modified further by way of a relative clause. Such a relative clause with a locative head noun may be employed in contexts where the parameter is non-gradable and the standard is an entire clause (480):

(479) A de gó fawe pás di sáy wé Paquita sidɔ́n.

1sg.sbj ipfv go far pass def side sub Paquita stay

‘I’m going farther than the place where Paquita lives.’ [ro05ee 082]

(480) A báy pás di sáy wé di mɔní rích.

1sg.sbj buy pass def side sub def money arrive

‘I bought more than the money was sufficient for.’ [rofn05 001]

The collocation lɛk háw ‘the way (that); as soon as’ may also introduce the standard of complex comparatives like (481), in which the standard is an entire adverbial clause. Note the presence of the standard marker pás ‘(sur)pass’:

(481) Na lɛk sé yu wánt tɛ́l wán pɔ́sin sé yu dú sɔn

foc like quot 2sg want tell one person quot 2sg do some

tín pás lɛk háw yu bin gɛ́fɔ dú=an.

thing pass like how 2sg pst have.to do=3sg.obj

‘It’s as if you want to tell a person that you’ve done something more

than what you should have done.’ [au07ec 049]

The standard clause in (482) is also introduced by lɛk háw ‘the way (that); as soon as’. The sentence features the locative noun pantáp ‘on; in addition to’ as a standard marker instead of pás. The use of pantáp in this way is only attested in such complex comparatives:

(482) Bɔt yu nó fít tɔ́k sé a chɔ́p trí spún

but 2sg neg can talk quot 1sg.sbj eat three spoon

pantáp lɛk háw a kin chɔ́p.

on like how 1sg.sbj hab eat

‘But you can’t say that you have eaten three spoons more than you

usually eat. [au07ec 045]

A second way of forming comparatives is rare. In “Exceed-2” comparatives (Stassen 1985) the parameter is expressed as a PP, hence a nominal. The marker of comparison, the verb pás ‘(sur)pass’, is the only verb of the clause and is employed as an inchoative-stative verb.

For these reasons, the construction is more likely to appear with quality-denoting nouns like sɛ́ns ‘intelligence’ in (483) than with property-denoting verbs. Compare (484), where the property gɛ́t sɛ́ns ‘have brain’ = ‘be intelligent’ is graded in an “Exceed-1” comparative:

(483) di pikín pás yú fɔ sɛ́ns.

def child pass 2sg.indp prep brain

‘The child is more intelligent than you.’ [ro05de 038]

(484) E gɛ́t sɛ́ns pás yú.

3sg.sbj get brain pass 2sg.indp

‘He is more intelligent than you.’ [eb07fn 234]

In a second, equally rare variant of the “Exceed-2” comparative, the property is expressed as a possessed noun of the comparee (485):

(485) In sɛ́ns pás yu yón.

3sg.poss brain pass 2sg own

‘His intelligence surpasses yours.’ [ro05de 040]

Relative comparatives are rivalled in their frequency by absolute comparatives in which the standard of comparison is absent and logically implied. In absolute comparatives, the use of mɔ́ ‘more’ as a degree adverbial (486) is the most common option.

(486) Dí wán na di hós wé fáyn mɔ́.

def one foc def house sub be.fine more

‘This is the house that’s more beautiful.’ [nn05fn 011]

In contrast, an SVC with a sentence-final, ‘stranded’ *pás* as in(487) is not accepted by the majority of speakers who were tested:

(487) ?Dí wán na di bɔ́y wé fáyn pás.

def one foc def boy sub be.fine pass

?This is the boy who is more handsome. [to07fn 235]

A sentence-final pás is all the same common where it occurs in a clause as the only verb (rather than the V2 of an SVC) with the meaning ‘surpass an acceptable limit’ (488):

(488) E dɔ́n de pás.

3sg.sbj prf ipfv pass

‘It’s become too much now.’ [ro05rr 011]

I should point out that in spite of its apparent categorial flexibility, mɔ́ ‘more’ may not be used as a lexical verb meaning ‘surpass’ like pás ‘(sur)pass’ in Pichi, unlike the verb moro ‘surpass’ in Sranan Tongo (cf. Blanker & Dubbeldam 2010:139).

### Superlatives

Superlatives are formed by the same formal means as comparatives. The reference of the standard NP is extended to englobe the entire set of possible referents by means of a standard NP featuring ɔ́l ‘all’ or ɛ́ni ‘every’ and the relevant group of referents. The standard NP often consists of the generic nouns pɔ́sin ‘person’, mán ‘man; person’, húman ‘woman’, and pípul ‘people’ if the comparee is human:

(489) Boyé stáwt pás ɔ́l mán na di hós.

name be.corpulent pass all man loc def house

‘Boyé is more corpulent than every person in the house.’ [ro05de 060]

However, the most common way of rendering a superlative relation is by means of an absolute superlative without explicit mention of a standard NP. Such constructions are no different from absolute comparatives, and the difference in meaning between the two constructions is inferred from context.

In the following absolute superlative, the Spanish adjective *difícil* ‘difficult’ is followed by mɔ́ ‘more’ with a superlative meaning. This sentence was uttered after the speaker had taken us on a tour through a new house and explained the hassles involved in building it:

(490) Di tín wé bin dé difícil mɔ́ na dí hós, fɔ pút nivel.

def thing sub pst be.loc difficult more loc this house prep put level

‘The thing that was most difficult [of all the construction work] in this house, (was)

to level (the ground).’ [ye07fn 065]

Aside from constructions like (490), which involve an implicit standard, the data abounds with absolute superlatives where the standard is even more vague. Such “superlatives” form part of the inventory of intensifying and emphatic devices of the language. They involve lexicalised phrases like pás mák ‘pass (the) limit’ or nó smɔ́l ‘neg small’ = ‘not in the least’:

(491) Di smɔ́l wán dɔ́n de tɔ́k pás mák.

def small one prf ipfv talk pass mark

‘The small one already talks unbelievably well.’ [lo07fn185]

(492) E nó fúl nó smɔ́l.

3sg.sbj neg be.foolish neg be.small

‘She’s not in the least foolish.’ [ro05ee 135]

Superlative degree may also be signalled by the multifunctional word óva ‘over; excessively’ when used as a verb (493) and an adverbial (494).

(493) Di chɔ́p óva.

def food be.excessive

‘The food is too much.’ [au07ec 042]

(494) Wɛ́n dɛn dɔ́n dríng óva, nɔ́?

sub 3pl prf drink over intj

‘When they’ve drunk excessively, right?’ [ma03hm 069]

Óva may also appear as the first component of a compound verb which expresses an excessive degree of the situation denoted by the verb (cf. 4.4.3 for more details):

(495) Di hós ova-dɔtí.

def house over.cpd-be.dirty

‘The house is excessively dirty.’ [au07ec 027]

Emphatic absolute superlatives may also involve the use of degree adverbs like bád ‘extremely’ (496), tú (mɔ́ch) ‘too much’ (497), or sóté ‘until; extremely:

(496) Dán húman lɔ́n bád.

that woman be.long bad

‘This woman is excessively long.’ [li07pe 064]

(497) Di chɔ́p e tú bɔkú.

def food 3sg.sbj too be.much

‘The food is too much.’ [dj05ae 125]

Beyond that, Pichi features a number of inherently comparative and superlative words. Like the degree expressions óva ‘over’ covered above, these words are multifunctional and may be employed as adverbs or verbs alike. The words bɛ́ta ‘be very good’, wos ‘be very bad’, tú mɔ́ch ‘be very/too much’, as well as bɔkú ‘be (very) much’ alone may signal an exceptionally high degree of a quality or quantity:

(498) E wós.

3sg.sbj be.very.bad

‘It’s very bad.’ or ‘It’s worse.’ [ra07fn 036]

(499) Di prɔ́blɛm dɛn dɔ́n tú mɔ́ch (...)

def problem 3pl prf too be.much

‘The problems became too much (…).’ [ma03ni 029]

(500) Di chɔ́p bɔkú, di chɔ́p e tú bɔkú.

def food be.much def food 3sg.sbj too be.much

‘The food is very (or too) much, the food is too much.’

These inherently superlative words may combine with mɔ́ ‘more’ for additional intensity and emphasis as in the following examples. Note the characteristic syntactic flexibility of mɔ́ in these sentences:

(501) E mɔ́ wós.

3sg.sbj more be.very.bad

‘It’s much worse.’ [ra07fn 035]

(502) Panyá, na ín wós mɔ́.

Spain foc 3sg.indp be.very.bad more

‘As for Spain, that’s really bad [as a place to live in].’ [ra07fn 040]

(503) E bɛ́ta mɔ́.

3sg.sbj be.very good more

‘It’s much better.’ [ge07fn 038]

(504) E mɔ́ bɛ́ta.

3sg.sbj more be.very.good

‘It’s much better.’ [ge07fn 039]

Nuances of superlative degree may also be signalled through the use of emphatic suprasegmental features such as extra-high pitch, pitch range expansion, or vowel lengthening, as well as through other emphatic devices, like ideophones and reduplication.

### Equatives

Equative constructions are formed in two ways. The most frequent one involves the preposition lɛ(kɛ) ‘like’ as the standard marker. The preposition is inserted between the parameter and the standard. This construction assigns the same degree of a property to both the comparee and the standard:

(505) Nó chɔ́p nó dé wé e swít lɛk kokó.

neg food neg be.loc sub 3sg.sbj be.tasty like cocoa.yam

‘There’s no food that’s as tasty as cocoa yam.’ [ro05ee 141]

(506) E nó fáyn lɛk mí.

3sg.sbj neg fine like 1sg.indp

‘He isn’t as handsome as me.’ [ye07fn 135]

Take note of the lexicalised equative construction bɔkú lɛ́k nyɔ́ní ‘be many like ants’ in (507):

(507) Yu fít tɔ́k sé ‘mi brɔ́da dɛn bɔkú lɛk nyɔ́ní’.

2sg can talk quot 1sg.poss brother 3pl be.much like ant

‘You can say “my siblings are many just like ants”.’ [ro05ee 034]

In constructions featuring an entire equative clause as the standard, the collocation lɛk háw ‘like how’ = ‘the way that’ is used instead of lɛ́k (508)–(509). The second example below features a code-mixed equative construction featuring the Spanish element tan ‘as; so’. In unmixed sentences, Pichi does not employ an additional parameter marker like tan before the parameter verb:

(508) (...) mék yu nó para sóté mék e tík lɛk háw

sbjv 2sg neg stop until sbjv 3sg.sbj be.thick like how

e bin désó.

3sg.sbj pst be.loc like.that

‘(...) don’t stop until it’s (as) thick as it was.’ [dj03do 058]

(509) Mí nóto tan dɛ́bul lɛk háw yu de chɛ́k mí.

1sg.indp neg.foc as devil like how 2sg ipfv think 1sg.indp

‘I’m not as much of a devil as you think I am.’ [ye07fn 002]

Pichi speakers employ a second, albeit marginal equative construction, in which the verb rích ‘arrive’ is the only verb. At the same time, the parameter appears as a nominal constituent in a fɔ-prepositional phrase. Like the verb pás ‘(sur)pass’ in (483) above, the verb rích is employed as an inchoative-stative verb in these instances:

(510) E nó rích mí fɔ fáyn.

3sg.sbj neg arrive 1sg.indp prep fine

‘He doesn’t equal me in beauty.’ [ye07fn 134]

Other than that, verb rích is employed as an allative motion verb ‘reach; arrive (at)’. In addition to its literal sense, rích also occurs with the meaning ‘equal; be sufficient’ (511). Rích may also be found as a minor verb in the V2 position of a motion-direction SVC (512):

(511) E dɔ́n **rích**.

3sg.sbj prf arrive

‘It’s enough.’ Or ‘S/he has arrived.’ [dj07ae 356]

(512) A wánt **fláy** **rích**  na tɔ́n náw náw.

1sg.sbj want fly arrive loc town now rep

‘I want to hurry to town right now.’ [dj07ae 362]

# 

# The clause

There are four types of basic, non-complex clause structures in Pichi. Pragmatically marked structures that cut across these four types include negative constructions, questions, as well as focus and topic constructions. The expression of being and having involves a network of functionally overlapping copula and existential verbs, and verbs of possession. Pichi adverbs modify verbs and clauses. The majority of adverbs occupy a clause-initial or a clause-final position, but a small set of time and degree adverbs are also found in preverbal position in the company of TMA markers.

## Clause structure

Four types of clauses can be distinguished by their basic order, as well as the presence and type of the core constituents verb, subject and object: verbal clauses, serial verb clauses, copula clauses and directive clauses.

### Verbal clauses

The order of constituents in verbal clauses corresponds to the pattern presented in Figure 7.1. Details on the structure of the noun phrase and the predicate are provided in Figure 5.1 and Figure 6.1 respectively. A few observations on Figure 7.1 follow: Subject NPs (sbj np) may be picked up by a resumptive personal pronoun (pro). They may hence co-occur in the same clause, but such structures involve topicalisation and are therefore pragmatically marked (hence the separation of sbj np and pro with a slash). There are several adverbial slots in a clause, details on the positions of adverb(ials) are covered in detail in 7.7.

Pichi has double object constructions marked by constituent order. The first object NP slot (obj np) is reserved for recipient or beneficiary objects, the second for theme or patient objects (for details, see Table 9.10). There are a clause-initial and a clause-final slot for interjections. The latter may be filled, among other elements, by the sentence-final modal particle and interjection *ó* ‘sp’ (cf. 12.2.5).

Figure 7.1 Constituent order in verbal clauses

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| intj | adv | sbj np/ pro | neg | tma | adv | verb | obj np | adv | obj np | intj |

Pichi has a subject–verb word order in intransitive clauses (cf. (515) below), and a subject–verb–object order in transitive clauses (513):

(513) E sɛ́n di bɔ́l.

3sg.sbj send def ball

‘She threw the ball.’ [ra07se 203]

Objects follow the verb. In most double-object constructions, the primary object with the semantic role of recipient or beneficiary is found immediately to the right of the verb. The secondary object encodes the theme or patient and follows the primary object:

(514) A sé ‘nó gí=an leche, gí=an wɔtá’.

1sg.sbj quot neg give=3sg.obj milk give=3sg.obj water

‘I said “don’t give him milk, give him water”.‘ [ab03ab 099]

Full nouns occur on their own as subjects. But a coreferential dependent pronoun may additionally occur in the clause which picks up the definite subject. Such structures may be seen to involve topicalisation by dislocation (cf. 7.5.1). Example (515) features both alternatives:

(515) Di chía blák, di chía , e blák.

def chair be.black def chair 3sg.sbj be.black

‘The chair is black, the chair (it) is black.’ [dj05ae 121]

Pronoun resumption is also found with objects. The following two examples illustrate the use of pronominal copying with fronted and topical object NPs. In (516), the full NP dán mán ‘that man’ and in (517) the emphatic 3pl pronoun dɛ́n are set off from the rest of the clause by an intonation break and resumed by object pronouns:

(516) Dán mán, a dɔ́n sí=an sɛ́f.

that man 1sg.sbj prf see=3sg.obj emp

‘That man, I have even seen him.’ [ch07fn 236]

(517) Dɛ́n, a nó de pút dɛ́n ínsay.

3pl.indp 1sg.sbj neg ipfv put 3pl.indp inside

‘As for them, I don’t put them inside.’ [dj03do 006]

An indication that subject pronoun copying may also involve a topic–comment structure comes from examples such as (518). This sentence features the independent, emphatic personal pronoun dɛ́n at the beginning of the clause, followed by a coreferential dependent pronoun:

(518) Dɛ́n, dɛn bin de, dɛn bin dɔ́n sabí (...)

3pl.indp 3pl pst ipfv 3pl pst prf know

‘As for them, they were, they had already found out (...)’ [ma03hm 037]

Constructions like (518), in which a personal pronoun is fronted for focus or emphasis and immediately followed by a resumptive dependent personal pronoun, are, however, rare. Instead, emphatic personal pronouns appear more often on their own. This pattern suggests that subject pronoun copying is pragmatically less marked than object pronoun copying as encountered in (516) and (517). This observation fits with the high frequency of resumptive pronoun usage in the relativised position of subject relative clauses as compared to the lower frequency in object relative clauses (cf. 10.6.2):

(519) Mí dɔ́n sɔ́fa.

1sg.indp prf suffer

‘I [emp] have suffered.’ [ab03ab 037]

Quotative clauses introduced by the quotative marker sé ‘quot’ can be found in the syntactic position of the subject or object. A clause introduced by sé may also occupy the clause-initial or clause-final adverbial position. Consider the two alternative translations of the following sentence. The first translation renders the function of a quotative complement clause, the second that of an adverbial cause clause:

(520) A dɔ́n de gládin sé a dɔ́n gó.

1sg.sbj prf ipfv be.glad quot 1sg.sbj prf go

‘I was already glad that I was gone.’ or

‘I was already glad because I was gone.’ [ab03ay 091]

In the predicate, the negator nó, TMA markers, and preverbal adverbs occur before the verb, in this order. The clitic 3sg.obj pronoun =an immediately follows the verb. Apart from the negator nó ‘neg’ and TMA markers, the adverbs of degree tú ‘too (much)’, tú (mɔ́ch) ‘too (much), só ‘so (much)’, as well as the temporal adverbs jís/jɔ́s ‘just’ and stíl ‘still’ are the only elements that may appear between a subject pronoun or NP and the verb.

In (521), tú ‘too (much)’ occurs before the stative verb évi ‘be heavy’. In (522), tú appears before the locative-existential copula dé:

(521) Di bɔ́ks e tú évi.

def box 3sg.sbj too be.heavy

‘The box (it) is too heavy.’ [dj05ae 143]

(522) Di strít tú dé wɔwɔ́.

def street too be.loc ugly

‘The street is too messed up.’ [dj05ae 135]

Other adverbs and adverbials are usually found at the clause margins. Compare the clause-final degree adverb smɔ́l ‘a bit’ (< ‘(be) small’) in (523):

(523) Djunais dɔ́n dríng smɔ́l.

name prf drink a.bit

‘Djunais has drunk a bit [of alcohol].’ [fr03wt 182]

### Copula clauses

Two types of copula clauses should be distinguished. Equative clauses feature the copulas and focus markers na ‘foc’ and nóto ‘neg.foc’ in a copula function. I analyse na-copula clauses as grammaticalised topic-comment structures, in which the notional subject is topicalised, and the nominal functioning as the copula complement is under focus. These clauses differ from verbal clauses and predicate adjective clauses involving the copula dé ‘be.loc’ in two ways: Pronominal subjects are always from the emphatic series (524), and more often than not, the 3sg and 3pl pronouns remain unexpressed (525) because na and nóto incorporate 3sg reference by default:

(524) Mí na di chíf nɔ́.

1sg.indp foc def chief intj

‘I’m the boss, right.’ [dj05ce 176]

(525) Nóto mecánico.

neg.foc mechanic

‘(He’s) not a mecanic.’ [dj0502e1 214]

Predicate adjective clauses constitute the second type of copula clause. A small set of property-denoting verbs may also function as predicate adjectives and appear as complements to the locative-existential copula dé ‘be.loc’ (526). Unlike other property items, these adjectives may therefore appear in the same syntactic position as adverbials in this type of copula clause (527):

(526) Tidé di húman dé fáyn.

today def woman be.loc fine

‘Today the woman is fine.’ [dj05ae 153]

(527) E dé na grɔ́n.

3sg.sbj be.loc loc ground

‘He is [lying] on the ground.’ [ab03ab 063]

### Directive clauses

The syntax of 2sg directive (imperative) clauses is distinct from other clause types and other directive clauses in that the 2sg subject remains unexpressed (528). However, a 2pl subject must be overtly expressed (529):

(528) Nó láf!

neg laugh

‘Don’t laugh!’ [ru03wt 022]

(529) Una púl di torí!

2pl pull def story

‘Tell [pl] the story!’ [fr03wt 018]

Moreover, directives are the only type of main clause that feature a TMA marker in the prenominal rather than the preverbal slot; compare the subjunctive marker mék ‘sbjv’ (530):

(530) Mék a púl wán smɔ́l torí?

sbjv 1sg.sbj pull one small story

‘Should I tell a little story?’ [au07se 059]

At the same time, directive subjunctive clauses are structurally no different from other clauses that feature a clause linker at their very left. Compare (530) with the sequential clause introduced by wé ‘sub’ in (531):

(531) Wé e bin dáy só.

sub 3sg.sbj pst die like.that

‘And he died just like that.’ [ed03sb 126]

## Negation

Pichi negation revolves around the general negator nó ‘neg’, which functions as a negative particle in verb negation and as a negative quantifier in NP negation. Besides nó, Pichi features the negative indefinite pronoun nátin‘nothing’, which is specialised for use in negative clauses. Other than that, Pichi makes use of negative phrases consisting of nó and generic nouns that function as negative indefinites and adverbials. Furthermore, clause negation is characterised by negative concord; when the verb is negated, non-specific NPs may also be preceded by nó ‘neg’.

Finally, negation of the perfect aspect as well as equative clauses and focus constructions is not achieved by the addition of the negator *nó*. Instead, negation in these environments is suppletive or “asymmetrical” (Miestamo 2005:72ff.). It relies on the use of morphologically distinct elements that incorporate negative polarity as well as the relevant grammatical category.

### Verb negation

Table 7.1 below provides an overview of the forms and structures employed to express verb negation. “Standard negation”, the negation of declarative clauses (Miestamo 2005) revolves around the general negator *nó* ‘neg’, see (1)(a) in Table 7.1. Verb negation involves “symmetric” (Miestamo 2005) or “additive” negation (Jungraithmayr 1988) with all TMA categories except for perfect tense-aspect and imperative mood. Symmetric negation involves adding the standard negator *nó* without further adjustments to the clause. The negation of perfect tense-aspect is “asymmetric” (Miestamo 2005) or “substitutive” (Jungraithmayr 1988), cf. (1)(b). Negation relies on the use of morphologically distinct elements that incorporate negative polarity as well as the relevant grammatical category. The negation of imperatives is also optionally achieved by means of negative subjunctives and is therefore also asymmetric (1)(c). Further, Pichi makes use of bipolar adverbs to express negative quantification and emphasis (2). The negation of identity-equative copulas is covered in 7.6 and constituent negation is treated in 7.2.4.

Table 7.1 Overview of verb negation

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Type/polarity | Affirmative | Negative | Function/meaning of negative |
| (1) Verb | (a) TMA | nó + TMA | General negator |
|  | (b) dɔ́n ‘pfv’ | nɛ́a/nɔ́ba;  nó ― yét | Negative perfect;  ‘not yet’ |
|  | (c) Imperative | mék ― nó | Negative subjunctive |
| (2) Verb + adverb | yét ‘yet, still’ | nó ― yét | ‘not yet’ |
|  | mɔ́ ‘more’ | nó ― mɔ́ | ‘no more; not again’ |
|  | sɛ́f ‘even’ | nó ― sɛ́f | ‘not even’ |

The negation of declarative clauses is symmetrical. They acquire negative polarity when the general negator nó is placed before the bare verb or the relevant TMA marker. The position of the negator is canonical. The imperfective-marked verb gí ‘give’ in (532) is negated in (533). A negative existential clause is presented in (534). Note the appearance of negative concord in the latter example:

(532) Dɛn de gí dɛ́n skúl fɔ training centre.

3pl ipfv give 3pl.indp school prep training centre

‘They give them classes at a training centre.’ [to03gm 010]

(533) Dɛn nó de gí nó nátín.

3pl neg ipfv give neg nothing

‘They don’t give anything.’ [ed03sp 075]

(534) Láyf nó dé náw, wɔ́l nó dé.

life neg be.loc now world neg be.loc

‘[Nowadays] there is no life, there is no (proper) world.’ [ab03ay 130]

Sentence (535) contains both an affirmative and a negative clause in the potential mood. The two subsequent examples present an affirmative clause marked for past tense and its negative counterpart (537):

(535) Ho, dán mán go dú vɔ́mit tidé, e nó go slíp.

intj that man pot do vomit today 3sg.sbj neg pot sleep

‘That man is going to vomit today, he won’t sleep.’ [ye03cd 143]

(536) E bin dé na jél.

3sg.sbj pst be.loc loc jail

‘He was in jail.’ [ma03sh 017]

(537) A nó bin fít ték motó.

1sg.sbj neg pst can take car

‘I wasn’t able to take a car.’ [ed03sp 077]

Imperatives (538) are negated either with a symmetrical structure (539) or with an asymmetrical structure involving a negative subjunctive clause (540):

(538) Pás na mákit mɔ́!

pass loc market again

‘Pass by the market again!’ [dj05ce 071]

(539) Nó, wi de conversa, nó vɛ́ks Djunais!

neg 1pl ipfv converse neg be.angry name

‘No, we’re (just) conversing, don’t be angry Djunais!’ [ye03cd 094]

(540) **Mék** yu **nó** kán a las cinco.

sbjv 1pl 2sg neg come at the.pl five

‘Don’t come at five (o’clock).’ [he07fn 276]

The negation of the perfect tense-aspect is asymmetrical. While the affirmative features the marker dɔ́n ‘prf’ (541), the negative perfect is formed with a suppletive allomorph, i.e. either of the free variants nɛ́a and nɔ́ba ‘neg.prf’ (542):

(541) Yu dɔ́n bɔ́n fo pikín, (...)

2sg prf give.birth four child

‘You have given birth to four children, (...)’ [hi03cb 187]

(542) E nɛ́a bɔ́n pikín.

3sg.sbj neg.prf give.birth child

‘She hasn’t given birth to a child yet.’ [fr03ft 139]

The adverbial yét ‘still; yet’ may appear with the negative perfect without providing an additional meaning besides stressing the nuance of current relevance inherent to the perfect (543). However, the combination nó — yét ‘not yet’ can also express this nuance of the perfect by itself and thereby function as a *dé facto* negative perfect marker (544). In an affirmative clause, the adverbial *yét* means ‘yet; still’, as in (247) further above:

(543) Yu sísta e nɔ́ba máred yét?

2sg sister 3sg.sbj neg.prf marry yet

‘Your sister isn’t married yet?’

(544) E nó máred yét?

3sg.sbj neg marry yet

‘She isn’t married yet?’

The two other combinations of verb negation and a clause-final adverbial are nó — mɔ́ ‘no more; not again’ and nó — sɛ́f ‘not even’. Compare the affirmative use of mɔ́ ‘more’ in (538) with (545) below.

(545) Dɛn nó go fláy na Bata mɔ́.

3pl neg pot fly loc place more

‘They’re not going to fly to Bata anymore/again.’ [eb07fn 237]

Examples (546) and (547) present the use of sɛ́f ‘self, emp’ in an affirmative and a negative clause, respectively. The negated clause acquires an emphatic negative meaning:

(546) Náw e dɔ́n dáy sɛ́f.

now 3sg.sbj prf die emp

‘Now he’s even dead.’ [ma03sh 016]

(547) Ɛ́n, dɛn nó nó sɛ́f.

intj 3pl neg know emp

‘Yes, they don’t even know (at all).’ [hi03cb 119]

### Negative concord

Pichi makes use of negative concord. Verbal and constituent negation co-occur in clauses with negative polarity. Negative concord is pragmatically determined, hence non-strict with lexical nouns, where it only renders emphatic meanings. Negative concord is, however, grammatically determined, hence strict, with negative indefinite pronouns and phrases. In either case, the negated constituent in constructions featuring negative concord is best interpreted as non-specific.

Pragmatically neutral lexical nouns in subject position are not normally preceded by the general negator *nó* ‘neg’ in negative clauses. The following example is a negative existential clause, in which the subject *chɔ́p* ‘food’ is not preceded by the negator *nó:*

(548) Fíba nó sube ín.

fever neg go.up 3sg.indp

‘(The) fever hasn’t risen on him.’ [eb07fn 171]

In (549), the plural subject mán dɛn ‘people’ and the singular subject chɔ́p ‘food’ are both not preceded by nó ‘neg’. The noun chɔ́p is the subject of a negative existential clause. Such clauses usually only feature negative concord when extra emphasis is desired (551):

(549) Mán dɛn nó de bísin fɔ mék fám mɔ́,

man pl neg ipfv be.busy prep make farm more

yu gó fɔ mákit, chɔ́p nó dé.

2sg go prep market food neg be.loc

‘People don’t care about farming anymore, (if) you go to the market

there’s no food.’ [ed03sp 053]

Subject NPs may nevertheless be preceded by nó. Such negative clauses featuring negative concord have a single negation reading. Negative concord provides a means of adding an emphatic sense to the negative clause. Compare dɔ́kta ‘doctor’ in (550) and motó ‘car’ in (551):

(550) E sé bueno ás nó dɔ́kta nó de kán sí (...)

3sg.sbj quot good as neg doctor neg ipfv come see

‘She said, ok, since no doctor is at all coming to see (...)’ [hi03cb 091]

(551) Nó motó nó dé wé e smát lɛk mi yón.

neg car neg be.loc sub 3sg.sbj be.fast like 1sg.poss own

‘There is not a single car that is as fast as mine.’ [ro05ee 140]

Object NPs also only feature negative concord when emphasis is intended. Compare the non-emphatic negative clause in (552) with (553), which features verb negation and negative concord. Also note the presence of the independent emphatic pronoun ín ‘3sg.indp’:

(552) A nó gɛ́t pamáyn.

1sg.sbj neg get oil

‘I don’t have (any) oil.’ [ab03ay 015]

(553) Ín go chɔ́p=an, e nó gɛ́t nó problema.

3sg.indp pot eat=3sg.obj 3sg.sbj neg get neg problem

‘He [emp] will eat it, he has no problem whatsoever [with this kind of food].’ [ro05rt 066]

Often, emphasis comes in combination with other emphatic features, i.e. suprasegmental cues such as increased volume, higher pitch, or reduced speed in the pronunciation of the negator and the negated NP, or the use of emphatic elements. NPs preceded by *nó* in negative clauses can receive an even higher degree of emphasis if the negative quantifier *nó* is followed by the cardinal numeral and indefinite determiner *wán*, as in (554) with the object *wɔ́d* ‘word’:

(554) Sóté a **nó** tɔ́k nó wán wɔ́d.

until 1sg.sbj neg talk neg one word

‘Until I didn’t say a single word (anymore).’ [ab03ay 088]

Negative concord is also found in coordinate NPs featuring the negative coordinator pair ni — ni, which is borrowed from Spanish (555). Spanish employs no negative concord in this particular construction (556):

(555) Ni ín ni in brɔ́da dɛn nó lán.

neg 3sg.indp neg 3sg.poss brother 3pl neg learn

‘Neither he nor his brothers (have) studied.’ [ro05ee 145]

(556) Ni él ni su hermano han estudiado.

neg he neg his brother have studied

‘Neither he nor his brother has studied.’

### Negative indefinite pronouns and phrases

While negative concord is exploited for pragmatic purposes with lexical nouns, negative concord is strict, and hence grammatically conditioned with negative indefinite pronouns and negative indefinite phrases. Pichi has a single item that can unequivocally be qualified as a polarity sensitive, monomorphemic negative indefinite pronoun, namely *nátin*‘nothing’. The expression *nó bɔ́di* (*<* neg body) = ‘nobody’ is partly opaque and may therefore be seen as intermediate between negative indefinite pronoun and negative indefinite phrase: Although *nó bɔ́di* is segmentable, the noun *bɔ́di* is not used as a generic noun with the meaning ‘person’. The noun *bɔ́di* also only seldom occurs with the meaning ‘body’, the regular term for ‘body’ being *skín.*

Concepts other than ‘nobody’ and ‘nothing’ are expressed via segmentable and semantically transparent syntactic phrases featuring the negative quantifier *nó* ‘neg’ and a generic noun. This mirrors the formation of indefinite phrases, for which there are, however, no non-segmentable exceptions (i.e. *sɔn tín* ‘something’, *sɔn pɔ́sin* ‘somebody’, see 5.4.3. The following table lists Pichi negative indefinite pronouns and negative indefinite phrases:

Table 7.2 Negative indefinite pronouns and negative indefinite phrases

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Type | Pronoun/phrase | Gloss | Translation |
| ‘Thing’ | nátin | nothing | ‘nothing’ |
| ‘Person’ | nó bɔ́di | neg-body | ‘nobody’ |
|  | nó mán | neg man |  |
|  | nó pɔ́sin | neg person |  |
| ‘Place’ | nó sáy | neg side | ‘no where’ |
|  | nó plés | neg place |  |
|  | nó pát | neg part |  |
| ‘Manner’ | nó (káyn) stáyl | neg (kind) manner | ‘no way’ |
|  | nó wé | neg way |  |
| ‘Time’ | nó wán dé | neg one day | ‘never’ |
| ‘Kind’ | nó káyn | neg kind | ‘no kind’ |
| Pronominal | nó wán | neg one | ‘none; any’ |

In verbal clauses, the negative indefinite pronoun *nátin*must be used with a preceding negative quantifier *nó* ‘neg’ as well as with support from verb negation. This holds for both the subject and object position. Since *nátin*is inherently negative, its use in verbal clauses therefore invariably involves the use of double negative concord. Compare the indefinite NP sɔn tín ‘something’ (557) with the subject and object negative indefinite pronoun nátin‘nothing’ in (558) and (559) respectively:

(557) Mí wánt aks yú sɔn tín.

1sg.indp want ask 2sg.indp some thing

‘I want to ask you something.’ [fr03ab 191]

(558) \*(**Nó**) nátín nó dé dé.

neg nothing neg be.loc there

\*Nothing is there.

(559) Mí nó go tɛ́l=an nó nátín.

1sg.indp neg pot tell=3sg.obj neg nothing

‘I [emp] wouldn’t tell him anything.’ [bo03cb 138]

In the same vein, the co-occurrence of the negative quantifier *nó* and the negative indefinite pronoun without the simultaneous use of verbal negation is ungrammatical.

(560) **Nó** **nátín** \*(**nó**) dé dé.

neg nothing neg be.loc there

\*Nothing is there.

Strict negative concord also applies to all negative indefinite phrases involving generic nouns including *nó bɔ́di* ‘nobody’. Since generic nouns are not inherently negative, verbal clauses featuring negative indefinite phrases involve single negative concord: The generic noun is preceded by the negative quantifier *nó*, and the verb is negated.

(561) Dís sɔ́nde \*(**nó**) bɔ́di \*(**nó**) dé na strít.

this Sunday neg body neg be.loc loc street

‘This Sunday, nobody is in the streets.’ [ro05ee 136]

The negative indefinite phrase nó mán ‘neg man’ = ‘nobody’ is equally common as nó bɔ́di ‘nobody’ (561)–(562). The third logical alternative, nó pɔ́sin ‘neg person’ = ‘nobody’, is rare in the data:

(562) Nó mán nó blánt yá mɔ́ sɛ́f.

neg man neg reside here more emp

‘Nobody even lives here anymore.’ [ra07fn 064]

The affirmative counterparts of the negative indefinite phrases in (561)–(562) are indefinite (quantifier) phrases involving pɔ́sin ‘person’ and mán ‘man’, which function as indefinite pronouns:

(563) Pɔ́sin go entiende bɔt e nó dé bien.

person pot understand but 3sg.sbj neg be.loc good

‘One would understand, but it doesn’t sound good.’ [dj05be 043]

(564) Ɔ́l mán kin lúk=an, yu go sí wi nó go

all man hab look=3sg.obj 2sg pot see 1pl neg pot

mít nó bɔ́di na hós.

meet neg body loc house

‘Everybody watches it [the series], you’ll see we won’t

meet anybody at home.’ [ma03ni 038]

Negative indefinite adverbials are also formed by means of phrasal syntax. The phrase nó sáy ‘neg place’ = ‘nowhere’ is the most commonly employed expression to negate existence in a place. Compare the affirmative and negative sentences involving sáy ‘side; place’:

(565) Ɛ́ni sáy wé pɔ́sin wánt sidɔ́n, dɛn de sidɔ́n.

every side sub person want stay 3pl ipfv stay

‘Everywhere/anywhere people want to stay, they stay.’ [ma03hm 042]

(566) A nó de gó nó sáy.

1sg.sbj neg ipfv go neg side

‘I’m not going anywhere.’ [pa0502e1 209]

The generic noun sáy ‘side; place’ can also be used in a more literal sense to denote ‘space; place’. In that case, it is not usually additionally preceded by nó in negative clauses unless extra emphasis is intended. Compare the following two examples:

(567) Sáy nó dé.

side neg be.loc

‘There is no space [to sit].’ [ra07fn 029]

(568) Sáy nó dé fɔ wás hán?

side neg be.loc prep wash hand

‘Is there no place to wash (one’s) hands? [ra07fn 138]

The adverbial concept ‘never’ is expressed via the phrase nó wán dé ‘neg one day’ (570). Example (569) features the equivalent affirmative phrase ɔ́l tɛ́n ‘all time’ = ‘always’:

(569) Di húman ɔ́l tɛ́n e dé fáyn.

def woman all time 3sg.sbj be.loc fine

‘The woman is always looking fine.’ [dj05ae 155]

(570) E sé nó wán dé e nó go dú=an mɔ́.

3sg.sbj quot neg one day 3sg.sbj neg pot do=3sg.obj more

‘He said he would never do it again.’ [ro05ee 134]

The negative pronominal meaning of ‘none; any’ may be expressed through verb negation and use of the quantifier and indefinite determiner sɔn ‘some; a’, which may refer to count and mass nouns alike. The affirmative clause in (571) features sɔn used as pronominal (cf. also (186)–(187)). The negative counterpart of (571) may simply be a negative clause (572):

(571) Dán banána, a gí=an sɔn.

that banana 1sg.sbj give=3sg.obj some

‘That banana, I gave him one.’ [ab03ab 096]

(572) A nó gɛ́t sɔn.

1sg.sbj neg get some

‘I don’t have some/any.’ [eb07fn 303]

Alternatively, the negative indefinite phrase nó wán, which features the noun substitute wán ‘one’ may be employed when the referent is a count noun or an individuated entity (573):

(573) Nó wán nó lɛ́f wet mí.

neg one neg remain with 1sg.indp

‘None (at all) remains with me.’ [ye07fn 018]

The use of nó wán in such contexts often has emphatic connotations. Accordingly, the cardinal numeral wán also appears between the negator nó and a noun in emphatic negative phrases like (574) and (575). This usage also corresponds to the use of wán as an emphatic indefinite determiner in other contexts (e.g. with nouns under cleft focus in presentatives (cf. (179)):

(574) A go tɛ́l=an sé a nó de sɛ́l

1sg.sbj pot tell=3sg.obj quot 1sg.sbj neg ipfv sell

nó teléfono, nó wán.

neg telephone neg one

‘I’ll tell her that I’m not going to sell any telephone, none (at all).’ [lo07he 049]

(575) Nó tɔ́k nó wán wɔ́d!

neg talk neg one word

‘Don’t say a single word!’ [ro05ee 142]

The fixed expression nó wán dé ‘never’ in (570) above is also such an emphatic negative phrase, even if lexicalised.

### Constituent negation

The two preceding sections have shown that one means of negating nominal constituents is by placing the negator nó ‘neg’ before them. However, this kind of constituent negation by default does not appear independently of verb negation. A second means available for negating a larger range of constituents is the negative cleft focus construction. An overview of constituent negation is given in this table:

Table 7.3 Constituent negation

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Type | Negator | Gloss | Translation |
| Negative concord | nó | neg | ‘no’ |
| Constitutent negation | nóto | neg.foc | ‘it’s not’ |

Cleft focus provides a means of negating single constituents and is possible with any constituent that may be focused (cf. 7.4.3.2). In cleft focus constructions, the focused element is fronted to the sentence-initial position and preceded by the negative focus marker nóto ‘neg.foc’. Compare (576), where the subject NP ɔ́l húman ‘all women’ is singled out for constituent negation:

(576) Nóto ɔ́l húman fít máred.

neg.foc all woman can marry

‘Not all women can get married.’ [ab03ab 196]

Adverbials are negated in the same way as core NPs. Example (577) features the negated time adverbial tidé ‘today’, (578) the reason adverbial fɔ dán tín:

(577) Ɛ́n, na tidé mí híɛ.

intj foc today 1sg.indp hear

‘Yes, it’s today that I [emp] heard (it).’ [bo03cb 084]

(578) Nóto fɔ dán tín yu de kráy?

foc prep that thing 2sg ipfv cry

‘Is it not because of that that you are crying?’ [ne05fn 004]

In (579), speaker (hi) complains about the discrimination of women in wedlock, a condition she likens to slavery. In the example, speaker (hi) first negates the direct quote e fíba ‘it resembles’, the second nóto negates the verbal constituent as such:

(579) Ɛhɛ́, nóto ‘e fíba,’ na esclavitud, nóto ‘fíba’.

intj neg.foc 3sg.sbj resemble foc slavery neg.foc seem

‘Yes, not “it resembles (slavery)”, it’s slavery, not “resemble”.’ [hi03cb 227]

Sentences (580) and (581) illustrate how yet larger sentence constituents can be singled out for negation. Both examples are negative factive clauses, in which the existence of the situation of the reference clause is negated:

(580) Ɛf nóto yu bay, dán húman go bít yú

if neg.foc 2sg buy that woman pot beat 2sg.indp

sóté yu go gó lɛ́f=an.

until 2sg pot go leave=3sg.obj

‘If it wasn’t the case that you had bought (it), that woman would

beat you until you’d go and leave it there.’ [ab03ab 033]

(581) Nóto sé na hɔ́s dɛn fɔ fɔ́s tɛ́n wé dɛn strɔ́n,

neg.foc quot foc house pl prep first time sub 3pl be.strong

e fɔ dɔ́n fɔdɔ́n.

3sg.sbj prep prf fall

‘(If) it wasn’t the case that they were houses of the past that

are strong, it would have already collapsed.’ [hi03cb 045]

## Questions

This section covers yes–no questions, alternative questions, and content questions, as well as answers to questions. It is useful to refer to 3.4.5 for details on the intonational characteristics of questions.

### Yes–no and alternative questions

Yes–no questions are characterised by the syntax of declarative clauses and do not involve obligatory question particles. Yes–no questions are therefore distinguished from declarative clauses by intonation (cf. 3.4.5):

(582) Yu wánt de gó?

2sg want ipfv go

‘Do you want to go?’ [eb07fn 202]

However, speakers often employ the interjections ɛ́n and nɔ́ sentence-finally in biased questions in order to channel-check:

(583) Yu nó=an ɛ́n?

2sg know=3sg.obj intj

‘You know her, right?’ [li07pe 032]

In alternative questions, the first alternative bears question intonation, while the second alternative carries the intonation of a declarative clause:

(584) Yu sísta stíl máred ɔ e nó máred mɔ́?

2sg sister still marry or 3sg.sbj neg marry more

‘Is your sister still married or is she no more married?’ [ro05ee 050]

### Content questions

Content questions are formed by way of a mixed question-word system summarised in Table 7.4. Note that I classify the question element wétin ‘what’ as monomorphemic although it could alternatively be analysed as bimorphemic (i.e. wé.tín = \*wé.thing). However, \*wé= does not function as a question particle with any other generic noun, and an etymological relation with wé ‘sub’ remains to be proven.

Table 7.4 Question element system

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Concept | Monomorphemic | Bimorphemic | Question phrase |
| who | údat | ús=pɔ́sin; ús=mán |  |
| what | wétin | ús=tín | ús=káyn tín |
| which l | ús=x; wích x |  | ús=káyn x |
| which one |  | ús=wán |  |
| when |  | ús=tɛ́n | fɔ ús=tɛ́n |
| where |  | ús=sáy; ús=pát | fɔ ús=sáy |
| why | fɔséka; háw; wétin | ús=tín | fɔ wétin; fɔ ús=tín |
|  |  |  | fɔséka wétin; fɔséka ús=tín |
|  |  |  | wétin mék; ús=tín mék; |
|  |  |  | wet ús=tín |
| how | háw | ús=stáyl | ús=káyn stáyl |
| how much/many |  | háw mɔ́ch |  |
| how much/many x |  |  | háw mɔ́ch x |

The question word system of Pichi involves three types of both “transparent” and “opaque question elements” (Muysken & Smith 1990): (a) Monomorphemic elements, which function as question elements or words in their own right. Amongst these, we find the clitic ús= ‘q’, which forms (b) bimorphemic question words with generic nouns in order to render basic concepts like who, what, and when.

Question phrases (c) may consist of a prepositional phrase introduced by fɔ ‘prep’, fɔséka ‘due to’, and wet ‘with; due to’ and contain a mono- or bimorphemic question word (e.g. fɔ wétin ‘prep what’ = ‘why’). Alternatively, question phrases may consist of idiomatic clauses featuring the verbs mék ‘make’ or dú ‘do’ and wétin or ús=tín ‘what’ in subject position. A second type of question phrase involves constructions featuring the bimorphemic question word ús=káyn and a generic or other noun (e.g. ús=káyn pɔ́sin ‘q=kind person’ = ‘who’; ús=káyn motó ‘q=kind car’ = ‘which car’).

In Table 7.4, l stands for any noun. Which l and how much l are therefore question noun modifiers and quantifiers, respectively. The table contains all unequivocally accepted question elements and excludes other logically possible but unattested options (e.g. ?ús=plés ‘q=place’ = ‘where’; ?ús=káyn mán ‘q=kind man’ = ‘who’).

#### Structural issues

In content questions, any constituent other than the definite article di, focus and topic particles, or TMA markers can be questioned through replacement by a question element. Question words show some distributional restrictions when compared to regular nouns.

For instance, question elements are not usually modified by demonstratives and deictic adverbials, or modifier nouns and adjectives. Similarly, only *údat* and *ús=pɔ́sin* ‘who’ may optionally take the pluraliser dɛn (i.e. \*ús=tín dɛn ‘\*what pl’):

(585) Yu sí údat dɛn?

2sg see who pl

‘Who [plural] did you see?’ [sa07fn 267]

(586) Yu sí ús=pɔ́sin dɛn?

2sg see q=person pl

‘Who [plural] did you see?’ [nn07fn 277]

The pluralisation of ‘who’ is likely to be a structural borrowing from Spanish, or is at least reinforced by the equivalent Spanish structure. Compare the equivalent Spanish question:

(587) Quién-es son?

who-pl are

‘Who are they?’

Question elements also have other distributional characteristics of regular NPs. For example, in the following sentence, údat ‘who’ is found in the possessor position of a dislocated possessive construction, which in turn participates in a presentative clause:

(588) Na údat in búk dís?

foc who 3sg.poss book this

‘Whose book (is) this?’ [ro05de 055]

Multiple core (589) and adverbial (590) NPs forming part of coordinate structures may also be questioned. These two examples also show that in principle, a sentence may contain several question elements, even if this is rare in natural speech:

(589) Údat wet wétin de hambɔ́g yú?

who with what ipfv bother 2sg.indp

‘Who and what is bothering you?’ [ge07fn 299]

(590) Ús=sáy wet háw yu de wás?

q=side with how 2sg ipfv wash

‘Where and how are you washing?’ [dj05ce 182]

Question elements may occur *in situ* in the original position of the questioned element, or they may be fronted. Questioned subjects naturally occur at the beginning of the clause as shown in (589). They may also optionally be focused in cleft constructions (591):

(591) Na údat hambɔ́g dɛ́n?

foc who bother 3pl.indp

‘Who bothered them?’ [ro05de 041]

Objects can be questioned *in situ* (e.g. údat dɛn and ús=pɔ́sin dɛn in (585) and (586) above) or be fronted (592). Fronted objects may also optionally be cleft-focused (593):

(592) Ús=tín yu tɔ́k mɔ́ sɛ́f?

q= thing 2sg talk again emp

‘What did you say again?’ [dj07ae 344]

(593) Na ús=káyn tín dɛn ték mék dís, digamos dí bɔ́tul?

foc q=kind thing 3pl take make this let’s.say this bottle

‘What’s, let’s say this bottle, made of?’ [ye05ce 113]

The objects of prepositions may also be questioned *in situ* or be fronted. When fronted, either the entire prepositional phrase appears at the beginning of the clause, or the preposition is stranded. However, stranding in questions is only attested with fɔ ‘prep’ (594), wet ‘with’ (595), and pan ‘on’ (596):

(594) Wétin yu wánt sabí fɔ?

what 2sg want know prep

‘What do you want to know for?’ [ro05de 045]

(595) Ús=mán yu bin de tɔ́k wet yɛ́stadé?

q=man 2sg pst ipfv talk with yesterday

‘Who were you talking with yesterday?’ [ro07fn 215]

(596) Ús=béd yu kin slíp pan?

q=bed 2sg hab sleep on

‘Which bed do you usually sleep on?’ [ur07fn 238]

All constituents that may be questioned in main clauses can also be replaced by question elements in subordinate clauses. Non-subject constituents of subordinate clauses can be questioned *in situ* (597) or be fronted (598):

(597) Yu tɔ́k sé Pancho de yús údat in motó?

2sg talk quot name ipfv use who 3sg.poss car

‘You said that Pancho uses whose car?’ [dj05ce 146]

(598) Ús=tín yu tɔ́k sé yu wánt sabí?

q=thing 2sg talk quot 2sg want know

‘What did you say you wanted to know?’ [dj05ce 132]

Complement or adverbial clauses introduced by sé ‘quot’ are questioned like nominal constituents. The question word is, however, always found in situ as in the rhetorical question in (599). Here a cause clause is questioned by means of the phrase sé wétin ‘quot what’ = ‘because of what’:

(599) A go púl=an na mi yáy sé wétin?

1sg.sbj pot remove=3sg.obj loc 1sg.poss eye quot what

‘I would remove it [the pair of sunglasses] from my eyes for what?’ [ye07ga 011]

#### Questioning subjects and objects

Questioned subjects naturally occur at the beginning of the question clause, as in (591) above. Questioned objects appear at the beginning of the sentence (600), or in their original position (601). These two examples feature the question word wétin ‘what’, which is used for questioning inanimate entities:

(600) Wétin yu wánt nó?

what 2sg want know

‘What do you want to know?’ [dj05ce 086]

(601) Yu wánt nó wétin?

2sg want know what

‘You want to know what?’ [dj05ce 087]

Example (602) illustrates the questioning of a complex object NP. The dislocated possessive construction údat in motó ‘whose car’ is the object of yús ‘use’ and under focus with the focus particle na. The questioning of a possessor NP is also achieved by circumlocution with the verb gɛ́t ‘get; have’ (603).

Both examples involve the question word údat ‘who’, which is used for questioning human referents. In a minority of cases, the concept ‘who’ is also expressed by the bimorphemic question words ús=pɔ́sin ‘q=person’ (cf. (586) above) and ús=mán ‘q=man’ (cf. (595) above) in all relevant syntactic positions:

(602) Na údat in motó Pancho de yús?

foc who 3sg.poss car name ipfv use

‘It’s whose car Pancho is using?’ [dj05ce 118]

(603) Na údat gɛ́t dís búk?

foc who get this book

‘Who possesses this book?’ [ro05de 054]

The clitic question element ús=q may combine with the pronominal and noun substitute wán ‘one’ in order to render the concept ‘which one’. The collocation may be used to selectively question any noun (604). Ús=wán is also employed in an idiomatic question clause in order to ask for a person’s name (605). The latter usage is conventionalised and very likely to be a calque from the equivalent Spanish phrase ¿cuál es tú nombre? ‘which (one) is your name’ = ‘what’s your name?’:

(604) Ɛhɛ́, dán wán min sé ús=wán na di escala?

exactly that one mean quot q=one loc def scale

‘Exactly, that means which one [of the two] is the scale?’ [fr03cd.092]

(605) Ús=wán na in ném?

q=one foc 3sg.poss name

‘What’s his name?’ [ko03sp 061]

A similar syntactic flexibility is characteristic of the objects of V2 minor (i.e. closed class) verbs in SVCs. The questioned object of pás ‘(sur)pass’ in the comparative SVC in (606) and the object of kɛ́r ‘carry, take’ in the motion-direction SVC in (607) may be found in the original syntactic position:

(606) E bíg pás údat?

3sg.sbj big pass who

‘He is bigger than who?’ [ye05ce 119]

(607) Dɛn kɛ́r di motó gó ús=sáy?

3pl carry def car go where

‘Where did they take the car to?’ [au07fn 239]

Alternatively, the objects of V2 minor verbs may occur in the sentence-initial, fronted position with or without additional cleft focus marking, with the same liberty as other objects. These constructions leave the V2 of the SVC “stranded” in the sentence-final position. Compare the following two sentences with the two preceding ones above:

(608) Na údat dí bɔ́y bíg pás?

foc who this boy big pass

‘Who is this boy bigger than?’ [lo07he 016]

(609) Ús=sáy yu de kɛ́r di motó gó?

q= side 2sg ipfv carry def car go

‘Where are you taking the car to?’ [lo07he 018]

At the same time, the questioning of the instrument or material objects of ték ‘take’ in participant-introducing SVCs is characterised by some idiosyncracies. Firstly, speakers seem to prefer to front the questioned object rather than leave it in the original syntactic position between ték ‘take’ and the following major verb (i.e. bíl ‘build’ in the following example). Compare (610):

(610) Ús=káyn plɛ́nk dɛn ték bíl di hós?

q=kind board 3pl take build def house

‘What (kind of) board did they build the house with?’ [dj05ce 104]

Secondly, we find double marking of the instrument objects of ték ‘take’ as a rather regular way of questioning these objects. In (611), the object of ték (i.e. ús=tín ‘what’) is fronted and focused. The question word and object ús=tín is additionally preceded by the instrumental/comitative preposition wet ‘with’ as if the corresponding declarative clause had been something ungrammatical like \*dɛn ték wet plɛ́nk bíl di hós ‘3pl take with board build def house’ = \*they took with board to build the house’ (cf. also (1571)–(1572)):

(611) Na wet ús=tín dɛn ték bíl di hós?

foc with q=thing 3pl take build def house

‘With what did they build the house?’ [dj07ae 479]

However, fronting of the patient object of the major (open class) verb in ték SVCs is not accepted (612). Patients are usually questioned *in situ* in their original syntactic position following the major verb (613):

(612) \*Ús=káyn hós dɛn ték plɛ́nk bíl?

q=kind house 3pl take board build

\*Which (kind of) house did they take board to build? [dj07ae 482]

(613) Dɛn ték stón bíl ús=káyn hós?

3pl take stone build q=kind house

‘Which house did they build of stone?’

#### Questioning modifiers

Modifiers and demonstratives in NPs are questioned via three question elements: the clitic ús= ‘q; which’; the (marginally employed) phonologically independent question word wích ‘which’, and the bimorphemic question word ús=káyn ‘q=kind’. Quantifiers are questioned by means of háw mɔ́ch ‘how much’ (cf. (636)–(638) below). The element ús= straddles the boundary of a more functional and a more lexical meaning. Consider the translations of the following two examples, which contrast the rarely used and more lexical wích ‘which’ with the high-frequency question particle ús= ‘q’:

(614) Wích mán dɛn bin kíl na kwáta?

which man 3pl pst kill loc quarter

‘Which man was killed in (our) quarter?’ [ro05de 047]

(615) Ús=mán dɛn kíl na kwáta?

q=man 3pl kill loc quarter

‘Which man/who was killed in our quarter?’ [ro05de 048]

One indication of the more functional status of ús= is its cliticisation in the first place (cf. 2.6.3). Secondly, in the majority of instances in the corpus, ús= combines with a limited number of generic nouns (e.g. pɔ́sin ‘person’, mán ‘man; person’, tín ‘thing’, sáy ‘side; place’, tɛ́n ‘time’) in order to form general, basic question words with meanings like who, what, where, and when. Yet, ús= is nevertheless also used with the meaning ‘which’ in order to form specific question words questioning modifiers as in the following two examples:

(616) Ús=nɔ́mba yu gɛ́t fɔ dán móvil?

which=number 2sg get prep that mobile

‘Which number do you have in that mobile phone?’ [ye03cd.129]

(617) Ús=nésɔn?

which=nation

‘Which people [does he belong to]? [eb07fn 090]

However, questions like (616) and (617) are equally often formed by employing the question word ús=káyn ‘q=kind’ instead of ús= alone. The meaning of ús=káyn therefore also vacillates between a more literal sense, in which the pronominal and generic noun káyn ‘kind’ retains its lexical meaning of ‘kind’, and a more functional one, in which the entire question word ús=káyn is equivalent to ús=, ‘q; which’. This ambiguity in the meaning of káyn ‘kind’ is reflected in the translations of the following two examples:

(618) a. E kin kúk súp.

3sg.sbj hab cook soup

‘He usually cooks soup.’ [dj03cd 086]

b. Ús=káyn súp?

q=kind soup

‘Which (kind of) soup?’ [fr03cd 087]

(619) Sé papá Gɔ́d ús=káyn trɔ́bul dís?

quot father God q=kind trouble this

‘(I said) God, what (kind of) trouble (is) this?’ [ab03ab 082]

The more functional use of ús=káyn is more obvious when it precedes a generic noun as in the following two examples. Here, the phrase ús=káyn tín ‘q=kind thing’ has the same meanings as wétin or ús=tín ‘what’. Note that (620) is a free relative clause and sentence (621) an indirect question. The long forms featuring káyn ‘kind’ are equally common in this position as are the shorter forms wétin and ús=tín:

(620) Áfta a nó sabí ús=káyn tín kán pás.

then 1sg.sbj neg know q=kind thing pfv pass

‘Then, I don’t know what happened.’ [fr03ft 110]

(621) Yu nó wet ús=káyn tín dɛn mék dís tín?

2sg know with q=kind thing 3pl make this thing

‘Do you know with what this is made?’ [ye05ce 142]

The same, more functional use can be observed when ús=káyn precedes the generic noun stáyl ‘style; manner’ in order to question an adverbial of manner (cf. (629)–(630) below). However, ús=káyn is not found in conjunction with human-denoting generic nouns like mán ‘man’ or pɔ́sin ‘person’ with the meaning of ‘who’.

#### Questioning adverbials

Adverbials are questioned through mono- and bimorphemic question words as well as through question phrases. Adverbials of time may be questioned with the question word ús=tɛ́n ‘q=time’. This question word is general in its meaning and may question any time unit:

(622) Ús=tɛ́n yu rích?

q=time 2sg arrive

‘When [which time/day/month/year] did you arrive? [dj05ce 154]

Nevertheless, speakers prefer to question time units specifically by using the logically most likely option as in the following questions involving the time units dé ‘day’, mún ‘month’, and hía ‘year’, respectively:

(623) Ús=dé yu kán yá?

q=day 2sg come here

‘When [on which day] did you come here?’ [ro05ee 009]

(624) Ús=mún yu de gó?

q=month 2sg ipfv go

‘When [in which month] are you going?’ [ro05ee 010]

(625) Ús=hía yu bɔ́n?

q=year 2sg be.born

‘When [in which year] were you born?’ [ro05ee 011]

In the same vein, time units of the day are often questioned by the more specific bimorphemic question word ús=áwa ‘q=hour’ (626), which may refer to units of the clock as well as periods of the day (e.g. mɔ́nin tɛ́n ‘morning’, sán tɛ́n ‘noon’, nɛ́t ‘night’):

(626) Ús=áwa yu rích?

q=hour 2sg reach

‘When [at what period of the day; at what time] did you arrive?’ [dj05ce 153]

The generic nouns sáy ‘side; place’ (pervasive) and pát ‘part; place’ (marginal) combine with ús= ‘q’ in order to render ‘where’ and question locative adverbials. The question word ús=sáy tends to have a more general meaning than ús=pát ‘q=part, place’. The logical option ús=plés ‘q=place’ is accepted in elicitation but not attested in natural speech. Compare (627) and (628):

(627) Ús=sáy yu kɔmɔ́t?

q=side 2sg come.out

‘Where do you come from?’ [dj05ce 167]

(628) Ús=pát yu kɔmɔ́t?

q=part 2sg come.out

‘Where do you come from?’ or ‘Which place do you come from?’ [ro05ee 086]

The bimorphemic question word ús=káyn ‘which’ is also employed as a modifier of the generic noun stáyl ‘style’ in order to question manner adverbials (629)–(630). Note the subtle difference in meaning between ús=káyn stáyl ‘by which means’ in the following examples and háw ‘how’ further below:

(629) Na ús=káyn stáyl yu ték kán na yá?

foc q=kind style 2sg take come loc here

‘By which means did you come here?’ [ro05ee 005]

(630) Ús=káyn stáyl yu rích yá?

q=kind style 2sg reach here

‘By which means did you get here?’ [dj05ce 151]

A second and equally common means of questioning manner adverbials is provided by the monomorphemic question word háw ‘how’. Sentence (631) involves a main clause, example (632) a main and a subordinate clause:

(631) Háw e bin só, háw e bigín,

how 3sg.sbj pst show how 3sg.sbj begin

háw e salút yú?

how 3sg.sbj greet 2sg.indp

‘How did he show [respect], how did he begin, how did he greet you?’ [au07se 134]

(632) Háw yu sabí sé na rubio?

how 2sg know quot foc blond

‘How do you know it’s light?’ [ab03ab 182]

In addition, háw may precede the quantifier mɔ́ch ‘much’ and form an independent question word in order to question a quantity (633) as well as the degree to which the property denoted by the property item applies (634)–(635):

(633) Háw mɔ́ch dís sɔ́t kɔ́s?

how much this shirt cost

‘How much did this shirt cost?’ [ro05de 061]

(634) Háw mɔ́ch lɔ́n?

how much be.long

‘How long?’ [ye 07fn 066]

(635) Háw mɔ́ch dí tín évi?

how much this thing be.heavy

‘How heavy is this thing?’ [lo07he 047]

The collocation háw mɔ́ch is also used to question quantifiers of count and mass nouns alike. Compare (636) in which a time quantity (hence duration) is questioned, (637) in which a mass nouns is questioned, and (638) in which the count noun pikín ‘child’ is questioned:

(636) Yu bin sté háw mɔ́ch dé?

2sg pst stay how much day

‘How many days did you stay?’ [kw03sp 066]

(637) Háw mɔ́ch wɔtá yu wánt?

how much water 2sg want

‘How much water do you want?’ [lo07he 046]

(638) Háw mɔ́ch pikín de gó na dán skúl?

how much child ipfv go loc that school

‘How many children go to that school.’ [ro05de 062]

Adverbials of cause can be questioned in a number of ways. Firstly wétin and ús=tín ‘what’ regularly occur with the meaning of ‘why’ (639). The use of these two question words may colour the question with reproach if the subject of the clause is human:

(639) Wétin yu nó de wók tidé?

what 2sg neg ipfv work today

‘Why [how come] come you’re not working today?’ [ye05ce 171]

The question word háw ‘how’ is used in a similar way in rhetorical questions that call the legitimacy of an addressee’s statement, potential answer or behaviour into question. This type of question clause therefore involves the use of the potential mood:

(640) Háw mosquito nó go bɛ́t=an?

how mosquito neg pot bite=3sg.obj

‘Why wouldn’t mosquitos bite him [since you have

removed the mosquito net]?’ [ab03ab 141]

(641) Háw yu go dé yu nó gɛ́t pikín?

how 2sg pot be.loc 2sg neg get child

‘How would you be [live like] without having children

[what a ridiculous thing to demand]?’ [kw03sb 203]

Secondly, wétin and ús=tín ’what’ occur in pragmatically more neutral question phrases as the objects of prepositions that may mark NPs for a cause semantic role (cf. 9.1.3 for details). In (642), wétin is the object of fɔ ‘prep’ (642), in (643), wet ‘with’ is followed by ús=tín , and in (644), the preposition fɔséka ‘due to’ takes ús=tín as its object. The resulting phrases all serve to question adverbials of cause. Note that these phrases can optionally appear under cleft-focus like any other question element:

(642) Fɔ wétin yu nó de wók tidé?

prep what 2sg neg ipfv work today

‘Why aren’t you working today?’ [dj05ce 172]

(643) Na wet ús=tín in pikín dáy, ús=sík?

foc with q=thing 3sg.poss child die q=sickness

‘Due to what did his child die, which sickness?’ [lo07he 055]

(644) Na fɔséka ús=tín in pikín dáy?

foc due.to q=thing 3sg.poss child die

‘Why did his child die?’ [lo07he 053]

The preposition fɔséka ‘due to’ may also be employed on its own as a question word in a truncated question phrase of the type presented in (645):

(645) Fɔséka in pikín dáy?

due.to 3sg.poss child die

‘Due to (what) did his child die?’ [lo07he 056]

The third way of questioning adverbials of cause is via the idiomatic clauses wétin mék ‘what make’ = ‘why; how come’ and ús=tín mék ‘what make’ = ‘why; how come’ (646). Mék also occurs with the meaning ‘(to) cause’ as a full verb in questions such as (647):

(646) Wétin mék yu nó de wók tidé?

what make 2sg neg ipfv work today

‘How come you aren’t working today?’ [ro05ee 016]

(647) Wétin mék dá wán, ɛ́n?

what make that one intj

‘What causes that?’ [ma03hm 080]

There is some variation in the degree of idiomaticity of wétin/ús=tín mék ‘what make’, which is reflected in the degree of “verbiness” of mék ‘make’. Example (646) above presents the most common way of employing wétin mék. The element mék is neither modified for a TMA category nor is it accompanied by other characteristics that would point to its status as a verb.

In contrast, the question in (648) is indicative of a more “verby” status of mék than in (646). Here, the questioned situation denoted by wók ‘work’ is the predicate of a quotative clause to the main verb mék. The quotative marker and complementiser sé ‘quot’ links the main and subordinate clauses:

(648) Wétin mék sé yu nó wók tidé?

what make quot 2sg neg work today

‘How come you didn’t work today?’ [dj05ce 174]

Sentence (649) below contains the most verb-like instance of mék. Here, mék ‘make’ not only functions as a main verb to the complement verb wók ‘work’. It also induces a subjunctive mood over the complement clause, because it is employed with its lexical meaning as a deontic causative verb (cf. 9.4.4). Equally, the main verb mék is fully finite as can be seen by the presence of the imperfective marker de ‘ipfv’:

(649) Ús=tín de mék sé mék yu nó wók tidé?

q=thing ipfv make quot sbjv 2sg neg work today

‘What is causing you not to work today?’ [ye05ce 173]

### Answers

In Pichi, yɛ́(s) ‘yes’ is the central agreement interjection. Both yɛ́ and yɛ́s are employed in formal and informal registers alike. Compare the answer in (650)(b):

(650) a. Náw yu fít dríng=an nɔ́?

now 2sg can drink=3sg.obj intj

‘Now, you’re able to drink it, right?’ [kw03sp 115]

b. Náw so, yɛ́s, a fít dríng=an fáyn.

now like.that yes 1sg.sbj can drink=3sg.obj fine

‘Now, I’m able to drink it [milk] well.’ [ed03sp 116]

Stronger degrees of agreement can be signalled by other elements. The interjection ɛhɛ́ signals emphatic ‘yes’. The focus constructions na só ‘foc so’ = ‘that’s how it is’, na ín ‘foc 3sg.indp’ = ‘that’s it’, and na di tín ‘foc def thing’ = ‘that’s it’ also signal strong agreement.

The elements nó and nɔ́ are used as free variants in order to signal disagreement. The former element is identical in form to the general negator nó. Many Pichi speakers agree or disagree with the polarity of the question. Hence agreement with the negative polarity of the question in (651) evokes the use of the agreement marker yɛ́s:

(651) a. So yu nó go chɔ́p?

so 2sg neg pot eat

‘So you won’t eat?’ [chfn05 001]

b. Yɛ́s.

yes

‘No (I won’t eat).’ [lifn05 004]

In the same way, disagreement with the positive polarity of the question requires the use of the disagreement marker:

(652) a. Yu go chɔ́p?

2sg pot eat

‘Will you eat?’

b. Nó.

neg

‘No (I won’t eat).’ [lifn05 005]

However, yɛ́s and nó are also used to agree or disagree with the proposition of the utterance, possibly through Spanish influence:

(653) a. So yu nó go kán?

so 2sg neg pot eat

‘So you won’t come?’

b. Nó, a nó go kán.

no 1sg.sbj neg pot eat

‘No, I won’t come.’ [lifn05 002]

In sentence-final position, nɔ́ functions as a question-tag, i.e. a conative interjection. In this function, nɔ́ is used in rhetorical questions as well as in biased questions, in which the speaker expresses the expectation that the answer will correspond to the polarity of the question (654):

(654) Yu de fíl hɔ́t nɔ́?

2sg ipfv feel hot intj

‘You’re feeling hot, aren’t you? [ma03hm 007]

Aside from that, nɔ́ also serves as a phatic interjection in order to solicit attention (cf. 12.2.3). For example, the clause in (655) underlines the speaker’s commitment to the truth of a story that he has just narrated:

(655) Nɔ́, nó tɔ́k ɛ́n!

intj neg talk intj

‘No, don’t talk [and call into question the truth of my story].’ [ed03sb 177]

Strong disagreement can be expressed by the focus construction nóto só ‘neg.foc so’ = ‘that’s not how it is’. The following two sentences succeed each other in a narrative. The disagreement expressed in (656)(a) is underlined by sentence (b):

(656) a. Dɛn tɛ́l=an sé ‘nóto só.’

3pl tell=3sg.obj quot neg.foc like.that

‘They said to her “that’s not how it was”.‘ [ed03sb 045]

b. Tɛ́l wí trú!

tell 1pl.indp true

‘Tell us (the) truth!’ [ed03sb 046]

Even stronger disagreement is expressed through the negative phrases nó wán dé ‘never’ (657)(b) and nó wé ‘no way’ (658)(b). The following two sentence pairs illustrate their use in signalling disagreement in response to a question:

(657) a. Na yú chɔ́p dí tín?

foc 2sg.indp eat this thing

‘Did you eat this (thing)?’ [ur07he 061]

b. Nó wán dé, nóto mi.

neg one day neg.foc 1sg.indp

‘Never, it’s not me.’ [lo07he 062]

(658) a. Yu go kán wet mí?

2sg pot come with 1sg.indp

‘Will you come with me?’ [ur07he 063]

b. Nó wé, a nó go kán.

neg way 1sg.sbj neg pot come

‘No way, I won’t come.’ [lo07he 064]

Given the right pragmatic context, the question word ús=sáy ‘where’ may signal strong disagreement as well (659)(b). The imperative clause kɔmɔ́t dé ‘get lost’ can be employed to express strong and abusive disagreement (660)(b):

(659) a. Dɛn dɔ́n gí yu di mɔní?

3pl prf give 2sg def money

‘Have they given you the money?’ [pa07fn 478]

1. Ús=sáy?

q=side

‘Where? [not at all]’ [ye07fn 479]

(660) a. Yu nó go dú=an fɔ mí?

2sg neg pot do=3sg.obj prep 1sg.indp

‘Won’t you do it for me?’ ’ [ne07fn 578]

b. Kɔmɔ́t dé!

go.out there

‘Get lost!’ [la07fn 579]

The answer to a content questions may be given in full or truncated sentences consisting of the questioned constituent(s) as in (661)(b):

(661) a. Ús=wán na in ném?

q=one foc 3sg.poss name

‘What’s his name?’ [ko03sp 061]

b. Nguema Mba.

name name

‘Nguema Mba’ [ed03sp 062]

## Focus

The extensive use of focus structures in sentence formation is a distinctive mark of Pichi. Focus constructions have two principal pragmatic functions in the language. Firstly, they serve to present new information. For this function, I employ the term “presentational focus” (Drubig 2003). Secondly, focus constructions serve to assert previously introduced information that runs counter to the presupposition of an addressee. This function is here referred to as “contrastive focus” (Chafe 1976:35ff.). Focus is realised through three distinct strategies: suprasegmental focus, particle focus, and cleft focus. The syntactic operation of clefting *per sé* renders elements under cleft focus prag. matically particularly salient. But it is difficult to determine the semantic differences between the other types of focus on the basis of the available data. Cleft focus may also be applied to verbs in so-called predicate cleft constructions (cf. 7.4.5). The language also employs various other means for emphasis, including presentatives (c.f 7.4.4).

### Suprasegmental focus

The use of focus constructions is intimately tied to suprasegmental phonology. Firstly, focus at the sentence or clause level may be signalled by emphatic intonation (cf. 3.4.2). Extra-high tone may also be employed to focus individual constituents or groups of constituents (cf. 3.2.5). These forms of suprasegmental focus may be freely combined with the different types of focus constructions presented in the following.

### Particle focus

Particle focus involves the elements sɛ́f ‘self; emp’, sénwe ‘emp’ and the sentence particles/interjections ɛ́n ‘intj’ and ó ‘sp’ (cf. 12.2.4 for a detailed treatmen of these elements). These elements may signal focus of constituents of varying complexity including entire clauses and sentences. The following table provides an overview:

Table 7.5 Focus particles

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Form | Translations | Focus type | Scope | Other uses |
| sɛ́f | ‘-self; too; even; actually; really’ | Presentational; contrastive | Sentence; constituent | Reflexive anaphor |
| sénwe | ‘-self; too; exactly’ | Presentational; contrastive | constituent | — |
| ó | ‘really; actually, even, at all’ | Presentational; contrastive | Sentence; constituent | Vocative; assertion; encouragement |
| ɛ́n | ‘really’ | Presentational | Sentence; constituent | Channel check |

#### Forms and functions

The reflexive anaphor and emphatic particle sɛ́f ‘self; emp’ is the most frequently used form in particle focus. The following sentence presents the use of sɛ́f as a reflexive anaphor (cf. 9.3.5 for a detailed treatment):

(662) Dán gál e kin fíks in sɛ́f,

that girl 3sg.sbj hab fix 3sg.poss self

pént in sɛ́f.

paint 3sg.poss self

That girl, she usually does herself up, paints herself [puts on make-up].’ [dj07ae 114]

The two successively uttered sentences (663)(a) and (b) exemplify the use of sɛ́f ‘self; emp’ in signalling presentational focus. In (663)(a), the speaker provides information on the topic dán mán ‘that man’. In (b), the same speaker fills in the information gap in combination with presentational focus of the entire sentence:

(663) a. Dán mán e bin kán gó na jél lɔ́n tɛ́n.

that man 3sg.sbj pst pfv go loc jail long time

‘That man, he went to jail long ago.’ [ma03sh 015]

b. Náw e dɔ́n dáy sɛ́f.

now 3sg.sbj prf die emp

‘Now he is even dead.’ [ma03sh 016]

The corpus contains a single occurrence of sɛ́f ‘self; emp’ preceded by a 3sg.poss pronoun which is coreferential with the head noun of the focused NP (664). This structure is a dislocated possessive construction in which sɛ́f functions as a nominal in the possessed noun position. In the construction, the low-toned 3sg possessive pronoun and sɛ́f together signal emphasis or focus of the preceding noun di bɔ́y ‘the boy’:

(664) Wé di bɔ́y in sɛ́f, wé e sí mí,

sub def boy 3sg.poss self sub 3sg.sbj see 1sg.indp

estaba contento.

he.was content

‘And the boy himself, when he saw me, he was content.’ [ab03ay 046]

The construction in (664) is, however, marginal. Note the difference between (664) and the following (665). In the latter example, sɛ́f ‘self; emp’ is used as a regular focus particle, postposed to the high-toned 3sg emphatic personal pronoun:

(665) Ín sɛ́f gó na baf-rúm e wás.

3sg.indp self go loc bath-room 3sg.sbj wash

‘He (by) himself went to the bathroom (and) washed.’ [ab03ab 148]

Contrastive use of sɛ́f ‘self; emp’ is illustrated in (666). In its function as a focus marker, sɛ́f often assumes a reading of inclusive or exhaustive listing; hence the translation of sɛ́f as ‘too; also; even’ and ‘alone; without help’. In fact, a postposed sɛ́f most appropriately renders the notion ‘too; also’ in a sentence like (667).

The following two examples also show that sɛ́f has the most flexible scope of all particles. It may signal focus of sentences (666) as well as smaller constituents, such as a personal pronoun (667):

(666) Yu nó sɛ́f, yu jɔ́s kán, yu nó go sabí.

2sg know emp 2sg just come 2sg neg pot know

‘Even (if) you know, if you’ve just come, you won’t know.’ [ma03hm 044]

(667) Mí sɛ́f dɔ́n rích Cotonou.

1sg.indp emp prf arrive place

‘I myself have been to Cotonou (too).’ [nn05fn 005]

The particle sénwe ‘emp’ is presumably a lexicalised collocation (i.e. sén.wé ‘same.way’). It is employed in the same way as sɛ́f in order to signal presentational and contrastive focus (668). The use of sénwe as a clausal focus particle is not attested. In general, sénwe occurs less frequently than sɛ́f and is found more often to focus personal pronouns than full nouns. Consider the following example, in which sénwe signals presentational focus of the personal pronoun yú ‘2sg.indp’:

(668) Dí wán, yú sénwe yu de gó.

this one 2sg.indp emp 2sg ipfv go

‘This time, you yourself are going [to die].’ [ed03sb 040]

The element ó ‘intj’ may signal presentational or contrastive focus of entire clauses as in (670) below. The particle is a sentence-final element which has scope over all preceding material, which may be a predicate-less sentence (669) or a clause (670). However, modification by means of ó also colours the sentence with meanings like warning, assertion, empathy, or emphasis (cf. 12.2.4 for more details):

(669) Bata tɔ́ng ó.

place tongue sp

‘That’s the Fang language for you [see how peculiar it is].’ [to03gm 014]

(670) A bin dɔ́n, a bin dɔ́n blánt fɔ Gabón ó.

1sg.sbj pst prf 1sg.sbj pst prf reside prep Gabon sp

‘I’ve already, I’ve already lived in Gabon [contrary to what you think].’

[ma03hm 035]

The interjection ɛ́n ‘intj’ is principally employed in sentence-final position as a channel-checking device in order to solicit the attention of an addressee (cf. also 12.2.2). Channel-checking automatically lends prominence to a preceding utterance, hence ɛ́n may function very much like other sentential focus particles (671).

(671) Djunais, yu badhát ɛ́n.

name 2sg be.mean intj

‘Djunais you‘re really mean.’ [fr03wt 032]

Beyond that, ɛ́n may also occur in mid-sentence followed by a pause, in order to focus a single constituent. In (672), the Spanish depictive adjective fresco ‘fresh’ is fronted and singled out for focus by ɛ́n:

(672) Fresco ɛ́n, dɛn de gí wí.

fresh intj 3pl ipfv give 1pl.indp

‘Fresh, (that’s how) they would give (it) to us.’ [ed03sp 103]

#### Eligible constituents

Any sentence constituent may be subjected to particle focus save dependent personal pronouns, determiners, and TMA particles. Equally, the individual elements of multi-constituent NPs cannot be focused, since an NP must be focused in its entirety. Other than that, constituents of varying degrees of complexity may be focused. Sentence (673) features a prepositional phrase with a single noun under focus, and (674) the complex prepositional phrase and reflexive construction na yu skín ‘on you(r body)’:

(673) Na Trinidad sɛ́f nɔ́?

loc place emp intj

‘Even in Trinidad, right?’ [au07se 226]

(674) Ɛf e de gó yu se supone que e de fáyn

if 3sg.sbj ipfv go 2sg refl assume that 3sg.sbj ipfv fine

na yu skin sɛ́f.

loc 2sg body emp

‘If it goes well with you, it’s assumed that it looks nice on you(r body).’ [dj07ae 175]

In dialogue, verbless, prosodically independent sentences can be found which consist of a focused constituent alone. By singling out particular elements in such a way, a speaker may convey strong emphatic force. Compare the discourse excerpt in the two following examples. In (675)(a) speaker (hi) emphasises the lack of responsibility of certain mothers by utilising focus with sɛ́f ‘self; emp’. Her statement is confirmed by speaker (bo) in (b):

(675) a. Bɔt dán káyn mamá dɛn sɛ́f.

but that kind mother pl emp

‘But these kinds of mother, really.’ [hi03cb 113]

b. De verdad.

of truth

‘Really.’ [bo03cb 114]

The corpus contains many examples of focused adverbial phrases, in particular time adverbials, such as tumɔ́ro ‘tomorrow’ in (676):

(676) Wé a dɔ́n jɔ́ch dɛ́n, a sé ‘tumɔ́ro sénwe

sub 1sg.sbj prf judge 3pl.indp 1sg.sbj quot tomorrow emp

a de gó mít in mán’.

1sg.sbj ipfv go meet 3sg.poss man

‘When I had talked them down, I said “tomorrow, I’m going to meet

her husband”.’ [ro05rt 023]

Subordinate clauses may be focused by the same means as other, smaller sentence constituents. The relative clause in (677) is under the scope of the particle sɛ́f ‘self; emp’. In (678), the clause introduced by sé ‘quot’ is under focus by means of the sentence-final particle ó:

(677) E lúk di análisis, tiene paludismo de una cruz

3sg.sbj look def analysis he.has malaria of one cross

wé kin kíl pikín sɛ́f.

sub hab kill child emp

‘She [the doctor] looked at the analysis “he has malaria of one cross

which even kills children”.’ [ab03ab 120]

(678) Bikɔs dɛn tɔ́k sé na paludismo ó.

because 3pl talk quot foc malaria sp

‘Because they said that it’s malaria.’ [hi03cb 124]

Elements which are part of a coordinate structure can be focused separately (679), and there is no restriction save intelligibility on the number of elements that can be focused in one sentence. Compare (679) which features constituent focus by means of the particle sɛ́f and clausal focus by means of a sentence-final ó:

(679) Tú pípul sɛ́f wet wán pikín dɔ́n kán ó.

two people emp with one child prf come sp

‘Even two people and one child have come.’

Example (680) presents clausal focus (or alternatively focus of the object NP dán ‘convence’ dé) through sɛ́f, as well as focus of the ensuing adverbial phrase na Píchi by means of sénwe:

(680) A bin wánt tɔ́k dán ‘convence’ dé sɛ́f

1sg.sbj pst want talk that convince there emp

na Pichi sénwe, a nó de mɛ́mba.

loc Pichi emp 1sg.sbj neg ipfv remember

‘I had actually wanted to say that “convence” there in Pichi itself (but)

I don’t remember [how to say it].’ [dj05ae 040]

Constituent and verb negation are compatible with particle focus. When used in combination with negation, particle focus produces emphatic negative readings like ‘not at all; not even’:

(681) Nó mán nó blánt yá mɔ́ sɛ́f.

neg man neg reside here more emp

‘Nobody even lives here anymore.’ [ra07fn 064]

Personal pronouns can be focused through the use of the corresponding emphatic, independent form alone instead of resorting to sɛ́f or sénwe (cf. (667)–(668) above). Compare subject focus in the rhetorical question in (682):

(682) Mí wánt dán mán?

1sg.indp want that man

‘Do I [emp] want that man?’ [ro05rt 026]

Clausal focus by means of sɛ́f is also regularly made use of in combination with the conditional clause linker ɛf/if in order to render concessive meaning (cf. 10.7.12).

#### Word order and scope

Focused constituents may appear *in situ*, i.e. in the same syntactic position assigned to them in focus-neutral clauses. When this is the case, focus is signalled by the presence of a particle. In (683), the subject NP *in papá* ‘her father’ is highlighted via presentational focus only by means of the post-posed emphatic particle *sɛ́f:*

(683) Áfta in papá sɛ́f kán ték=an.

then 3sg.poss father emp come take=3sg.obj

‘Then her father came to take her.’ [ab03ab 021]

Focused non-subject NPs may also be found *in situ* together with a focus particle. Compare the focused PP fɔ di pikín in (684):

(684) Áfta e nóto, e nó fáyn fɔ di pikín sɛ́f.

then 3sg.sbj neg.foc 3sg.sbj neg fine prep def child emp

‘Then it’s not, it’s not good for the child itself.’ [fr03ft 199]

When an object NP retains its usual syntactic position after the verb and is followed by a focus particle, discourse context and the presence of suprasegmental focus will usually disambiguate the resulting structure as involving clausal or phrasal focus. In (685) the particle *sɛ́f* ‘self; emp’ may be construed as having narrow scope over the object NP *dán torí* ‘that story’, or alternatively, broad scope over the entire sentence:

(685) Mí nó sabí us mán dɛn kíl, a nɔ́ba

1sg.indp neg know which man 3pl kill 1sg.sbj neg.prf

hía dán torí sɛ́f.

hear that story emp

‘I don’t know who was killed, I haven’t even heard that story yet.’

Or ‘ I don’t know who was killed, I haven’t heard that particular

story yet.’ [ro05de 049]

Adverbials may be be focused by exploiting their syntactic flexibility and placing them at the head of the sentence in combination with a focus particle (686). The corpus contains no instance of an object that has been fronted for focus. We only find focused, sentence-initial non-subjects occuring in cleft constructions (cf. e.g. (702)):

(686) Lagos sɛ́f, e gɛ́t di sáy wé na di húman dɛn

place emp 3sg.sbj get def side sub foc def woman pl

de máred di mán.

ipfv marry def man

‘Even in Lagos, there is a place where it’s the women (who)

marry the men.’ [hi03cb 177]

In contrast, examples abound, in which we find dislocated, focused core participants other than subjects simultaneously functioning as clausal topics (cf. 7.5 for more details). The overlayering of focus and topic structures in a single sentence, and the identity of topical and focused constituents in Pichi is only natural, since “given”, topical elements often also constitute the most important information in a sentence.

For example, sentence (687) features the dislocated and topical object NP *di róp* ‘the rope’, followed by the focus particle *sɛ́f*. In contrast to fronting (i.e. in question formation), the use of dislocation comes along with the use of a resumptive pronoun (here the 3sg.obj pronoun =an) in the original object position of the left-dislocated constituent:

(687) Áfta di róp sɛ́f, wi nó sí nó mán wé e híb=an.

then def rope emp 1pl neg see neg man sub 3sg.sbj throw=3sg.obj

‘And the rope, we didn’t see anybody who threw it.’ [li07pe 005]

Sentence (688) contains a left-dislocated object NP, the emphatic pronoun mí ‘1sg.indp’, which is reiterated by the coreferential object pronoun mí ‘1sg.indp’. In this example, too, focus of the dislocated topic is overtly signalled by means of the particle sɛ́f:

(688) Mi sɛ́f, ɔ́l pɔ́sin dɛn kin áks mi sé

1sg.indp emp all person 3pl hab ask 1sg.indp quot

‘yu dɔ́n bɔ́n?’

2sg prf give.birth

‘Even me, everybody asks me “have you given birth

[do you have a child]?”‘ [fr03ft 152]

Constructions involving personal pronouns are also the only ones in which “afterthought” apposition is frequently employed in order to signal focus of personal pronouns. Example (689) contains an appositive mí ‘1sg.indp’ within the scope of the focus particle sénwe and coreferential with the preceding dependent personal pronoun a ‘1sg.sbj’:

(689) A go wás=an wet mi hán mí sénwe.

1sg.sbj pot wash=3sg.obj with 1sg.poss hand 1sg.indp emp

‘I myself would wash it with my hand.’ [dj07re 049]

### Cleft focus

The two elements na (affirmative) and nóto (negative) are employed in cleft constructions to signal focus of constituents of all degrees of complexity. The focus phrase es que ‘it is that’ is of Spanish origin and forms an integral part of the Pichi focus system. It is employed to cleft focus entire clauses. Some relevant charateristics of these three elements are given in the following table:

Table 7.6 Cleft focus particles

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Form | Gloss | Focus type | Scope | Other uses |
| na | ‘it’s (that)’ | Presentational; contrastive | Sentence; constituent | Identity copula |
| nóto | ‘it’s not (that)’ | Contrastive | Sentence; constituent | Negative identity copula |
| es que | ‘it’s that’ | Presentational; contrastive | Sentence | Borrowed from Spanish |

#### Forms and functions

The form na ‘foc’ signals presentational and contrastive focus, nóto ‘neg.foc’ contrastive focus. It is noteworthy that in the vast majority of instances in the corpus, cleft constructions do not exhibit any overt sign of relativisation. Hence in the following sentence, the subordinator wé ‘sub’ is not present in its potential position (indicated by ∅):

(690) Áfta na dán tɛ́n ∅ a kán gó na Alemania.

then foc that time sub 1sg.sbj pfv go loc place

‘So it’s that time that I went to Germany.’ [fr03ft 030]

The negative focus marker nóto is employed instead of na to signal negative, contrastive focus. In example (691), nóto signals contrastive focus of the object pronoun ín ‘3sg.indp’. Note the use of the emphatic form of the personal pronoun as well as the occurrence of a resumptive =an ‘3sg.obj’ at the end of the clause:

(691) Sé pero mán mi brɔ́da dát, ús=tín e de dú na yá,

quot but man 1sg.poss brother that q=thing 3sg.sbj ipfv do loc here

nóto ín wi bɛ́r=an?

neg.foc 3sg.indp 1pl bury=3sg.obj

‘But man, that’s my brother, what’s he doing here, isn’t it him that we

buried?’ [ed03sb 139]

The Spanish-origin focusing device es que ‘it is that’ is regularly employed to signal presentational focus with clauses and sentences (692):

(692) Es que e fáyn wé yu nó sabí sé e kɔmɔ́t

it.is that 3sg.sbj fine sub 2sg neg know quot 3sg.sbj come.out

fɔ di animal.

prep def animal

‘It’s that it is fine when you don’t know that it [the milk] has just come out of the

animal.’ [ed03sp 105]

Cleft constructions may be employed for signalling presentational and contrastive focus alike. In the following three sentences, speaker (ma) talks about a dog that has been tied to a tree by the neighbours downstairs. After providing circumstantial information in (693)(a)–(b), new information is introduced by presentational focus in (c):

(693) a. Dɛn táy=an.

3pl tie=3sg.obj

‘They’ve tied it [that’s why it’s barking].’ [ma03hm 001]

b. Dɛn gɛ́fɔ mín sé e de hambɔ́g wí.

3pl have.to mean quot 3sg.sbj ipfv irritate 1pl.indp

‘They must mean to make it irritate us.’ [ma03hm 002]

c. Na fɔ mék nó gó na dɔ́n**.**

foc prep make neg go loc down

‘That’s in order for (us) not to go down.’ [ma03hm 003]

The use of contrastive focus is exemplified in the discourse excerpt below. In (694)(a), speaker (dj) jokingly denies any involvement in the spell that has been cast on speaker (dj). Speaker (ru) retorts by contrastively focusing the 2sg pronoun used in addressing his interlocutor in (b):

(694) a. Nó mete mí ínsay dí tɔ́k a bɛ́g!

neg put 1sg.indp inside this talk 1sg.sbj ask.for

‘Don’t involve me in this matter, please!’ [dj03wt 012]

b. Na yú mék=an.

foc 2sg.indp make=3sg.obj

‘It’s you who made it.’ [ru03wt 013]

Both na ‘foc’ and nóto ‘neg.foc’ also function as copula-like elements in clauses like (695)(b), in which a concrete entity is identified in discourse (cf. 7.6.1 for an extensive treatment of the copula functions of na/nóto). Likewise, na/nóto occur as identity copulas in equative constructions like (696), where we find nominal constituents on both sides of the copula:

(695) a. Údat de hala-hála só?

who ipfv red.cpd-shout like.that

‘Who is shouting around like that?’

b. Na chak-mán.

foc drunk.cpd-man

‘It’s a drunkard.’

(696) Di húman na strɔ́n húman.

def woman foc strong woman

‘The woman is a strong woman.’ [dj05ae 200]

Presumably, the identificational function of na/nóto in pragmatic contexts like (695)(b) is the point of departure for the focus-marking and identity (i.e. equative) functions of na/nóto (Heine & Kuteva 2002:96). The difference between copula clauses and cleft focus has a structural correlate. In focus constructions, the out-of-focus part of the sentence is not normally expressed as a relative clause. Compare the pragmatically neutral clause in (697)(a) and the corresponding focus construction (b), in which the relativiser *wé* is absent (indicated by ∅):

(697) a. Dɛn sɛ́n di bɔ́l.

3pl send def ball

‘The ball was thrown.’ [au07se 169]

b. Na pɔ́sin ∅ sɛ́n di bɔ́l.

foc person sub send def ball

‘It’s a person/somebody who threw the ball.’ [au07se 169]

In copula clauses, however, the use of an overt relative clause introduced by wé ‘sub’ is obligatory if the identified entity is to be modified by a clause. In (698)(a), new information is introduced. This given information is implicitly referred to by sentence (b), which is therefore best seen to constitute an equative clause rather than a focus construction:

(698) a. Háw yu kin kɔ́l=an wé pɔ́sin de siente vergüenza?

how 2sg hab call=3sg.obj sub person ipfv feel shame

‘How do you call it, when a person feels ashamed?’ [ko0505e3]

b. Na pɔ́sin wé de fíl sém.

foc person sub ipfv feel shame

‘That’s a person who feels ashamed.’ [ro05fe 028]

The difference between copula predication and a focus structure can also be seen in the use of personal pronouns. In a copula construction, a 3sg independent pronoun may be inserted before na/nóto:

(699) (Ín) na wán mán wé de plé wet di bɔ́l.

3sg.indp foc one man sub ipfv play with def ball

‘(He/that’s) a man who is playing with the ball.’ [ra07se 038]

By comparison, the insertion of a 3sg peronal pronoun is ungrammatical in the focus construction in (700), since na/nóto is non-referential in these constructions. Likewise, a cleft focus construction cannot be rephrased as a presentative clause (cf. 7.4.4):

(700) (\*Ín) na wán Annobón gɛ́l wích yú?

3sg.indp foc one place girl bewitch 2sg.indp

‘(\*She) a girl from Annobón bewitched you?’ [fr03wt 002]

#### Eligible constituents and word order

Cleft constructions allow the focusing of constituents belonging to most word classes. In cleft constructions, the focused constituents invariably appear sentence-initially, irrespective of their syntactic category.

In the overwhelming majority of cases, focused subjects are neither followed by an out-of-focus relative clause, nor are they anaphorically referred to by a resumptive dependent subject pronoun (the latter is usually the case in subject relative clauses). Cleft focus and particle focus may occur together in the same clause as in this example:

(701) Na Nguema Mba bin gí mí dán beca sɛ́f.

foc name name pst give 1sg.indp that scholarship emp

‘It’s Nguema Mba (who) actually gave me that scholarship.’ [ed03sp 058]

Cleft-focused non-subjects appear at the beginning of the sentence (702). The use of resumptive pronouns is not attested and the expression of the out-of-focus part of the sentence as a relative clause like in (703) is rare:

(702) Na wán smɔ́l híl e klém.

foc one small hill 3sg.sbj climb

‘It’s a small hill that he climbed.’ [au07se 041]

(703) Wé wi smɔ́l, na sósó Píchi wé wi de tɔ́k.

sub 1pl be.small foc only Pichi sub 1pl ipfv talk

‘When we were small, it’s only Pichi that we would talk.’ [au07se 213]

There are also numerous instances of focused adverbs. Compare the adverb só ‘so; like this’ in (704), which is often encountered in a cleft construction na só ‘it’s like that; that’s how it is’, as well as focused dé ‘there’ (705):

(704) Sí, na só mí sɛ́f kin dé.

see foc like.that 1sg.indp emp hab be.loc

‘See, it’s like that that I’m also usually like.’ [dj03cd 170]

(705) Na dé e de gó, yu nó dé?

foc there 3sg.sbj ipfv go 2sg know there

‘It’s there that she’s going, you know there [that place]?’ [ma03hm 029]

The following two examples are of interest because they each present a focus-neutral clause and constituent focus in one sentence. In (706), the manner adverbial rɔn-sáy ‘backwards’ is first encountered in the clause-final adverbial position, then fronted for presentational focus in a na-focus construction. The same applies to fá ‘be far’, which is employed as a locative adverbial in (707):

(706) E de wáka rɔn-sáy, na rɔn-sáy e wáka.

3sg.sbj ipfv walk wrong-side foc wrong.cpd-side 3sg.sbj walk

‘He is walking backwards, it’s backwards that he walked.’ [au07se 047]

(707) E sé e kɔmɔ́t fá, na fá e kɔmɔ́t.

3sg.sbj quot 3sg.sbj come.out far foc far 3sg.sbj come.out

‘He said he came from far away, it’s far away that he was from.’ [ed03sb 186]

Example (708) contains an instrumental prepostional phrase featuring the preposition wet ‘with’:

(708) Na wet ús=tín dɛn bíl=an?

foc with q=thing 3pl build=3sg.obj

‘It’s with what that it was built?’ [dj07ae 480]

Sequences of the homophones na ‘foc’ and na ‘loc’ are not attested. Hence, the use of a focused locative prepositional phrase featuring fɔ ‘prep’ as a locative preposition serves as an alternative in (709):

(709) Na fɔ dán área wi sté.

foc prep that area 1pl stay

‘It’s in that area that we stay.’ [hi03cb 071]

Entire sentences may also be focused by means of the cleft construction. For one part, sentence clefting may be achieved by means of na/nóto optionally followed by the quotative marker and complementiser sé.

In (710), we witness the use of *na sé* ‘it is that’ in order to focus a sentence containing the verb *wánt* ‘want’ together with its subjunctive complements. Besides cleft focus, this sentence exemplifies other features that characterise emphatic speech in Pichi: The TMA marker sequence *dɔ́n de* ‘prf ipfv’ is employed instead of *de* ‘ipfv’ alone, and the repetitive use of verbs with similar meanings serves as a means of emphatic reinforcement:

(710) Wé yu dɔ́n de nák, na sé yu wánt sɔn tín

sub 2sg prf ipfv hit foc quot 2sg want some thing

e brók, mék e krás, mék e destroza.

3sg.sbj break sbjv 3sg.sbj crash sbjv 3sg.sbj destroy

‘When you’re hitting, it’s that you want a thing to break, to crash, to be

destroyed.’ [au07se 245]

Nóto sé ‘it’s not that’ always signals contrastive focus of a clause or sentence (711). In (712), a conditional clause is singled out for focus. Hence, the negative focus marker nóto appears after ɛf ‘if’:

(711) E de kráy pero nóto sé e wánt chɔ́p.

3sg.sbj ipfv cry but neg.foc quot 3sg.sbj want eat

‘He is crying but it’s not the he wants to eat.’ [dj07ae 520]

(712) Ɛf nóto yu báy dán húman go bít yú sóté

if neg.foc 2sg buy that woman pot beat 2sg.indp until

yu go gó lɛ́f=an.

2sg pot go leave=3sg.obj

‘If it’s not that [the correct type] you’ve bought, that woman

would beat you until you would go return it.’ [ab03ab 033]

The Spanish-derived focus phrase es que ‘it’s that’ consists of the 3sg present tense form of the Spanish copula ser and the complementiser que ‘that’. The phrase is firmly entrenched in the Pichi lexicon and signals affirmative focus of entire sentences. The phrase has an equivalent function in Spanish:

(713) Es que está bien usar el subjuntivo.

It’s that it.is good use the subjunctive

‘It’s that it’s good to use the subjunctive (mood).’

In (714), the topical NP dí káyn pikín ‘this kind of child’ is set off from the rest of the sentence by continuative intonation and a pause. The subsequent clause is under presentational focus with es que ‘it’s that’, and the topical NP is picked up by the resumptive pronoun e ‘3sg.sbj’:

(714) Entonces dí káyn pikín, es que normalmente

so this kind child it.is that normally

**e** go tɛ́l yú dán tín, (...)

3sg.sbj pot tell 2sg.indp that thing

So this kind of child, it’s that usually it will tell you exactly that (...)’ [to03gm 052]

In the example below, es que is immediately followed by a locative adverbial, namely the prepositional phrase introduced by na ‘loc’:

(715) Es que na dán klém wé e de klém,

it.is that foc that climb sub 3sg.sbj ipfv climb

e de gó e de klém.

3sg.sbj ipfv go 3sg.sbj ipfv climb

‘It’s that in that climb that she’s climbing, she’s just

climbing along.’ [au07se 070]

Cleft focus is characterised by a large degree of syntactic flexibility. For example, focusing into a relative clause is permitted. Example (716) presents a subject relative clause featuring focus of a 3sg person (i.e. na ín ‘it’s him’), anaphoric to the preceding head nominal wán ‘one (person)’:

(716) Bɛt e fíba sé wán dé wé na ín

but 3sg.sbj resemble quot one be.loc sub foc 3sg.indp

de púl di ɔ́da wán di torí.

ipfv pull def other one def story

*Lit. ‘*But it seems that one is there that it’s him who is telling the other

one a story.’ [au07se 100]

#### Focus of resumptive elements

Cleft constructions of the type in (716) above, where a resumptive element is focused, serve an important function in discourse. They serve as anaphors that establish reference to preceding topical material in the sentence or the paragraph. The relevant collocations involve the focus particle na ‘foc’ followed by the adverbs yá ‘here’, dé ‘there’, só ‘so; like that’, the personal pronoun ín ‘3sg.indp’, as well as complex NPs like dán tɛ́n ‘that time’ and di tín ‘the thing’. Mostly, these collocations function as resumptive adverbials of location, time, or cause, but ín ‘3sg.indp’ may also refer to preceding subjects and objects.

In (717), the topical, clefted adverbial phrase frɔn in hós ‘from her house’ is anaphorically referred to by another clefted adverbial, namely dé ‘there’:

(717) Na frɔn in hós, na dé yu go ték máred.

foc from 3sg.poss house foc there 2sg pot take marry

‘It’s from her house, it’s there that you’d enter marriage.’ [ab03ay 033]

A similar anaphoric relation holds between di sáy ‘the place’ and na dé ‘it’s there’ in (718). In fact, the deictic locative adverbs dé ‘there’ and yá ‘here’, as well as the deictic manner adverbial só ‘like that’ need to be clefted in this way, if they are to appear in the clause-initial, rather than their usual clause-final position:

(718) Di sáy wé mɔní dé, na dé yu gɛ́fɔ gó.

def side sub money be.loc foc there 2sg have.to go

‘The place where there’s money, that’s where you have to go.’

An anaphoric temporal relation may also be established by means of the locative adverbs yá ‘here’ and dé ‘there’. In (719), the left-dislocated and topical Spanish adverbial a los quince años completamente is picked up by the resumptive focus construction na yá ‘foc here’ = ‘that’s when’. The same principle is at work in (720), where na dé refers to a preceding time clause earlier in the paragraph:

(719) A los quince años, na yá e kán.

at def.pl fifteen years foc here 3sg.sbj come

‘With exactly fifteen years, that’s when she came.’ [ab03ay 156]

(720) Na dé dán, dán kandá, dán tín, dán membrano,

foc there that that skin that thing that membrane

na dé e kɔmɔ́t, (…).

foc there 3sg.sbj go.out

‘That’s when that, that skin, that thing, that membrane, that’s when

it came out (…)’ [ab03ay 093]

The collocation na ín features the emphatic 3sg pronoun ín, which functions as a “catch-all” anaphora. Hence, it may refer to a preceding subject, object, or time or cause adverbial. The exact nature of the anaphoric relation that holds between na ín and its antecedent is therefore determined by context.

In (721), *na ín* refers to the antecedent subject under focus *na* di *fáyn chɔ́p* ‘it’s the good food’. Example (722) features a resumptive *na ín* anaphorical to the dislocated, topical object *dís traje fɔ mono* ‘this overall-like suit’:

(721) Na di fáyn chɔ́p, na ín de stáwt=an.

foc def fine food foc 3sg.indp ipfv make.corpulent=3sg.obj

‘It’s the good food, that’s what’s making her corpulent.’ [dj07ae 170]

(722) Tɛ́l=an sé, nɔ́, dís traje fɔ mono,

tell=3sg.obj quot intj this suit prep overall

na ín e wánt.

foc 3sg.indp 3sg.sbj want

‘(He) told him, no, this overall-like suit, that’s what

he wants.’ [to03gm 004]

In (723), na ín refers to an antecedent time clause introduced by wé ‘sub’. When there is a relation of temporal succession like in this example, it is only natural that the wé-clause precedes the main clause:

(723) Wé e dɔ́n dé pan di chía, na ín e strét.

sub 3sg.sbj prf be.loc on def chair foc 3sg.indp 3sg.sbj be.straight

‘When she was completely on the chair, that’s when she straightened up.’

[au07se 089]

In turn, cause clauses are more likely to follow their main clauses. As a consequence, sentence-initial cause clauses are in-focus by default, and are therefore quite often additionally marked for focus in a cleft construction.

Whenever this the case, the phrasal expressions na ín (mék) ‘foc 3sg.indp (make)’ = ‘that’s why’ (724) or alternatively, na di tín (mék) ‘foc def thing (make)’ = ‘that’s why’ (725) may refer anaphorically to the preceding cause clause (cf. (646) for the analoguous content question):

(724) Na bikɔs in abuelo dɔ́n dáy,

foc because 3sg.poss grandfather prf die

na ín e de kráy.

foc 3sg.indp 3sg.sbj ipfv cry

‘It’s because his grandfather has died, that’s why he’s crying like that.’ [dj05be 046]

(725) Na bikɔs dɛn púl di motó, na di tín

foc because 3pl remove def car foc def thing

mék e chakrá.

make 3sg.sbj destroy

‘It’s because the car was removed, that’s why it got broken.’ [dj05be 047]

Amongst the sentences involving focus of resumptive elements presented so far, we also find focused constituents appearing in the initial position which are not preceded by the focus marker na (eg. (719) and (722)). There is no reason to see these structures as being fundamentally different from cleft constructions involving the focus marker na. The only thing “missing” in these constructions is the focus particle.

### Presentatives

Pichi features a presentative construction involving na/nóto as well as the proximal and distal demonstrative forms dís ‘this’ (726) and dat ‘that’ (727) in sentence-final position. Presentatives may be seen as inverted copula clauses with particular deictic force, which direct an addressee’s attention to, and identify, an entity. By highlighting an entity in this way, presentatives manifest a functional overlap with (presentational) cleft constructions:

(726) E sé na mán dís.

3sg.sbj quot foc man this

‘He said “this is a man”.’ [ed03sb 224]

(727) Na róp dát.

foc rope that

‘That’s a rope.’ [li07pe 002]

Examples (726)–(727) may also be expressed with less deictic force as regular copula clauses. The following two equative clauses feature the demonstratives dí ‘this’ and dán ‘that’ in the ordinary prenominal position. When employed in an NP in this way, demonstratives may be realised as the short forms dí and dá respectively. However, these apocopated forms do not occur in sentence-final position in presentatives like (726)– (727) above:

(728) **Dí** wán na bíf.

this one foc wild.animal

‘This (one) is a wild animal.’ [ma03sh 011]

(729) Dá wán na bɔbí.

that one foc breast

‘That (one) is the breast.’ [dj05ce 209]

The highlighted NP of a presentative construction may be modified by further constituents in the same way as a nominal participant in an equative clause. In (730), the NP chɔ́p ‘food’ has been modified prenominally by bɛ́ta ‘very good’ and post-nominally by a relative clause introduced by wé ‘sub’:

(730) Na di bɛ́ta chɔ́p wé mán de chɔ́p dát.

foc def very.good food sub man ipfv food that

‘That was the best food that one [I] was eating.’ [ed03sp 123]

Content questions may also be formulated as presentatives (731), in which case they may occur without a preposed na. This distribution may be linked to the fact that questioned constituents are focused by default, and may optionally co-occur with na-focus anyway (cf. 7.3.2):

(731) Sé papá gɔ́d ús=káyn trɔ́bul dís?

quot father God q=kind trouble this

‘(I) said God, what (kind of) trouble (is) this?’ [ab03ab 082]

### Predicate cleft

Besides focus of verbs by means of clausal focus, verbs may be singled out for focus individually in a construction termed “predicate clefting” (e.g. Koopman 1984; Larson & Lefebvre 1991) or “verb fronting” (Muysken 1978).

In Pichi predicate cleft constructions, the focused verb appears twice in the sentence: fronted in the initial focus position directly after the focus marker *na*, and at the same time in its original syntactic position in the out-of-focus part of the sentence. Compare the following example featuring the clefted dynamic verb gó ‘go’. It is noteworthy that a negative predicate cleft by means of nóto ‘neg.foc’ is not attested:

(732) Na gó a de gó ó.

foc go 1sg.sbj ipfv go sp

‘[Mind you] I’m going.’ [ch07fn 151]

Predicate cleft signals presentational or contrastive focus of the predicate and produces intensifying, emphatic meanings. It should therefore be seen as part of the range of emphatic structures that involve iteration in Pichi (i.e. reduplication and repetition, cf. 4.5 and the use of cognate objects, cf. 9.3.3). Neither temporal or causal adverbial meanings, nor factive clauses are expressed through predicate cleft. In natural speech, predicate cleft almost exclusively occurs with dynamic verbs, as in the example above. In fact, the natural speech data in my corpus reveals relatively few instances of predicate cleft constructions in general.

The predicate cleft construction in (733) features a stative verb, the property item *bíg* ‘be big’. Like other cleft constructions, predicate cleft does not require marking of the out-of-focus part of the sentence as a relative clause. This is, in fact rejected in unison by all speakers who were asked about this possibility (734):

(733) Chico, na bíg e bíg.

boy foc big 3sg.sbj big

‘Oh boy, it’s really big.’ [ye07fn 070]

(734) \*Na bíg wé e bíg.

foc big sub 3sg.sbj big

\*It’s really big. [ne07fn]

Sometimes verbs are clefted together with a pronominal object (735). If this is the case, the pronominal object is not repeated with the second verb. The fronting of a subject or adverbial modifier together with the verb is not accepted (736):

(735) Na krách=an yu de skrách.

foc scratch=3sg.obj 2sg ipfv scratch

‘You’re actually scratching it.’ [dj07ae 386]

(736) \*Na lúk fáyn yu lúk.

foc look fine 2sg look

\*You looked really well. [ne07fn]

However, verbs are not clefted together with TMA markers (737). These always remain in their “original” position with the second verb. The two following examples are of interest because they involve clefting of the major verb of a motion-direction SVC. As these examples show, the minor verb gó ‘go’ remains in its original syntactic position (738):

(737) Na wáka wi bin de wáka gó dé.

foc walk 1pl pst ipfv walk go there

‘We actually walked there.’ [pa07me 002]

(738) Na wáka wi wáka gó dé.

foc walk 1pl walk go there

‘We walked there.’ [pa07me 003]

The same holds for complements of auxiliaries. In (739), it is once again only the major verb wáka ‘walk’ that gets fronted, while the modal auxiliary verb wánt ‘want’ stays behind:

(739) Na wáka e wánt wáka só.

foc walk 3sg.sbj want walk like.this

‘He really wants to walk right now.’ [pa07me 008]

A few Pichi verbs have homophonous nominal counterparts which are not merely action nominalisations. One of these is chɔ́p, which means ‘eat’ as a verb and ‘food’ (rather than only ‘eating’) as a noun. While (740) may be interpreted as involving either predicate or nominal cleft, the cleft construction in (741) is unlikely to be anything else than a nominal cleft construction, since the focused noun chɔ́p ‘food’ is modified by bɔkú ‘be much’:

(740) Na chɔ́p e chɔ́p yɛ́stadé ó.

foc eat/food 3sg.sbj eat yesterday sp

‘He really ate yesterday.’ or ‘It’s (really good) food that he ate yesterday.’ [dj07ae 463]

(741) Na bɔkú chɔ́p e kin chɔ́p.

foc much food 3sg.sbj hab eat

‘It’s a hell of a lot of food that he usually eats.’ [dj07ae 462]

### Other means of expressing emphasis

Focus constructions frequently come along with a variety of other emphatic elements and structures which breathe life into discourse and signal speaker involvement.

For example, the TMA marker sequences *dɔ́n de* ‘pfv ipfv’ and *dɔ́n de* *fínis* ‘pfv ipfv finish’, rather than the imperfective marker *de* alone, may be recruited in order to emphasise that the situation designated by the verb is in full course.

In (742), NP focus (i.e. *dís wán* sɛ́f ‘this one emp’ co-occurs with a predicate featuring the perfect marker *dɔ́n* and the imperfective marker *de*. Sentence (743) additionally features the completive aspect auxiliary verb fínis ‘finish (doing something)’*,* which adds even more emphatic force:

(742) Dís wán sɛ́f, yu dɔ́n de tráy.

this one emp 2sg prf ipfv try

‘Even this [little Bube that you speak], you’re really making an effort.’ [ab03ab 014]

(743) Náw a dɔ́n de fínis sém

now 1sg.sbj prf ipfv finish be.ashamed

fɔ wɛ́r dán sús.

prep wear that shoe

‘Now I’m really ashamed to be wearing that (pair of) shoes.’ [ma03hm 021]

Adverbial modification, for example via the value property items fáyn ‘be fine’ and bád ‘be bad’ or the quantity property item bɔkú ‘be much’ (744), may also express emphasis by itself or in conjunction with other elements and/or focus constructions. The use of the demonstrative determiner dán ‘that’ together with the possessive construction in yáy ‘his eye’ builds up additional emphatic force in (744):

(744) E de para na dán in yáy bɔkú bád.

3sg.sbj ipfv stand loc that 3sg.poss eye much bad

‘It [the white spot in his eye] just sits there in that his eye really bad.’ [ye03cd 109]

Other means of expressing emphasis and by extension various nuances of sentential focus are the segmental and suprasegmental means outlined in 3.2.5, 3.4.2 and 7.7.3, the various forms of iteration, i.e. repetition (745) and reduplication, predicate cleft, and cognate objects – the latter in combination with the particle ó in (746) as well as ideophones (747):

(745) Ɛ́n, bɔt ín sidɔ́n dɔ́n dɔ́n dɔ́n yandá.

yes but 3sg.indp stay down rep rep yonder

‘Yes, but he stays far down there.’ [ma03ni 020]

(746) Dɛn bin fáyn wán fáyn ó.

3pl pst fine one fine sp

‘They were really beautiful.’ [mi07fn 120]

(747) Dɛn nák=an na in chɛ́s kip.

3pl hit=3sg.obj loc 3sg.poss chest ideo

‘They hit him (hard) in the chest with a thumping sound.’ [dj05ce 100]

## Topic

Topicalisation involves dislocation: The topic appears at the beginning of the sentence and is reiterated in the original syntactic position by a resumptive pronoun. A topic is often set off from the remainder of the sentence by a short pause and a continuative boundary tone. The element náw ‘now’ may optionally function as a post-posed topic marker.

### Dislocation

There is a strong tendency for definite subject NPs to be marked as topical by an intonation break, i.e. a short pause and/or continuative intonation, and a resumptive subject pronoun (cf. also 7.1.1). The definite subject in (748) is set off from the rest of the clause by an intonation break, indicated by a comma. At the same time, the following coreferential resumptive pronoun e ‘3sg.sbj’ reiterates the topical subject NP dán skúl ‘that school’:

(748) Dán skúl , e dé nía bɛrin-grɔ́n, nɔ́?

that school 3sg.sbj be.loc near burial.cpd-ground intj

‘That school is near the cemetery, right?’ [ma03hm 018]

In contrast, the data does not contain a single instance of a resumptive subject pronoun in a clause featuring an indefinite subject. Such clauses are formed in the way of (749) without a resumptive pronoun:

(749) Wán dé wán pikín bin de sík.

one day one child pst ipfv sick

‘One day, a child was sick.’ [ye03cd 071]

Non-subject topical NPs also appear at the beginning of the sentence, are normally separated from the rest of the clause by an intonation break, and are referred to by a resumptive element in the clause. The dislocated object di cartón ‘the carton’ in (750) is resumed by the coreferential object pronoun àn ‘3sg.obj’:

(750) Dí cartón, e mít=an yá?

this carton 3sg.sbj meet=3sg.obj here

‘This cardboard box, did she find it here?’ [li07pe 070]

In (751), the topical object NP ɛ́ni tín ‘everything’ is reiterated by the resumptive, coreferential object prounoun =an ‘3sg.obj’ after the verb púl ‘remove’:

(751) Ɛ́ni tín, yu wɔ́nt púl=an

every thing 2sg want remove=3sg.obj

na puerto yu de pé.

loc harbour 2sg ipfv pay

‘Everything, you want to remove it from the port, you pay [tax].’ [f103fp 002]

Sentence (752) involves the initial, dislocated topical object pronoun *mí* ‘1sg.indp’, which is reiterated in the object position after sí ‘see’ and anaphorically referred to by a ‘1sg.sbj’:

(752) Mí, lɛk háw yu de sí mí, a dɔ́n

1sg.indp like how 2sg ipfv see 1sg.indp 1sg.sbj prf

sí plɛ́nte tín.

see plenty thing

‘As for me, as you see me (now), I’ve seen many things (in life).’ [ab03ab 023]

The resumptive pronoun of an antecedent, dislocated topic may also be focused in a cleft construction. Such cross-cutting topic-focus structures are very common in Pichi. In the following sentence, the topical subject NP Panyá ‘Spain’ is picked up by the coreferential 3sg.indp pronoun ín, which is, in turn, focused in a cleft construction (cf. also 7.4.3.3):

(753) Panyá, na ín wɔ́s mɔ́.

Spain foc 3sg.indp be.very.bad more

‘As for Spain, that’s what’s really terrible [as a place to live in].’ [07fn 040]

Certain types of adverbial clauses are more likely to precede their main clauses than to follow them. When such adverbial clauses do precede their main clauses they usually are topical, and may be set off from the following part of the sentence by an intonation break as well. Compare the purpose clause beginning with fɔ ‘prep’ in (754):

(754) Fɔ tɔ́k Píchi, yu nó níd fɔ gó skúl.

prep talk Pichi 2sg neg need prep go school

‘In order to talk Pichi, you don’t need to go to school.’ [au07se 267]

Sentence (755) involves the rather rare case of a right-dislocated, topical (and nominalised hence non-finite) clause namely fɔ pút nivel ‘to level the ground’. This last example also shows once more that the transition is smooth to focus marking, since (755) may also be seen as an example of pseudo-clefting:

(755) Di tín wé bin dé difícil mɔ́ na dí hós,

def thing sub pst be.loc difficult more loc this house

fɔ pút nivel.

prep put level

‘The thing that was most difficult in [building] this house, [was]

to level the ground.’ [07fn 065]

### Topic particle

It has been shown that dislocation and intonation are by themselves sufficient means of indicating the topicality of a constituent. In addition to dislocation, the adverbial náw ‘now’ may optionally indicate the topicality of a constituent. A particle is, however, not obligatory, often accompanied by an intonation break, and in most cases, by a resumptive element in the clause.

Apart from being used to signal topicality, the particle *náw* ‘now’ is a time adverbial (756), which may occur in presentational sentences like the following:

(756) Náw e tínap na grɔ́n.

now 3sg.sbj stand loc ground

‘Now it’s standing on the ground.’ [li07pe 093]

Sentence (757) below is a metacomment in which speaker (dj) classifies the term mɔnt ‘month’ as an English word (a more current Pichi term is mún ‘moon; month’). In this example, the post-posed particle náw signals the topicality of mɔ́nt.

(757) ‘Mɔ́nt’ náw, e dɔ́n bí inglés.

month now 3sg.sbj prf be English

‘As for “mɔnt”, it’s already English.’ [dj05ce 030]

Sometimes we encounter sentences in which the topic is not reiterated in a syntagmatic relation within the clause. In such cases, the topic functions like in many topic-prominent languages: It is adjoined to the clause and provides a referential frame, within which the precise relation between topic and comment is recovered by pragmatic context (cf. Li and Thompson 1976). For example, in (758), the topicality of pikín ‘child(ren)’ is signalled by náw ‘now’ and an intonation break. However, the “resumptive” pronoun e ‘3sg.sbj’ does not refer to the topical syntactic subject pikín. Instead, e ‘3sg.sbj’ refers to a concept as a whole, namely procreation, which is loosely referred to by the topic pikín:

(758) Pikín náw, e nó hád.

child now 3sg.sbj neg hard

‘As for [having] kids, that’s not difficult.’ [hi03cb 162]

Example (759) presents the topical and focused NP sósó Píchi ‘only Pichi’, however without the focus marker na ‘foc’. The topic is followed by náw now’ and fronted. The out-of-focus part of the sentence is exceptionally expressed in a relative clause:

(759) Sósó Píchi náw wé wi de tɔ́k.

only Pichi now sub 1pl ipfv talk

‘(It was) only Pichi that we used to talk.’ [au07se 214]

Example (760) below features the 3sg personal pronoun ín ‘3sg.indp’ under assertive focus by means of clefting and additional topic marking by means of a post-posed náw ‘now’:

(760) Na ín náw a bin de chɛ́k sé e bin fɔ

foc 3sg.indp now 1sg.sbj pst ipfv check quot 3sg.sbj pst cond

dé fáyn if a mít wán pɔ́sin (...)

be.loc fine if 1sg.sbj meet one person

‘That’s why I was thinking it would be fine if I met somebody (...)’ [fr03ft 176]

## Being and having

The forms employed to express being and having in Pichi form part of a web of interlinked and overlapping functions which extends from the formation of focus structures and copula clauses to the expression of possession and the formation of predicate adjective clauses. An important feature of the expression of both being and having is the notion of time-stability.

Figure 7.2 Expression of being and having

identity

na/nóto/bí

change-of-state

tɔn, lɛf, kɔ̀mɔ́t

location

dé

existence

dé, gɛ́t

permanent possession

gɛt, na fɔ̀/dé fɔ̀

existence in place & time

lɛf, sté, pás, rích, dú

temporary possession

hól, d́é na hán

focus

na/nóto

predicate

adjective clause

de

Figure 7.2 maps the linkages between the different elements that participate in the expression of being and having. Time-stable situations are connected with an unbroken, non-time-stable states with a broken line. Glosses for the elements contained in the figure can be culled from the following sections and Table 7.8:

### Core copulas

The expression of identity-equation is provided by the elements na ‘foc’, nóto ‘neg.foc’, and bí ‘be’. The element dé ‘be.loc’ serves as the locative-existential copula. Pichi employs overt copulas in all relevant contexts. The expression of being is characterised by several asymmetries. Firstly, there is a functional and formal differentiation between the expression of identity (via na/nóto) and location-existence (via dé). Secondly the expression of identity is taken care of by the three suppletive forms na ‘foc’, nóto ‘neg.foc’, and bí ‘be’ which are in complementary distribution with each other. Some relevant characteristics of the distribution of the Pichi core copulas are summarised in Table 7.7:

Table 7.7 Core copulas

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Identity | | | Location & existence |
| na ‘foc’ | nóto ‘neg.foc’ | bí ‘be’ | dé ‘be.loc’ |
| Can co-occur with TMA markers? | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| Can occur in clauses with factative TMA? | Yes | Yes | No | Yes |
| Has a suppletive counterpart? | Yes | Yes | Yes | No |
| Can occur in non-finite contexts? | No | No | Yes | Yes |

Clauses involving the three core copulas na ‘foc’, nóto ‘neg.foc’ and bí ‘be’ feature a subject, the copula and a nominal complement. The functions of the copula include expression of the identity of two participants (761), and classification as member of a group (762):

(761) Dán tín na di pasta.

that thing foc def paste

‘That thing is the paste.’ [fr03do 036]

(762) Ín na kres-húman.

3sg.indp foc be.crazy.cpd-woman

‘She’s a crazy woman.’ [ro05ee 037]

Further functions are the attribution of a role (763), a name (764), and the expression of a family relationship (765). Note the presence of the verb tɔ́n ‘turn’ which denotes a change of state when used as a copula verb (763):

(763) Mi papá na dɔ́kta bɔt mí nó go tɔ́n dɔ́kta.

1sg.poss father foc doctor but 1sg.indp neg pot turn doctor

‘My father is a doctor but I won’t become a doctor.’ [ro05ee 024]

(764) Yɛ́s, mi ném na Djunais.

yes 1sg.poss name foc name

‘Yes, my name is Djunais.’ [dj05ce 188]

(765) Na dán tɛ́n a kán sabí sé mi mamá

foc that time 1sg.sbj pfv know quot 1sg.poss mother

na mi mamá.

foc 1sg.poss mother

‘It’s then that I came to know that my mother was my mother.’ [fr03ft 019]

Equative clauses are characterised by asymmetries and suppletion in the use of personal pronouns, polarity, and TMA marking. These asymmetries derive from the core function of na/nóto to express identification in presentational sentences like (766) and (767). In these clauses, the identified elements (i.e. kasára ‘cassava’ and wi Píchi ‘our (kind of) Pichi’) are in focus by default. Therefore, I consistently gloss na/nóto as foc and neg.foc, respectively, in order to render the chiefly pragmatic function of these elements:

(766) Na kasára.

foc cassava

‘That’s (a) cassava.’ [li07pe 028]

(767) **N**óto wi Píchi.

neg.foc 1pl Pichi

‘That’s not our (kind of) Pichi.’ [ra07ve 009]

In sentences like the two above, na has expletive reference and is therefore non-referential. The core pragmatic function of identification of na/nóto can be extended to express identity between two full NPs (hence with default 3sg reference) in equative clauses:

(768) In papá na chino.

3sg.poss father foc Chinese

‘Her father is Chinese.’ [ed03sp 028]

However, when identity between a personal pronoun with reference other than 3sg and another NP is expressed, the deeply pragmatic nature of the copula-like element in sentences like (768) above is revealed. Since na/nóto is not a copula “verb”, the subject pronoun cannot come from the dependent series of the pronominal paradigm. Instead, an independent emphatic pronoun must be used:

(769) Mí na di wan-grén pikín.

1sg.indp foc def one.cpd-grain child.

‘I am the only child.’ [lo07he 060]

Therefore even equative clauses are best analysed as identificational. These clauses are grammaticalised topic-comment structures, in which the topical subject is followed by an entity identified by na/nóto. The copula-like element na/nóto therefore retains its pragmatic, identificational, and focus-marking function even in such “copula clauses”.

The two asymmetries in the formation of copula clauses next to negative suppletion (i.e. (767) and 3sg default reference, i.e. (766) and (768)) are complemented by a third asymmetry: Whenever overt TMA marking is required or the copula is employed in a context suggesting reduced finiteness, the copula verb bí ‘be’ is made use of. This complementary distribution is strict. Therefore, a clause like the following one is ungrammatical, since bí may not appear in basic identity clauses without overt TMA marking. Compare (768) above and (770) below:

(770) \*In mamá **bí** rusa.

3sg.poss mother foc Russian

\*Her mother is Russian. [dj07ae 532]

In the following two equative clauses, the presence of the TMA markers dɔ́n ‘prf’ (771) and go ‘pot’ (772) motivates the appearance of the suppletive identity copula *bí* ‘be’. In spite of its defective distribution (cf. (770)), the copula bí behaves much more like a copula verb than na/nóto: It may take dependent personal pronouns (e.g. in (771)) and appear with TMA marking (e.g. (771) and (772)), and it may appear in many more contexts than the na/nóto:

(771) E dɔ́n bí wán señorita.

3sg.sbj prf be one little.lady

‘She has already become a real young lady.’ [fr03ft 117]

(772) Mí go bí dɔ́kta.

1sg.indp pot be doctor

‘I’ll be doctor.’ [ro05ee 025]

Sentence (773) below contains two copula clauses. The first one features the copula bí marked for past tense by bin ‘pst’. In contrast, the second clause is not overtly marked for tense, hence the copula cum focus marker na is employed. Recall that Pichi employs relational tense. Hence the identity copula na may have past tense reference because tense reference has been anchored in the past by the use of bin in the preceding clause. In fact, in this example, a past tense reference of na is a plausible option because the speaker’s mother is deceased (unless the speaker considers reference to her mother to be generic in nature):

(773) Mi ném bin bí Francisca Belobe Toichoa, porque

1sg.poss name pst be name name name because

mi mamá in ném na Belobe Toichoa.

1sg.poss mother 3sg.poss name foc name name

‘My name was Francicsa Belobe Toichoa because my mother’s name

is/was Belobe Toichoa.’ [fr03ft 090]

A further example involving overt TMA marking in an equative clause follows. Sentence (774) features the narrative perfective marker kán ‘pfv’ followed by bí ‘be’. Note that the combination of kán ‘pfv’ with the copula bí renders a change of state reading of bí just like with any other (inchoative-)stative verb (cf. e.g. (326)–(327)):

(774) So mí, mi yón e kán **bí** una desgracia.

so 1sg.indp 1sg.poss own 3sg.sbj pfv be def disgrace

‘So as for me, mine [my matter] came to be a disgrace.’ [ab03ay 034]

Bí ‘be’ is also employed instead of na/nóto in contexts of reduced finiteness. In (775), bí occurs as the complement of the modal verb fít ‘can’. The form bí also appears in subjunctive clauses (776). Such clauses are not only inherently future-referring and non-assertive. They also feature reduced tense-aspect marking and are less finite:

(775) ‘Kɔ́t’ fít bí lɛkɛ herida.

cut can be like wound

‘”Kɔ́t” can be [mean] like a wound.’ [ye05ce 227]

(776) Mék e  **bí**  sé Kofí dɔ́n kán.

sbjv 3sg.sbj be.loc quot name prf come

‘(Please) let it be that Kofí has come.’ [dj05ae 032]

Furthermore, bí is the only identity copula attested in a context like (777) below. In the example, the copula occurs in a subordinate clause featuring the clause linker wé ‘sub’. The non-assertive environment of the subordinate clause precludes use of na/nóto as copulas. This is presumably due to the fact that these particles realise their core function in identificational and presentational sentences, which are assertive structures *par excellence*.

Additionally, tense reference of the subordinate clause is dependent on the main clause, which is set in the past. These factors contribute to the use of *bí* although the context is finite and there is no overt TMA marking in the subordinate clause in (777):

(777) Frɔn wé a  **bí** pikín a bin wánt

from sub 1sg.sbj be child 1sg.sbj pst want

kɔmɔ́t na dís kɔ́ntri.

go.away loc this country

‘From when I was a child, I wanted to leave this country.’ [ro05ee 027]

A copula clause featuring bí ‘be’ is negated like any other verbal clause. The negator nó ‘neg’ appears in its usual position in the predicate. Compare the following sentence, in which the copula clause is in the potential mood:

(778) E nó go **bí** mecánico.

3sg.sbj neg pot be mechanic

‘He won’t be a mechanic.’ [dj05ae 215]

The element dé ‘be.loc’ functions as a locative-existential copula. Accordingly, this form is used to express relatively transient, less permanent existence in space and time, either on its own or when followed by an adverbial complement. The element dé also occurs as a copula in predicate adjective constructions (cf. 7.6.5). Hence dé may also take adjectives as complements.

The copula dé may occur in intransitive clauses without any complement. Such clauses show that *dé* is semantically relatively rich and has a meaning of its own, namely ‘exist in a place’ or ‘exist in a certain manner’. Compare the question in (779)(a) and the corresponding answer in (779)(b):

(779) a. Ebongolo dé?

name be.loc

‘Is Ebongolo around/his usual self/fine/alright?’ [ge07fn 180]

b. Yɛ́s, e dé.

yes 3sg.sbj be.loc

‘Yes, he’s here/around/his usual self/fine/alright.’ [he07fn 181]

In (780), dé takes a locative adverbial phrase introduced by the general locative preposition na ‘loc’ as a complement. The adverbial phrase in (781) involves the locative noun nía ‘be near’:

(780) E dé na grɔ́n.

3sg.sbj be.loc loc ground

‘He is [lying] on the ground.’ [ab03ab 063]

(781) Yu fon dé nía tébul.

2sg phone be.loc near table

‘Your phone is near the table.’ [ro05ee 109]

Locative complements of dé ‘be.loc’ other than locative adverbs like yandá ‘yonder’ in (782) rarely appear without a preposition or a locative noun. Where they do, the absence of the locative noun is usually lexically determined. Compare dé láyf ‘be.loc life’ = ‘be alive’ in (783). Also note that the copula dé receives an imperfective, present tense interpretation like any other unmarked stative verb in Pichi:

(782) Áfta dí wán wé e dé yandá, e bíg.

then this one sub 3sg.sbj be.loc yonder 3sg.sbj be.big

‘Then, that one that’s over there, it’s big.’ [li07pe.091]

(783) Somos tú dásɔl wé wi dé láyf.

we.are two only sub 1pl be.loc life

‘We are only two who are alive.’ [ab03ay 133]

Sentence (784) exemplifies how dé is used to express existence in time. In contrast to locative complements, time adverbials like ívin tɛ́n ‘evening’ appear as direct complements of the copula dé when the intended meaning is ‘location in time’ (cf. 8.2.2 for other temporal relations):

(784) Wi dé íbin tɛ́n.

1pl be.loc evening time

‘It’s evening.’ [dj05ce 249]

Further, the time is always told in a code-mixed Pichi-Spanish construction. The noun phrase employed in telling the time in Spanish appears as a complement of the copula dé ‘be.loc’ which in turn takes a 1pl subject (785). No prepositions are employed in this construction either. Hence here too, there is no formal indication of the adverbial status of the time expression:

(785) Wi dé las dos y media.

1pl be.loc the.pl two and half

‘It’s two thirty.’ [dj05ce 056]

The form dé ‘be.loc’ may also be employed to attribute a relatively transient, non-time-stable property to a subject. Hence, dé is encountered as a predicator in predicate adjective constructions involving the few adjectives that Pichi has. One of these is fáyn ‘(be) fine’ in (786). As explained in detail in section 7.6.5, predicate adjective constructions, rather than verbal clauses, are only chosen when the situation is perceived as non-time-stable:

(786) Dán tɛ́n a dé fáyn.

that time 1sg.sbj be.loc fine

‘That time I was [feeling] fine.’ [ru03wt 024]

Another manifestation of the non-time stable character of the situation predicated by dé ‘be.loc’ is given in the following three sentences. The copula dé is used when an adverbial complement designates a way of being rather than intrinsic being. Adverbial complements can be a simple manner adverb like só ‘so’ (787), a bare NP featuring the generic noun stáyl ‘manner; style’ (788), or a PP with the similative and equative preposition lɛ́k ‘like’ (789):

(787) Na só e dé.

foc like.that 3sg.sbj be.loc

‘That’s the way it is.’ [au07se 159]

(788) E dé ɔ́da stáyl.

3sg.sbj be.loc other style

‘It’s different.’ [dj05ae 081]

(789) A wánt dé lɛk Miguel Ángel.

1sg.sbj want be.loc like name name

‘I want to be like Miguel Ángel [the way he dresses/acts/looks].’ [ye07ga 007]

By extension, dé ‘be.loc’ is also employed whenever an attributed property is questioned directly (790) and indirectly (791), or when a property is attributed to a main clause verb in a free adverbial manner clause (792):

(790) Háw yu go dé, yu nó gɛ́t pikín?

how 2sg pot there 2sg neg get child

‘How would you be [feel] (if) you had no child?’ [kw03sb 203]

(791) Bɔt mí wánt sabí háw dán tín dé.

but 1sg.indp want know how that thing be.loc

‘But I [emp] wanted to know how that thing was.’ [ed03sb 147]

(792) Yu gɛ́fɔ lɛ́f=an lɛk háw e dé.

2sg have.to leave=3sg.obj like how 3sg.sbj be.loc

‘You have to leave it how it is.’ [hi03cb 065]

Contrary to the time stable copulas na/nóto and bí described above, dé exhibits no irregularities with respect to TMA marking and negation (793). It occurs with the standard negator and any TMA marker compatible with its distribution as a stative verb (794):

(793) Nó bɔ́dí nó dé na pueblo.

neg body neg be.loc loc village

‘Nobody is in the village.’ [fr03ft 156]

(794) Sé ‘ús=tín kin dé ínsay dé?’

quot q=thing hab be.loc inside there

‘(They) said “what is usually in there?”‘ [ed03sb 052]

### Copula verbs

Besides the core system of copula expression covered in the previous section, Pichi recruits a number of stative and dynamic verbs in order to express more specific copula meanings linked to the notions of change-of-state and existence in place and time. Copula verbs and their meanings are provided in Table 7.8.

Table 7.8 Copula verbs

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Type | Verb | Copula meaning | Other meanings | Other functions |
| Change of state | tɔ́n | ‘turn into’ | ‘turn’ | — |
|  | lɛ́f | ‘turn into; become’ | ‘leave, remain’ | Causative verb |
|  | kɔmɔ́t | ‘turn out as’ | ‘go/come out’ | Egressive aspect |
| Existence in | gɛ́t | ‘exist’ | ‘get, have’ | — |
| place & time | lɛ́f | ‘remain’ | ‘leave’ | Causative verb |
|  | sté | ‘last (long)’ | — | Duration SVC |
|  | pás | ‘exceed in degree’ | ‘pass’ | Comparative SVC |
|  | rích | ‘equal in degree;  be enough’ | ‘arrive’ | SVC |
|  | dú | ‘be enough’ | ‘do’ | — |

When employed as a lexical verb, tɔ́n means ‘turn; stir’ (796). In its literal sense, tɔ́n is employed as a dynamic verb with an agent subject and a patient object (795), or a locative adverbial (796). The collocation tɔ́n bák means ‘return’ (797):

(795) Yu gɛ́fɔ de tɔ́n=an.

2sg have.to ipfv turn=3sg.obj

‘You have to be stirring it.’ [dj03do 057]

(796) Tɔ́n na yu lɛ́f-hán!

turn loc def left.cpd-hand

‘Turn left!’ [ye05ce 278]

(797) Mék a gó dú smɔ́l tín a tɔ́n bák.

sbjv 1sg.sbj go do be.small thing 1sg.sbj turn back

‘Let me go do something quickly (and) come back.’ [ge07fn 016]

As a copula verb, tɔ́n ‘turn’ designates a change of state from one identity to another (798):

(798) Dɛn-ɔ́l dɛn dɔ́n tɔ́n europeos dɛn.

3pl.cpd-all 3pl prf turn European.pl pl

‘They have all turned into Europeans.’ [fr03ft 149]

In contexts other than copula expression and causative formation, lɛ́f may be employed as a dynamic verb in transitive clauses with the meaning ‘leave (behind)’ (799):

(799) A lɛ́f di tín dɛn di sáy wé yu bin tɛ́l mí.

1sg.sbj leave def thing pl def side sub 2sg pst tell 1sg.indp

‘I left the things where you told me to.’ [ro05de 025]

The verb lɛ́f ‘leave; remain’ also functions as a resultative copula in resultative causative constructions like the following one (cf. 9.4.4 for a thorough treatment):

(800) Yu go mék mék di gál lɛ́f wet brok-hát.

2sg pot make sbjv def girl remain with break.cpd-heart

‘You’re going to make that girl become broken-hearted.’ [ge07fn 103]

Besides the verb gɛ́t ‘get; have’ (cf. 7.6.3), a few other verbs express existence in space and time. When the inchoative-stative verb lɛ́f ‘leave; remain’ occurs in an intransitive clause featuring a comitative or locative adverbial, this verb assumes a copula function with the meaning ‘remain (behind); stay temporarily with’ (801).

(801) Machyta lɛ́f wet in fámbul.

name remain with 3sg.poss family

‘Machyta has remained (temporarily) with his family’ [ge07ae 213]

The verb kɔmɔ́t ‘come out’ is employed to indicate a change of state in lexicalised collocations involving associative objects (cf. also 9.3.2). Compare (802):

(802) A de trén=an porque e go kɔmɔ́t pɔ́sin.

1sg.sbj ipfv train=3sg.obj because 3sg.sbj pot come.out person

‘I’m bringing him up because [so that] he will turn out to be a (responsible)

person.’ [au07se 145]

The dynamic verb sté means ‘last (a long time)’ as in (803). This verb also expresses excessive duration in an adverbial SVC (cf. 11.2.5):

(803) Bɛ́ta tín nó de sté.

very.good thing neg ipfv last

‘Good things don’t last.’ [ra07fn 076]

Finally, the occurrence of pás ‘pass’ and rích ‘arrive’ as inchoative-stative verbs in comparatives like (483) and equatives like (510) may also be seen as manifestations of a copula-like use of these otherwise dynamic verbs.

### Existentials

The locative-existential copula dé ‘be.loc’, as well as the verb gɛ́t ‘have; get; acquire’ both participate in existentials, i.e. constructions which predicate the general existence of an entity. Pichi existentials appear in two types of clauses with respect to number and type of participants: Transitive clauses featuring gɛ́t ‘have’ and intransitive clauses featuring dé ‘be.loc’. Some of the characteristics of these two types of existentials are given in Table 7.9:

Table 7.9 Existential clauses

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Existential verb | Frequency | Syntactic relation of existing entity? | Attested in negative existentials? | Attested with non-finite use? | Attested with overt TMA marking? |
| gɛ́t ‘have’ | About half | Object | Marginal | No | Marginal |
| dé ‘be.loc’ | About half | Subject | Yes | Yes | Frequent |

The gɛ́t-existential construction occurs in a transitive clause. The subject position is filled by an expletive 3sg pronoun, the object position by the existing entity (804). This construction exclusively serves the expression of existential meaning and has no locative connotation. None of the other constructions that follow are uniquely employed to express existential meaning in this way:

(804) Dís smɔ́l bɔ́tul dɛn Fanta, wé e gɛ́t Coca-Cola, e

this small bottle pl name sub 3sg.sbj get name 3sg.sbj

gɛ́t Fanta, e gɛ́t limón, e báy=an wán.

get name 3sg.sbj get lemon 3sg.sbj buy=3sg.obj one

‘These small bottles of Fanta, where there is Coca-Cola, there is Fanta, there is

Lemon, she bought him one (of them).’ [ab03ab 130]

Pichi has other ways of establishing the type of impersonal reference characteristic for gɛ́t-existentials besides a 3sg expletive pronoun. The verb gɛ́t may also occur with an impersonal 3pl (805) or 2sg (806) pronoun in clauses that are functionally similar to existentials (804):

(805) Ɔ dɛn gɛ́t problema fɔ di sistema ɔ e sɛ́n=an

or 3pl get problem prep def system or 3sg.sbj send=3sg.obj

na ɔ́da empresa, wé nóto Western Union.

loc other company sub neg.foc name

‘Either they have a problem in the system, or she sent it to another company

which is not Western Union.’ [ge07ac 217]

(806) Bɔt yu dɔ́n sabí na Afrika yu nó gɛ́t nó

but 2sg prf know loc place 2sg neg getneg

relación fɔ mán lɛk na Europa.

relation prep man like loc Europe

‘But you already know that in Africa you don’t have a

relationship with a man like in Europe.’ [fr03ft 167]

There are no restrictions on the use of gɛ́t-existentials in subordinate clauses. In sentence (807), the existential clause appears in a relative clause introduced by wé ‘sub’:

(807) Bɔt na dán fɔ́s tɛ́n hós dɛn wé e gɛ́t

but foc that first time house pl sub 3sg.sbj get

dá piso dɛn fɔ dán altura dɛn.

that storey pl prep that height pl

‘But its those houses of the past where there are those high storeys’ [hi03cb 043]

Copula clauses featuring dé ‘be.loc’ typically acquire an existential reading when they lack a copula complement. In these clauses, we find the predicated entity, which may be of varying complexity, in the subject position (808). Since there is no complement to provide further specification, the clause acquires the default locative and manner reading that typifies such dé-clauses (809):

(808) Bueno aunque dé, bɔkú interés económico dé.

good although there much interest economic be.loc

‘Alright although there, there’s a lot of economic interest.’ [fr03ft 110]

(809) Bueno, mi gran-pá bin dé.

good 1sg.poss grand-pa pst be.loc

‘Alright, my grandfather was around/fine.’ [fr03ft 166]

Hence, constructions featuring dé acquire a locative reading when a locative expression is present. In (810), we find the locative adverbial na sala ‘in the hall’:

(810) Paciente dɛn dé na sala, yú dɔ́kta la una

patient pl be.loc loc hall 2sg.indp doctor the one

yu de kán?

2sg ipfv come

‘Patients are in the hall, (and) you doctor, it’s (only)

at one o’clock that you come?’ [ab03ab 118]

Existential clauses featuring gɛ́t are not often negated. The data contains only a single negative gɛ́t-existential clause, presented in (811). This is probably so because the “true” existential construction featuring gɛ́t is subject to an affirmative presupposition:

(811) Dɛn de kɔ́l dɛn sé, e nó gɛ́t **tɔ́k** na Píchi.

3pl ipfv call 3pl quot 3sg.sbj neg get talk loc Pichi

‘They’re called, there is no word (for that) in Pichi.’ [dj05be 014]

In contrast, there are many examples of negated dé-copula clauses with an existential reading, as in the following two examples. Note the occurrence of negative concord in the first of the two following examples:

(812) Nó pát fɔ wɔ́l mɔ́ nó dé.

neg part prep world more neg be.loc

‘There is no other part of the world [where it’s like that].’ [au07se 224]

(813) ‘Fam-mán’ nó dé.

farm.cpd-man neg be.loc

‘[The word] “Farm-man” doesn’t exist.’ [dj05be 016]

Likewise, the corpus does not reveal any instance of a non-finite gɛ́t with an existential sense. Conversely, we once more encounter many examples of non-finite dé ‘be.loc’ with an existential reading as in (814):

(814) Ebanistas dɛn gɛ́fɔ dé.

Carpenter.pl pl have.to be.loc

‘Carpenters have to be there/around.’ [hi03cb 042]

The same applies to TMA marking. While quite a few dé-existentials are found with overt TMA marking as in (815), there is no such example of a gɛ́t-existential. The latter type of existential therefore appears to be prototypical in an additional sense – gɛ́t existentials typically predicate a generic situation, which is also marked as such by factative tense-aspect:

(815) Ɛhɛ́ wán accidente fɔ motó bin dé.

intj one accident prep car pst be.loc

‘Oh yes, there was a car accident.’ [ye03cd 073]

Finally, it is useful to draw attention to the linkages between existential and factive clauses. Factive clauses featuring the copula dé are existential clauses with a referentially empty subject position and a complement clause introduced by sé ‘quot’. The subject is either an expletive e ‘3sg’ or a dummy noun like tín ‘thing’, as in this example (cf. eg. (1139) for further details on factive clauses):

(816) Di tín dé sé mék e mék rabia wet mí.

def thing be.loc quot sbjv 3sg.sbj make anger with 1sg.indp

‘The thing is that let her be angry with me.’ [ye05rr 001]

### Possessives

Pichi employs a verbal and a copula strategy in the formation of possessive clauses. The verbs gɛ́t ‘get; have’ and hól ‘hold; keep’ are the principal verbs of possession and express time-stable and non-time-stable possession, respectively. Three collocations involving copulas are also used, albeit less frequently, in order to express possessive relations: dé fɔ ‘be.loc prep’ = ‘have’ and na fɔ ‘foc prep’ = ‘have’, as well dé na/fɔ hán ‘be.loc loc/prep hand’ = ‘have on’. The use of these collocations may also be differentiated along the criterion of time-stability: dé fɔ and na fɔ express time-stable, and dé na hán transient, non-time-stable possession. Table 7.10 presents some characteristics of possessive clauses:

Table 7.10 Possessive clauses

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Time-stable | Non-time-stable | Possessor | Frequency |
| Verbal | gɛ́t ‘get; have’ | hól ‘keep’ | Subject | Majority |
| Copula | dé fɔ; na fɔ  ‘be for’ | dé na/fɔ hán  ‘be loc/prep hand’ | Prepositional phrase | Minority |

The verb gɛ́t ‘get; have’ expresses permanent, time-stable possession. When gɛ́t occurs in a factative marked clause (817), a lexicalised light verb construction (818), an existential construction (cf. 7.6.3), or other contexts that propose a generic reading, the verb leans towards the stative meaning ‘own; be in permanent possession’:

(817) A gɛ́t mɔdɛlɔ́.

1sg.sbj get mother-in-law

‘I have a mother-in-law.’ [ro05de 009]

(818) Dí mán gɛ́t líba ɛ́n, fɔ kɔmɔ́t wet dís káyn bíg gɛ́l

this man get liver intj prep go.out with this kind big girl

‘Than man has guts, right, to go out with such an influential girl.’ [dj05ce 291]

Conversely, when gɛ́t co-occurs with a TMA marker with a default or explicit perfective reading (819) or sentential aspect suggestive of telicity (i.e. the ‘when’ time clause in (820)), an inchoative interpretation of gɛ́t as ‘acquire; enter into permanent possession’ is favoured:

(819) Di papá de gládin sé in pikín dɔ́n gɛ́t wók.

def father ipfv be.glad quot 3sg.poss child prf get work

‘The father is happy that his child has found work.’ [dj07ae 073]

(820) A kin gɛ́t mɔní, a kin fála húman dɛn.

1sg.sbj hab get money 1sg.sbj hab follow woman pl

‘(When) I used to receive money, I would chase women.’ [ed03sp 089]

Sometimes we also find the phrases dé fɔ ‘be.loc prep’ or na fɔ ‘be.loc prep’ expressing time-stable possession. There is no difference in meaning between the two constructions, although na ‘foc’ is employed as a time-stable identity copula in other contexts (822):

(821) Sɔn Píchi **dé** **fɔ** sɔn mán wé de síng,

some Pichi be.loc prep some man sub ipfv síng

dɛn de kɔ́l Lapiro.

3pl ipfv call name

‘There’s a kind of Pichi used by a man who sings, he’s called

Lapiro [dé Mbanga].’ [ye05ce 039]

(822) Di tín dé fɔr=an, di tín na fɔ ín.

def thing be.loc prep=3sg.obj def thing foc prep 3sg.indp

‘The thing is his, the thing is his (...)’ [dj05ae 239]

The verb hól ‘hold; keep’ expresses non-time-stable, temporary possession in a transitive clause like (823). In such contexts, it is best translated as ‘keep’. The temporary nature of possession expressed by hól is reaffirmed by the adverbial phrase durante un mes entero ‘for one whole month’, which specifies the period of possession:

(823) A fíthóldán mɔnídurante un mes entero**.**

1sg.sbj can keep that money during def month whole

‘I’m able to keep that money for a whole month.’ [ro05rt 049]

Speaker (dj) summarises the difference between gɛ́t and hól in (824). Note the difference in aspect marking with hól, gɛ́t, and dráyb ‘drive’. Imperfective aspect is expressed through factative marking with the inchoative-stative verbs hól and gɛ́t. Meanwhile, it is the presence of de ‘ipfv’ that signals imperfective aspect with the dynamic verb dráyb:

(824) ‘Yu **hól** wán motó’, yu **de** **dráyb**=an, pero sé yu **gɛ́t**,

2sg hold one car 2sg ipfv drive=3sg.obj but quot 2sg get

cuando tienes, ‘a **gɛ́t** wán motó’.

when you.get 1sg.sbj get one car

‘”Yú hól wán motó” (means) you’re driving it, but when you possess it,

when you have it “a gɛ́t wán motó.”’ [dj05ae 223]

The notion of temporary possession expressed by hól ‘hold; keep’ may also be applied to a human-possessed NP. A characteristic of West African pedagogy is to confer responsibility for the upbringing of a child to members of the extended family other than the biological parents. Such temporary guardianship is also expressed by hól. I leave it to speaker (au) to explain the meaning of hól in sentences (825) and (826):

(825) A **hól** mi brɔ́da in pikín, a de trén =an.

1sg.sbj hold 1sg.poss brother 3sg.poss child 1sg.sbj ipfv train=3sg.obj

‘Because I have guardianship over my brother’s child, I’m bringing him up.’ [au07se 141]

(826) Bikɔs e **hól** yú na hós yu gɛ́fɔ gɛ́t

because 3sg.sbj hold 2sg.indp loc house 2sg have.to get

di hóm trénin.

def home training

‘Because she has guardianship over you in her house you have to receive

home education.’ [au07se 130]

When hól ‘hold; keep’ is employed as a dynamic verb in a transitive clause, it has the more literal meaning of ‘hold’, hence the presence of the imperfective marker de in the following example:

(827) Nó, na di húman **de** **hól** di plét.

neg foc def woman ipfv hold def plate

‘No, it’s the woman that’s holding the plate.’ [ra07se 012]

A second strategy for establishing a non-time-stable possessive relation makes use of the phrasal expression dé na X hán/dé fɔ X hán ‘be in X’s hand’, where X is the possessor. This phrase is another variant of the copula strategy of possessive clause formation. In such invariably intransitive clauses, the subject instantiates the possessed NP and a prepositional phrase the possessor. In the following example, the transient nature of possession is underscored by the time adverb náw ‘now’:

(828) George, mi móvil nó dé na mi hán,

name 1sg.poss mobile neg be.loc loc 1sg.poss hand

a nó gɛ́t móvil náw.

1sg.sbj neg get mobile now

‘George, I don’t have my mobile phone on me, I don’t have

a mobile phone now.’ [dj05ae 088]

All possessive clauses covered in this section can be negated by standard verb negation. The negator nó ‘neg’ is inserted between the personal pronoun and the verb:

(829) Yu sabí sé yu **nó** **gɛ́t** pikín?

2sg know quot 2sg neg get child

‘Do you know whether you don’t have a child?’ [fr03wt 173]

### Predicate adjectives

We are concerned here with a few property items that may be employed as predicate adjectives next to their use as inchoative-stative verbs. The fluidity between adjective and verb with these items shows that, notwithstanding its existence, the verb–adjective distinction is weak in Pichi. Adjectives can be identified by their distribution. Only adjectives may appear as complements to the locative-existential copula dé in predicate adjective clauses, such as the following one:

(830) Tidé di húman dé fáyn.

today def woman be.loc fine

‘Today the woman is fine.’ [dj05ae 153]

In (830), fáyn ‘be fine’ is used as an adjective and denotes a physical property, namely a body state in an intransitive clause. The predicate adjective construction featuring the copula dé translates as ‘be fine; well; healthy’. Contrast this meaning with (831), where fáyn is employed as an inchoative-stative verb with the meaning ‘be intrinsically fine’ hence ‘beautiful’. In the latter example, fáyn therefore denotes a value:

(831) Di húman fáyn.

def woman be.fine

‘The woman is beautiful.’ [dj05ae 149]

In the corpus, a handful of property items show the potential to function as predicate adjectives. As a general rule, the perceived time stability of the property determines whether it is used as a time-stable inchoative-stative verb or a non-time-stable adjective. The most consistent time-stability distinction is found with the words bád ‘be bad; ill’, fáyn ‘be fine; beautiful’, and gúd ‘be good; well’. When they occur as adjectives, they denote a body state. When they occur as inchoative-stative verbs, these property items denote a value, an intrinsic property.

Only these three words are unequivocal members of the small adjective class in Pichi. Beyond that, a few more property items are rarely used as predicate adjectives. Table 7.11 lists all property items attested in predicate adjective constructions in the corpus:

Table 7.11 Predicate adjectives

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| bád ‘ill’ | bráyt ‘bright’ | frí ‘free’ |
| fáyn ‘fine’ | wɔwɔ́ ‘messed up’ | sló ‘slow’ |
| gúd ‘well’ | pyɔ́ ‘pure’ | spɛ́shal ‘special’ |

The words in the second and third columns of Table 7.11 appear as predicate adjectives in the corpus only rarely. For example, the property item bráyt ‘be bright; glowing with beauty’ is attested as an adjective where it denotes a visible body state as in (832) – the speaker is an elderly lady giving an account of her youth. Compare frɛ́s ‘be fresh’ in the same sentence, which is used as an inchoative-stative verb to denote a more lasting body state of freshness or youthfulness:

(832) Moka bɔ́y dɛn krés wé dɛn sí lɛk háw a **frɛ́s**,

place boy pl go.mad sub 3pl see like how 1sg.sbj be.fresh

na so a **dé**  **bráyt**.

foc like.that 1sg.sbj be.loc bright

‘The Moka boys went crazy when they saw how fresh I was, that’s how bright

I looked.’ [ab03ay 059]

(833) Yu skín **bráyt** ó.

2sg body be.bright sp

‘Your body is really glowing (with beauty).’ [dj07ae 165]

The physical property item wɔwɔ́ ‘be ugly; messed up’ is used by the same speaker as an adjective in (834) and as an inchoative-stative verb in (835). The first example featuring wɔwɔ́ again expresses a visible state of the street, while the second is more time-stable in its meaning:

(834) Di strít dé wɔwɔ́.

def street be.loc ugly

‘The street looks messed up.’ [dj05ae 136]

(835) Di strít wɔwɔ́, di strít chakrá,

def street be.ugly def street be.destroyed

di strít nó dé fáyn.

def street neg be.loc fine

‘The street is messed up, the street is destroyed, the street is not fine.’ [dj05ae 134]

Predicate adjective clauses may be marked for TMA like any other copula clause featuring the copula dé. Compare the adjective bád ‘ill’ in (836) with a future tense reference:

(836) Wé yu go fɔdɔ́n yu go dé bád.

sub 2sg pot fall 2sg pot be.loc bad

‘When you fall you’ll be in a bad state.’ [ab03ay 114]

Adjectives may also be employed attributively as prenominal modifiers. In this, adjectives behave no differently from other property items (cf. 5.2.1). Below, the adjective fáyn ‘be fine’ appears as a modifier of gɛ́l ‘girl’:

(837) Yu sí wán fáyn gɛ́l, yu de gó tún=an.

2sg see one fine girl 2sg ipfv go tune=3sg.obj

‘(If) you see a fine girl, you go chat her up.’ [au07se 062]

The class of adjectives is closed for words of Pichi origin, since the use of property items as copula complements is lexically restricted. But the predicate adjective construction is a port of entry for Spanish adjectives (cf. 13.2.2).

Finally, I draw attention to the various other means of attributing properties to a noun. Speakers make use of postnominal modification through relative or quotative clauses. Other ways of expressing modification are associative constructions and compounding. Two strategies of modification serve as a productive means of deriving new property items next to the use of Spanish adjectives in the Pichi predicate adjective construction. A dé-copula clause with an adverbial complement featuring wet ‘with’ (838), as well as light verb constructions involving gɛ́t ‘get; have’ (839) allow the attribution of a property to a referent:

(838) E hád fɔ mék mék dɛn bíl na yá só bikɔs

3sg.sbj be.hard prep make sbjv 3pl build loc here like.that because

di grɔ́n e tú dé wet stón.

def ground 3sg.sbj too be.loc with stone

It’s hard for them to build here because the ground is too stony.’ [dj05be 111]

(839) E hád fɔ bíl na yá bikɔs sé di grɔ́n

3sg.sbj be.hard prep build loc here because quot def ground

gɛ́t bɔkú sansán.

get much sand

‘It’s hard to build here because the ground is very sandy.’ [ro05ee 063]

## Adverbial modification

Pichi adverbials modify verbs and clauses. It is useful to distinguish between adverbs proper and adverbials. I employ “adverbial” as a cover term, which includes adverbs, but also encompasses other clause constituents with the functions of adverbs. Adverbs constitute an underived, largely monomorphemic minor word class of their own, and unlike other constituents that may function as adverbials (e.g. common NPs), they do not normally appear in the syntactic positions of other word classes.

Adverbials may occupy a clause-initial, a preverbal, a postverbal and a clause-final position. Some adverbs consist of a single morpheme (e.g. bambáy ‘gradually’, náw ‘now’), others are lexicalised phrases with idiosyncratic, underivable meanings (e.g. sɔn.tɛ́n ‘some.time’ = ‘perhaps’). Other expressions are more or less conventionalised phrases, constituted by means of phrasal syntax (e.g. bɔkú tɛ́n dɛn ‘many times; often’), but usually not encountered in non-adverbial functions. Often such noun phrase adverbials are fixed collocations involving generic nouns denoting time (tɛ́n ‘time’, áwa ‘hour’), manner (stáyl ‘style’, fásin ‘manner’), and space (sáy ‘side’, plés ‘place’, pát ‘part’). There is thus a smooth transition from more basic monomorphemic adverbs to more or less lexicalised adverbial phrases.

The expression of degree and manner modification is particularly rich and varied in Pichi and deserves special attention. It should, however, also be pointed out that many adverbial notions are expressed by wholly different means than adverbials. For example, movement verbs may take goal objects, while some spatial and temporal notions may be expressed by motion-direction and adverbial SVCs. Many ideophones function as manner adverbials next to the adverbs of manner covered in this section.

Equally, many clause linkers are not very different in function from the linking adverbs listed in Table 7.12 below (e.g. bikɔs ‘because’, adɔnkɛ́ ‘even if’). Further, modal clauses with expletive subjects (e.g. *e fít bí sé* ‘3sg.sbj’, can be quot’ = ‘it could be that’, and e fíba sé ‘3sg.sbj seem quot’ = ‘it seems that’) convey meanings similar to those of sentence adverbs like sɔntɛ́n ‘perhaps’ and mébi ‘maybe’.

### Adverbs

Table 7.12 below presents all monomorphemic adverbs found in the corpus and the most common conventionalised phrasal expressions with adverbial functions. The preferred or canonical syntactic positions are also indicated. The table also contains the two most common Spanish-derived adverbs pero ‘but’ and bueno ‘alright’. Adverbs with multiple meanings are arranged in all the corresponding “adverb type” sections (e.g. smɔ́ltɛn ‘shortly after’ = locative adverb, smɔ́ltɛn ‘nearly’ = modal adverb):

Table 7.12 Adverbs

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Adverb type | Adverbs | Preferred position |
| Locative | dé ‘there’, yá (só) ‘here’, hía ‘here’, yandá ‘yonder’, aráwn ‘around’ | Clause final |
| Time | bambáy ‘gradually’, náw ‘now’, fɔ́s ‘first’, fɔ́s tɛ́n ‘formerly’, sɔn tɛ́n dɛn ‘sometimes’, smɔ́ltɛn ‘shortly after’, wán tɛ́n ‘(at) once’, wán wán tɛ́n ‘from time to time’ | Clause initial |
|  | bɔkú tɛ́n ‘for a long time’, lɔ́n tɛ́n ‘long ago’, sóté ‘for a long time’, mɔ́ ‘again’, yét ‘yet’ | Clause final |
|  | wán dé ‘someday’, nó wán dé ‘never’, ɔ́l tɛ́n ‘always’, ɔ́l áwa ‘all the time’ | Clause initial or final |
|  | jís/jɔ́s ‘just’, stíl ‘still’ | Preverbal |
| Degree | tú (mɔ́ch) ‘too (much)’, só ‘so much’ | Preverbal |
|  | bád ‘extremely’, mɔ́ ‘more’, mɔ́-ɛn-mɔ́ ‘more and more’,  sóté ‘extremely’, óva ‘excessively’, sóté ‘excessively’ | Clause final |
| Linking | áfta ‘then’, (e) fínis ‘then’, bɔt /bɛt ‘but’, so ‘so’, na ín ‘that’s when; that’s why’, dásɔl ‘then’, pero ‘but’, bueno ‘alright’ | Clause initial |
| Modal & evaluative | bádtɛn ‘unfortunately’, smɔ́ltɛn ‘nearly’, sɔntɛ́n ‘perhaps’, mébi ‘maybe’ | Clause initial |
|  | ó ‘sp’ | Clause final |
| Manner | kwík ‘quickly’, haydháyd ‘secretly’, só ‘like that’, fáyn ‘well’, ideophones | Clause final |

Adverbs that appear at the beginning modify the sentence in its entirety – they have a wide scope. In (840), the linking adverb adverb pero ‘but’, the modal adverb sɔntɛ́n ‘perhaps’, and the time adverb bambáy ‘gradually’ all occur sentence-initially:

(840) Pero bambáy bambáy sɔntɛ́n yu go sí di wán

but gradually rep perhaps 2sg pot see def one

wé go máred yú.

sub pot marry 2sg.indp

‘But very gradually perhaps you might find the one who will marry you.’ [ab03ab 204]

Locative and time adverbs may also occur after the verb, in which case they have narrow scope and modify the meaning of the verb alone. In (841), the repeated locative noun dɔ́n ‘down’ and the locative adverb yandá ‘yonder’ modify the verb sidɔ́n ‘sit; stay’:

(841) Bɔt ín sidɔ́n dɔ́n dɔ́n dɔ́n yandá.

but 3sg.indp stay down rep rep yonder

‘But he stays far down over there.’ [ma03ni 026]

The data contains diverse time adverbs. A few of these are monomorphemic, e.g. bambáy ‘gradually’ in (840) above. Others are more or less idiosyncratic phrases containing the time-denoting generic noun tɛ́n ‘time’, as in bɔkú tɛ́n ‘much time’ = ‘for a long time’ (842) or dé ‘day’, as in wán dé ‘someday’ (843). Location-in-time adverbs, like wán dé prefer the clause-initial, duration adverbs like lɔ́n tɛ́n ‘long ago’ and bɔkú tɛ́n the clause-final position:

(842) Nó chɛ́k=an bɔkú tɛ́n, tɛ́l mí sé nó.

neg think=3sg.obj much time tell 1sg.indp quot neg

‘Don’t think about it for a long time, tell me “no”.’ [ye07me 034]

Adverbs with generic time reference like wán dé ‘someday’ and ɔ́l tɛ́n ‘always’ are equally often encountered in the initial as well as the final position:

(843) Na ín wán dé a bin tɛ́l wán grand frère na,

foc 3sg.indp one day 1sg.sbj pst tell one big brother loc

na mi colegio dé, (…).

loc 1sg.poss college there

‘That’s why one day, I told one of my seniors in, in my secondary school

there, (…)’ [ye07ga.003]

(844) A mɔs gó Alemania wán dé.

1sg.sbj obl go place one day

‘I absolutely have to go to Germany someday.’ [to07fn 197]

In clauses featuring double-object constructions, speakers may place a time adverbial between the recipient or beneficiary object and the patient object instead of placing it in the clause-initial or clause final position. This position appears to be focus-induced, since it was encountered more often during the elicitation of adverbials than in natural speech:

(845) Ebongolo tɛ́l mí yɛ́stadé in problema.

name tell 1sg.indp yesterday 3sg.poss problem

‘Ebongolo told me about his problem yesterday.’ [dj07ae 347]

The phrase e fínis ‘3sg.sbj finish’ = ‘then’ is a stand-alone clause, which may function as a linking “adverb” (846). A formal indication of its hybrid status between clause and adverb is that the personal pronoun e ‘3sg.sbj’ is sometimes dropped:

(846) A gó wás wet mi hán mí sénwe

1sg.sbj go wash with 1sg.poss hand 1sg.indp emp

a dráy=an, e fínis a áyɛn=an.

1sg.sbj dry=3sg.obj 3sg.sbj finish 1sg.sbj iron=3sg.obj

‘I myself went to wash (it) with my own hands, I dried it, then ironed it.’ [dj07re 050]

The two modal adverbs sɔntɛ́n ‘perhaps’ (cf. (840) above) and smɔ́ltɛn ‘nearly’ (848) and the evaluative adverb bádtɛn ‘unfortunately’ (847) are lexicalised phrases involving the generic noun tɛ́n ‘time’ as a formative element (cf. (103) above). Modal and evaluative adverbs are normally found in the initial position with scope over the entire clause:

(847) Bádtɛn náw, di fɔ́s dɔ́kta wé wi gɛ́t,

unfortunately now def first doctor sub 1pl get

e nó dé ɔ́p na ɔspítul.

3sg.sbj neg be.loc up loc hospital

‘Unfortunately, the first doctor that we had wasn’t up

(there) in the hospital.’ [ab03ay 078]

(848) Smɔ́ltɛn a bin fɔ dáy dé.

nearly 1sg.sbj pst cond die there

‘I nearly died there.’ [ed07fn 493]

The adverb mébi ‘maybe’ (849) is not as common as sɔntɛ́n ‘perhaps’. Note that smɔ́ltɛn {small.time} has an entirely opaque sense ‘nearly’ in the example above, and a more transparent, temporal sense ‘shortly (after)’ in (850) below’

(849) Mébi dɛn nó go bɛ́g yú plɛ́nte fɔ pé (…)

maybe 3pl neg pot beg 2sg.indp plenty prep pay

‘Maybe they won’t ask you to pay a lot (…)’ [hi03cb 011]

(850) Smɔ́ltɛn e mék hɛɛɛ .

shortly 3sg.sbj make ‘exhalation’

‘Shortly after, he made [imitates exhalation].’ [ab03ab 086]

The L-toned clause-initial linking adverb so ‘so’ (851) differs from the H-toned deictic manner adverb só ‘like this; like that’ (852) in tone alone. The adverb *so* ‘so’ is often focused and fronted in a na cleft construction, in order to establish reference to preceding discourse material (853) (cf. also 7.4.3.3):

(851) So di ɔ́da wán de lístin=an.

So def other one ipfv listen=3sg.obj

‘So the other one is listening to him.’ [au07se 101]

(852) E de pás só lɛk sé e nó nó mí mɔ́.

3sg.sbj ipfv pass like.this like quot 3sg.sbj neg know 1sg.indp more

‘She was passing by just like that as if she didn’t know me anymore.’ [ru03wt 041]

(853) Na só dɛn go mék yú.

foc like.this 3pl pot make 2sg.indp

‘That’s what they would do to you.’ [ab03ay 045]

The H-toned adverb só ‘like that’ is also found in the conventionalised collocations (na) yá só ‘right here’ (854) and náw só ‘right now’ (855), where its deictic character provides emphasis:

(854) Frɔn na yá só dɛn kin controla di húman.

from loc here like.that 3pl hab control def woman

‘They control the woman from right here.’ [ed03sb 158]

(855) Náw só taksí, nó extranjero nó de drɛ́b taksí mɔ́.

now like.that taxi neg foreigner neg ipfv drive taxi more

‘Right now, as for taxis, no foreigner drives taxis anymore.’ [ye07je 177]

Manner adverbs other than só ‘like that’ and ideophonic adverbs generally occur after the verb, since they directly modify the meaning of the verb. Compare kwík ‘quickly’ and the ideophone kwáráng in the two following sentences:

(856) Bɔt dá mɔní de fínis kwík.

but that money ipfv finish quickly

‘But that money used to finish quickly.’ [ed03sp 088]

(857) Dɛn de plé=an kwáráng.

3pl ipfv play=3sg.obj ideo

‘It is played with this hollow sound (of the seeds

falling into the pits of the wooden Oware board).’

Pichi has a small set of four preverbal adverbs, which appear in the predicate before the verb. The set includes the time adverbs jís/jɔ́s ‘just’ and stíl ‘still’, as well as the degree adverbs só ‘so much’, tú (mɔ́ch) ‘too much’. The use of the preverbal time adverbs jís/jɔ́s and stíl coincides with resumptive imperfective aspect marking – the adverbs are preceded and followed by de ‘ipfv’. The aspect-marking functions of the time adverbs jís/jɔ́s ‘just’ and stíl ‘still’ are covered in 6.4.2 and 6.4.4, repectively (cf. also for a discussion of the position of preverbal adverbs):

(858) Náw dɛn de jís de kán.

now 3pl ipfv just ipfv come

‘Now, they’re just coming.’ [ye07je 179]

Preverbal degree adverbs usually occur with gradable property items or light verb constructions which attribute properties as in (859). Hence, sentences like (860), in which a non-gradable verb (i.e. tɔ́k ‘talk’), and a dynamic one at that, is preceded by a preverbal degree adverb, are very rare:

(859) Yu tú lɛ́k húman.

2sg too like woman

‘You’re too much of a womaniser.’ [ge07fn 02]

(860) E fíba lɛk sé a dɔ́n de tú tɔ́k bɔkú.

3sg.sbj resemble like quot 1sg.sbj prf ipfv too talk much

‘It seems like I’m talking to much.’ [be07he 015]

Non-gradable verbs are more likely to be modified postverbally by the expression tú mɔ́ch ‘too much’ than by preverbal tú ‘too (much)’ (861). The phrase tú mɔ́ch includes the quantifying adverb mɔ́ch. When a verb is modified in this way for superlative degree, the use of mɔ́ch is mandatory. The same applies when tú mɔ́ch modifies a nominal (862):

(861) E de só in sɛ́f tú mɔ́ch.

3sg.sbj ipfv show 3sg.poss self too much

‘He boasts too much.’ [ye07je 133]

(862) A de fíl tú mɔ́ch hɔ́t.

1sg.sbj ipfv feel too much heat

‘I’m feeling too hot [too much heat].’ [dj07ae 316]

Nonetheless, tú mɔ́ch may also be used in preverbal position without any difference in meaning to tú ‘too (much)’. The following sentence features both possibilities. While the compound property item smɔl.skín ‘small.body’ = ‘be thin’ is modified preverbally, the property item dráy ‘be dry; haggard’ is modified postverbally by tú mɔ́ch:

(863) Di pikín tú mɔ́ch smɔlskín, e dráy tú mɔ́ch.

def child too much be.thin 3sg.sbj be.dry too much

‘The girl is too thin, she’s too lean.’ [dj07ae 206]

Somewhat similar to the distribution of tú (mɔ́ch) is that of the adverb só ‘like that; that much’. When só occurs in a preverbal position, it implicitly expresses equative degree and means ‘that much’ (864). However, when só appears in the clause-final position, it means ‘like that’ and therefore retains its central meaning as a manner adverb (cf. (852) above):

(864) Dɛn nó de só yús=an mɔ́.

3pl neg ipfv like.that use=3sg.obj more

‘It’s not used that much anymore.’ [ye07je 009]

The word mɔ́ ‘be more; again’ also functions as a degree adverb and is characterised by an unusual amount of syntactic flexibility. In contexts other than comparison, mɔ́ may occur clause-finally as a time adverb with the meaning ‘again’ (865) and ‘still’ (866)–(867):

(865) Pút=an bihɛ́n **mɔ́**!

put=3sg.obj behind more

‘Put it behind [rewind] again!’ [au07se 057]

(866) Dɛn sé nóto ín wán, ɔ́da wán dé **mɔ́**.

3pl quot neg.foc 3sg.indp one other one be.loc more

‘They said it’s not her alone, there’s yet another one.’ [ed03sb 069]

(867) E de sigue mɔ́.

3sg.sbj ipfv continue more

‘It’s still continuing.’ [ro05rr 003]

In negative clauses, mɔ́ is best translated as ‘anymore; no longer; not again’. Compare the following examples with the negated dynamic verb ánsa ‘answer’ (868), and (869) with the negated stative verb and copula dé ‘be.loc’:

(868) E dé e nó de ánsa mí **mɔ́**.

3sg.sbj be.loc 3sg.sbj neg ipfv answer 1sg.indp more

‘She was (just) there (and) wasn’t responding to me any more.’ [ru03wt 041]

(869) Frɔn Rebola bajando e nó go dé **mɔ́**.

from place descending 3sg.sbj neg pot be.loc more

‘As we descend from Rebola, it [the fog] won’t be there anymore.’ [ye07fn 071]

In (870) below mɔ́ may be analysed as occupying the object position of tɔ́k ‘talk; say’ with the meaning ‘more’. Alternatively, mɔ́ may be seen to function as an adverbial and be translated as ‘still; again continue to’:

(870) A nó de **tɔ́k** **mɔ́**.

1sg.sbj neg ipfv talk more

‘I was not talking any longer.’ Or ‘I was not saying (anything) more/again.’ [ab03ay 090]

The scope of mɔ́ may also be narrower than the clause. In (871), mɔ́ is in the postnominal position and modifies the preceding NP in a way no different from that of the focus particle sɛ́f ‘foc’ or the quantifier ɔ́l ’all’. In (872), mɔ́ modifies the adverbial áfta ‘then’:

(871) Nó pát fɔ wɔ́l mɔ́ nó dé.

neg part prep world more neg be.loc

‘There is no other part of the world [where it’s like that].’ [au07se 224]

(872) Áfta mɔ́ a bin wók dís sén wók

then more 1sg.sbj pst work this same work

wé a de dú.

sub 1sg.sbj ipfv do

‘Then, additionally, I worked this same job that I’m doing (now).’ [ma03hm 057]

Besides the adverbs treated so far, compounds (873) or constructions featuring generic nouns of place (i.e. sáy ‘side; place’), time (i.e. tɛ́n ‘time’ and dé ‘day’), and manner (i.e. stáyl ‘manner, style’) serve as locative, time (874), and manner adverbials (875):

(873) Wok-sáy a de híɛ wé dɛn de tɔ́k=an bɔkú.

work.cpd-side 1sg.sbj ipfv hear sub 3pl ipfv talk=3sg.obj much

‘(At) work I hear them talk it [Ghanaian Pidgin English] a lot.’ [ye07je 166]

(874) E kán **sán tɛ́n**.

3sg.sbj come sun time

‘He came (at) noon.’ [dj05ce 050]

(875) Dɛn só di sɔ́t tú stáyl.

3pl sew def shirt two style

‘The shirt was sewn in two (different) ways.’ [ra07ve 063]

Other than that, Pichi employs noun phrases introduced by prepositions (e.g. na ‘loc’, fɔ ‘prep’, to ‘to’) or locative nouns (e.g. bifó ‘before’, bɔtɔ́n ‘under’, kɔ́na ‘next to’, míndul ‘middle’) to form various types of adverbial phrases which provide modification to clauses:

(876) A pút di kí na pála.

1sg.sbj put def key loc parlour

‘I put the key in the parlour.’ [to07fn 114]

### Modification of manner and circumstance

The corpus contains only few underived manner adverbs (amongst them kwík ‘quickly; early’ in (856) above). Nevertheless, the possibilities for providing manner modification are particularly rich. They encompass the use of adverbials, ideophones, SVCs, secondary predication, compounds, associative constructions, lexicalised iteration, and adverbial clauses of manner.

The value property item fáyn ‘be fine; nice; correct’ is frequently found in clause-final position to provide manner modification. The use of fáyn in this way is conventionalised to such an extent that it may be considered an adverb with its own established meaning of ‘nicely; properly; in the right way’ (a similar case is made for bád ‘extremely’, cf. (897)–(898) further below):

(877) E fíks dɛ́n fáyn.

3sg.sbj fix 3pl.indp fine

‘She has arranged them properly.’ [li07pe 069]

Another idiosyncratic way of expressing manner modification is through the lexicalised reduplication haydháyd ‘secretly’ (878):

(878) Chico, yu dɔ́n chɔ́p=an haydháyd.

boy 2sg prf eat=3sg.obj secretly

‘Man, you’ve eaten it secretly.’ [ge07fn 333]

Further, Pichi employs the adverb-deriving suffix *-wán* ‘adv’ to form manner adverbs (879), and the generic noun stáyl ‘style’ (880) in order to form manner-denoting adverbial NPs in clause-final position:

(879) Ás dɛn nɔ́ba bin sí plantí, dɛn bin chɔ́p=an rɔ́n-wán.

as 3pl neg.prf pst see plantain 3pl pst eat=3sg.obj wrong-adv

‘Since they had never seen plantain before, they ate it the wrong way.’ [ro05ee 062]

(880) Dɛn tíf di mɔní síkrit stáyl.

3pl steal def money secret style

‘They stole the money secretly.’ [ra07ve 048]

Likewise, prepositional phrases introduced by fɔ ‘prep’ may express manner as in the following example:

(881) A wáka fɔ fút wet mi maleta.

1sg.sbj walk prep foot with 1sg.poss suitcase

‘I walked by foot with my suitcase.’ [ab03ay 075]

For one part, biclausal structures are common in providing modifications of circumstance. Compare the following adverbial clauses introduced by wé ‘sub’ (882) and sé ‘quot’ (883):

(882) E gó na wók wé e klín.

3sg.sbj go loc work sub 3sg.sbj be.clean

‘She went to work clean.’ [ra07ve 076]

(883) Dí pikín kɔmɔ́t sé e dɔtí.

this child go.out quot 3sg.sbj be.dirty

‘This child went out dirty.’ [ra07ve 016]

Another common way of providing modification to a clause is by means of depictive secondary predication (cf also 11.3). In the depictive adjunct in (884), the secondary predicate nékɛd ‘be naked’ provides information about the state of the subject e ‘3sg.sbj’, while the situation denoted by kɔmɔ́t ‘come out’ unfolds:

(884) E kɔmɔ́t na rúm nékɛd.

3sg.sbj come.out loc room be.naked

‘He left the room naked.’ [ra07ve 001]

Modifications of circumstance may also be provided through nominal depictives that come in the guise of prepositional phrases introduced by wet ‘with’ (885) and lɛk ‘like’ (886):

(885) E pút di bɔ́tul pan di tébul wet di mɔ́t dɔ́n.

3sg.sbj put def bottle pan def table with def mouth down

‘He put the bottle on the table upside-down.’ [li07pe 057]

(886) Pero mi mamá kán acepta di pikín lɛk mi

but 1sg.poss mother pfv accept def child like 1sg

brɔ́da in pikín.

brother 3sg.poss child

‘But my mother accepted the child as my brother’s child.’ [fr03ft 122]

The preposition and clause linker lɛ́k may also introduce a prepositional phrase that indicates sameness of manner. Two examples of such “similatives” (Haspelmath and Buchholz 1998) follow:

(887) Mí nó lɛk yú bɔt wi fít dé lɛk kɔ́mpin.

1sg.indp neg like 2sg.indp but 1pl can be.loc like friend

‘I don’t love you but we can be (like) friends.’ [ru03wt 029]

The similative collocation wók lɛ́k dɔ́kta functions as a nominal depictive (888) (cf. 11.3 for an extensive discussion of verbal depictives in secondary predications). A similative lɛk in (889) translates as ‘around’:

(888) Di cubana húman de wók lɛk dɔ́kta na Malábo.

def Cuban woman ipfv work like doctor loc place

‘The Cuban woman works as a doctor in Malabo.’ [ro05ee 071]

(889) Yu fít gí mí lɛk dos mil só?

2sg can give 1sg.indp like two thousand like.that

‘Can you give me around two thousand?’ [be07fn 311]

Similative clauses are introduced by lɛk sé ‘like quot’ = ‘as if’, as in the example below:

(890) E de dú lɛk sé e de fɛ́n sɔn tín.

3sg.sbj ipfv do like quot 3sg.sbj ipfv look.for some thing

‘He’s pretending to look for something.’ [dj07ae 517]

Some relations of modification that habitually re-occur tend to be expressed through verb-noun compounds. For example, the depictive secondary predication in (891) is more often rendered by (892):

(891) E dríng di watá kól.

3sg.sbj drink def water be.cold

‘She drank the water cold.’ [ra07ve 004]

(892) E dríng kol-watá.

3sg.sbj drink cold.cpd-water

‘She drank cold water.’ [ra07ve 003]

### Modification of degree

There are various ways of providing degree modification in Pichi other than by the means covered in 7.7.1. Not all of these involve the use of adverbial constituents. For example, inherently comparative and superlative expressions, cognate objects, some types of focus constructions (i.e. predicate cleft), as well as repetition all provide some form of explicit or implicit modification of degree.

Degree modification may also be realised on the suprasegmental level. Vowel-lengthening and extra-high pitch may indicate a larger amount of intensity, extent, or dimension of a referent, which is generally a property item or an adverbial. The only syllable of the property item kól ‘be cold’ in (893) is pronounced with an extra-high tone and lengthened. The phonetic transcription is provided in squared brackets:

(893) Pero wé a kin tɔ́ch in fút,

but sub 1sg.sbj hab touch 3sg.poss leg

in hán dé, na só dɛn kó.ól [kő::l].

3sg.poss hand there foc like.that 3pl cold.emp

‘But when I would touch his foot (and) his hand,

they were so extremely cold.’ [ab03ab 066]

Vowel lengthening and extra-high tone are conventionalised with the preposition sóté ‘until’. Both phenomena always occur when sóté is employed as a clause-final temporal adverb with the meaning ‘for a long time’ or a degree adverb with the meaning ‘extremely’ (894):

(894) Dɛn kéch=an dɛn bít=an sóté.e [sőte̋::].

3pl catch=3sg.obj 3pl beat=3sg.obj until.emp

‘They caught him and beat the hell out of him.’ [pa07fn 556]

Suprasegmental degree modification is performed in accordance with the syllable structure of the modified word. Monosyllabic words bear an extra-high tone over their H-toned syllable. If the syllable ends in a vowel, liquid, or nasal, it may also be lengthened. Two examples for this pattern are kól ‘be cold’ in (893) above and fá ‘be far’ in (895) below.

The H-toned syllable of a bisyllabic word may also be lengthened if it ends in a vowel or liquid. Compare fawe ‘be far’ in (895) below. Both fá and fáwe in (895) are additionally emphasised by means of an extra-high tone:

(895) Wántɛn a skía, e sé ‘nó skía, a kɔmɔ́t

suddenly 1sg.sbj be.scared 3sg.sbj quot neg be.scared 1sg.sbj come.out

fá.áwe [fá:we], a kɔmɔ́t fá.á [fá::].’

far.emp 1sg.sbj come.out far.emp

‘Suddenly, I became scared, he said “don’t be scared, I come from very far away,

I come from very far”.’ [ed03sb 176]

In contrast, vowel-lengthening for degree modification is not attested with mono- or bisyllabic words with word-final H-toned syllables that end in plosives or fricatives. With this group of words, we only find emphatic extra-high tone or other types of degree modification. For example, in (896), the property item bíg ‘be big’ is modified for degree by repetition and the H-tone over both iterations is raised:

(896) Dɛn gɛ́t wán bíg bíg [bi̋g bi̋g] fám.

3pl get one big rep farm

‘They have a huge farm.’ [fr03ft 012]

Property items that do not denote dimension or a physical property and adverbs that do not denote a manner or degree are not usually modified suprasegmentally in this way. One way of providing degree modification to other types of words is by means of the value property item bád in clause-final position. For example, in (897) the property item bád ‘bad’ is employed as a degree adverb with the meaning ‘extremely’.

(897) A de sɔ́ri bád.

1sg.sbj ipfv feel.sorry extremely

‘I really feel sorry.’ [hi03cb 069]

In (898), bád modifies fáyn ‘(be) fine’. The example shows that bád retains nothing of its lexical meaning of ‘be bad’ when employed in this function. It is a true degree adverbial and may also modify a verb which is the antonym of its lexical source:

(898) E fáyn bád, e fáyn bád.

3sg.sbj be.fine extremely 3sg.sbj be.fine extremely

‘She is really beautiful, she is really beautiful.’ [fr03ft 113]

The sentence-final particle ó may also provide degree modification to a sentence (899). The various functions of this particle are covered in detail in 12.2.4:

(899) E hád ó.

3sg.sbj be.hard sp

‘It’s really difficult.’ [ro05fe 037]

# Spatial and temporal relations

Location in space is expressed by elements from diverse word classes and through a large variety of constructions. Some of the means employed for the expression of spatial relations are carried over into the expression of temporal relations but there are also independent ways of expressing location in time.

## Spatial relations

Prepositions, locative nouns, and locative verbs play a part in expressing spatial relations. Other items involved are motion verbs – verbs whose meanings include a motion component. The relation between “figure” and “ground” may be mediated through various types of structures. The expression of source and goal is of particular interest in the disucssion because it may involve the use of various competing structures.

### Locative prepositions

Prepositions are employed to express the location and direction of motion of an entity (the “figure”) in relation to a place (the “ground”). Locative prepositions and locative nouns (cf. 8.1.2) belong to separate word classes, but some shared characteristics make the distinction less clear-cut. The following table contains the Pichi inventory of prepositions. There are no postpositions in Pichi. Non-locative roles expressed by prepositions are covered in 9.1.3. Note that Pichi also has the two temporal prepositions ápás ‘after’ and síns ‘since’ (cf. 8.2):

Table 8.1 Locative uses of prepositions

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Preposition | Gloss | Location/direction | Other semantic roles/uses |
| na | ‘loc’ | General location (at rest) | ― |
| fɔ | ‘prep’ | General location (at rest) | Various non-locative roles |
| pan | ‘on’ | Superior location | ‘in addition to’ |
| frɔn | ‘from’ | Source | ‘since (temporal)’ |
| sóté | ‘up to’ | Extent | ‘until (temporal); extremely (adv)’ |
| to | ‘to’ | Goal | Complementiser |

Locative prepositions introduce adverbial prepositional phrases. Prepositions differ from locative nouns because they cannot be employed in the syntactic position of nouns. Prepositions require explicit mention of the ground, which is usually a nominal complement (900)–(901). The prepositions fɔ ‘prep’, pan ‘on’, and wet ‘with’ may however be stranded in questions, cf. (594)–(595), as well as in relative clauses:

(900) Di pépa dé na tébul.

def paper be.loc loc table

‘The paper is on the table.’ [dj05be 190]

(901) (...) e lɛ́f dɛ́n pan di tébul.

3sg.sbj leave 3pl.indp on def table

‘(…) she left them on the table.’ [li07pe 020]

Next to full nouns, locative adverbs may also function as complements to prepositions. Take note of the temporal meaning of the locative adverb dé ‘there’ in (902):

(902) wé in mamá dáy, na frɔn dé e bigín krés.

sub 3sg.poss mother die foc from there 3sg.sbj begin be.crazy

‘When his mother died, that’s when he began to go insane.’ [dj07ae 103]

(903) E kán fɔdɔ́n sóté yá.

3sg.sbj pfv fall until here

‘(And then) it fell up to here.’ [li07pe 090]

The general locative preposition na ‘loc’ and the general associative preposition fɔ ‘prep’ take the locative adverb yá (só) ‘(right) here’ as a complement but are not attested with dé ‘there’ or yandá ‘yonder’ as a complement:

(904) (...) na di tín a kán na yá.

foc def thing 1sg.sbj come loc here

‘(...) that’s why I came here.’ [ed03sb 087]

(905) Fɔ yá só, pípul fɔ isla dɛn de pé líka.

prep here like.that people prep island 3pl ipfv pay alcohol

‘As for here, people of the island pay [the bride price] in alcohol.’ [hi03cb 004]

It is also common to find the generic noun sáy ‘side; place’ and a demonstrative as a complement to na or fɔ instead of a deictic locative adverb:

(906) Na só dɛn de mék café na dí sáy.

foc like.that 3pl ipfv make coffee loc this side

‘That’s how they make coffee here.’ [ye07ga 038]

Personal pronouns do not normally occur as complements to the general (locative) prepositions *na* ‘loc’ and *fɔ* ‘prep’. Pichi employs other means of expressing the relevant notions. For example, the ground may be named more specifically as in (907) or an idiomatic expression may be used, as in (991) further below:

(907) E bin pás na mi hós.

3sg.sbj pst pass loc 1sg.poss house

‘She passed by my house [to see me].’ [ro05ee 078]

The preposition to ‘to’ is rare. It is employed with a locative function to mark a goal (908). The following sentences represent two of altogether four occurrences of this preposition in the corpus. I point out that in (909), the preposition to is used to mark the goal in a motion-direction SVC in the same position as na ‘loc’ or fɔ ‘prep’ (cf. e.g. (957)). The use of to as a complementiser is even more marginal (cf. (1280) for an example involving the main verb of cognition nó ‘know (how to)) and is not common with the vast majority of speakers:

(908) Yu gó to yu kɔ́mpin yu sé ‘chico dán gɛ́l de

2sg go to 2sg friend 2sg quot boy that girl ipfv

bɔ́t mi’.

hit.with.head 1sg.indp

‘You go to your friend (and) you say “man, that girl is rejecting me”.’ [au07se 066]

(909) Wé dɛn bin kɛ́r=an gó to dɔ́kta, (...)

sub 3pl pst carry=3sg.obj go to doctor

‘When they took her to the doctor, (..).’ [ab03ay 121]

The preposition na ‘loc’ expresses location in the most general way. Depending on context, na may denote superior (900), interior, proximate, or lateral (906) location. The associative preposition fɔ ‘prep’ is employed as a general locative preposition in ways similar to na (cf. e.g. (935), (955), (956) and (983)). But compared to na ‘loc’, the preposition ‘fɔ ‘prep’ is only employed in a minority of instances for the expression of general location.

### Locative nouns

Table 8.2 presents the repertoire of locative nouns. The distribution of these elements (cf. Table 8.3 further below) reflects their heterogeneity and intermediary status between noun and preposition. Circumferential location is expressed via the locative verb ráwn ‘surround’ (cf. (937)) and distal location by means of the multifunctional word fá(wé) ‘(be) far’ (cf. e.g. (895)). In Pichi, body part nouns such as bák ‘back’ or fés ‘face’ are not usually employed to express location roles.

Table 8.2 Locative nouns

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Locative noun | Translation | Type of location | Other uses |
| nía | ‘near; in contact with’ | Proximate; lateral | Verb: ‘be near’ |
| kɔ́na | ‘next to’ | Proximate; lateral | Noun: ‘corner’ |
| ínsay | ‘inside’ | Interior | Temporal: ‘during, within’ |
| nadó | ‘outside’ | Exterior | — |
| bifó | ‘front; before’ | Anterior | Temporal: ‘before’ |
| bihɛ́n | ‘rear, behind’ | Posterior | — |
| pantáp; ɔntɔ́p | ‘top; on’ | Superior (contact) | ‘in addition to’ |
| ɔ́p | ‘up(per side)’ | Superior | — |
| bɔtɔ́n | ‘bottom; under’ | Inferior (contact) | — |
| dɔ́n | ‘down (side)’ | Inferior | — |
| míndul | ‘middle, amidst’ | Medial | — |

Locative nouns have characteristics in common with ordinary nouns. They may occur in the position of NPs, for example as subjects (910) or as goal objects of movement verbs, like rích ‘arrive’ (911). In both cases, an explicit mention of the ground is not required:

(910) (...) mék yu tɔ́n=an, porque bɔtɔ́n go rós.

sbjv 2sg turn=3sg.obj because bottom pot burn

‘(...) turn it, because the bottom might burn.’ [dj03do 055]

(911) Yu de klém fɔ rích pantáp.

2sg ipfv climb prep arrive top

‘You’re climbing in order to reach the top.’ [au07se 086]

In the same vein, a locative noun can appear as the adverbial complement of the locative-existential copula dé ‘be.loc’ (912):

(912) (...) e dé ɔ́p, gó só!

3sg.sbj be.loc up go like.that

‘(...) it’s [farther] up, go this way!’ [ma03ni 011]

All locative nouns except nía ‘near’, kɔ́na ‘next to’, and nadó ‘outside’ may also be preceded by the definite article di ‘def’ as in the following example:

(913) Di dɔ́n na violeta (...)

def down foc violet

‘The lower part is violet (...)’ [ma03hm 034]

In addition, all locative nouns except nía ‘near’, kɔ́na ‘next to’, and nadó ‘outside’ may also be preceded by the general locative preposition na ‘loc’ like any ordinary noun. In the data, such constructions are, however, very rare, and none of these locative nouns is preceded by the general associative preposition fɔ ‘prep’ instead of na ‘loc’:

(914) E púl=an na pantáp di béd.

3sg.sbj remove=3sg.obj loc top def bed

‘She took him from the bed.’ [ab03ab 079]

(915) Na fɔ mék nó gó na dɔ́n.

foc prep make neg go loc down

‘It’s in order (for us) not to go down.’ [ma03hm 003]

The locative nouns nía ‘near’, kɔ́na ‘next to’, nadó ‘outside’, and bifó ‘before; front’ are not normally found as complements to na ‘loc’ in prepositional phrases like the ones above. The peculiar distribution of nía and kɔ́na may be due to their multifunctionality. Nía also functions as a locative verb ‘be near’ (cf. (939)), kɔ́na as a common noun ‘corner’, and bifó as a time clause linker ‘before’ (cf. 10.7.3). In (933) below, kɔ́na is employed as a locative noun, in the following example (916), as a common noun:

(916) E de sɛ́l e de pút smɔ́l smɔ́l wán fɔ kɔ́na

3sg.sbj ipfv sell 3sg.sbj ipfv put small red one prep corner

mék e fít bák dán mán in mɔní.

sbjv 3sg.sbj can return that man 3sg.poss money

‘(...) she’s selling (and) she’s putting a bit at the side in order to be able to give

that man back his money.’ [hi03cb 220]

In turn, nadó is a lexicalised collocation, in which the locative preposition na already serves as the first component. The second component is the rare noun do ‘door’ (the more current word for ‘door’ is do.mɔ́t ‘door.mouth’). Although it is lexicalised, the prepositional phrase which constitutes this collocation therefore has a residual meaning of its own. I assume that this results in the ungrammaticality of a sequence like \*na nadó ‘loc outside’.

When the locative nouns bifó ‘before’, bihɛ́n ‘behind’, ɔ́p ‘upperside’, and dɔ́n ‘downside’ appear in a nominal position, speakers tend to employ an associative construction featuring the generic place noun sáy ‘side; place’ (918) and sometimes pát ‘part; place’ (919) as a modified noun and the locative noun as a modifier noun. This construction, which serves to derive a nominal structure, is favoured with these nouns when a ground is not mentioned. Compare (917) with an explicit ground (i.e. di hós ‘the house’) and the two sentences thereafter without mention of a ground:

(917) E dé bifó di hós.

3sg.sbj be.loc before def house

‘She’s in front of the house.’ [ye07de 026]

(918) E dé bifó sáy.

3sg.sbj be.loc before side

‘She’s at the front.’ [ye07de 025]

(919) Di pambɔ́d gó bihɛ́n dí bíg stón yá, bifó pát,

def bird go behind this big stone here before part

e gó dé.

3sg.sbj go there

‘The bird went behind this big stone here, the front part, it went there.’ [ed03sb 174]

However, when the ground is explicitly mentioned, most locative nouns participate in a construction that is structurally equivalent to a prepositional phrase featuring a preposition and an object complement. Compare (901) above with (920) and (921) below:

(920) Di béd dé míndul di rúm.

def bed be.loc middle def room

‘The bed is in the middle of the room.’ [ro05ee 118]

(921) Boyé sidɔ́n bihɛ́n dís hós.

name stay behind this house

‘Boyé lives behind this house.’ [ro05ee 073]

(922) E de cruza-cruza bifó di domɔ́t, e de dú

3sg.sbj ipfv cross.cpd-cross before def door 3sg.sbj ipfv do

lɛk sé e de fɛ́n sɔn tín.

like quot 3sg.sbj ipfv look.for some thing

‘He’s walking back and forth in front of the door, he’s pretending to be

looking for something.’ [ne07fn 170]

The same holds for the locative nouns nía ‘near’ and kɔ́na ‘next to’, which behave differently from other locative nouns in other contexts:

(923) Yu fít tɔ́k sé ‘dɛn sidɔ́n nía di fáya’.

2sg can talk quot 3pl sit near def fire

‘You can say “they’re sitting by the fire”.’ [ro05ee 112]

(924) A sidɔ́n kɔ́na di aeropuerto.

1sg.sbj stay next.to def airport

‘I stay next to the airport.’ [dj05be 213]

The ground need not be marked for definiteness as it is in the two examples above. Three sentences follow without overt definiteness marking. In this respect, the same principles of definiteness marking apply as they do for other objects. Note that the locative nouns ɔntɔ́p ‘top; on’ (925) and pantáp ‘top; on’ (914) above are absolute synonyms and equally frequent:

(925) Di pépa dé ɔntɔ́p tébul.

def paper be.loc top table

‘The paper is on the table.’ [ro05ee 091]

(926) Discoteca dɛn dé bɔtɔ́n grɔ́n ɛ́n.

club pl be.loc bottom ground intj

‘(The) clubs are under the ground, you know.’ [ed03sb 217]

(927) Dán skúl e dé nía bɛrin-grɔ́n, nɔ́?

that school 3sg.sbj be.loc near burial.cpd-ground intj

‘That school is near the cemetery, right?’ [ma03hm 018]

The locative noun nadó ‘outside’ behaves differently in this respect. The ground may only be expressed in a possessive construction, namely a fɔ-prepositional phrase:

(928) Pɔ́sin dɛn dé nadó fɔ di avión.

person pl be.loc outside prep def plane

‘People are outside the plane.’ [dj05be 165]

The expression of the ground by way of a fɔ-prepositional phrase as in (928) above is not accepted with other locative nouns, i.e. \*míndul fɔ di rúm {middle prep def room} ‘in the middle of the room’, \*bihɛ́n fɔ dís hós {behind prep this house} ‘behind this house’. This also holds for the locative associative constructions described further below in (930). Compare the ungrammatical example (929), which involves such a structure:

(929) \*E dé bifó sáy fɔ di hós.

3sg.sbj be.loc before side prep def house

\*She’s in front of the house. [ye07de 024]

Furthermore, dɔ́n ‘down’ does not normally occur in clauses with an explicit ground at all. An explicit ground may, however, be included in the clause by making use of another possessive structure, namely an associative construction. Dɔ́n enters into a recursive collocation with the generic noun sáy ‘side; place’, which in turn functions as the modifier to the ground in yet another associative construction. Compare the following example:

(930) Dɔ́n sáy Santa Teresita.

down side place

‘(At) the lower side (of) Santa Teresita.’ [ye07de 021]

All locative nouns except nadó ‘outside’ may be followed by locative adverbs as in the following two examples featuring dɔ́n ‘down’ and bɔtɔ́n ‘under’:

(931) Wi de dú=an dɔ́n yá na mi kɔ́ntri.

1pl ipfv do=3sg.obj down here loc 1sg.poss country

‘We do it down here in my hometown.’ [ab03ay 070]

(932) E sé mí nó de mék e slíp bɔtɔ́n dé.

3sg.sbj quot 1sg.indp neg ipfv make 3sg.sbj sleep under there

‘She said I [emp] don’t make him sleep under there [the mosquito net]’ [ab03ab 139]

Moreover, all locative nouns except nadó ‘outside’, dɔ́n ‘down’ and ɔ́p ‘up’ may appear with personal pronouns as the ground in the same way as prepositions like fɔ ‘prep’ and wet ‘with’ (hence prepositions that are not [exclusively] used for the expression of locative roles). This sets the locative nouns to which this applies apart from locative prepositions:

(933) E pás kɔ́na mí.

3sg.sbj pass next.to 1sg.indp

‘He went past next to me.’ [dj05be 212]

(934) Motó de kɔmɔ́t bihɛ́n yú pan yu lɛf-hán.

car ipfv come.out behind 2sg.indp on 2sg left.cpd-hand

‘A car is coming out behind you on your left.’ [ro05ee 108]

The distribution of the locative nouns discussed is summarised in the following table:

Table 8.3 Distribution of locative nouns

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Locative noun | Can be pre-ceded by di ‘def’ and na ‘loc’ | Can be followed by yá ‘here’ and dé ‘there’ | Can be modifier to sáy ‘side’ or pát ‘part’ | Relation of ground to locative noun |
| nadó |  |  |  | fɔ-PP |
| nía |  | x |  | Complement |
| kɔ́na |  | x |  | Complement |
| ínsay | x | x |  | Complement |
| míndul | x | x |  | Complement |
| bɔtɔ́n | x | x |  | Complement |
| pantáp, ɔntɔ́p | x | x |  | Complement |
| bifó | x | x | x | Complement |
| bihɛ́n | x | x | x | Complement |
| ɔ́p | x | x | x | Complement |
| dɔ́n | x | x | x | dɔ́n sáy + ground |

In sum, locative nouns are diverse in nature. All locative nouns differ from prepositions in that they do not require an explicit complement. Some locative nouns cannot be preceded by the determiner or the locative preposition na ‘loc’, and hence lack a decisive diagnostic feature of “nouniness” in Pichi (i.e. nía ‘near’, kɔ́na ‘next to’, and nadó ‘outside’).

Other locative nouns are, in contrast, “nouny”. They may not only be preceded by the definite article di and the preposition na, i.e. bifó ‘before’, bihɛ́n ‘behind’, ɔ́p ‘up(per side)’, bɔtɔ́n ‘bottom’, dɔ́n ‘down (side)’, and míndul ‘middle’. Many of them may also enter as modifier nouns into associative constructions with the generic place nouns sáy ‘side; place’ and pát ‘part; place’.

Except nadó ‘outside’ and dɔ́n ‘down’, however, all locative nouns also appear in the same syntactic position as prepositions when relating a figure to an explicitly mentioned ground. In this respect, these two locative nouns are therefore similar in their distribution to the deictic adverbs yá, ‘here’, dé ‘there’, and yandá ‘yonder’.

### Locative verbs

Table 8.4 below provides an overview of the most common locative verbs. These verbs serve to express the manner in which a figure is located with respect to a ground. The column entitled ‘manner of location’ groups these verbs into three classes (cf. Ameka 2007):

Table 8.4 Locative verbs

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Verbs | Stative & dynamic gloss | Manner of location |
| dé | ‘be.loc’ | Location |
| ráwn | ‘be round; form a circle; surround’ |  |
| lɛ́f | ‘remain at; leave at’ |  |
| nía | ‘be near to; bring near’ |  |
| sidɔ́n | ‘sit; seat’ | Posture |
| tínap | ‘stand; stand up ‘ |  |
| slíp | ‘sleep; lie; lay’ |  |
| lé | ‘lie; lay’ |  |
| jám | ‘be in/make contact’ | Adhesion and attachment |
| hɛ́ng | ‘be hung onto; hang onto’ |  |
| pín | ‘stuck to/in; stick to/in’ |  |
| líng | ‘lean against; be leaning against’ |  |

With the exception of the locative-existential copula dé ‘be.loc’, all other verbs listed above are labile verbs. Hence they may be used as (inchoative-)stative verbs in intransitive clauses and as dynamic verbs in transitive clauses. In intransitive clauses, the figure is the theme subject (935), and in transitive clauses, the figure is the patient object (936). The ground is expressed as a locative adverb(ial phrase) in both alternations:

(935) Dɛn líng fɔ dán butaca.

3pl lean prep this armchair

‘They’re sitting reclined in that armchair (...).’ [befn07 207]

(936) E líng=an dé.

3sg.sbj lean=3sg.obj there

‘He leaned it there.’ [li07pe 063]

The copula dé ‘be.loc’ expresses existence in a location or in a manner in its most general sense (cf. 7.6.1). More specific nuances of location are expressed by other locative verbs. Compare the stative use of ráwn ‘surround’ in the intransitive clause in (937):

(937) Di ríba e ráwn di hós.

def river 3sg.sbj surround def house

‘The river flows around the house.’ [dj05be 228]

Next to its use as a locative noun (938), the multifunctional item nía ‘near’ may be employed as a an inchoative-stative (939) or dynamic verb (940) like any other locative verb, although the latter usage is rare:

(938) Di glás dé nía.

def glass be.loc near

‘The glass is near.’ [dj07ae 193]

(939) Di glás nía di domɔ́t.

def glass near def door

‘The glass is near the door.’ [dj07ae 194]

(940) Nía di glás, a bɛ́g.

near def glass 1sg.sbj beg

‘Bring the glass near, please.’ [dj07ae 195]

Some locative verbs select specific figures according to the criterion of animacy. For example, sidɔ́n ‘sit (down)’ generally implies an animate (e.g. pikín ‘child’) and pín ‘stick (into)’ an inanimate (e.g. stík ‘tree’) figure. Consider (941) and (942) respectively:

(941) E sidɔ́n di pikín na butaca.

3sg.sbj seat def child loc armchair

‘She seated the child in (the) armchair.’ [dj07ae 234]

(942) E pín di stík na grɔ́n.

3sg.sbj stick def tree loc ground

‘He stuck the stick in (the) ground.’ [li07pe 092]

In contrast, all the other verbs listed in Table 8.4 exhibit no such restrictions. This includes verbs that denote other, typically human postures. For example, tínap ‘stand (up)’ may appear with an inanimate (943) or animate (944) figure as well as in intransitive and transitive (945) clauses alike:

(943) Di kasára tínap míndul tú stík.

def cassava stand middle two tree

‘The cassava is standing upright between two trees.’ [li07pe 081]

(944) Di mán tínap míndul pípul dɛn.

def man stand middle people pl

‘The man is standing amidst people.’ [ye05ce 282]

(945) E **tín**ap di kasára míndul tú stík.

3sg.sbj stand.up def cassava middle two tree

‘He stood up the cassava between two trees.’ [li07pe.082]

Also compare the intransitive use of *slíp* ‘sleep; lie; lay’ in (946) with the transitive use of slíp in (947). Both sentences involve the inanimate figure bɔ́tul ‘bottle’:

(946) Di bɔ́tul slíp pantáp di tébul bikɔs di bɔ́tul lé dé.

def bottle sleep top def table because def bottle lie there

‘The bottle is lying [in a horizontal position] on the table because the bottle is lying

there.’ [li07pe 075]

(947) E slíp di bɔ́tul pantáp di tébul.

3sg.sbj sleep def bottle top def table

‘He laid the bottle on the table [in a horizontal position].’ [li07pe 072]

The verb jám ‘make/be in contact’ denotes contact between figure and ground. The meaning of jám contains no connotation with respect to the type of contact. Hence intransitive jám means ‘be in contact’ in (948). Note the use of the Spanish-derived verb para ‘stand’ as a labile locative verb just like its Pichi equivalent tínap ‘stand (up)’ in (945) above:

(948) Dɛn para di búk dɛn sé dɛn jám dɛn sɛ́f.

3pl stand.up def book pl quot 3pl make.contact 3pl self

‘The books were stood up [in such way] that they’re in contact with each

other.’ [dj07re 044]

When jám is used transitively, context may imply a sudden or forceful contact, as in the following sentence:

(949) So di mán kán pás nía ín, e jám=an,

so def man pfv pass near 3sg.indp 3sg.sbj make.contact=3sg.obj

di plét fɔdɔ́n na grɔ́n.

def plate fall loc ground

‘So the man passed near her, he bumped into her, the plate fell

to the ground.’ [au07se 013]

The following two examples involve the stative/dynamic alternation of the verb of adhesion and attachement hɛ́ng ‘be hung onto; hang onto’:

(950) Di písis hɛ́ng na di stík nɔ́,

def piece.of.cloth hang loc def tree intj

bikɔs nó mán nó pút=an.

because neg man neg put=3sg.obj

‘The piece of cloth is hanging onto the stick, right, because

nobody put it there.’ [li07pe 058]

(951) E táy di kasára wet róp áfta e hɛ́ng=an.

3sg.sbj tie def cassava with rope then 3sg.sbj hang=3sg.obj

‘He tied the cassava with a rope and then he hung it up.’ [li07pe 078]

### Motion verbs

Besides the locative verbs discussed in 8.1.3, Pichi features verbs of diverse semantic types whose meanings also include a change of location, and hence motion. A selection of the most common ones in the corpus is provided in Table 8.5. Some of these verbs contain the additional meaning components of direction (e.g. gó ‘go (away)’) and/or manner of motion (e.g. júmp ‘jump’). Further, some verbs denote self-motion of the figure subject, hence are lexically intransitive (e.g. wáka ‘walk’), or preponderantly appear in intransitive clauses (e.g. ɛ́nta ‘enter’). Others involve motion caused by the figure subject and are therefore more likely to occur in transitive clauses with an overt ground object than in intransitive clauses without one (e.g. drɛ́b ‘drive’, pút ‘put’).

Moreover, the verbs listed in the table differ in the way the ground is expressed as a participant in the clause. Hence we find the ground expressed as prepositional phrases (PP), objects (O), and as objects or prepositional phrases in serial verb constructions (SVCs):

Table 8.5 Motion verbs

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Verb | Gloss | Direction | Manner | Causation | Ground |
| gó | ‘go’ | x |  |  | PP, O |
| kán | ‘come’ | x |  |  | PP, O |
| kɔmɔ́t | ‘go/come out’ | x |  |  | PP, O |
| rích | ‘arrive’ | x |  |  | PP, O |
| ɛ́nta | ‘enter’ | x |  |  | PP |
| baja | ‘go down’ | x |  |  | PP |
| sube | ‘go up’ | x |  |  | PP |
| fɔdɔ́n | ‘fall’ |  | x |  | PP, O |
| júmp | ‘jump’ |  | x |  | PP, O |
| pás | ‘pass’ |  | x |  | PP, O |
| klém | ‘climb’ |  | x |  | PP, O |
| wáka | ‘walk’ |  | x |  | PP, SVC |
| rɔ́n | ‘run’ |  | x |  | PP, SVC |
| fláy | ‘fly’ |  | x |  | PP, SVC |
| fála | ‘follow’ |  | x |  | PP, SVC |
| drɛ́b | ‘drive’ |  | x | x | PP |
| bɔ́t | ‘cause to rebound’ |  | x | x | PP |
| flíng | ‘fling’ |  | x | x | PP |
| pús | ‘push’ |  | x | x | PP |
| híb | ‘throw’ |  | x | x | PP |
| ték | ‘take’ |  |  | x | PP, SVC, O |
| kɛ́r | ‘carry; take (to)’ |  |  | x | PP, SVC, O |
| bríng | ‘bring’ | x |  | x | PP, SVC, O |
| sɛ́n | ‘throw; send’ | x | x | x | PP, SVC, O |
| pút | ‘put’ | x | x | x | PP, O |
| púl | ‘remove’ | x | x | x | PP |

The most commonly employed verbs to simultaneously encode motion and direction are gó ‘go (away)’, kán ‘come’, kɔmɔ́t ‘go/come out of’, and rích ‘arrive (at)’. These verbs also function as V2 in motion-direction SVCs. With any of these four motion verbs, the ground (i.e. the source or goal of the motion) may be expressed as an object of a transitive clause (952) or as a prepositional phrase in an intransitive clause (953). The second alternative is, however, attested in the majority of cases:

(952) A kɔmɔ́t colegio, (...)

1sg.sbj come.out college

‘I came out of college (...)’ [ab03ay 132]

(953) A de kɔmɔ́t na tɔ́n náw náw.

1sg.sbj ipfv come.out loc town now rep

‘I’m coming from town right now.’ [ro05ee 076]

The preference for a prepositional phrase rather than an object also holds when the ground is a named place, such as Malabo, the capital of Equatorial Guinea (954). A PP is also the favoured option when the ground occurs in a motion-direction SVC featuring one of the motion verbs listed above as a V2 (cf. 11.2.1):

(954) Bɔt wé e kán na Malábo, ɛ́ni nɛ́t

but sub 3sg.sbj come loc Malabo every night

in abuela kin kán hambɔ́g=an.

3sg.poss grandmother hab come bother=3sg.obj

‘But when she came to Malabo, every night her grandmother

would come bother her.’ [ed03sb 042]

In principle, the preposition fɔ ‘prep’ may introduce the inanimate goal of a motion verb instead of na ‘loc’ (955). In practice, the use of the general locative preposition na instead of fɔ ‘prep’ as in (953) above is pervasive. Nevertheless, fɔ must be used when the goal (or any other locative role) is animate (956):

(955) Wi kɔmɔ́t dé wi kán gó fɔ, fɔ Akebeville.

1pl go.out there 1pl pfv go prep prep place

‘We left that place (and then) went to, to Akebeville.’ [ma03hm 039]

(956) Yu gɛ́fɔ gó fɔ yu fámbul.

2sg have.to go prep 2sg family

‘You had to go to your family.’ [ab03ab 035]

All other verbs in Table 8.5 whose goals may be expressed as a PP, an SVC, and an O exhibit the same pattern with respect to ground marking. This applies to locomotion verbs, such as wáka ‘walk’, rɔ́n ‘run’, or pás ‘pass (by)’, to the caused location verb pút ‘put’, or the caused motion verbs ték ‘take’, bríng ‘bring’, and kɛ́r ‘carry; take’. The following three examples featuring the verb kɛ́r once more present the PP (957), the object (958) and the SVC alternatives (959). Again the PP option is the most common one. Note that the goal object hospital ‘hospital’ in (958) is positioned to the right of the patient object di pikín ‘the child’:

(957) Di cemento, estaba dicho que na fɔ kɛ́r=an

def cement was said that foc prep carry=3sg.obj

directamente na Ela Nguema.

directly loc place

‘The cement, it was said that it was to be taken directly to Ela Nguema.’ [ye03cd 008]

(958) A kɛ́r di pikín hospital.

1sg.sbj carry def child hospital

‘I took the child to hospital.’ [dj07ae 343]

(959) Dɛn kɛ́r=an gó fɔ pólis.

3pl carry=3sg.obj go prep police

‘They took him to the police.’ [ma03sh 009]

The manner-of-motion verbs wáka (also wɔ́k) ‘walk’, rɔ́n ‘run’, and fláy ‘fly’ are intransitive. Speakers univocally reject these verbs in grammaticality judgments featuring an undergoer or goal object (cf. 9.2.1 for more details).

Next to these, we find the manner-of-motion verbs fɔdɔ́n ‘fall’ and pás ‘pass’. These two verbs allow for the ground to be expressed as an O or a PP without any difference in meaning. Compare fɔdɔ́n ‘fall’ in the following two examples:

(960) E fɔdɔ́n di béd.

3sg.sbj fall def bed

‘He fell from the bed.’ [pa07me 042]

(961) Di bolí fɔdɔ́n frɔn di tébul.

def pen fall from def table

‘The pen fell off the table.’ [dj05be 204]

In turn, the use of either the PP or the O strategy of ground marking is accompanied by a change in meaning with the two manner-of-motion verbs júmp ‘jump’ (962) and klém ‘climb’ (963). When the ground is expressed as an object, a clause featuring these two verbs is usually interpreted as involving locomotion (hence motion with a path) of the figure, as in the following two sentences:

(962) Di húman, e de júmp di wínda.

def woman 3sg.sbj ipfv jump def window

‘The woman is jumping through the window.’ [ra07se 068]

(963) E stíl butú yét wé e de klém di chía.

3sg.sbj still stoop yet sub 3sg.sbj ipfv climb def chair

‘She’s still stooped over while she’s climbing the chair.’ [au07se 088]

When the ground is, however, encoded as a PP, these two verbs may denote motion without a path, or locomotion with a path. Compare the alternative translations of (964), featuring júmp ‘jump’:

(964) Miguel Ángel de júmp pantáp di béd.

name name ipfv jump top def bed

‘Miguel Ángel is jumping on/onto the bed.’ [dj07ae 019]

Likewise, speaker (au) finds (965) unacceptable, because he interprets the clause featuring klém ‘climb’ as involving motion without a path on the ground chía ‘chair’:

(965) Nóto ‘e klém pantáp di chía.’

neg.foc 3sg.sbj climb top def chair

‘Not “he climbed [being] on the chair”.’ [au07se 085]

The “propulsion verbs” (Longacre 1996:200ff.) híb ‘throw’ and flíng ‘fling’ are caused-motion verbs without a direction component in their meaning. Here, the ground is preferably expressed as a PP or an equivalent locative adverbial as in the following examples:

(966) Dɛn híb=an dɔ́n.

3pl throw=3sg.obj down

‘It was thrown down.’ [dj07fn 136]

(967) A flíng=an na solwatá.

1sg.sbj fling=3sg.obj loc sea

‘I flung it into the sea.’ [nn03fn 002]

The propulsion verb sɛ́n equally involves caused motion without direction when used with the sense ‘throw (with aim)’. However, sɛ́n additionally involves the notion of aim, hence has a manner component in its meaning:

(968) E de sɛ́n di bɔ́l fɔ mék e nák di cartón.

3sg.sbj ipfv send def ball prep sbjv 3sg.sbj hit def carton

‘He’s throwing the ball with aim in order to hit the cardboard box.’ [ra07se 175]

In contrast, when sɛ́n occurs as a transfer verb in a double-object construction, it acquires the sense ‘throw to; send’, and therefore also features a direction component. In such double-object constructions, the ground, a usually animate recipient, is only expressed as an object, not as a PP:

(969) E sɛ́n=an di bɔ́l.

3sg.sbj send=3sg.obj def ball

‘He threw the ball to him.’ [ra07se 093]

Another motion verb which may appear in double-object constructions and has a direction, manner, and causation component is pút ‘put’ (covered in detail in 9.3.4).

### Expressing source and goal

The foregoing sections have shown that the prepositions na ‘loc’ and fɔ ‘prep’ have a very general meaning and participate in various types of clauses expressing spatial relations. We have seen that these two prepositions may also mark the ground in clauses with a motion-to and a motion-from component. For example, in (953) above na marks the source of kɔmɔ́t ‘go/come out of’, and in (956) above fɔ the goal of gó ‘go’.

In fact, any preposition or locative noun that may serve to express an ‘at rest’ location role does not contribute any meaning to the motion component of the spatial relation. Instead, these elements specify the part of the ground where the figure is located (cf. Essegbey 2005). Compare the locative nouns ɔntɔ́p ‘top’ (970) and nía ‘near’ (971), which both express ‘at rest’ location and appear with motion verbs in these two sentences:

(970) Di pambɔ́d de fláy ɔntɔ́p di stík.

def bird ipfv fly top def tree

‘The bird is flying over/above the tree.’ [ro05ee 099]

(971) A nó nó wétin mék Anto púl

1sg.sbj neg know what make name pull

Reina náw nía Tokobé.

name now near name

‘I don’t know how come Anto pulled Reina away from Tokobé.’ [ab03ab 157]

Hence, when a motion verb lacks a directional sense, it is the combined meaning of the verb, the preposition, and the complement that provides the meaning of the entire construction. The following sentences featuring the prepositions na ‘loc’ and fɔ ‘prep’ are therefore not interpreted as involving ‘at rest’ location. Instead, the compositional meaning suggests a goal sense:

(972) Dɛn rɔ́n na farmacia, receta dé mɛ́rɛsin.

3pl run loc pharmacy prescription of medicine

‘They ran to [\*in] the pharmacy, [to get a] prescription for medicine.’ [ab03ab 123]

(973) Dɛn pús di motó na garaje.

3pl push def car loc garage

‘They pushed the car into [\*in] the garage.’

Sometimes, however, there may be room for ambiguity between a motion and a location reading as in (974), featuring the propulsion verb sút ‘shoot’, which lacks a directional sense. The ground PP introduced by the locative noun bifó ‘before’ may be interpreted as a location (at rest), a source (motion-from) or a goal (motion-to):

(974) Di soldado sút bifó di hós.

def soldier shoot before def house

‘The soldier shot in front of/at/from the front of the house.’ [dj05be 188]

Any potential ambiguity between the goal and source senses of na and fɔ may be eliminated by employing the directional prepositions frɔn ‘from; since’ (975) and sóté ‘until; up to’ (976):

(975) Di bolí fɔdɔ́n frɔn di tébul.

def pen fall from def table

‘The pen fell from the table’ [dj05be 204]

(976) E kán fɔdɔ́n sóté yá.

3sg.sbj pfv fall until here

‘(And then) it fell up to here.’ [li07pe 090]

Alternatively, a motion-direction SVC may be employed to mark a goal with verbs permitting such use as in (977). A biclausal structure featuring a modifying purpose or other adverbial clause may also serve the same end:

(977) Dɛn bin de rɔ́n gó na ɔspítul la una de la noche.

3pl pst ipfv run go loc hospital the one of the night

‘They were running to hospital at one o’clock in the night.’ [ab03ab 137]

(978) Dɛn pús di motó mék e ɛ́nta na garaje.

3pl push def car sbjv 3sg.sbj enter loc garage

‘They pushed the car in order for it to enter the garage.’

Nevertheless, even in clauses featuring inherently directional verbs where no such ambiguity could possibly arise, the goal or source is sometimes additionally marked with a directional preposition. Compare the following example, in which the motion-from sense of kɔmɔ́t ‘come out of’ is reiterated by the ablative motion-from preposition frɔn ‘from’:

(979) Olinga kɔmɔ́t frɔn bɔtɔ́n.

name come.out from bottom

‘Olinga comes from the bottom [worked himself up from the bottom].’ [ye03cd 068]

The general locative preposition na ‘loc’ may also additionally mark the ground when preceded by the directional prepositions frɔn ‘from’ and sóté ‘until; up to’. This usage is not attested with the associative preposition fɔ ‘prep’:

(980) E kɔ́l frɔn na plataforma, e kɔ́l dɔ́n yá.

3sg.sbj call from loc oil.rig 3sg.sbj call down here

‘He called from the platform, he called down here.’ [to03gm 006]

(981) (...) mék e fít de rích ɔ́l sáy sóté na Riaba.

sbjv 3sg.sbj can ipfv arrive all side until loc place

‘(...) so that he should be able to get everywhere (even) up to Riaba.’ [fr03cd 070]

The use of the preposition fɔ ‘prep’ may open up another space of ambiguity. *F*ɔ may mark an animate source or beneficiary. Hence, the meaning of clauses featuring verbs which may assign both animate source and beneficiary roles are potentially ambiguous. Compare recibe ‘receive’ and báy ‘buy’ below:

(982) (...) e recibe wán regalo fɔ in mamá.

3sg.sbj receive one present prep 3sg.poss mother

‘(...) she received a present for/from her mother.’ [dj05be 067]

(983) A bin báy wán motó fɔ mi mása.

1sg.sbj pst buy one car prep 1sg.poss boss

‘I bought a car for/from my boss.’ [dj05be 073]

Speakers may resort to other means of expressing these relations in pursuit of disambiguation. Example (982) above and (984) below were both elicited by means of the Spanish sentence recibió un regalo dé su mamá ‘she received a present from her mother’. In the sentence below, speaker (ro) prefers to employ the transfer verb dás ‘give as present’ which assigns an agent instead of a theme subject:

(984) Mi mamá bin dás mí sɔn regalo.

1sg.poss mother pst give.as.present 1sg.indp some present

‘My mother gave me a present.’ [ro05ee 055]

Speaker (ro) also employs a partitive possessive construction in (985) below in order to render the meaning of Spanish compré un coche dé mí jefe ‘I bought a car from my boss.’ Compare (985) below to (983) above, where speaker (dj) uses the fɔ-possessive construction instead (which is structurally similar to the Spanish dé-possessive construction):

(985) A bin báy wán mi másta in motó.

1sg.sbj pst buy one 1sg.poss boss 3sg.poss car

‘I bought one of my boss’s cars.’ [ro05ee 057]

The manner-of-motion verb pás ‘pass (by)’ is employed to express motion-past a ground. The ground is normally expressed as a PP introduced by a locative preposition (986) or locative noun (987):

(986) Ín bin pás na mi hós.

3sg.indp pst pass loc 1sg.poss house

‘He [emp] passed (by/through) my house.’ [dj05be.143]

(987) Di motó pás ɔntɔ́p di rayt-hán.

def car pass top def right.cpd-hand

‘The car passed (by) on the right hand side.’ [ro05ee 104]

The nature of a spatial relation may be specified in detail by making use of the appropriate combination of motion verbs, locative prepositions, locative nouns, and SVCs.

For example, the situation in (988) involves a figure (the theme pikín ‘child’) which undergoes a change-of-location (denoted by fɔdɔ́n ‘fall’) in a motion-from along a path (specified by frɔn ‘from’) out of the specific part (the superior location ɔ́p ‘upperside’) of the ground (the source stík ‘tree’):

(988) Di pikín fɔdɔ́n frɔn ɔ́p di stík.

def child fall from up def tree

‘The child fell from up in the tree.’ [dj05be 201]

In (989), the figure (wì ‘1pl’) instigates a motion-from (denoted by kɔmɔ́t ‘go out’) out of the specific part (the anterior location bifó ‘before’) of the ground (the source chɔ́ch ‘church’):

(989) Wi kɔmɔ́t bifó di chɔ́ch.

1pl go.out before def church

‘We went away from the front side of the church.’ [dj05be 179]

Sentence (990) features a change-of-location (denoted by the manner-of-motion verb fláy ‘fly; rush’) in a motion-to (expressed through the V2 gó ‘go’ of a motion-direction SVC) into the specific part (the interior location ínsay ‘inside’) of the ground (the goal Ela Nguema, a quarter of Malabo):

(990) Chico, a wánt fláy gó ínsay Ela Nguema náw só.

boy 1sg.sbj want fly go inside place now like.that

‘Man, I’m about to rush to Ela Nguema right now.’ [dj07ae 360]

Additional dimensions that may add to the complexity of a spatial relation are manner modifications to the clause, reciprocity and animacy. For example, the idiomatic expression *na* X hán, literally ‘in X’s hand’ (where X is the possessor) encodes an animate source as in the following example (cf. 7.6.4 for the use of this idiom in possessive clauses):

(991) Dɛn púl di motó na in hán.

3pl remove def car loc 3sg.poss hand

‘They seized the car from him.’ [to07fn 206]

The locative noun nía ‘near; next to’ expresses various degrees of proximity to the ground including contact with it. Compare the use of nía with the verb of adhesion jám ‘be in/make contact with’ in (992). Nía, as well as kɔ́na ‘next to’ are also used to express a reciprocal spatial relation, in which figure and ground are ground and figure to each other (993):

(992) E jám=an nía wán stík wé e tínap.

3sg.sbj make.contact=3sg.obj near one tree sub 3sg.sbj stand

‘He placed it next to [and in contact with] a tree that’s standing.’ [li07pe 050]

(993) Dɛn sidɔ́n nía dɛn sɛ́f.

3pl sit near 3pl self

‘They’re sitting next to each other.’ [dj07re 028]

Clauses which express spatial relations can be modified further for manner independently of the meaning of the verb. This may be done through adverbial clauses introduced by sé ‘quot’ (cf. 10.7.2), wé ‘sub’ (cf. 10.7.1), or secondary predication (cf. 11.3).

The sentence (994) exhibits a complex spatial relation featuring the figure e ‘3sg.sbj’ that has carried out a motion-past (i.e. pás ‘pass by’) the proximity (i.e. kɔ́na ‘next to’) of the ground chía ‘chair’. The clause is followed by the secondary predicate dé wáka ‘ipfv walk’ which provides information about the manner of movement. The secondary predicate is in turn modified by the compound adverbial rɔn-sáy ‘backwards’:

(994) E pás kɔ́na chía de wáka rɔn-sáy.

3sg.sbj pass next.to chair ipfv walk wrong.cpd-side

‘She passed by next to (a) chair walking backwards.’ [au07se 051]

## Temporal relations

The clause-internal temporal relations of location in time, duration, and iteration are established through adverb(ial)s, quantifiers, prepositions, and lexicalised phrases featuring verbs. The expression of standard time units is characterised by a high incidence of conventionalised codemixing.

### Standard time units

In Pichi, the two equal halves of the day are split into dé ‘day’ and nɛ́t ‘night’. The conventionalised associative constructions mɔ́nin tɛ́n ‘morning time’ = ‘morning’, sán tɛ́n ‘sun time’ = ‘midday; noon’ (995), ívin tɛ́n ‘evening time’ = ‘afternoon; evening’, míndul nɛ́t ‘middle night’ = ‘midnight’ (996) denote the central points of the twenty-four hour day:

(995) E kán sán tɛ́n.

3sg.sbj come sun time

‘She came (at) noon/in the afternoon.’ [dj05ce 050]

(996) E kán míndul nɛ́t.

3sg.sbj come middle night

‘He came (at) midnight.’ [dj05ce 053]

The expression áftanun ‘afternoon’ is occasionally heard in the speech of Group 2 speakers (cf. 1.3) in the greeting formula gúd áftanun ‘good afternoon’. However this word is not usually employed to denote the corresponding period of the day.

The concept ‘dawn’ may be expressed by means of paraphrase, i.e. via emphatic repetition of the modifier noun mɔ́nin ‘morning’ as in (997) or the use of another emphatic element (here the quantifier sósó ‘only’), with or without repetition for emphasis (998):

(997) Tumɔ́ro mɔ́nin mɔ́nin tɛ́n lɛk háw yu gráp,

tomorrow morning rep time like how 2sg get.up

bifó yu nɔ́ba chɔ́p.

before 2sg neg.prf eat

‘Tomorrow very early in the morning, as soon as you get up,

before you have eaten.’ [ro05ee 144]

(998) (…), dís sósó mɔ́nin tɛ́n, dís sósó sósó mɔ́nin tɛ́n.

this only morning time this only rep morning time

‘(…) early this morning, very early this morning.’ [ye05ce 048]

An additional way of expressing ‘dawn’ is through a clause featuring the subject mɔ́nin and the verb brék ‘(to) dawn’ (999), or simply, by way of the Spanish noun madrugada ‘dawn’:

(999) E kán wé di mɔ́nin de brék.

3sg.sbj come sub def morning ipfv dawn

‘He came while morning was breaking.’ [dj05ce 049]

(1000) E kán madrugada.

3sg.sbj come dawn

‘She came (at) dawn.’ [dj05ce 050]

When telling the time of day, Spanish lexical items are fit into a conventionalised code-mixed construction, which does not have an exact equivalent in Spanish (cf. also 13.3.1 on codemixing). There is no other generally accepted way of telling the time:

(1001) So yu wánt dé dé las cuatro, wi dɔ́n dé

so 2sg want be.loc there the.pl four 1pl prf be.loc

las tres y veinte.

the.pl three and twenty

‘So you want to be there at four (and) we’re already here

at three twenty. [ma03ni 005]

The Pichi day names mɔ́nde ‘Monday’, tyúsde ‘Tuesday’, wɛ́nsde ‘Wednesday’, tɔ́sde ‘Thursday’, fráyde ‘Friday’, satidé ‘Saturday’, and sɔ́nde ‘Sunday’ are (falling) out of use. Instead, the vast majority of speakers employ the corresponding Spanish day names lunes, martes, miércoles, jueves, viernes, sábado, and domingo at all times. The code-mixed sentences in (1002) reflect typical usage.

(1002) a. Ús=dé yu de gó, viernes?

q=day 2sg ipfv go Friday

‘Which day are you going, (on) Friday?’ [fr07se 166]

b. Una gó na di sén avión, sábado!

2pl go loc def same plane Saturday

‘Go [pl] in the same plane, (on) Saturday!’ [fr07se 167]

The Spanish noun phrase fin de semana is also usually recruited to express ‘weekend’:

(1003) A go lɛ́f na Lubá sóté fin de semana.

1sg.sbj pot remain loc place until weekend

‘I’ll remain in Luba until the weekend.’ [ye05ce 010]

The following Spanish designations for the months of the year are in use: enero ‘January’, febrero ‘February’, marzo ‘March’, abril ‘April’, mayo ‘May’, junio ‘June’, julio ‘July’, agosto ‘August’, septiembre ‘September’, octubre ‘October’, noviembre ‘November’, diciembre ‘December’. Hence, dates are also exclusively expressed in code-mixed structures like the following one:

(1004) El diez de agosto, bay gɔ́d in páwa, a go pás na yá.

the ten of August by God 3sg.poss power 1sg.sbj pot pass loc here

‘(On) the tenth of August, by the grace of God, I’ll pass by this place.’ [ab07fn 113]

The two seasons of the year may be designated by the compounds ren-sísin ‘rain.cpd-season’ = ‘rainy season’ (1005) and dray-sísin ‘dry.cpd-season’ = ‘dry season’. An alternative designation for the rainy season is the phrasal expression tɛ́n fɔ rén (1006):

(1005) Dís dé dɛn ren-sísin go bigín.

this day pl rain.cpd-season pot begin

‘These days, the rainy season should begin.’ [dj05ce 059]

(1006) Wi dé tɛ́n fɔ rén.

1pl be.loc time prep rain

‘We’re in the rainy season.’ [ro05ee 116]

The noun *amatán* stands for ‘harmattan’, the dry and dusty seasonal weather condition throughout West Africa (between November and March):

(1007) Wí de kɔ́l yá só amatán dán, lɛk sé

1pl.indp ipfv call here like.that harmattan that like quot

e kin dé lɛkɛ niebla.

3sg.sbj hab be.loc like fog

‘Here, we call harmattan that, like it’s usually like fog.’ [ye05ce 062]

### Temporal deixis

Adverb(ial)s, quantifiers, prepositions, and lexicalised phrases featuring verbs are recruited for the expression of temporal deixis within the clause. These means are summarised in Table 8.6 below with respect to the temporal relations of location, duration, and iteration.

In the table, the letter “X” stands for a compatible time-unit, like tɛ́n ‘time’, lunes ‘Monday’, tú dé ‘two days’, wán wík ‘one week’, *tú* mún ‘moon; month’, or *wán* hía ‘year’. Optional elements are in parentheses. There is considerable flexiblity with regard to TMA marking, the expression of participants, and the use of prepositions or locative nouns in the phrasal expressions in the column entitled “temporal expressions”, e.g. lás mún wé e pás (bihɛ́n) {last month sub pass (behind)} ‘last month’. Therefore, I limit myself to including the most common alternative in the table, and only provide a free translation. Exact glosses of these phrases can be found in the examples further below:

Table 8.6 Temporal deixis

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Temporal relation | Temporal expressions | |
| Location |  |  |
| Future | tumɔ́ro/tumára | ‘tomorrow’ |
|  | ápás tumɔ́ro/tumára | ‘the day after tomorrow’ |
|  | nɛ́ks X | ‘next X’ |
|  | ínsay X | ‘in X’ |
|  | X wé e de kán | ‘coming X’ |
| Present | náw (só) | ‘(right) now’ |
|  | tidé/tudé | ‘today’ |
| Past | yɛ́stadé | ‘yesterday’ |
|  | ápás yɛ́stadé | ‘the day before yesterday’ |
|  | lás X | ‘last X’ |
|  | las-nɛ́t | ‘last night’ |
|  | ínsay X | ‘in X’ |
|  | lɔ́n tɛ́n | ‘long ago’ |
|  | (lás) X wé pás (bihɛ́n) | ‘X ago’ |
|  | (wé) X fínis | ‘at the end of X’ |
|  | (wé) X dɔ́n | ‘at the end of X’ |
| Anterior | bifó X | ‘before X’ |
|  | ápás X | ‘before X’ |
| Posterior | ápás X | ‘after X’ |
| Duration | fɔ X | ‘for X’ |
|  | síns X | ‘since X’ |
|  | frɔn X | ‘since X’ |
|  | sóté X | ‘until X |
|  | frɔn X sóté X | ‘from X to X’ |
|  | bɔkú tɛ́n | ‘for a long time’ |
|  | pás bɔkú tɛ́n wé/sé X | ‘be a long time’ ‘since X’ |
|  | kɛ́r X | ‘(to) last X; stay for X’ |
|  | sté (fɔ) X | ‘stay for X’ |
|  | sté (wé) | ‘be a long time (that)’ |
|  | sté + V2 | ‘be a long time since V2’ |
| Iteration | ɛ́ni X | ‘every X’ |

A relation between event time and a point of reference in the present, future, and past can be established by combining an element from Table 8.6 with absolute time reference (i.e. time points like las dos ‘two o’clock’ and sán tɛ́n ‘(after)noon’ or calendric units like viernes ‘Friday’) with the appropriate TMA marking. Compare (995), (1001), and (1002) above.

Some items lexically incorporate time reference to the present, past, or future. Compare the time adverb náw ‘now’ (1008) and the temporal nouns tidé/tudé ‘today’ (1009). Note that the reference point of tidé/tudé is event time not absolute time. Hence tidé in (1009) may refer to ‘today’, the actual day on which the sentence was uttered, or to ‘that day’, the day on which speaker (ye) conversed with the subject e ‘3sg.sbj’:

(1008) Náw a dɔ́n sí di tín wé yu níd.

now 1sg.sbj prf see def thing sub 2sg need

‘Now I’ve seen what you need.’ [au07se 003]

(1009) E sé ɔ́l tidé e bin de kɔ́l yú,

3sg.sbj quot all today 3sg.sbj pst ipfv call 2sg.indp

yu nó ték teléfono.

2sg neg take telephone

‘He said the whole of today [that day], he had been calling you (and) you didn’t

pick up the telephone.’ [ye03cd 021]

The equally synonymous temporal nouns tumɔ́ro/tumára ‘tomorrow’ incorporate future reference to a day ahead of event time (1010). When tumɔ́ro is combined with the temporal preposition ápás ‘after’, the resulting collocation means ‘the day after tomorrow’ and denotes a point of reference two days into the future ahead of event time (1011):

(1010) Tumára a go sí mi mamá.

tomorrow 1sg.sbj pot see 1sg.poss mother

‘Tomorrow, I’ll see my mother.’ [dj05ce 045]

(1011) Ápás tumɔ́ro a go sí mi mamá

after tomorrow 1sg.sbj pot see 1sg.poss mother

‘The day-after-tomorrow, I’ll see my mother.’ [ye05ce 046]

The temporal noun yɛ́stadé ‘yesterday’ relates event time to a reference point one day back into the past (1012). The temporal preposition ápás ‘after’ also combines with yɛ́stadé ‘yesterday’ in the collocation ápás yɛ́stadé ‘the day before yesterday’ (1013):

(1012) Yɛ́stadé a sí mi mamá.

yesterday 1sg.sbj see 1sg.poss mother

‘Yesterday, I saw my mother.’ [dj05ce 033]

(1013) Ápás yɛ́stadé a sí mi mamá.

after yesterday 1sg.sbj see 1sg.poss mother

‘The day before yesterday, I saw my mother.’ [dj05ce 043]

The temporal nouns tumɔ́ro/tumára and yɛ́stadé express relative time reference in the same way as tidé/tudé above. Depending on context, they may therefore also be translated as ‘one day after event time’ and ‘one day before event time’, respectively. Examples (1011) and (1013) above also show that the preposition ápás ‘after’ may be used to indicate both a posterior and an anterior temporal relation. Ápás may therefore be combined with tumɔ́ro ‘tomorrow’ as well as yɛ́stadé ‘yesterday’. The “spatial frame of reference” (Levinson 2003:24) of temporal posteriority is characterised by a mirror-like “reflection” (Beller, Bender & Bannardo 2005:222) of the speaker’s vantage point into both directions of the time stream.

Temporal deixis involving time units other than two days in either direction from event time is achieved through a variety of means. The quantifier nɛ́ks ‘next’ may modify the Pichi nouns wík ‘week’, mún ‘month’, and hía ‘year’ and thereby remove the reference point from event time into the future by one unit. Compare (1014) and also note the use of the spatial and temporal preposition sóté ‘until; up to’ which expresses extent:

(1014) A de lɛ́f na Lubá sóté di nɛ́ks wík.

1sg.sbj ipfv leave loc place until def next week

‘I’m remaining in Luba until the next week.’ [ye05ce 014]

The quantifier lás ‘last’ mirrors the time reference of nɛ́ks ‘next’. Lás ‘last’ pushes a reference point into the past by one unit from event time as in (1015)–(1016). Note the presence of the definite article di ‘def’ in (1015):

(1015) Boyé kɔmɔ́t na tɔ́n di lás mún.

name go.out loc town def last month

‘Boyé left town last month.’ [dj05ce 027]

(1016) Ɛf e nó bin gó lás hía, e bin fɔ dé

if 3sg.sbj neg pst go last year 3sg.sbj pst cond be.loc

wet wí na yá so.

with 1pl.indp loc here like.that

‘If she hadn’t gone last year, she’d be with us right here.’ [dj05ae 059]

In Pichi, the expression of punctual location in time does not require the use of a locative preposition or locative noun (e.g. na ‘loc’, fɔ ‘prep’, or ínsay ‘inside’) if the temporal expression is inherently time deictic. This is the case in various examples throughout this section featuring relational items like nɛ́ks ‘next’ and tumára ‘tomorrow’ above or lás ‘last’.

The collocation lɔ́n tɛ́n ‘long time ago’ is also inherently relational. Rather than expressing duration (i.e. \*for a long time), its meaning includes an unspecified reference point in the past:

(1017) E bin dɔ́n pás lɔ́n tɛ́n, nóto lɔ́n lɔ́n tɛ́n.

3sg.sbj ipfv prf pass long time neg.foc long red time

‘It happened long ago, not very long ago.’ [ma03sh 001]

The collocation las-nɛ́t ‘last.cpd-night’ = ‘last night’ is a compound (1018). The lexicalisation of this collocation distinguishes it from other time expressions featuring lás ‘last’ (cf. e.g. lás hía ‘last year’ in (1016)), which are not usually subjected to the tonal derivation characteristic of compounding:

(1018) Las-nɛ́t a chakrá mi sɛ́ns.

last.cpd-night 1sg.sbj destroy 1sg.poss brain

‘Last night, I drank myself senseless.’ [ra07fn 060]

Spatial expressions are, however, used to encode temporal relations if the temporal expression in the clause is not inherently time deictic. This may apply to temporal location as in (1019), where the locative noun ínsay ‘inside’ fulfills this function.

(1019) A de wét sé mék a gó ínsay tú dé.

1sg.sbj ipfv wait quot sbjv 1sg.sbj go inside two day

‘I’m hóping to go in two days.’ [dj05ae 033]

Neither the associative preposition fɔ ‘prep’, nor the general locative preposition na ‘loc’ are generally employed to mark adverbial phrases with a location-in-time sense. An exception in the data is the presence of na ‘loc’ in the lexicalised collocation na nɛ́t ‘at night’. All other standard periods of the day are expressed through associative constructions featuring the generic noun tɛ́n ‘time’ (1020). In view of the limited number of tɛ́n ‘time’ collocations in Pichi and their often idiosyncratic meanings (cf. (103)), even these expressions may be seen as lexicalised structures:

(1020) Bɔ́y dɛn dé dé, mɔ́nin tɛ́n sán tɛ́n na nɛ́t,

boy pl be.loc there morning time sun time loc night

na Píchi dɛn de tɔ́k Píchi.

foc Pichi 3pl ipfv talk Pichi

‘(The) guys are there, in the morning, at day time, at night,

it’s only Pichi that they talk.’ [au07se 257]

The extension of spatial notions into the temporal domain is also reflected in the means employed to encode the temporal relation of anteriority by means of the locative noun bifó ‘before’. In contrast to ápás ‘after’, which may express anteriority or posteriority, the use of bifó in (1021) incorporates an “intrinsic” (Beller, Bender & Bannardo 2005:221) temporal perspective. The intrinsic beginning or end of the time unit itself provides the temporal reference point. Contrary to the “reflection” perspective inherent to ápás ‘after’ (1022), a relational linkage with the vantage point of the speaker is not expressed:

(1021) Kofí bin dé yá só bifó lás hía.

name pst be.loc here like.that before last year

‘Kofi was here before last year [the year before last].’ [ro05ee 130]

(1022) Dɛn go tɔ́n bák ápás di nɛ́ks wík.

3pl pot turn back after def next week

‘They’ll return the week after next [in two weeks].’ [he07fn 209]

Duration in time for a specific period is expressed by means of the general associative preposition fɔ ‘prep’ followed by a time expression:

(1023) Yu go moja di rɛ́s na watá, fɔ tidé, tú dé (…)

2sg pot soak def rice loc water prep today two day

‘You soak the rice in water, for today [one day], (for) two days (…)’ [dj03do 019]

An equally common way of expressing duration for a specified period is by means of the verb kɛ́r ‘carry; take; last’. The “figure” enduring in time is expressed as the subject of the clause and may be inanimate (1024) or animate (1025), while the specified time period is the object of kɛ́r:

(1024) (…) pero di fíba bin kɛ́r wán dé dásɔl.

but def fever pst carry one day only

‘(…) but the fever only lasted for a day.’ [ru03wt 062]

(1025) Háw mɔ́ch tɛ́n yu go kɛ́r na kɔ́ntri?

how much time 2sg pot carry loc country

‘How long are you going to stay in (your) hometown?’ [lo07he 046]

Aside from that, elements that express motion through space are put to use for establishing temporal relations of duration. Firstly, the allative motion-to preposition/clause linker sóté ‘up to; until’ also expresses temporal duration-to (1026).

(1026) A de lɛ́f na Lubá sóté wík fínis.

1sg.sbj ipfv remain loc place until week finish

‘I’m staying in Luba until the end of the week.’ [ro05ee 128]

Secondly, example (1027) and (1026) illustrate the use of sóté together with the lexicalised (factative-marked) clausal structures mún dɔ́n ‘month done’ = ‘at the end of the month’ and wík fínis ‘week finish’ = ‘at the end of the week’. Both expressions establish a punctual and past temporal reference point:

(1027) Mék e wét sóté mún dɔ́n, wé a gɛ́t

sbjv 3sg.sbj wait until month done sub 1sg.sbj get

di mɔní a go báy di chɔ́p.

def money 1sg.sbj pot buy def food

‘Let him wait until the month is over, when I get the money, I’ll buy the food.’ [hi03cb 214]

The multifunctional item sóté ‘up to; until’ may also introduce finite adverbial extent clauses, in which the subordinate verb may take the full range of TMA and person marking (1028). Next to that, sóté also appears as a temporal preposition directly followed by a verb as in (1029). The resulting combination acquires a resultative sense and means that the situation denoted by the verb has been attained. Since sóté is also a preposition, it may also take nominal complements. For example, the complement táya ‘be tired’ in (1029) is a non-finite, deverbal noun and appears without TMA or person marking:

(1028) A chɔ́p frijoles sóté a táya.

1sg.sbj eat bean.pl until 1sg.sbj be.tired

‘I ate beans until I was tired (of them).’ [ed03sp 121]

(1029) A chɔ́p sóté táya.

1sg.sbj eat until be.tired

‘I ate to my full satisfaction.’ [dj07ae 523]

The ablative preposition frɔn ‘from; since’ marks a source when used with a spatial sense. In the temporal domain, frɔn expresses duration-from a reference point (1030). The period of duration may be further specified by employing both frɔn ‘from’ and sóté ‘until’ as in (1031). I draw attention to the optional use of another lexicalised clausal structure in the second example, namely e gó {3sg.sbj go} ‘going to’ in order to provide an additional allative sense:

(1030) Dɛn nó nó dɛn sɛ́f frɔn bɔkú tɛ́n.

3pl neg know 3pl self from much time

‘They don’t know each other for a long time.’ [ch07fn 210]

(1031) Frɔn las doce, sóté e gó las seis,

from the.pl twelve until 3sg.sbj go the.pl six

na ‘gúd ívin’.

foc good evening

‘From twelve to six o’clock, its “good evening”.’ [ye07je 011]

The temporal preposition síns ‘since’ is specialised to expressing duration-from but its use is marginal when compared with the frequency of frɔn ‘from’:

(1032) Wi dé yá síns las dos.

1pl be.loc here since the.pl two

‘We’re here since two o’clock.’ [ab07fn 242]

The transfer of spatial concepts into the temporal domain is also reflected in the kind of verbs employed. Location in the future features the ablative motion verb kán ‘come’, that of past location and duration the motion verb pás ‘pass (by)’ - hence time is conceived as moving and the reference point as fixed:

(1033) A de lɛ́f na Lubá sóté di wík

1sg.sbj ipfv leave loc place until def week

wé e de kán.

sub 3sg.sbj ipfv come

‘I’m remaining in Luba until the coming week.’ [dj05ce 015]

(1034) Djunais bin lɛ́f na Lubá sóté di wík

name pst leave loc place until def week

wé e bin pás.

sub 3sg.sbj pst pass

‘Djunais remained in Luba until last week.’ [dj05ce 016]

The verb sté ‘stay; be a long time’ inherently expresses lengthy duration, so no further specification of the length of the period is required (1035). The verb is versatile in its syntactic behaviour. Firstly, it may appear as the only verb of a sentence like (1035) or participate as a V1 in an adverbial SVC (cf. 11.2.5 for details):

(1035) Na wán hós wé e dɔ́n **sté** nɔ́?

foc one house sub 3sg.sbj prf remain intj

‘It’s a house that’s been around for a long time, right?’ [dj05ae 161]

Secondly, the verb sté may also appear with an expletive subject followed by an adverbial time clause which specifies the relevant time period:

(1036) E dɔ́n sté, a tínk sé e dɔ́n sté

3sg.sbj prf stay 1sg.sbj think quot 3sg.sbj prf stay

wé una bin gɛ́t insecticida yá.

sub 2pl pst get insecticide here

‘It’s been long, I think it’s been long since you [pl] have had insecticide

[sprayed] here.’ [fr03wt 059]

The quantifier ɛ́ni ‘every’ expresses iteration of the time unit it refers to (1037). Time units are generally conceived as countable, ɛ́ni is semantically compatible with any time unit including units of the clock (1038):

(1037) A bin de chénch húman ɛ́ni síks mún.

1sg.sbj pst ipfv change woman every six month

‘I was changing women every six months.’ [ed03sp 033]

(1038) Bikɔs ín de sé, ɛ́ni las doce na ín

because 3sg.indp ipfv quot every the.pl twelve foc 3sg.indp

in abuela kin kán kɔ́l=an.

3sg.poss grandmother hab come call=3sg.obj

‘Because she [emp] would say, always at twelve o’clock, that’s when her

grandmother used to come and call her.’ [ed03sb 150]

Table 8.7 contains all locative nouns and prepositions that participate in expressing temporal relations in Pichi. The table complements the inventory of locative and non-locative prepositions presented in Table 8.1 and Table 9.1, respectively.

Table 8.7 Temporal (uses of) prepositions and locative nouns

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Element | Temporal use | Temporal relation | Other semantic roles/uses |
| ínsay | ‘inside’ | Location | Locative noun |
| bifó | ‘before’ | Location (anterior) | Locative noun; time clause linker |
| bihɛ́n | ‘after’ | Location (posterior) | Locative noun |
| ápás | ‘after’ | Location (posterior) | ― |
| fɔ | ‘for’ | Duration | General associative preposition |
| frɔn | ‘since’ | Duration (from) | source (locative) |
| síns | ‘since’ | Duration (from) | síns wé: time clause linker |
| sóté | ‘until’ | Duration (to) | Extent (locative); time clause linker |

# Grammatical relations

Pichi verbs exhibit a large degree of flexibility in the number and type of nominal participants they may co-occur with. The language has no deeply entrenched lexical contrast between transitive and intransitive verbs – there are only very few verbs that cannot be employed in transitive and intransitive clauses alike (cf. 9.2.1). The vast majority of verbs can act freely as intransitive or transitive verbs. However, with the class of labile verbs, either option has consequences for the semantic role attributed to the subject, the causation reading of the verb, and with most verbs, lexical aspect (cf. 9.2.3). In addition, any transitive verb may also occur in a double-object construction (cf. 9.3.4). Moreover, most verbs may appear with deverbal copies of themselves, so-called cognate objects (9.3.3). In this way, even verbs unlikely to occur with objects in other contexts can be used transitively.

Pichi has numerous more or less lexicalised verb-noun combinations featuring verbs with general meanings (cf. 9.3.1). Next to these, we also find combinations of verbs and associative objects. These objects may fulfil various non-core semantic roles (cf. 9.3.2). Clauses featuring referentially empty, expletive subjects reflect a need for the subject position to be filled in Pichi clauses (cf. 9.2.4). Reflexivity and reciprocity are largely expressed by the same formal means (cf. 9.3.5–9.3.6). Verb valency may be adjusted through a rich variety of causative and impersonal constructions involving 3rd person pronouns or human-denoting generic nouns (cf. 9.4). Finally, the expression of weather phenomena (cf. 9.3.7) and body states (cf. 9.3.8) provides good examples for the configuration of semantic roles and grammatical relations in two specific semantic fields.

## Expression of participants

Pichi expresses the relation that holds between a verb and the core participants subject and object(s) by word order with full nouns and a combination of word order and morphological case-marking with personal pronouns. Non-core participants are expressed as prepositional phrases, or in specific cases, as adverbial phrases without prepositions. Besides that, SVCs are recruited to mark participants, even if they are less frequent in terms of general frequency.

### Subjects

Verbs usually co-occur with at least one participant, namely a subject. Nonetheless, in certain discourse contexts, subject ellipsis occurs (cf. 9.4.1) and some SVCs allow for subjects to remain unexpressed (e.g. in certain types of motion-direction SVCs, cf. 11.2.1). Subjects subsume the actor roles of agent (1039) and experiencer (1040):

(1039) Dɛn kéch=an, dɛn bít=an.

3pl catch=3sg.obj 3pl beat=3sg.obj

‘They caught him (and) they beat him.’ [ye05ce 095]

(1040) E lɛ́k dáns, e lɛ́k ambiente.

3sg.sbj like dance 3sg.sbj like live.it.up

‘She likes dancing, she likes to live it up.’ [ra07fn 098]

Next to that, subjects may instantiate the undergoer semantic roles of stimulus/body state in certain idiomatic expressions (1041), theme in the intransitive alternation of locative verbs (1042) and property items (1043), and patient in the intransitive alternation of change-of-state verbs (1044):

(1041) Tɔ́sti kéch mí.

thirst catch 1sg.indp

‘I’m thirsty.’ [dj07ae 327]

(1042) Ín sidɔ́n na Ela Nguema.

3sg.indp stay loc place

‘She [emp] stays in Ela Nguema.’ [ye07fn 017]

(1043) Di gɛ́l strét.

def girl be.straight

‘The girl is sincere.’ [ye07je 109]

(1044) A kɔ́t.

1sg.sbj cut

‘I’m cut [I have a gash].’ [dj07ae 399]

Beyond that, Pichi also uses semantically empty expletive subjects with certain verbs. These are covered in detail in 9.2.4.

### Objects

Objecthood is marked by word order alone with full nouns (1045) and by morphological case and word order with pronominal objects (1046). Full nouns and pronominal objects may both appear in double-object constructions (cf. 9.3.4). The overt expression of objects is, in principle, optional although in practice prototypically transitive verbs are very likely to occur with an object. In (1047), the object of nák ‘hit’ remains unexpressed, but it is coreferential with the suject e ‘3sg.sbj’ of the main clause:

(1045) Wé dɛn sút di pɔ́sin di pɔ́sin kin sék.

sub 3pl shoot def person def person hab shake

‘When they’ve shot the person, the person shakes.’ [ed03sb 112]

(1046) Gó púl=an dé.

go remove=3sg.obj be.loc

‘Go remove it there.’ [ro05ee 093]

(1047) Ɛf yu nó nák, e nó fít brók.

if 2sg neg hit 3sg.sbj neg can break

‘If you don’t hit (it), it can’t break.’ [au07se 036]

Objects instantiate undergoer semantic roles such as patient, theme, stimulus, recipient and beneficiary, as well as the actor role of experiencer. Hence the only role that is never instantiated by an object is the agent, which is reserved for subjects.

The goal and source of motion verbs like gó ‘go’ and kɔmɔ́t ‘go/come out’ may also be expressed as objects, although prepositional phrases are more common. Compare the goal object *colegio* ‘college’ in (1048):

(1048) So wé yu kɔmɔ́t colegio (...)

so sub 2sg come.out college

‘So when you came out of college (...)’ [ab03ay 029]

Transitive clauses involving movement verbs and their objects may also represent cases of idiomatic transitivity as in (1049):

(1049) Di tín de go mí bad.

def thing ipfv pot 1sg.indp bad

‘The matter is going bad for me.’ [dj07ae 161]

Cognate objects are referentially empty syntactic objects. They serve the pragmatic function of expressing emphasis:

(1050) Dán torí bin de **swít**  mí wán **swít**.

that story pst ipfv be.tasty 1sg.indp one be.tasty

‘I really enjoyed that story.’ [ye07ga.006]

Beyond that, a variety of other, non-core semantic roles may be expressed by objects in lexicalised verb-noun collocations involving associative objects (cf. 9.3.2.).

### Prepositional phrases

Participants with non-core semantic roles are most commonly expressed through prepositional phrases and in specific cases through SVCs (cf. 9.1.4). Table 9.1 lists the prepositions employed for the expression of non-core semantic roles. Refer to Table 8.1 and Table 8.7 for locative and temporal uses of prepositions and locative nouns.

Table 9.1 Non-locative uses of prepositions

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Prepositions | Gloss | Other uses/comments |
| fɔ | ‘prep’ | General location |
| wet | ‘with’ | NP coordination |
| bikɔs | ‘due to’ | Clause linker ‘because’ |
| fɔséka/fɔséko | ‘due to’ | — |
| lɛk | ‘like’ | if-clause linker |
| bay | ‘by’ | Only idiomatic use |
| bitáwt | ‘without’ | Rare |

The semantic roles expressed by the prepositions listed in Table 9.1 are provided in Table 9.2 below. The table reveals a bipartite structure in the marking of semantic roles. The prepositions fɔ ‘prep’ and wet ‘with’ may express virtually all roles listed. In contrast, all other prepositions express a single semantic role. In addition, the prepositions bay ‘by’ and bitáwt ‘without’ are marginal, and in the case of bay, only encountered in idiomatic expressions. Given the large range of functions covered by fɔ and wet, the expression of semantic roles therefore relies just as much on the meaning of the verb as it does on that of the preposition it co-occurs with:

Table 9.2 Expression of non-locative semantic roles by prepositions

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | fɔ | wet | bikɔs | fɔséka | lɛ́k | bay | bitáwt |
| Beneficiary | x |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Stimulus | x | x |  |  |  |  |  |
| Comitative |  | x |  |  |  |  |  |
| neg comitative |  |  |  |  |  |  | x |
| Instrument | x | x |  |  |  | x |  |
| Circumstance | x | x |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cause | x | x | x | x |  |  |  |
| Purpose | x |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Manner |  | x |  |  | x |  |  |

The preposition fɔ ‘prep’ may introduce the stimulus NP of a small number of experiential verbs with affected agents. The corpus features five such verbs: bísin ‘bother; be busy (with)’, gládin ‘be glad (about)’, kɔ́stɔn ‘be used to’, lúkɔt ‘watch out (for)’, sém ‘be ashamed (about)’. Of these verbs, only lúkɔt is intransitive; the only non-subject participant this verb may appear with is a stimulus PP (1051):

(1051) Lúkɔt fɔ tif-mán dɛn!

look.out prep steal.cpd-man pl

‘Watch out for thieves!’ [dj07ae 096]

In contrast, the stimulus of the verbs bísin and kɔ́stɔn may either be expressed as a PP in an intransitive clause or an object in a transitive clause. There is no difference in meaning between the two options:

(1052) A bísin dán gál.

1sg.sbj be.busy that girl

‘I checked out that girl.’ [dj07ae 025]

(1053) Sí fɔ́s tɛ́n a bin dé hía, a nó

see first time 1sg.sbj pst be.loc here 1sg.sbj neg

bin de bísin fɔ Pagalú gɛ́l dɛn.

pst ipfv be.busy prep Annobón girl pl

‘See formerly (when) I was here, I wasn’t checking out

Annobonese girls.’ [ed03sp 005]

(1054) Láyf hád pero a dɔ́n kɔ́stɔn=an só.

life be.hard but 1sg.sbj prf be.used.to=3sg.obj like.that

‘Life is hard, but I’ve just got used to it.’ [dj07ae 101]

(1055) Wi dɔ́n kɔ́stɔn fɔr=an.

1pl prf be.used.to prep=3sg.obj

‘We’ve got used to it.’ [ur07fn 218]

The verb kɔ́stɔn ‘be used to’ is also attested with a third option: It may take a stimulus PP marked by the preposition wet ‘with’.

(1056) A dɔ́n kɔ́stɔn wet di trɔ́n láyf.

1sg.sbj prf be.used.to with def strong life

‘I’ve got used to a difficult life.’ [dj07ae 102]

The preposition fɔ ‘prep’ may also mark the stimulus of motion of some agent-induced motion verbs like háyd ‘hide (from)’ or rɔ́n ‘run away (from)’ as in the following example (cf. 8.1.5 for the use of fɔ in marking locative source roles):

(1057) E háyd fɔ in kɔ́mpin.

3sg.sbj hide prep 3sg.poss friend

‘He hid from his friend.’ [dj07re 040]

Verbs other than the ones covered above invariably appear with stimulus objects rather than PPs. Compare lúk ‘look (at)’ in (1058). Other verbs in this group are sí ‘see’, hía/yɛ́r ‘hear’ and listin ‘listen’:

(1058) A lúk=an.

1sg.sbj look=3sg.obj

‘I looked at him.’ [ab03ab 069]

Prepositional phrases introduced by fɔ ‘prep’ also denote the semantic roles of purpose (1059) and cause (1060), the latter in combination with a body state:

(1059) Mí gí dɛ́n diez mil fɔ transporte.

1sg.indp give 3pl.indp ten thousand prep transport

‘I [emp] gave them ten thousand (Francs) for transport.’ [fr03cd 005]

(1060) E dáy fɔ tɔ́sti.

3sg.sbj die prep thirsty

‘He died of thirst.’ [dj05be 123]

Nevertheless, in the vast majority of cases, a cause of death due to a body state like hángri ‘hunger’, tɔ́sti ‘thirst’ (1061) or sɔfút ‘wound; injury’ (1062) is marked by wet ‘with’. Note however that the cause of a sickness is usually expressed as an associative object (cf. 9.3.2):

(1061) E dáy wet tɔ́sti.

3sg.sbj die with thirsty

‘He died of thirst.’ [ro05ee 064]

(1062) E dáy wet sɔfút.

3sg.sbj die with wound

‘She died of her injury.’ [ro05ee 066]

The prepositions fɔséka ‘due to’ (and its less frequent variant foséko) (1063) and bikɔs ‘because; due to’ (1064) introduce prepositional phrases with the semantic role of cause. However, bikɔs is seldom used as a preposition and far more common as a linker of cause clauses (cf. 10.7.7).

Take note of the verb-object phrase bɔ́n pikín ‘give.birth child’ = ‘childbirth’, which is nominalised in its entirety and involves bɔ́n employed as a deverbal noun:

(1063) Na fɔséka bɔ́n pikín, e dáy.

foc due.to give.birth child 3sg.sbj die

‘It’s due to childbirth (that) she died.’ [dj05be 052]

(1064) Náw só pó gál dɛn dɔ́n bɔ́s in héd

now like.that poor girl 3pl prf burst 3sg.poss head

bikɔs nátin.

due.to nothing

‘Now the poor girl, her head has been burst open

because of nothing.’ [ye05rr 004]

The role of instrument is expressed through wet ‘with’ if instruments (1065), materials (1066), and functions (1067) are involved. Instruments and materials can also be expressed by argument-introducing SVCs involving ték ‘take’ (cf. 9.1.4):

(1065) Dɛn sút=an wet gɔ́n na in héd.

3pl shoot=3sg.obj with gun loc 3sg.poss head

‘He was shot in the head with a gun.’ [ro05ee 054]

(1066) Di hós bíl wet plɛ́nk.

def house build with board

‘The house is built from boards.’ [dj07ae 459]

(1067) A wáka wet fút.

1sg.sbj walk with foot

‘I walked by foot.’ [dj07ae 357]

Besides that, the preposition fɔ is used for an instrument role in a more general sense of ‘by means of’ (1068). Still, the functional overlap of wet and fɔ may lead to variation in the marking of certain expressions. Compare ‘walk by foot’ in (1067) above with (1069) below:

(1068) E de kwɛ́nch fɔ in sɛ́f.

3sg.sbj ipfv die prep 3sg.poss self

‘It goes of by itself.’ [ma03ni 017]

(1069) A wáka fɔ fút wet mi maleta.

1sg.sbj walk prep foot with 1sg.poss suitcase

‘I walked by foot with my suitcase.’ [ab03ay 075]

The preposition bay ‘by (means) of’ is only attested in an idiom in the corpus where it marks an instrument NP in a way similar to the general instrument sense denoted by fɔ ‘prep’ in the two preceding examples:

(1070) El diez de agosto, bay gɔ́d in páwa, a go pás na yá.

the ten of August by God 3sg.poss power 1sg.sbj pot pass loc here

‘(On) the tenth of August, by the grace of God, I’ll pass by this place.’ [ab07fn 113]

The preposition wet ‘with’ introduces participants with a comitative role (1071). A comitative role may also be expressed through an SVC involving fála ‘follow’ if the accompanee is human (cf. e.g. (1573)). Comitative wet ‘with’ may shade off into general circumstance (1072):

(1071) Yu de ɛ́nta wet sús?

2sg ipfv enter with shoe

‘You’re coming in with shoes?’ [ge07fn 092]

(1072) Yu nó dán tín wet yun-bɔ́y nɔ́?

2sg know that thing with young.cpd-boy intj

‘You know that thing about young guys right?’ [au07se 061]

Negative comitative is occasionally expressed through a PP introduced by bitáwt ‘without’ (with the alternative pronunciation witáwt) (1073). However, clausal alternatives are preferred to this rare preposition. One means of rendering ‘without’ is by employing a relative/adverbial clause construction introduced by wé ‘sub’ as in (1074):

(1073) Dán mán de wáka bitáwt sús

that man ipfv walk without shoe

‘That man is walking without shoes.’ [ge07fn 133]

(1074) A pás bɔkú tɛ́n wé a nó chɔ́p.

1sg.sbj pass much time sub 1sg.sbj neg eat

‘I spent a long time without eating.’ [au07ec 080]

The use of a PP is only one of numerous means of expressing manner in Pichi (cf. e.g. 7.7.2), in which case the preposition wet ‘with’ usually serves this purpose (1075). An equative or similative participant is introduced by lɛk ‘like’ (1076):

(1075) Yu nó de tɔ́k=an wet páwa.

2sg neg ipfv talk =3sg.obj with power

‘You’re not saying it forcefully.’ [lo07he 065]

(1076) (…) wi fít dé lɛk kɔ́mpin.

1pl can be.loc like friend

‘(..) we can be (like) friends.’ [ru03wt 029]

The expression of a beneficiary role by means of fɔ ‘prep’ is covered in detail in 9.3.4 on double-object constructions.

### Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions (SVC) are utilised to introduce syntactic objects denoting theme, the standard in comparative constructions, instruments and materials, as well as the accompanee in comitative (cf. 11.2). The areally widespread SVC employing a verb meaning ‘give’ to mark a beneficiary or recipient role does not exist in Pichi. Compare the following SVC, in which the (fronted) object of ték ‘take’ denotes a material:

(1077) Na ús=káyn tín dɛn ték mék dís, digamos dí bɔ́tul?

foc q=kind thing 3pl take make this let’s.say this bottle

‘What is, let’s say this bottle, made of?’ [ye05ce 113]

On a whole, SVCs are not as frequent as other means of marking participants in Pichi – to the exception of the standard in comparison. The use of a comparative construction featuring the verb pás ‘surpass’ is the ordinary way of introducing the standard object:

(1078) Na dɛ́n bin de transfiere mɔní mɔ́ na Western Union

foc 3pl pst ipfv transfiere money more loc name name

pás guineano dɛn.

pass Guinean pl

‘It’s them who were transferring more money by Western Union

than Equatoguineans.’ [ye07je 185]

Motion-direction SVCs involving motion verbs like wáka ‘walk’ and gó ‘go’ express locative roles, often in combination with a prepositional phrase, as in the following example:

(1079) Di gɛ́l wáka gó na tɔ́n.

def girl walk go loc town

‘The girl walked to town.’ [ne05fn 243]

## Verb classes

Four lexical classes of verbs may be identified in terms of the grammatical relations they specify and with respect to the semantic roles expressed by their subject and object(s). Intransitive verbs occur with no participant other than an actor subject; transitive verbs occur with a subject and may optionally appear with one or two objects; labile verbs take part in a transitivity alternation: in the intransitive clause, labile verbs appear with an undergoer subject. In the transitive clause, they appear with an actor subject and an undergoer object. In addition, most labile verbs exhibit changes in their lexical aspect class and their causation reading in either alternation. Finally, expletive verbs take referentially empty subjects and may be used transitively or intransitively.

### Intransitive verbs

Pichi features a small number of intransitive verbs which do not occur with objects. Elicitation with 360 verbs in the corpus revealed the intransitive verbs listed in Table 9.3 below. The group of dynamic intransitive verbs is made up of locomotion verbs as well as other body experiences, weather verbs, verbs of existence in time and space, and an inherently reciprocal “verb of social interaction” (Levin 1993:201). All these verbs have in common that they involve experiencer and theme subjects, hence actors that are affected by the situation denoted by the verb:

Table 9.3 Intransitive dynamic verbs

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Semantic class | Verb | Gloss |
| Locomotion verbs | fláy | ‘fly’ |
|  | gráp | ‘get up’ |
|  | kán | ‘come’ |
|  | rɔ́n | ‘run’ |
|  | swín | ‘swim’ |
|  | wáka | ‘walk’ |
| Body state, physical | hángri | ‘be hungry’ |
| activity & experiential verbs | tɔ́sti | ‘be thirsty’ |
|  | bɛ́lch | ‘belch’ |
|  | dáy | ‘die’ |
|  | lúkɔt | ‘look out’ |
|  | mekés | ‘hurry’ |
|  | ambiente | ‘live it up’ |
|  | pachá | ‘live it up’ |
| Existence verbs | sté | ‘stay’ |
|  | líf | ‘live’ |
| Weather verbs | fɔ́l | ‘rain’ |
|  | brék | ‘(to) dawn’ |
| Verb of social interaction | fɛ́t | ‘fight’ |

Inchoative-stative and stative intransitive verbs fall into three classes: modal and aspectual verbs (e.g. fít ‘can’ and dɔ́n ‘be finished’), verbs denoting existence in place or time (e.g blánt ‘reside’), and property items, most of which are human propensities (e.g. badhát ‘be mean’, fúlis ‘be foolish’, ráyt ‘be right’) and physical properties (e.g. hád ‘be hard’, sáful ‘be slow’). One explanation for the intransitivity of verbs from these three classes is the high time-stability of the situations they denote:

Table 9.4 Intransitive (inchoative-)stative verbs

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Semantic class | Verb | Gloss |
| Modal & aspectual verbs | fít | ‘can’ |
|  | hébul | ‘be capable’ |
|  | tínk | ‘think’ |
|  | dɔ́n | ‘be done, finished’ |
| Existence verbs | dé | ‘be.loc’ |
|  | bí | ‘be’ |
|  | blánt | ‘reside’ |
| Property items | badhát | ‘be mean’ |
|  | bɛ́ta | ‘be very good’ |
|  | difrɛn | ‘be different’ |
|  | fúlis | ‘be foolish |
|  | hád | ‘be hard’ |
|  | lás | ‘be last; end up’ |
|  | ráyt | ‘be right’ |
|  | sáful | ‘be slow’ |
|  | síryɔs | ‘be serious’ |
|  | smát | ‘be quick’ |
|  | trú | ‘be true’ |
|  | wɛ́l | ‘be well’ |
|  | wíkɛd | ‘be wicked’ |

Intransitive verbs may only appear with a subject and may not take objects. Participants other than subjects appear in the guise of prepositional phrases. For instance, the locomotion verbs fláy ‘fly’ and wáka ‘walk’ are intransitive. The use of theme (1080) or goal objects (1081) is rejected as ungrammatical:

(1080) \*Di piloto de fláy di avión.

def pilot ipfv fly def plane

\*The pilot is flying the plane. [dj07ae 006]

(1081) \*Wáka hós!

walk house

\*Walk home! [dj07ae 131]

SVCs and PPs may be employed if the goal is to be made explicit. Compare the following two sentences:

(1082) Di gɛ́l wáka gó na tɔ́n.

def girl walk go loc town

‘The girl walked to town.’ [ne05fn 243]

(1083) A wánt fláy rích na tɔ́n náw náw.

1sg.sbj want fly arrive loc town now rep

‘I want to fly [hurry] to town right now.’ [dj07ae 362]

In contrast to wáka ‘walk’ and fláy ‘fly’, other motion verbs like gó ‘go’ can appear in transitive clauses, in which the goal is expressed as an object. This is particularly so when the goal object is a named place. Compare the object Lubá ‘(the town of) Luba’ in (1084):

(1084) Dí miércoles a de gó Lubá.

this wednesday 1sg.sbj ipfv go place

‘This Wednesday, I’m going to Luba.’ [ro05ee 119]

The transitive motion verb gó ‘go’ and the intransitive motion verb rɔ́n ‘run’ are also found with a meaning other than physical motion through space. Three such cases of idiomatic transitivity follow with gó ‘go’ in (1085)–(1086) and rɔ́n ‘run’ in (1087):

(1085) Di tín de gó mí bád.

def thing ipfv go 1sg.indp bad

‘The matter is going bad for me.’ [dj07ae 161]

(1086) Dí fáyn klós de gó yú.

this fine clothing ipfv go 2sg.indp

*Lit.* ‘These fine clothes go [fít] you.’ [nn05fn 391]

(1087) (...) e de rɔ́n mí kɔ́ntri tín dɛn.

3sg.sbj ipfv run 1sg.indp country thing pl

‘(...) she was giving me a traditional treatment.’

[*Lit.* ‘She was running the village thing for me.’] [ab03ay 101]

The intransitive and dynamic body state, body process, and experiential verbs listed in Table 9.3 above require the use of a PP if a participant other than the subject is to be expressed. The stimulus of lúkɔt ‘look out’ needs to be expressed as a fɔ-prepositional phrase:

(1088) \*Lúkɔt tif-mán dɛn!

look.out steal.cpdbɛc pl

\*Watch out for thieves! [dj07ae 095]

(1089) Lúkɔt fɔ tif-mán dɛn!

look.out prep steal.cpd-man pl

‘Watch out for thieves!’ [dj07ae 096]

The verb fɛ́t ‘fight’ cannot take an object either (1090). A comitative participant needs to be expressed as a prepositional phrase (1091) or within a coordinate structure (1092):

(1090) \*Djunais de fɛ́t Boyé.

name ipfv fight name

\*Djunais is fighting Boyé. [dj07ae 395]

(1091) Djunais de fɛ́t wet Boyé.

name ipfv fight with name

‘Djunais is fighting with Boyé.’ [dj07ae 396]

(1092) Djunais wet Boyé dɛn de fɛ́t.

name with name 3pl ipfv fight

‘Djunais and Boyé are fighting.’ [dj07ae 394]

The ground associated with the intransitive stative verb *blánt* ‘reside’ may only be expressed as a prepositional phrase (1093)–(1094):

(1093) \*A blánt Malábo.

1sg.sbj reside Malabo

\*I reside in Malabo. [dj07ae 027]

(1094) A blánt na Malábo.

1sg.sbj reside loc Malabo

‘I reside in Malabo.’ [dj07ae 026]

Intransitive property items include gúd ‘be good’ (1095) and bɛ́ta/bɛ́tɛ ‘be very good; better’ (1096). With both property items, a valency increasing causative construction is required in order to add a participant in addition to the subject (1097):

(1095) \*Gɔ́d go gúd=an.

God pot good=3sg.obj

\*God will make it good.’ [dj07ae 155]

(1096) \*Gɔ́d go bɛ́tar=an.

God pot very.good=3sg.obj

\*God will better it [things]. [dj07ae 154]

(1097) Gɔ́d go mék e bɛ́tɛ.

God pot make 3sg.sbj be.very.good

‘God will make it [things] good.’ [dj07ae 159]

Compare the intransitive verb gúd in the examples above to the transitive, causative use of the labile verb fáyn ‘be fine’, which may be used transitively and intransitively with the corresponding changes in the semantic role of the subject. The undergoer (theme) subject of fáyn in (1098) becomes an actor (agent) subject in (1099). Even if this transitive, causativising use of fáyn is rather unusual, it is not ungrammatical:

(1098) Di húman fáyn.

def woman be.fine

‘The woman is beautiful.’ [dj05ae 149]

(1099) Gɔ́d go fáyn=an.

God pot fine=3sg.obj

‘God will make it [things] fine.’ [dj07ae 156]

Nevertheless, most if not all Pichi verbs may take cognate objects, i.e. deverbal copies of themselves. In this way, even verbs unlikely to occur with objects in other contexts can be used transitively. Example (1100) involves the intransitive dynamic verb dáy ‘die’ followed by a cognate object:

(1100) Ey, dán káyn spɛ́tikul, a dáy dáy.

intj that kind glasses 1sg.sbj die die

‘Hey, that kind of glasses, (if I had it) I would die.’ [ne07ga 015]

### Transitive verbs

Verbs other than the ones listed in Table 9.3 and Table 9.4 may appear in transitive clauses followed by an object. Syntactic transitivity is therefore not only a feature of highly transitive verbs with prototypical agent subjects like bít ‘beat’, nák ‘hit’, kíl ‘kill’, or híb ‘throw’. The labile verbs covered in 9.2.3 as well as other (inchoative-)stative and dynamic verbs characterised by a low degree of inherent transitivity may also be followed by objects. For instance, we find verbs denoting body states and body functions amongst this group.

In (1101), the verb swɛla ‘swallow’ is followed by the patient object ín ‘3sg.indp’, and (1102) features the stimulus object mí ‘1sg.indp’, object to the body process verb láf ‘laugh’:

(1101) A swɛla ín, dɛn bin tɛ́l mí sé

1sg.sbj swallow 3sg.indp 3pl pst tell 1sg.indp quot

di tín go gró na mi bɛlɛ́.

def thing pot grow loc 1sg.poss belly

‘I swallowed it, (and) I was told that the thing would grow in my stomach.’ [dj07ae 079]

(1102) Dásɔl e láf mí.

only 3sg.sbj laugh 1sg.indp

‘He just laughed at me.’ [dj07ae 108]

There are no restrictions on the transitive use of body function verbs involving “effected objects” (Hopper 1985), objects that come into existence by the situation denoted by the verb. Compare swɛ́t ‘sweat’ featuring the effected object wɔtá ‘water’ = ‘sweat’ (1103). The same holds for experiential (or human propensity) verbs like jɛ́lɔs ‘envy; be jealous’, which may appear with a stimulus object (1104):

(1103) A de swɛ́t wɔtá.

1sg.sbj ipfv sweat water

‘I’m sweating.’ [dj07ae 124]

(1104) A de jɛ́lɔs dán mán só.

1sg.sbj ipfv envy that man like.that

‘I just envy that man.’ [ye07je 121]

Other verbs low on the transitivity scale behave no differently. For instance, typically stative situations denoted by colour-denoting property items may appear in transitive clauses with a patient object. Compare the labile verb blú ‘be blue; make blue’ in (1105):

(1105) A wánt blú dí motó mék e chénch kɔ́la.

1sg.sbj want make.blue this car sbjv 3sg.sbj change colour

‘I want to (paint) this car blue for it to change (its) colour.’ [dj07ae 150]

In the same vein, neither a physical property like hɔ́t ‘be hot’ (1106), nor a value concept like día ‘be expensive’ (1107) is barred from appearing in a transitive clause. Note the causativising effect of the transitive use of these inchoative-stative labile verbs in (1106) and (1107) below as well as in (1105) above:

(1106) **Hɔ́t di chɔ́p** bifó yu sɛ́n=an bifó.

heat def food before 2sg send=3sg.obj before

‘Heat the food before you send it to the front [of the restaurant].’ [dj07ae 152]

(1107) Di gɔ́bna dɔ́n día di petrol.

def government prf make.expensive def petrol

‘Government has made petrol more expensive.’ [dj07ae 167]

Likewise, motion verbs other than the intransitive locomotion verbs listed in 9.2.1 freely alternate between transitive and intransitive uses. The following sentence presents the non-literal use of the manner-of-motion/caused-motion verb sube ‘go/bring up; rise/raise’, the body state fíba ‘fever’, and the animate experiencer ín ‘3sg.indp’:

(1108) Fíba nó sube ín.

fever neg go.up 3sg.indp

‘His fever hasn’t risen.’ [*Lit.* The fever hasn’t risen on him.).’ [eb07fn 171]

### Labile verbs

A large number of Pichi verbs are labile; they alternate in their meaning depending on whether they occur with an object in a transitive clause or without an object in an intransitive clause. Labile verbs participate in a transitivity alternation that causes a co-variation of the semantic macro-role of the subject (undergoer vs. actor), the causation reading of the verb (non-causative vs. causative), and with most verbs, the stativity value (inchoative-stative vs. dynamic).

Five subclasses of labile verbs can be identified in semantic terms: change-of-state verbs, locative verbs, property items, experiential verbs, and aspectual verbs. In formal terms only two broad classes, however, need to be distinguished. With the first three subclasses, the intransitive–transitive alternation is accompanied by an inchoative-stative/dynamic alternation. With experiential and aspectual verbs, however, both the intransitive and the transitive alternants are dynamic.

Table 9.5 lists the relevant features of labile verbs in accordance with the two formal and five semantic classes. An additional co-variation feature not included in the table is the tense interpretation of the inchoative-stative and dynamic variants of class (a). The unmarked inchoative-stative variants of class (a) verbs receive a present tense interpretation when they are used as stative verbs. Alternatively, they receive a past tense interpretation if they are used as inchoative verbs.

In turn, the unmarked dynamic variants of class (b) behave like other dynamic verbs and receive a past tense interpretation (cf. 6.3.1 for an extensive treatment). The abbreviation ista stands for inchoative-stative:

Table 9.5 Characteristics of labile verbs

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Semantic class of verb | | Role of subject in intr/tr clause | Causation reading in intr/tr clause | Lexical aspect in intr/tr clause |
| a. | Change of state; | Actor/undergoer | Non-causative/causative | ista/dynamic |
|  | Locative; |  |  |  |
|  | Property item |  |  |  |
| b. | Experiential; | Actor/undergoer | Non-causative/causative | Dynamic/dynamic |
|  | Aspectual |  |  |  |

Class (a) labile verbs are employed as inchoative-stative verbs in intransitive clauses and as dynamic verbs in transitive clauses. Either use co-varies with the “role of the subject”: Intransitive clauses have an undergoer subject, while transitive clauses feature an actor subject and an undergoer object.

In the corpus, change-of-state verbs constitute the largest subclass of labile verbs. Some representative change-of-state verbs are provided in (1109). With some verbs, the change of state of the subject is more likely to have been caused by (a) an external (usually animate and unmentioned) agent, with others (b) by a cause internal to the subject (cf. Croft 1990; Haspelmath 1993; Levin & Hovav 1995). This difference is reflected in the glosses given. Group (a) verbs are rendered with their dynamic meanings, group (b) with their stative meanings. The verbs are also loosely grouped along semantic criteria, such as ‘destruction’ (e.g. brók ‘break’, chakrá ‘destroy’), ‘material transformation’ (e.g. bɛ́n ‘bend’, bwɛ́l ‘boil’), ‘body states’ (e.g. bɛlfúl ‘be satiated’, táya ‘be tired’), and ‘natural states’ (e.g. rɔ́tín ‘be rotten’, sók ‘be wet’), ‘other human states’ (e.g. wɛ́r ‘wear’, máred ‘marry’):

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (1109) | Change-of-state verbs | |  | | |
| a. | bɛ́n | ‘bend; fold’ |  | spwɛ́l | ‘spoil’ |
|  | bíl | ‘build’ |  | wás | ‘wash’ |
|  | brók | ‘break’ |  | wék(ɔp) | ‘wake up’ |
|  | bwɛ́l | ‘boil’ |  | wɛ́r | ‘wear’ |
|  | chénch | ‘change’ |  |  |  |
|  | chɛ́r | ‘tear’ | b. | bɛlfúl | ‘be satiated’ |
|  | fíks | ‘fix; repair’ |  | chák | ‘be drunk’ |
|  | fráy | ‘fry’ |  | dráy | ‘be dry’ |
|  | hát | ‘hurt’ |  | drɔ́ngo | ‘be dead drunk’ |
|  | kɔ́ba | ‘cover’ |  | fúlɔp | ‘be full’ |
|  | kɔ́t | ‘cut’ |  | láyt | ‘be lit; tipsy’ |
|  | krás | ‘crash’ |  | rɛdí | ‘be ready’ |
|  | kúk | ‘cook’ |  | rɔ́tín | ‘be rotten’ |
|  | lɔ́k | ‘close’ |  | sók | ‘be wet’ |
|  | máred | ‘marry’ |  | táya | ‘be tired’ |

In the intransitive clause in (1110) below, the change-of-state verb chák ‘be drunk; get drunk’ takes an undergoer subject (with the specific role of patient). In the transitive clause in (1111), chák now takes an actor subject (with the specific role of agent) and an undergoer (patient) object. In the intransitive clause, the verb has a non-causative meaning, while the verb in the transitive clause has a causative meaning.

At the same time, the aspectual reading of the bare factative change of state verb is adjusted. When the verb is employed as a bare inchoative-stative verb in a basic intransitive clause, as in (1110) below, it normally receives a present tense interpretation – the situation holds at reference time. In turn, the dynamic variant of chák receives a default past tense interpretation in (1111).

(1110) Di wach-mán chák.

def watch.cpd-man be.drunk

‘The guard is drunk.’ [dj07ae 048]

(1111) Dɛn chák di wach-mán fɔ́s fɔ mék

3pl get.drunk def watch.cpd-man first prep sbjv

dɛn fít gó tíf.

3pl can go steal

‘They got the guard drunk first in order for them to be able to steal.’ [dj07ae 052]

When used intransitively with factative TMA, there is generally a stronger tendency for change-of-state verbs from group (b) to receive a stative interpretation, as in (1110) above. In contrast, many group (a) verbs are more likely to receive an inchoative interpretation focussing on the change-of-state, since most of these verbs feature an implicit agent or (natural) force. When verbs with implicit agents appear in intransitive clauses, there is therefore a higher tendency for speakers to employ the perfect tense-aspect rather than factative TMA in order to indicate a change-of-state. The use of perfect marking via dɔ́n ‘prf’ focuses the end-state of the change of state.

Compare fráy ‘fry’, an “agentive” group (a) verb in the intransitive and transitive clause, respectively. The combination of perfect marking and “agentive” verb renders a resultative meaning very close to passive voice in (1112):

(1112) Di plantí dɔ́n fráy.

def plantain prf fry

‘The plantain has been fried.’ [dj07ae 418]

(1113) A bigín de pica-píca, wi fráy patata,

1sg.sbj begin ipfv red.cpd-cut.up 1pl fry potato

wi fráy plantí.

1pl fry plantain

‘I began to cut up (the trimmings), we fried potatoes, we fried plantain.’ [ye03cd.172]

Change-of-state verbs also differ with respect to their likelihood to occur in intransitive or transitive clauses. The higher “agentivity” of group (a) verbs like fráy ‘fry’ makes it less likely for these verbs to appear in agentless, intransitive clauses than group (b) verbs like bɛlfúl ‘be satiated’ or táya ‘be tired’.

Two further semantic classes of labile verbs are locative verbs and property items. These two subclasses alternate between inchoative-stative and dynamic uses. The two following examples involve the intransitive (1114) and transitive (1115) use of the locative verb lé ‘lie; lay’. The latter example also features the transitively used locative verb slíp ‘sleep; lie; lay’. A more extensive listing of locative verbs and a detailed treatment of their distribution is given in 8.1.3:

(1114) Di kasára lé míndul tú stík.

def cassava lie middle two tree

‘The cassava is lying between two branches.’ [li07pe 080]

(1115) E lé di bɔ́tul pantáp di tébul, e slíp

3sg.sbj lay def bottle top def table 3sg.sbj lay

di bɔ́tul pantáp di tébul.

def bottle top def table

‘He laid the bottle on the table, he brought the bottle into a

horizontal position on the table.’ [li07pe 074]

Property items behave no differently from change-of-state and locative verbs. Consider the intransitive/transitive and stative/dynamic uses of the physical property denoting verb lɔ́n ‘be long; lengthen’ in the two following examples:

(1116) Dán húman lɔ́n bád.

that woman be.long extremely

‘That woman is/was extremely tall.’ [li07pe 064]

(1117) A wánt lɔ́n di klós.

1sg.sbj want lengthen def clothing

‘I want to lengthen this piece of clothing.’ [dj07ae 223]

Property items of all other semantic types may be used in the same way as lɔ́n ‘(be) long’ (cf. 4.1.2 for a listing of relevant semantic types). Compare the intransitive meaning of ‘be small’ of the dimension concept smɔ́l ‘(be) small’ in the intransitive clause in (1118) with the causative meaning ‘make small; shrink’ in the transitive clause in (1119). The imperfective marker de ‘ipfv’ specifies smɔ́l in (1119) just like any dynamic verb with simultaneous taxis:

(1118) Dí klós smɔ́l.

def clothing be.small

‘This (piece of) clothing is small.’

(1119) Sɔn klós dɛn dé, hɔt-wɔtá de smɔ́l=an.

some clothing pl be.loc hot.cpd-water ipfv make.small=3sg.obj

‘There are some clothes, hot water shrinks them.’ [dj07ae 211]

A value concept like fáyn ‘(be) fine; beautiful’ may also be subjected to the intransitive/transitive alternation characteristic of labile verbs. Compare the intransitive, stative use of this property item:

(1120) Libreville fáyn.

place be.fine

‘Libreville is (a) nice (place).’ [ma03sh 009]

Now consider the transitive use of fáyn in the following two sentences. Note that a transitive use may also lead to an idiosyncratic meaning of fáyn. Sentence (1121) presents the regular, derived transitive meaning of ‘make beautiful’, while (1122) represents a case of idiomatic transitivity with a “dative of interest” reading of the experiencer object pronoun of fáyn. Such a meaning is also recorded for cases of idiomatic transitivity with other verbs low on the transitivity scale, e.g. the motion verbs gó ‘go’ (1085), rɔ́n ‘run’ (1087), and sube ‘rise, raise’ (1108):

(1121) Nóto klós go **fáyn**  **yú** sino que

neg.foc clothing pot make.fine 2sg.indp but that

na yú gɛ́fɔ fáyn yu sɛ́f.

foc 2sg.indp have.to make.fine 2sg self

‘It’s not clothes that would make you beautiful, it’s rather you

that has to make yourself beautiful.’ [dj07ae 176]

(1122) Dán bɛ́lps de fáyn mí.

that babe ipfv be.fine 1sg.indp

‘I find that babe gorgeous.’ *Lit*. ‘That babe is fine to me.’ [dj07ae 174]

Although there are no restrictions on the transitive use of property items, such usage is rare in non-elicited language data. There is a pronounced preference by speakers to employ other means to render causative meaning with property items.

For instance, in the following two examples, the property items fáyn ‘(be) fine’ and blák ‘(be) black’ are employed as secondary predicates. Sentence (1123) features a resultative causative construction, and (1124) involves a resultant state resultative construction:

(1123) Dɛn de lɛ́f=an fáyn?

3pl ipfv leave=3sg.obj fine

‘Are they making it [the house] beautiful?’ [hi03cb 041]

(1124) E pént di hós blák.

3sg.sbj paint def house be.black

‘He painted the house black.’ [pa07me 037]

Labile experiential and aspectual verbs in class (b) of Table 9.5 differ from class (a) verbs in that they remain dynamic in both the intransitive and transitive alternation. However, the features of “role of subject” and “causation reading” provided in Table 9.5 co-vary in the same way with class (b) verbs as they do with class (a) verbs.

Labile experiential verbs constitute a smaller group than change-of-state verbs. I give a complete listing of experiential verbs in the corpus with glosses of intransitive meanings in (1125). Experiential verbs comprise (a) body movements and processes, as well as (b) mental states denoting various types of affective conditions:

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (1125) | Experiential verbs | |  | | |
| a. | bló | ‘relax’ | b. | gládin | ‘be glad’ |
|  | bɔ́n | ‘be born’ |  | krés | ‘be crazy’ |
|  | gró | ‘grow’ |  | lán | ‘learn’ |
|  | háyd | ‘hide’ |  | sém | ‘be ashamed’ |
|  | hɔ́ri | ‘hurry’ |  | skía | ‘be scared’ |
|  | lɛ́f | ‘leave’ |  | sɔ́fa | ‘suffer’ |
|  | mɛ́n | ‘get better’ |  | vɛ́ks | ‘be angry’ |
|  | múf | ‘move’ |  | wánda | ‘wonder’ |
|  | rɛ́s | ‘rest’ |  | wɔ́ri | ‘worry’ |
|  | sék | ‘shake’ |  |  |  |
|  | tɔ́n | ‘turn’ |  |  |  |
|  | trímbul | ‘tremble’ |  |  |  |

Consider the use of the group (b) dynamic experiential verb krés ‘be crazy; drive crazy’ in the following intransitive (1126) and transitive (1127) clauses respectively:

(1126) A krés.

1sg.sbj be.crazy

‘I went mad.’ [ro05rt 022]

(1127) Wé di mamá dáy, na ín krés di pikín.

sub def mother die foc 3sg.indp drive.mad def child

‘When the mother died, that’s what drove the child mad.’ [dj07ae 104]

The following two sentences illustrate the use of the group (a) body movement verb háyd ‘hide; conceal’. In both the intransitive (1128) and transitive (1129) clauses the imperfective marker de ‘ipfv’ is present, so experiential verbs do not exhibit the stativity alternation that characterises the other semantic classes covered so far:

(1128) E de háyd fɔr=an.

3sg.sbj ipfv hide prep=3sg.obj

‘She’s hiding from him.’ [dj07re 042]

(1129) E de háyd=an.

3sg.sbj ipfv hide =3sg.sbj

‘It [the bag] is concealing it [the telephone].’ [ur07fn 078]

The final class of labile verbs are aspectual verbs (also known as phasal verbs), i.e. verbs with largely temporal semantics, which usually occur in constructions with lexically fuller verbs. These verbs remain dynamic in transitive and intransitive clauses as well. Hence they do not alternate in their stativity value either.

Aspectual verbs serve to highlight the crossing of the left boundary (inception), the middle (continuation) or the right boundary (completion) of the situation denoted by the verb they specify. The four labile aspectual verbs of inception (a) and completion (b) found in the corpus are listed in (1130):

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (1130) | Aspectual verbs | |  | | |
| a. | bigín | ‘begin’ | b. | fínis | ‘finish’ |
|  | stát | ‘start’ |  | para (< Sp. ‘parar’) | ‘stop’ |

I give an example for the intransitive and transitive uses of the verb of completion fínis ‘finish’ in the following two examples. The verbs fínis and bigín ‘begin’ are also employed as aspectual auxiliary verbs in completive and ingressive auxiliary constructions (cf. 6.4.1 and 6.4.3, respectively):

(1131) Dɛn-ɔ́l fínis.

3pl.cpd-all finish

‘They’re all finished.’ [dj03cd 157]

(1132) A de tɛ́l yú, yu go sí náw

1sg.sbj ipfv tell 2sg.indp 2sg pot see now

yu nó go fínis dán watá.

2sg neg pot finish that water

‘I’m telling you, you’ll see now you won’t finish that water.’ [ye03cd.133]

The discussion in this section has shown that labile verbs may be classified into five semantic and two form classes. I have also mentioned that the different semantic classes appear in their intransitive and transitive variants with differing likelihood. The factor that determines to a great part the distribution of labile verbs over the two clause types is “agentivity”. On one end we find property items, change-of-state verbs denoting body states (e.g. táya ‘be tired’) and natural states (e.g dráy ‘be dry’), experiential verbs denoting body processes and movements (e.g. rɛ́s ‘rest’), mental state verbs (e.g. gládin ‘be glad’), as well as aspectual verbs. In natural speech, these semantic (sub)classes share a higher likelihood of occuring in intransitive clauses rather than transitive ones.

In contrast, “agentive” change-of-state verbs denoting “destruction” and “material transformation” (e.g. brék ‘break’), experiential verbs denoting physical movement (e.g. múf ‘move’), and the entire class of locative verbs (e.g. slíp ‘sleep; lie’) generally occur with equal likelihood in both transitive and intransitive clauses.

### Expletive verbs

Expletive verbs take the dependent pronoun e ‘3sg.sbj’ or a generic noun as an expletive subject. However, none of the verbs covered in the following exclusively occur with expletive subjects. The expletive subject is a core participant in syntactic terms, but it has no referential quality and appears in constructions which require the subject position to be filled.

Such dummy subject (pro)nouns are found with verbs with copula functions, with evaluative verbs, with Spanish-origin verbs which take expletive subjects in Spanish, and a weather verb (cf. 9.3.7 for a separate treatment of the weather verb fɔ́l ‘(to) rain’). All elements in the corpus which may take expletive subjects are listed in Table 9.6:

Table 9.6 Expletive verbs

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Types | Verbs | Gloss |
| Copula elements | *bí* | ‘be’ |
|  | *na/nóto* | ‘foc/neg.foc’ |
|  | *dé* | ‘be.loc’ |
|  | *fíba* | ‘seem’ |
|  | *gɛ́t* | ‘get; have, exist’ |
|  | *níd* | ‘need; be necessary’ |
|  | *lɛ́f* | ‘leave; remain’ |
|  | *sté* | ‘last’ |
| Evaluative verbs | *bád* | ‘be bad’ |
|  | *fáyn* | ‘be fine’ |
|  | *gúd* | ‘be good’ |
|  | *hád* | ‘be hard’ |
|  | *ísi* | ‘be easy’ |
|  | *nó smɔ́l* | ‘be considerable’ |
| Spanish expletive verbs | *falta* | ‘lack’ |
|  | *sigue* | ‘follow’ |
| Weather verb | *fɔ́l* | ‘rain’ |

The copula verbs bí ‘be’, dé ‘be.loc’ and the focus markers cum copulas na/nóto occur in copula clauses with expletive subjects.

Sentence (1133) illustrates the expletive use of the locative-existential copula dé in the factive clause e dé sé ‘it’s that’. The second occurrence of dé also shows that when the copula dé functions as the predicate of an existential clause, the existing entity (i.e. sɔn wích ‘(some) witches’) must be expressed as the subject of the clause. Hence, existential clauses featuring dé have no expletive subjects:

(1133) E dé sé, yu sabí sé yá só

3sg.sbj be.loc quot 2sg know quot here like.that

sɔn wích dé nɔ́.

some sorcerer be.loc intj

‘It is that, you know that here there are sorcerers, right.’ [ed03sb 093]

There is no difference in meaning between the use of dé ‘be.loc’ and the identity copulas bí and na/nóto in factive clauses like the following two. However, contrary to other elements with expletive subjects, na/nóto may never occur with the dummy subject e ‘3sg.sbj’ in factive clauses, nor be preceded by an emphatic pronoun as is the case in equative clauses (cf. 7.6.1). This is so because the focus markers/identity copulas na/nóto incorporate 3sg reference (cf. 7.6.1). The identity copula bí may also appear with an expletive subject in factive clauses in the place of dé ‘be.loc’ (1134):

(1134) E fít **bí** sé na paludismo.

3sg.sbj can be quot foc malaria

‘It could be that it’s malaria.’ [fr03wt 058]

In these functions, bí and dé are also used as introductory formulas of narratives with the meaning ‘it came to pass that’ (1135):

(1135) E kán bí sé mi abuela, wé a

3sg.sbj pfv be quot 1sg.poss grandmother sub 1sg.sbj

bin smɔ́l, e gó ríba (...)

pst small 3sg.sbj go river

‘It came to pass that my grandmother, when I was small,

she went to the river (...)’ [ed03sb 015]

Factive clauses can alternatively be formed with the help of two semantically empty dummy nouns, the generic noun tín ‘thing’ and the noun kés ‘matter’:

(1136) Di tín dé sé, mék e mék rabia wet mí.

def thing be.loc quot sbjv 3sg.sbj make anger with 1sg.indp

‘The thing is let her be angry with me.’ [ye05rr 001]

(1137) Di kés dé sé, dís dé dɛn a nó gɛ́t tɛ́n

def matter be.loc quot this day pl 1sg.sbj neg get time

fɔ wók.

prep work

‘It’s that these days I do not have time to work.’ [ro05ee 036]

Also compare the cleft focus construction in (1138) featuring di tín ‘the thing’ with the functionally equivalent construction in (1139), featuring the expletive pronoun e:

(1138) Na só di tín dé.

foc like.that def thing be.loc

‘That’s how the thing [it] is.’ [sab07fn 104]

(1139) Na só e dé.

foc like.that 3sg.sbj be.loc

‘That’s how it is.’ [ma03hm 077]

When the verb fíba ‘resemble’ occurs in a transitive clause, the 3sg.sbj pronoun is not expletive (1140):

(1140) E fíba dɛ́bul.

3sg.sbj seem devil

‘He resembles a devil.’ [ra07fn 072]

In contrast, when used intransitively, fíba is best translated as ‘seem’ (1141) and may take a complement clause (1142). In such contexts, fíba also takes an expletive 3sg.sbj pronoun:

(1141) E fíba só.

3sg.sbj seem like.that

‘It seems so.’ [dj07ae 252]

(1142) E fíba sé nóto yú wán dɛn tíf

3sg.sbj seem quot neg.foc 2sg.indp one 3pl steal

na dí kwáta.

loc this quarter

‘It seems that it’s not you alone they stole from in this neighbourhood.’ [ge07fn 165]

The verb lɛ́f ‘leave; remain’ occurs as a copula verb with an expletive subject in clauses like the following one:

(1143) E lɛ́f wán pɔ́sin

3sg.sbj leave one person

‘There is one person remaining.’

The verb sté ‘stay; last (a long time)’ also functions as a copula element in intransitive clauses (1144). Both verbs occur with expletive e in their copula function. Also consider níd ‘need; be necessary’ (1145):

(1144) E dɔ́n sté, a tínk sé e dɔ́n sté

3sg.sbj prf be.long 1sg.sbj think quot 3sg.sbj prf last

wé una bin gɛ́t insecticida yá.

sub 2pl pst get insecticide here

‘It’s been long, I think it’s been long since you [pl] have had insecticide

[sprayed] here.’ [fr03wt 059]

(1145) E níd sé mék a gó dé tumɔ́ro.

3sg.sbj need quot sbjv 1sg.sbj go there tomorrow

‘It is necessary that I go there tomorrow.’ [dj07ae 512]

Evaluative verbs also take expletive subjects. Examples follow with the property items hád ‘(be) hard’ (1146) and fáyn ‘(be) fine’ (1147):

(1146) E hád fɔ bíl na yá bikɔs sé di grɔ́n

3sg.sbj hard prep build loc here because quot def ground

gɛ́t bɔkú sansán.

get much sand

‘It’s hard to build here because the ground is very sandy.’ [ro05ee 063]

(1147) E fáyn fɔ dríng smɔ́l-wán.

3sg.sbj fine prep drink small-adv

‘It’s good to drink moderately.’ [ma03hm 071]

The two verbs falta ‘lack’ (< Sp. faltar ‘lack’) and sigue ‘continue; follow’ (< Sp. seguir ‘continue; follow’) are established loans of Spanish origin which have been borrowed together with their selectional properties. Like their Spanish etymons these two verbs require expletive subjects. Contrary to Spanish, subject pronouns are not normally dropped in Pichi. Examples (1148) and (1149) therefore feature the expletive pronoun *e* ‘3sg.sbj’:

(1148) E falta mɔní fɔ púl saco dɛn dé fɔ

3sg.sbj lack money prep remove bag pl there prep

kɛ́r=an na hós.

carry 3sg.obj loc house

‘There is money lacking to remove the bags there in order to bring

them to the house.’ [ye03cd 004]

(1149) Porque e de sigue wán bád smɛ́l.

because 3sg.sbj ipfv follow one bad smell

‘Because there follows a bad smell.’ [dj03do 049]

Yet falta and sigue may also take referentially full subjects in intransitive clauses. Compare falta in (1148) and (1150), and sigue in (1149) and (1151):

(1150) E sé e nó fít falta.

3sg.sbj quot 3sg.sbj neg can lack

‘She said she can’t be absent.’ [ma03hm 014]

(1151) Mi rabia dɔ́n fínis bɔt wé yu gó

1sg.poss anger prf finish but sub 2sg go

e de sigue mɔ́.

3sg.sbj ipfv follow more

‘My anger is over, but when you go, it continues.’ [ro05rr 003]

At this point, a word is in order on the raising properties of expletive verbs. In (1152) below, the 3sg.sbj pronoun e anaphorically refers to dɛn yón ‘theirs’, so the object of the complement clause beginning with the non-finite complementiser fɔ ‘prep’ has been raised into subject position in the main clause. For other speakers, however, raising is not accepted with evaluative verbs (1153):

(1152) (...) bɔt dɛn yón fáyn, e fáyn fɔ sí.

but 3pl own fine 3sg.sbj fine prep see

‘(...) but theirs is beautiful, it [the wedding ceremony] is beautiful to see.’ [hi03cb 005]

(1153) \*Dán sáy fáyn fɔ sí.

that side fine prep see

\*That place is nice to see. [eb07fn]

The verb fíba ‘resemble’ takes full complement clauses introduced by the complementiser sé (1154). Neither reduced fɔ-complement clauses nor SVCs are accepted in clause linkage. Hence, an SVC like (1155) is ungrammatical:

(1154) E fíba sé Boyé gɛ́t mɔní.

3sg.sbj seem quot name get money

‘It seems that Boyé has money.’ [dj07ae 255]

(1155) \*Boyé fíba gɛ́t mɔní.

name seem get money

\*Boyé seems to have money. [dj07ae 254]

However, the subject of the complement clause may be raised into subject position of the main clause without any structural change. The result is an idiosyncratic structure, in which the coreferential subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are both overtly expressed (1156):

(1156) Boyé fíba sé e gɛ́t mɔní.

name seem quot 3sg.sbj get money

‘Boyé seems to have money.’ [*Lit.* ‘Boyé seems that he has money.’] [dj07ae 256]

Existential constructions featuring expletive subjects and the verb gɛ́t ‘get; exist’ are covered in detail in section 7.6.3.

## Valency

I now turn to describing valency in select types of Pichi constructions. I cover the grammatical relations mediated by verbs in these constructions as well as the semantic roles assigned to the core participants subject and object. I also treat valency in two semantic fields, namely in the expression of weather phenomena and body states. These fields are of particular interest due to the variety of valency configurations found in the clauses used to express them.

### Light verb constructions

Pichi features numerous more or less conventionalised collocations that involve verbs with a fairly general meaning followed by undergoer objects. Many of these collocations appear to be light verb constructions, in which the bulk of semantic content is carried by the object rather than the verb. The most common of these light verb constructions are provided in Table 9.7. The most common constructions involve the verbs gɛ́t ‘get; have’, gí ‘give’, mék ‘make’ and púl ‘pull; remove’. At the lower end of the table, we find constructions involving verbs which are only found in a single collocation.

Table 9.7 Light verb constructions

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Verb | Object | Translation |
| gɛ́t ‘get; have’ | bɛlɛ́ ‘belly’ | ‘be pregnant’ |
|  | páwa ‘strength’ | ‘be strong; potent’ |
|  | líba ‘liver’ | ‘have guts’ |
|  | mɔní ‘money’ | ‘be rich’ |
|  | pikín ‘child’ | ‘have children’ |
|  | lɔ́ki ‘luck’ | ‘be lucky’ |
|  | bad-lɔ́k ‘bad luck’ | ‘have bad luck’ |
|  | ráyt ‘right’ | ‘be right’ |
|  | bád fásin ‘bad ways’ | ‘be ill-mannered’ |
|  | trót ‘throat’ | ‘have appetite; be lusty’ |
|  | bɔ́di ‘body’ | ‘be chubby’ |
|  | rabia ‘anger’ | ‘be angry’ |
|  | novio/mán ‘boyfriend/husband’ | ‘have a boyfriend/husband’ |
|  | novia/húman ‘girlfriend/wife’ | ‘have a girlfriend/wife’ |
| gí ‘give’ | bɔbí ‘breast’ | ‘breastfeed’ |
|  | chɔ́p ‘food’ | ‘feed’ |
|  | bɛlɛ́ ‘belly’ | ‘impregnate’ |
|  | hán ‘hand’ | ‘shake hands’ |
|  | skúl ‘school’ | ‘give lessons’ |
|  | wán vuelta ‘a walk’ | ‘take a walk’ |
|  | permiso ‘permission’ | ‘give permission’ |
| mék ‘make’ | bigdé ‘festivity’ | ‘have a festivity’ |
|  | chɔ́ch ‘church’ | ‘celebrate a mass’ |
|  | fám ‘farm’ | ‘(to) farm’ |
|  | chɔ́p ‘food’ | ‘prepare food’ |
|  | jɔmba ‘affair’ | ‘have an affair’ |
|  | wayó ‘cunning’ | ‘be cunning; employ trickery’ |
|  | wuruwúrú ‘disgrace’ | ‘cause disgrace, confusion’ |
|  | afɛ́r ‘affair’ | ‘have an affair’ |
|  | rabia ‘anger’ | ‘be angry with somebody’ |
| púl ‘remove’ | bɛlɛ́ ‘pregnancy’ | ‘abort’ |
|  | brís ‘air’ | ‘breathe’ |
|  | fotó ‘photo’ | ‘take a picture’ |
|  | torí ‘story’ | ‘narrate a story; converse’ |
| sí ‘see’ | tɛ́n ‘time’ | ‘menstruate’ |
|  | tín ‘thing’ | ‘have experience in life’ |
| fála ‘follow’ | húman ‘woman’ | ‘womanise’ |
| gó ‘go’ | skúl ‘school’ | ‘attend school’ |
| kɔ́t ‘cut’ | miná ‘penis’ | ‘circumcise’ |
| kráy ‘cry’ | wɔtá ‘water’ | ‘shed tears’ |
| pík ‘pick’ | mɔ́t ‘mouth’ | ‘sound somebody out’ |
| ték ‘take’ | bɔ́di/skín ‘body’ | ‘gain weight’ |

A good number of the constructions listed above constitute borderline cases between ordinary verb-noun collocations assembled by phrasal syntax and conventionalised or lexicalised verb-noun collocations. Two criteria may be useful in determining which of these construction are conventionalised to the point of qualifying as light verb constructions. Firstly, the object in more conventionalised collocations has a tendency to occur bare. Secondly, there is a relatively stringent restriction on pronominalising light verb objects. Some salient characteristics of light verb constructions are explored in the following by means of constructions involving the verb gɛ́t ‘get; have’.

The verb gɛ́t is an inchoative-stative transitive verb, which occurs with a stative (1157), and at other times, an inchoative reading (1158). The verb also has various functions as an existential and modal verb and expresses possession (cf. e.g. (1159) below):

(1157) Dɛn gɛ́t wók náw ó.

3pl get work now sp

‘They actually have work now.’ [to03gm 008]

(1158) E gɛ́t ɔ́da húman ‘chíp’ bɔkú problema, (...)

3sg.sbj get other woman [skt] much problem

‘He got (himself) another woman, many problems, (...)’ [ma03ni 025]

Ordinary objects of gɛ́t may occur bare or be preceded by determiners depending on pragmatic circumstance. In (1159), the non-specific noun bɔ́y ‘boy’ is preceded by the indefinite determiner wán. In contrast, non-specific objects of light verbs have a strong tendency to occur devoid of any definiteness marking. In (1159), the noun mán ‘man’ of the light verb construction gɛ́t mán ‘have a man/husband’ remains bare:

(1159) Smɔ́l gál, ɛf e nó gɛ́t wán bɔ́y, e nó gɛ́t mán,

small girl if 3sg.sbj neg get one boy 3sg.sbj neg get man

pero di húman, di bíg wán dɛn sɛ́f.

but def woman def big one pl emp

‘As for young girls, if they don’t have a boy-friend, if they don’t have a man

[they feel worthless], but even women, the grown ones themselves.’ [hi03cb 154]

Objects of gɛ́t may be pluralised with a post-posed dɛn (1160) and may occur with prenominal modifiers like bɔkú ‘much’ or the 1sg possessive pronoun mi (1160). The verb gɛ́t may also take pronominal objects (1161), or occur with no overt object at all where reference has been established earlier on (1162):

(1160) Bikɔs a gɛ́t bɔkú mi kɔntri-**mán** dɛn (...)

because 1sg.sbj get much 1sg.poss country.cpd-man pl

‘Because I have many of my countrymen (...)’ [ed03sb 157]

(1161) (...) dán mɔní a fít gɛ́t=**an** un mes.

that money 1sg.sbj can get=3sg.obj def month

‘(..) as for that money, I can have it for a month.’ [ro05rt 050]

(1162) (...) mébi a gɛ́t pikín, wé mébi a nó gɛ́t.

maybe 1sg.sbj get child sub maybe 1sg.sbj neg get

‘(...) maybe I have children or maybe I don’t have [children].’ [hi03cb 158]

We have seen that non-specific objects of light verbs tend to occur as bare nouns. Nonetheless, specific objects of gɛ́t in light verb constructions may occur with determiners if so required. Compare di fɔ́s bɛlɛ́ ‘first pregnancy’ in (1163):

(1163) Dásɔl wé a dɔ́n bíg wé a fɔ́s gɛ́t

only sub 1sg.sbj prf big sub 1sg.sbj first get

di **fɔ́s** bɛlɛ́ (...)

def first belly

‘Then when I was grown, when I first had the first pregnancy (...)’ [ed03sb 017]

The NP di fɔ́s bɛlɛ́ the first pregnancy’ in (1163) above also shows that objects of light verbs are encountered with prenominal modifiers. Likewise, object NPs in light verb constructions may be placed under focus (1164). Although there are not many instances of pronominalised light verb objects in the data, these also occur. In (1165), the object pronoun =an substitutes for torí ‘story’:

(1164) Na torí dɛn de púl.

foc story 3pl ipfv pull

‘It’s a story that they’re telling.’ [au07se 009]

(1165) A go púl yú=an tumɔ́ro.

1sg.sbj pot pull 2sg.indp=3sg.obj tomorrow

‘I will narrate it to you tomorrow.’ [ye07de 018]

Table 9.8 below presents a frequency analysis of gɛ́t in verb-object collocations in a subcorpus of 30’000 words. The verb gɛ́t enjoys a total number of 345 tokens, of which 136 tokens involve gɛ́t as a modal verb and gɛ́t without an overt object. In line (a) of the table, I give the remaining 209 tokens which represent uses of gɛ́t in collocations involving full noun objects.

In line (b), I provide the total number of verb-noun collocations that do not qualify as light verb constructions according to the distributional criteria introduced above. Line (c) gives the total number of constructions that should be considered light verb constructions. I also list the four most frequent constructions with the corresponding tokens. I take care to distinguish cases in which a collocation like gɛ́t pikín is employed with the general meaning of ‘have children’ from ones in which the collocation is used with a specific meaning like ‘have one, two, etc. children’. The corresponding percentages in relation to the total number of collocations in line (a) are given in the rightmost column:

Table 9.8 Frequency of gɛ́t collocations

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Construction | Total number | Percentage over (a.) |
| a. All gɛ́t collocations | 209 | 100% |
| b. All ordinary gɛ́t collocations | 140 | 67% |
| c. All gɛ́t light verb constructions | 69 | 33% |
| gɛ́t pikín ‘have children’ | 33 | 16% |
| gɛ́t mɔní ‘have money’ | 22 | 11% |
| gɛ́t bɛlɛ́ ‘be pregnant’ | 10 | 5% |
| gɛ́t líba ‘have guts’ | 4 | 2% |

Table 9.8 reveals that light verb constructions proper represent 33 per cent of the total number of occurrences of collocations involving gɛ́t and an object. Of all gɛ́t-constructions contained in the corpus, gɛ́t pikín ‘have children’ is the most frequent one and accounts for 16 per cent of the total of light verb constructions. An additional information of interest is that the total number of types (different constructions) of light verb construction amounts to eleven, seven of which occur only once each. In view of these facts, I assume that the functional load of gɛ́t as a light verb is only moderate.

Next to the borrowing of Spanish verbs, verb-noun collocations consisting of a Pichi verb and a Spanish noun are an important means of extending the lexicon. Code-mixed constructions allow speakers to tap into the nominal lexicon of Spanish in order to derive new “verbal” meanings. These constructions are characterised by a high degree of structural equivalence between Pichi and Spanish. Not only is the order of constituents in verb-noun collocations the same in both languages. The meanings of the light verbs employed in the respective languages are also highly compatible with each other. There is therefore a strong tendency towards convergence in code-mixed collocations. Accordingly, the verbs in these collocations may have the selectional characteristics of the Pichi verb in one instance, while in another, the Pichi verb may select its complement as if it were the synonymous Spanish verb (cf. Muysken 2000:184ff.)

For instance, none of the nouns in the collocations gɛ́t *rabia* ‘be angry’ (1166), gɛ́t *novio* ‘have a boyfriend’ (1167) and gí permiso ‘give permission’ (1168) are encountered with a determiner in the corpus. The meanings of the verbs and the distribution of nouns in these constructions are identical to those in the Spanish equivalents tener rabia ‘be angry’, tener novio ‘have a boyfriend’, and *dar permiso* ‘give permission’.

(1166) If a gɛ́t rabia wet yú, (...)

if 1sg.sbj get anger with 2sg.indp

‘If I’m angry with you (...)’ [ro05rr 002]

(1167) Mék yu nó sé yu dɔ́n gɛ́t novio na

sbjv 2sg know quot 2sg prf get boyfriend loc

pueblo, na kɔ́ntri.

village loc country

‘You should know that you already have a fiancé in the village,

in the hometown.’ [ab03ay 010]

(1168) If di fámbul nó gí yú permiso (...)

if def family neg give 2sg.indp permission

‘If the family doesn’t give you permission (...)’ [ed03sb 076]

On the other hand, there are established mixed collocations which feature a determiner. One of these is gí wán vuelta ‘take a walk’. Like the Pichi verb gí ‘give’, the Spanish verb dar ‘give’ selects a determined object in the expression dar una vuelta ‘take a walk’:

(1169) E de gí wán vuelta kwík

3sg.sbj ipfv give one round quickly

‘She’s doing a round quickly.’ [dj05be 120]

Other code-mixed collocations are further removed from the pole of light verb constructions. The collocation gí beca ‘give a scholarship’ (1170)–(1171) occurs with or without determiners in accordance with the referential properties of the NP:

(1170) Dɛn bin gí mí beca.

3pl pst give 1sg.indp scholarship

‘I was given a scholarship.’ [ed03sp 057]

(1171) E gí mí di beca a gó.

3sg.sbj give 1sg.indp def scholarship 1sg.sbj go

‘He gave me the scholarship (and) I went.’ [ed03sp 065]

In sum, we can observe that next to a few “proper” light verb constructions, Pichi makes use of less tightly integrated collocations featuring Pichi or Spanish nouns by means of ordinary phrasal syntax. These constructions are flexible, allow the insertion of functional elements and modifiers, as well as object substitution by pronouns.

### Associative objects

In Pichi, syntactic objects can denote various less central semantic roles which may alternatively be expressed through prepositional phrases. Accordingly, associative objects appear to the right of patient objects in double-object constructions (cf. 9.3.4), in a position usually reserved for adverbial adjuncts. An associative object is an instantiation of some entity typically associated with the situation denoted by the verb. Associative objects in Pichi are reminiscent of inherent object constructions as found in the Kwa languages of West Africa (see Essegbey 1999 for Ewe). Contrary to inherent objects, however, associative objects are not obligatory and may remain unexpressed at all times. Equally, associative objects usually only occur with specific verbs (cf. e.g. (1179)). The verb-object collocations described in this section therefore appear to involve specialisation or lexicalisation. The use of associative objects can therefore only serve as a productive means of increasing verb valency with the verbs listed in Table 9.9.

Here follows an example with the verb *wás* ‘wash (oneself)’ and its associative objectwɔtá ‘water’. The pragmatic context coerces a semantic role of instrument or means on the associative object:

(1172) A de wás wɔtá.

1sg.sbj ipfv wash water

‘I’m washing (myself with) water.’ [dj07ae 274]

All verb-noun collocations involving associative objects in the corpus are listed in Table 9.9. In most cases, the verb-noun combination given in the table is the preferred means of expressing the corresponding semantic relation between the verb and object listed:

Table 9.9 Associative objects

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Verb | Object | Gloss | Semantic role of object |
| fúlɔp | pípul | ‘be full of/fill with people’ | Content |
| fúlɔp | watá | ‘be full of/fill with water’ |  |
| pák | polvo | ‘be full of/fill with dust’ |  |
| bít | stík | ‘beat with a stick’ | Instrument |
| cháp | kɔ́tlas | ‘chop (off) with a cutlass’ |  |
| chúk | nɛ́f | ‘stab with a knife’ |  |
| chúk | nidul | ‘sting with a needle’ |  |
| chúk | injección | ‘give an injection’ |  |
| sút | pistola | ‘shoot with a pistol’ |  |
| wás | wɔtá | ‘wash oneself with water’ |  |
| invita | Guinness | ‘invite for a Guinness’ | Purpose |
| kapú | hós | ‘fight over a house’ |  |
| wók | mɔní | ‘work for money’ |  |
| fɔdɔ́n | stík | ‘fall from a tree’ | Source |
| púl | wók | ‘sack from work’ |  |
| smɛ́l | chɔ́p | ‘smell of food’ |  |
| kɔmɔ́t | pɔ́sin | ‘become a responsible person’ | Goal |
| tɔ́n | pɔ́sin | ‘turn into a person’ |  |
| pré | gɔ́d | ‘pray to God’ |  |
| kráy | mɔní | ‘cry over (lost) money’ | Cause |
| sík | fíba | ‘be sick with fever’ |  |
| sík | malérya | ‘be sick with malaria’ |  |
| sík | tiphoïdea | ‘be sick with typhoid fever’ |  |
| báy | dos mil | ‘buy for two thousand Francs’ | Price |
| sɛ́l | dos mil | ‘sell for two thousand Francs’ |  |
| kɔ́l | name | ‘call something X’ | Reference |

Associative objects are assigned a content role by the labile change of state verbs fúlɔp ‘fill up’ (1173) and pák ‘pack; fill up’ (1174):

(1173) Na China motó dɛn fúlɔp pípul.

loc place car pl be.full people

‘In China cars are full of people.’ [au07fn 107]

(1174) Ɔ́l hía pák polvo.

all here pack dust

‘Everywhere here is full of dust.’ [ge07fn 127]

Content objects can be replaced by a corresponding prepositional phrase without a change in meaning. Compare the PPs introduced by wet ‘with’ in (1175) and (1176):

(1175) Na lɛk sé yu fúlɔp di glás watá?

foc like quot 2sg fill def glass water

‘That’s as if you fill up a glass with water?’ [dj07ae 066]

(1176) E fúlɔp di glás wet watá.

3sg.sbj fill def glass with water

‘He filled the glass with water.’ [dj07ae 067]

Instrument is among the most common semantic roles expressed by associative objects (1177). The instrument role may also be expressed by a wet-prepositional phrase (1178):

(1177) Yu fít tɔ́k sé ‘dɛn chúk=an nɛ́f’.

2sg can talk quot 3pl stab =sg.obj knife

‘You can say “he was stabbed with a knife”.’ [ro05ee 061]

(1178) Dɛn chúk mí wet nɛ́f.

3pl stab 1sg.indp with knife

‘I was stabbed with a knife.’ [ro05ee 060]

It is noteworthy that many other verbs that assign an instrument role to a participant do not seem to take instrument associative objects; for example, kɔ́t ‘cut’ is not attested with an associative object and requires the instrument to be expressed as a prepositional phrase:

(1179) \*A de kɔ́t di tín sísɔs.

1sg.sbj ipfv cut def thing scissors

\*I’m cutting the thing with a pair of scissors. [dj07ae 477]

(1180) Kɔ́t=an wet sísɔs!

cut=3sg.obj with scissors

‘Cut it with a pair of scissors!’ [dj07ae 478]

Sentences (1181) and (1182) provide examples for the use of associative objects with the semantic role of purpose. These may equally be expressed through a prepositional phrase introduced by the associative preposition fɔ (1182):

(1181) Yu de kapú hós.

2sg ipfv fight.over house

‘You’re fighting over a house.’ [to07fn 112]

(1182) Dɛn de kapú fɔ di hós.

3pl ipfv fight.over prep def house

‘They’re fighting over the house.’ [ne07fn 025]

The source of the motion verb fɔdɔ́n ‘fall’ may be realised as an associative object (1183). Alternatively, the source may be indicated via the preposition frɔn ‘from’ when it marks the ground (1184). Note the possibility of additionally using the “at rest” locative noun ɔ́p ‘up(perside)’ to mark the ground in (1184):

(1183) Di pikín fɔdɔ́n di stík.

def child fall def tree

‘The child fell from the tree.’ [ro05ee 097]

(1184) Di pikín fɔdɔ́n frɔn ɔ́p di stík, frɔn di stík.

def child fall from up def tree from def tree

‘The child fell from (up on) the tree, from the tree.’ [dj05be 201]

The semantic role of the objects of smɛ́l ‘smell’ can only be disambiguated by context. In (1185) the associative object chɔ́p ‘food’ denotes the source of the sensation, in (1186), chɔ́p denotes the stimulus:

(1185) E de kúk, áfta e de smɛ́l chɔ́p.

3sg.sbj ipfv cook then 3sg.sbj ipfv smell food

‘He’s cooking, afterwards he’ll smell of food.’ [dj07ae 013]

(1186) Yu de smɛ́l chɔ́p, dɛn de fráy ɛ́ks dé.

2sg ipfv smell food 3pl ipfv fry egg there

‘You smell food, they’re frying eggs there.’ [dj07ae 016]

Non-locative goal is the semantic role of objects associated with the verbs kɔmɔ́t ‘come out’ and tɔ́n ‘turn (into)’.

(1187) E de trén yú sé yu go kɔmɔ́t pɔ́sin.

3sg.sbj ipfv train 2sg.indp quot 2sg pot come.out person

‘She is bringing you up to become a responsible person.’ [au07se 131]

(1188) E tɔ́n pɔ́sin wán tɛ́n.

3sg.sbj turn person one time

‘He turned into a human-being at once.’ [ma03sh 006]

The objects of sík ‘be sick’ denote the cause of the sickness that the subject is suffering from. The verb sík is not attested with a prepositional phrase alternative in the data; the use of an associative object appears to be the conventional way of expressing this state of affairs:

(1189) E de sík fíba.

3sg.sbj ipfv sick fever

‘She’s sick with fever.’ [dj07ae 273]

Another instance of an associative object with the semantic role of cause is mɔní ‘money’, the object of kráy ‘cry’ in (1190):

(1190) (...) dán papá de kráy in mɔní.

that father ipfv cry 3sg.poss money.

‘(...) that elderly man was crying over his (lost) money.’ [ed03sb 200]

An associative object may be fronted for emphasis (1191). However, unlike patient or beneficiary objects, associative objects may not be questioned with wétin ‘what’ or údat ‘who’. Instead, associative objects must be questioned with the corresponding adverbial question phrase or with the selective question element ús=káyn ‘which’, which questions modifiers.

Hence the clause e de sík fíba ‘3sg.sbj ipfv be sick fever’ = ‘she’s sick (with) fever’ cannot be questioned as \*wétin e de sík ‘what 3sg.sbj ipfv be.sick’ = ‘what is she sick (with)?’ Rather, the question must be phrased as in (1192):

(1191) Dán pɔ́sin go ánsa yú, ‘yɛ́s, na malérya

that person pot answer 2sg.indp yes foc malaria

e bin de sík.’

3sg.sbj pst ipfv sick

‘That person would reply to you “yes, it’s malaria that

she was sick with”.’ [dj05be 090]

(1192) Ús=káyn sík e de sík?

q=kind sickness 3sg.sbj ipfv be.sick

‘What kind of sickness does she have?’ [eb07fn 244]

### Cognate objects

In Pichi, “cognate objects” (Baron 1971) are deverbal nouns derived from themselves. Firstly, deverbal nouns occur with a few particular verbs in a non-emphatic, non-specific context and contribute little if nothing at all to the meaning denoted by the verb.

For example, the objects of sík ‘be sick’ and verbs of sound and speech-emission like síng ‘sing’ and tɔ́k ‘talk; say’ may occur with speech- or sound-denoting cognate objects in non-emphatic contexts. The cognate objects of these verbs have in common that they are not simply the corresponding action nominal of the verb. Instead, they have slightly idiosyncratic meanings:

(1193) Wé yu kɔmɔ́t sík dán sík na Panyá, wé yu de sík,

sub 2sg come.out be.sick that sickness loc Spain sub 2sg ipfv sick

náw yu bigín tɔ́k Panyá.

now 2sg begin talk Spanish

‘When you had just fallen sick with that sickness in Spain, when you were sick,

then you began to talk Spanish.’ [ab03ab 018]

(1194) A wánt tɔ́k dán smɔ́l tɔ́k dé.

1sg.sbj want talk that small word there

‘I want to say that small word there.’ [dj05ae 037]

Aside from that, the use of cognate objects provides an important means of expressing emphasis in pragmatically marked, emphatic contexts such as (1195)–(1196). Emphatic cognate objects are frequently preceded by the indefinite determiner wán ‘one; a’ which provides emphasis in other contexts as well (e.g. in the context of negative indefinite phrases, cf. (575)):

(1195) Dɛn bin fáyn wán fáyn.

3pl pst be.fine one fineness

‘They were really fine.’ [mi07fn 120]

(1196) Dán torí bin de **swít**  mí wán **swít**.

that story pst ipfv be.tasty 1sg.indp one tastiness

‘I really enjoyed that story.’ [ye07ga.006]

The cognate object dáy ‘death’ also appears as a cognate object to the verb *dáy* ‘die’ in emphatic contexts like (1197):

(1197) Éy, dán káyn spɛ́tikul, a dáy dáy.

intj that kind glasses 1sg.sbj die death

‘Hey, [if I had] that kind of glasses, I would surely die.’ [ne07ga 015]

There is good reason to assume that the fronted “verb” in predicate cleft constructions like the following one is in fact also a deverbal noun. One indication for this is that the verb is never fronted with predicate constituents like TMA markers. In this view, clefted verbs may also be seen as types of cognate objects:

(1198) Na gó a de gó ó!

foc go 1sg.sbj ipfv go sp

‘[Mind you] I’m going now!’ [ch07fn 151]

### Double-object constructions

The bulk of Pichi verbs can occur with one as well as two objects. The primacy of the object next to the verb – which is usually animate and has the role of recipient or beneficiary – is evident in double-object constructions involving two object pronouns. The presence of two pronominal objects is ungrammatical if the clitic object pronoun =an is preceded by the low-toned personal pronoun una/unu ‘2pl’ or another 3rd person object pronoun *=an* (for details, see 3.3, on tone-conditioned suppletive allomorphy). In such cases, it is the patient object that remains unexpressed. Compare the double-object construction in (1199) with the ungrammatical example (1200) and sentence (1201). In the latter example, the 3sg.obj theme object =an remains unexpressed:

(1199) Yu gɛ́fɔ sɛ́n wí=an.

2sg have.to send 1pl.indp=3sg.obj

‘You have to send it to us.’ [ye07de 009]

(1200) \*A go gí una=an tumɔ́ro.

1sg.sbj pot give 2pl=3sg.obj tomorrow

\*I’ll give you [pl] it tomorrow. [ye07de 011]

(1201) A go gí unu tumɔ́ro.

1sg.sbj pot give 2pl tomorrow

‘I’ll give you (it) tomorrow.’ [ye07de 012]

Double-object constructions can be divided into three types according to relevant semantic and syntactic properties. The following table provides an overview of the semantic roles of objects involved in double-object constructions and their syntactic positions as primary objects immediately to the right of the verb or secondary objects following the primary objects. Some semantic roles associated with the position of primary and secondary objects may alternatively be expressed by prepositional phrases or SVCs. Where such alternatives exist, they are provided in the two rightmost columns:

Table 9.10 Syntax and semantics of double-object constructions

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Type | Description | Primary object | Secondary object | Alternative to primary object | Alternative to secondary object |
| 1 | Transfer | Recipient | Theme | — | — |
| 2 | Promotion | Beneficiary | Patient | fɔ-PP | — |
|  |  | Goal (pút) | Theme | fɔ-PP; na-PP | — |
| 3 | Adjunction | Patient | Associative object | — | Diverse PPs; SVCs |

In the type 1 double-object construction, the primary object to the right of the verb occupies the recipient role, while the secondary object that follows the recipient invariably takes on a patient role. This kind of construction is found with verbs expressing the transfer of an entity or an act of communication from the subject to a recipient. All ditransitive communication and transfer verbs encountered in the corpus are listed in (1202):

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (1202) | Communication verbs | | Transfer verbs | | |
|  | púl | ‘narrate’ | gí | ‘give’ |  |
|  | tɛ́l | ‘tell’ | dás | ‘give as present’ |  |
|  | lán | ‘teach’ | bák | ‘give back’ |  |
|  | tích | ‘teach’ | sɛ́n | ‘send’ |  |
|  | áks | ‘ask’ | báy | ‘buy’ |  |
|  | ríd | ‘read’ |  |  |  |

Pichi has no SVCs of the give type in order to mark a recipient or beneficiary. In double-object constructions featuring transfer verbs, the primary object next to the verb always has the semantic role of recipient (1203). With transfer and communication verbs, a beneficiary is usually expressed in a PP introduced by fɔ ‘prep’ (1204). Hence, double-object constructions are the only means of expressing the grammatical relation between the ditransitive verb, its subject, and its recipient and theme objects:

(1203) Mi mamá dás mí sɔn regalo.

1sg.poss mother give.as.present 1sg.indp some present

‘My mother gave me a present.’ [ro05ee 055]

(1204) Mi mamá dás sɔn regalo fɔ mí.

1sg.poss mother give.as.present some present prep 1sg.indp

‘My mother gave (somebody) a present for me.’ [ro05ee 056]

The following example features transfer verb gí ‘give’ and a prepositional phrase introduced by fɔ ‘prep’. The PP can only denote a beneficiary with the recipient remaining unexpressed. Hence the first translation is ungrammatical, since the recipient object cannot alternatively be expressed as a prepositional phrase:

(1205) Dɛn gí di mɔní fɔ mí.

3pl give def money prep 1sg.indp

‘They gave the money (to someone) for me.’ [lo07fn 555]

\*They gave me the money.

The following two double-object constructions involve the transfer verb gí ‘give’ (1206) and the verb of communication púl (torí) ‘narrate (a story)’ (1207):

(1206) Dɛn bin gí mí beca.

3pl pst give 1sg.indp scholarship.

‘I was given a scholarship.’ [ed03sp 057]

(1207) Na ín e de kán púl mí dán torí.

foc 3sg.indp 3sg.sbj ipfv come pull 1sg.indp that story

‘That’s when she comes to tell me that story.’ [ab03ab 073]

The verb sɛ́n ‘send; throw’ denotes a situation in which both a transfer and a motion event co-occur. When sɛ́n is used in a double-object construction, the primary object is always a recipient (1208).

(1208) E gɛ́fɔ sɛ́n mí=an.

3sg.sbj have.to send 1sg.indp=3sg.obj

‘He has to send/throw it to me.’ [ye07de 001]

Like with other transfer verbs, the recipient of sɛ́n may not be expressed as a prepositional phrase. Where we do find a prepositional phrase (usually introduced by fɔ ‘prep’), it can therefore only denote a beneficiary or a goal but not a recipient (1209):

(1209) E gɛ́fɔ sɛ́n=an fɔ yú.

3sg.sbj have.to send=3sg.obj prep 2sg.indp

‘He has to send it to (where) you (are).’ Or ‘He has to send it for you.’ [ye07de 003]

\*He has to send it to you.

Type 2 double-object constructions are best understood in terms of syntactic promotion. A participant that is more commonly expressed as a prepositional phrase is promoted to object status. In contrast to type 1, the use of type 2 constructions is therefore optional. We find the type 2 double-object construction with two kinds of verbs. First, it is encountered with any Pichi transitive verb save transfer verbs and verbs of communication (type 1). With these verbs, which form the vast majority of Pichi verbs, the primary object has the semantic role of beneficiary. The secondary object is assigned a patient role.

Sentence (1210) features two type 2 double-object constructions. The verb dú ‘do’ takes the primary, beneficiary object mí ‘1sg.indp’ and the patient object sɔn fébɔ ‘a favour’. The verb wás ‘wash’ also takes mí ‘1sg.indp’ as the beneficiary object while klós dɛn ‘clothing’ functions as the patient object:

(1210) A wánt mék yu dú mí sɔn fébɔ mék

1sg.sbj want sbjv 2sg do 1sg.indp some favour sbjv

yu wás mí sɔn klós dɛn.

2sg wash 1sg.indp some clothing pl

‘I want you to do me a favour (and) wash some clothes for me.’ [ru03wt 030]

The semantic role of beneficiary may subsume a maleficiary, i.e. the affected party of a socially unacceptable action. In (1211), a worried mother explains why she has left her teenage daughter in Spain instead of bringing her along with her to Malabo. Also, compare the first object of tíf ‘steal’, the maleficiary mí ‘1sg.indp’ in (1212):

(1211) A lɛ́f mi pikín na Panyá bikɔs a de fía

1sg.sbj leave 1sg.poss child loc Spain because 1sg.sbj ipfv fear

sé dɛn go bɛlɛ́ mí mi pikín.

quot 3pl pot impregnate 1sg.indp 1sg.poss child

‘I have left my child in Spain because I fear that she would fall pregnant on me.’ [ge05fn]

(1212) Dɛn tíf mí mi sús.

3pl steal 1sg.indp 1sg.poss shoe

‘They stole my shoes from me.’ [ge07fn 023]

We have seen that a recipient must be expressed as an object in type 1 double-object constructions. In contrast to type 1 constructions, type 2 constructions alternate freely with constructions in which the beneficiary is expressed as a prepositional phrase introduced by the associative preposition fɔ ‘prep’. In fact, the alternative involving a prepositional phrase is more common than the corresponding double-object construction. Compare the type 2 double-object construction (1213) involving the verb bay ‘buy’ with the PP alternative (1214):

(1213) Áfta primera dama báy=an wán motó, (...)

then first lady buy=3sg.obj one car

‘Then the first lady bought him a car (...)’ [fr03cd 070]

(1214) A bin báy wán motó fɔ mi mása.

sg.sbj pst buy one car prep 1sg.poss boss

‘I bought a car for my boss.’ [ye0502e2 073]

The second type of type 2 construction involves the caused location verb pút ‘put’. Here, the primary object has the semantic role of goal, while the secondary object fulfills a theme role. In (1215), the primary object of pút is the goal object =an ‘3sg.obj’, while the secondary object saldo ‘(mobile phone) credit’ is the theme. Sentence (1216) also features the goal object =an ‘3sg.obj’, while the theme object is cacahuete ‘groundnut’:

(1215) Yu gɛ́t móvil, yu dɔ́n pút=**an** saldo?

2sg get mobile 2sg prf put=3sg.obj credit

‘Do you have a mobile-phone, have you put credit into it?’ [go0502e1 087]

(1216) A báy dán dís tín, sɔn smɔ́l pépa,

1sg.sbj buy that this thing some small paper

dɛn de pút=**an** cacahuete.

3pl ipfv put=3sg.obj peanut

‘I bought that thing, a small paper, they put peanuts into it.’ [ed03sp 083]

However, the corpus contains many more examples of pút-constructions, in which the goal role is expressed through a locative construction rather than a primary object. Likewise, there is no sentence in the data in which the goal object of pút is a full noun. The locative construction may be a PP (1217) or involve a locative noun (1218). Unlike a few other verbs with a motion component (cf. 8.1.4), the goal of pút cannot be expressed as a complement of the V2 of a motion-direction SVC (e.g. \*a pút=an gó na glás {1sg.sbj put=3sg.obj go loc glass} = ‘I put it into the glass’):

(1217) Dɛn kin pút=an fɔ glás.

3pl hab put=3sg.obj prep glass

‘They put it into the glass.’ [ed03sb 096]

(1218) A dɔ́n pút mi búk ínsay.

1sg.sbj prf put 1sg.poss book inside

‘I have put my book inside.’ [dj07ae 329]

There is a preference to interpret a PP introduced by fɔ ‘prep’ as a beneficiary in pút-double-object constructions, particularly where an object pronoun theoretically allows for both interpretations as in (1219). A sentence like (1218) above, which involves a locative noun (i.e. ínsay ‘inside’) is therefore preferred to avoid ambiguity. Nevertheless, an alternative with a prepositional phrase involving the general locative preposition na may also be exploited to the same end (1220):

(1219) A dɔ́n pút granát fɔr=an

1sg.sbj prf put peanut prep=3sg.obj

‘I have put peanuts [somewhere] for her.’ [dj07ae 331a]

?I have put peanuts into it.

(1220) A dɔ́n pút granát na ín.

1sg.sbj prf put peanut loc 3sg.indp

‘I have put peanuts into it.’ [dj07ae 331b]

Note, however, that pút ‘put’ may also appear in a type 2 double-object construction, in which the primary object is a beneficiary – just like any other transitive verb:

(1221) Yu pút=an wán sardina ɔntɔ́p.

2sg put=3sg.obj one sardine top

‘(Then) you put a sardine on top for him.’ [ro05rt 064

Type 3 double-object construction involve verbs that may take associative objects (cf. Table 9.9 above). Type 3 constructions differ from type 1 and type 2 constructions in that the primary object occupies the semantic role of patient. The secondary object is an associative object which may alternatively be expressed without any syntactic rearrangement through the mere insertion of a preposition, serial verb, or any other element between the two objects. The associative objects in type 3 constructions may therefore be paraphrased with the same means as associative objects in single-object constructions. Compare the double-object construction in (1222) with the single-object construction involving a PP in (1223):

(1222) Na lɛk sé yu fúlɔp di glás watá?

foc like quot 2sg fill def glás water

‘As if you filled this glass with water?’ [dj07ae 066]

(1223) E fúlɔp di glás wet watá.

3sg.sbj fill.up def glass with water

‘She filled the glass with water.’ [dj07ae 067]

### Reflexivity

In the majority of cases, reflexivity is expressed through an object NP consisting of the pronominal and reflexive anaphor sɛ́f ‘self’ and a preceding possessive pronoun with the same person and number as the subject. Sometimes, the body part nouns skín ‘body’, bɔ́di ‘body’, and héd ‘head’ are also employed as reflexive anaphors in the same syntactic position as sɛ́f. A clause featuring a reflexive object NP indicates that the subject does something to her- or himself. The corpus only contains clauses, in which subjects serve as antecedents to the reflexive anaphor, cf. (1224):

(1224) Dán gál e kin fíks in sɛ́f, pént in sɛ́f.

that girl 3sg.sbj hab fix 3sg.poss self paint 3sg.poss self

‘That girl habitually fixes herself up, paints herself [puts on make up].’ [dj07ae 114]

Aside from that, reflexive constructions also form part of idiomatic expressions with little reflexive meaning but characterised by low transitivity. I give a sentence featuring the idiom sék in sɛ́f ‘shake 3sg.poss self’ = ‘make an effort’:

(1225) E sék in sɛ́f bɔkú fɔ tɔ́n general.

3sg.sbj shake 3sg.poss self much prep turn general

‘He made a big effort to turn general.’ [ur07ae 498]

The nouns skín ‘body’, bɔ́di ‘body’, and héd ‘head’ are far less commonly used than sɛ́f as reflexive anaphors. Equally, these three nouns usually occur as reflexive anaphors with verbs, whose meanings imply an actual physical effect on the body. The following three sentences illustrate this usage:

(1226) A de sí mi skín na lukinglás.

1sg.sbj ipfv see 1sg.poss body loc mirror

‘I’m seeing myself/my body in the mirror.’ [dj07ae 496]

(1227) A de kíl mi skín dé, lɛk háw a de wók.

1sg.sbj ipfv kill 1sg.poss body there like how 1sg.sbj ipfv work

‘I’m killing myself there, the way I’m working.’ [dj07ae 494]

(1228) E dɔ́n chák in héd.

3sg.sbj prf get.drunk 3sg.poss head

‘She is dead drunk.’ [lit. ‘She has got her head drunk.’] [ra07fn 026]

A reflexive relation within an NP is expressed through the use of a possessive pronoun in conjunction with the pronominal yón ‘own’ as a modifier to a head noun:

(1229) Bɔt fɔ Bata dɛn de ték/ dán wán sí que dɛn yón máred

but prep place 3pl ipfv take that one if that 3pl own marriage

día, dɛn yón máred de kári mɔní ɛ́n.

be.expensive 3pl own marriage ipfv carry money intj

‘But as for the mainlanders, they take/ as for that one, their marriage is

expensive, their marriage costs money.’ [hi03cb 010]

Besides that, Pichi has a number of inherently reflexive verbs. For most of these verbs, the use of a reflexive anaphor is optional. Such verbs denote situations involving body or mental processes and physical movements which imply volition and instigation by the actor subject rather than a spontaneous event.

Compare wɛ́r ‘dress (up)’ in an explicitly reflexive clause (1230) and a clause in which reflexivity remains unexpressed (1231):

(1230) Toichoa wɛ́r in sɛ́f.

name wear 3sg.poss self

‘Toichoa has/is dressed up.’ [dj07ae 375]

(1231) A wɛ́r.

1sg.sbj wear

‘I’m dressed/have got dressed.’ [ye05ae 233]

### Reciprocity

Next to its use as a reflexive anaphor, the pronominal sɛ́f ‘self’ also serves as a reciprocal pronominal with plural referents. In sentence (1232), the reciprocal NP is an object to the verb sláp ‘slap’, in (1233) to the locative noun bifó ‘before’:

(1232) Dɛn de sláp dɛn sɛ́f.

3pl ipfv slap 3pl self

‘They’re slapping each other.’ [dj07re 020]

(1233) Pero dɛn nó sidɔ́n bifó dɛn sɛ́f.

but 3pl neg sit.down before 3pl self

‘But they’re not sitting in front of each other.’ [dj07re 031]

Reflexive and reciprocal meaning may be disambiguated through contextual factors, i.e. verb meaning and the presence of plural referents. The occurrence of compound personal pronouns indicating dual number (i.e. dɛn-ɔl-tú ‘the two of them’) as in (1234) or universal inclusivity (dɛn-ɔ́l ‘all of them’) as in (1235) is also quite common in reciprocal contexts:

(1234) Fɔ́s na dɛn-ɔl-tú dɛn bin de abraza dɛn sɛ́f.

first foc 3pl.cpd-all.cpd-two 3pl pst ipfv embrace 3pl self

‘First it’s the two of them that were embracing each other.’ [dj07re 013]

(1235) Dɛn-ɔ́l dɛn de salút dɛn sɛ́f.

3pl all 3pl ipfv greet 3pl self

‘They’re all greeting each other.’ [dj07re 009]

Reciprocal relations within the NP find expression through the pronominal yón as illustrated in (1236):

(1236) Dɛn lúk dɛn yón fés.

3pl look 3pl own face

‘They looked at each other’s faces.’ [eb07fn 313]

Pichi also has inherently reciprocal verbs, many of which preferably do not occur with the anaphor sɛ́f (cf. 9.4.3).

### Weather phenomena

Pichi has three types of constructions for expressing weather phenomena. The first type of construction consists of an intransitive clause with the weather phenomenon in the subject position. The verbs used in the first type of construction have a general meaning and also occur in other contexts including transitive clauses. Three sentences follow featuring the two weather verbs bló ‘blow’ (1237)–(1238) and bráyt ‘be bright’ (1239) and the weather nouns tináda ‘thunderstorm’, brís ‘air’, and sán ‘sun’:

(1237) Tináda de bló.

thunderstorm ipfv blow

‘A thunderstorm is raging.’ [dj07ae 239]

(1238) Brís de bló.

air ipfv blow

‘The wind is blowing.’ [dj07ae 242]

(1239) Di sán bráyt.

def sun be.bright

‘The sun is bright/is shining.’ [dj07ae 164]

Sentence (1240) exemplifies the transitive usage of bló ‘blow’, sentence (1241) that of bráyt, here with the meaning ‘brighten; light up’:

(1240) Di ventilador de bló mí.

def fan ipfv blow 1sg.indp

‘The fan is blowing at me.’ [dj07ae 243]

(1241) Di sán bráyt di dé.

def sun brighten def day

‘The sun lit up the sky.’ [dj07ae 166]

In expressions where reference is made to the general atmospheric condition, the noun dé ‘day; weather’ appears in the subject position instead of a specific natural element. This usage is exemplified in the following three sentences and also in (1241) above:

(1242) Di dé dák.

def weather be.dark

‘It’s dark.’ [ab07fn 115]

(1243) Di dé fɔ tidé tú hɔ́t, tú mɔ́ch sán.

def weather prep today too be.hot too much sun

‘The weather of today is too hot, too much sun.’ [dj07ae 249]

(1244) Di dé kól.

def weather be.cold

‘It’s cold.’ [dj07ae 248]

The second type of construction also involves an intransitive clause but it features the expletive subject pronoun e ‘3sg.sbj’ rather than a weather noun. This construction is limited to a single intransitive verb, namely fɔ́l ‘rain’, which exclusively functions as a weather verb (1245). The verb fɔ́l may, however, also occur in the first type of construction, together with the weather noun rén ‘rain’ in subject position (1246):

(1245) A de sí di dé lɛkɛ sé e wánt fɔ́l.

1sg.sbj ipfv see def day like quot 3sg.sbj want rain

‘It think the weather is like it’s going to rain.’ [ye07fn 083]

(1246) A bin chɛ́k sé rén go fɔ́l.

1sg.sbj pst check quot rain pot rain

‘I thought it would rain.’ [ma03hm 022]

The third type of construction involves existential clauses featuring the possessive and existential verb gɛ́t ‘get; exist’ or the locative-existential copula dé ‘be.loc’ (cf. 7.6.3 for details on the syntax of these clauses). This construction is only attested in code-mixed utterances involving a Spanish atmospheric phenomenon:

(1247) E gɛ́t relámpago.

3sg.sbj get lightning

‘There is lightning.’ [dj07ae 245]

(1248) Dán sáy, niebla dé dé.

that side fog be.loc there

‘It’s foggy there.’ [he07fn 262]

### Body states

Body states are expressed in constructions involving transitive (cf. 1a–1c in Table 9.11) and intransitive (2a–2c) clauses. I summarise the constructions described in this section in Table 9.11. Details are provided below:

Table 9.11 Expressing body states

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Body state verb | | 1a | 1b | 1c | 2a | 2b | 2c |
| a. | pén ‘pain’ | x |  | x |  |  |  |
|  | hát ‘hurt’ | x |  | x |  | x |  |
| b. | hángri ‘be hungry’ |  | x | x | x |  |  |
|  | tɔ́sti ‘be thirsty’ |  | x | x | x |  |  |
|  | slíp ‘sleep’ |  | x | x | x |  |  |
|  | sík ‘be sick’ |  |  |  | x |  |  |
| c. | kól ‘be cold’ |  |  | x |  | x |  |
|  | hɔ́t ‘be hot’ |  |  | x |  | x |  |
|  | táya ‘be tired’ |  |  |  |  | x |  |
|  | bɛlfúl ‘be satiated’ |  |  |  |  | x |  |
|  | wɛ́l ‘be well’ |  |  |  |  | x |  |
| d. | gúd ‘be well’ |  |  | x |  |  | x |
|  | bád ‘be ill’ |  |  | x |  |  | x |
|  | fáyn ‘be fine’ |  |  | x |  |  | x |

Type 1 constructions in Table 9.11 involve transitive clauses. In type 1a constructions, the affected body part is found in the subject position, while the experiencer is in the object position. This construction is the preferred one for expressing pain and hurt. The verb is either of the dynamic experiential verbs hát ‘hurt’ or pén ‘pain’:

(1249) Mi bɛlɛ́ de hát mí.

1sg.poss belly ipfv hurt 1sg.indp

‘My stomach is hurting me.’ [dj07ae 312]

(1250) Mi bɛlɛ́ de pén mí.

1sg.poss belly ipfv pain 1sg.indp

‘My stomach is paining me.’ [dj07ae 314]

(1251) Mi tít de pén mí.

1sg.poss tooth ipfv pain 1sg.indp

‘My tooth is paining me.’ [dj07ae 313]

In type 1b constructions, the subject of the transitive clause is a deverbal noun denoting the experience, while the object instantiates the experiencer. Instead of an experiential verb, we find an idiomatically used dynamic verb kéch ‘catch’. The body states of hunger, thirst, and sleep(iness) may be expressed in this way, usually combined with a sense of suddenness or unexpectedness. Compare the following three examples:

(1252) Smɔ́ltɛn slíp kéch=an.

shortly sleep catch=3sg.obj

‘Shortly afterwards, he became sleepy/fell asleep.’ [ab03ab 050]

(1253) Wán hángri kéch mí dé.

one hunger catch 1sg.indp there

‘I suddenly felt very hungry there.’ [dj07ae 324]

(1254) Tɔ́sti kéch mí.

thirst catch 1sg.indp

‘I (suddenly) felt thirsty.’ [dj07ae 327]

Type 1c constructions in Table 9.11 are the mirror-image of type 1b constructions. The experiencer is in the subject position, while the body state or sensation is expressed as a deverbal noun in the object position. Hunger, thirst, and sleep(iness) can be expressed by this construction with the dynamic body state verbs fíl ‘feel’ (1255)–(1256). Hunger and thirst can also be expressed in combination with the verb sɔ́fa ‘suffer; endure’ (1257):

(1255) A de fíl hángri, A de fíl slíp.

1sg.sbj ipfv feel hungry 1sg.sbj ipfv feel sleep

‘I’m feeling hungry, I’m feeling sleepy.’ [ye07fn 132]

(1256) A fíl di pikín in pén.

1sg.sbj feel def child 3sg.poss pain

‘(…) I went into labour [*Lit.* I felt the child’s pain].’ [ab03ay 076]

(1257) A sɔ́fa wán hángri na dán kɔ́ntri.

1sg.sbj suffer one hunger loc that country

‘I endured extraordinary hunger in that country.’ [dj07ae 121]

Proof for the nominal status of the body state in the constructions above is provided by sentences (1257) and (1256). In the latter example, we find a dislocated possessive construction in the object position of fíl. In the former example, the indefinite determiner wán ‘one; a’ precedes hángri ‘hunger’, the object of sɔ́fa ‘endure’.

The type 1c construction also serves to express the body states ‘feel hot’ and ‘feel cold’. Compare the following two examples:

(1258) A de fíl tú mɔ́ch hɔ́t.

1sg.sbj ipfv feel too much heat

‘I’m feeling too hot.’ [dj07ae 316]

(1259) E de fíl gúd ɛf e dé míndul pípul.

3sg.sbj ipfv feel good if 3sg.sbj be.loc middle people

‘She feels good if she’s amongst people.’ [ro05ee 117]

Type 2 constructions involve intransitive clauses. In type 2a, the experiencer appears in the subject position. The body state is instantiated in a dynamic verb. Once more, the basic body states of hunger and thirst can be expressed in this way (1260)–(1261). However, other transient body states like sík ‘be sick’ also appear in this construction (1262):

(1260) A de hángri.

1sg.sbj ipfv be.hungry

‘I’m hungry.’ [dj07ae 322]

(1261) A de tɔ́sti.

1sg.sbj ipfv be.thirsty

‘I’m thirsty.’ [dj07ae 326]

(1262) Wán dé wán pikín bin de sík.

one day one child pst ipfv sick

‘One day, a certain child was sick.’ [ye03cd 071]

In type 2b constructions, the body state verb is inchoative-stative. Compare táya ‘be tired’ (1263) wɛ́l ‘be well’ (1264), bɛlfúl ‘be satiated’ (1265), and hát ‘be hurt’ (1266):

(1263) A táya.

1sg.sbj be.tired

‘I’m tired.’ [dj07ae 318]

(1264) A wɛ́l.

1sg.sbj well

‘I’m well.’ [li07fn 011]

(1265) A bɛlfúl.

1sg.sbj be.satiated

‘I’m full.’ [dj07ae 524]

(1266) Di gál hát.

def girl hurt

‘The girl is hurt.’ [dj05be 006]

Type 2c constructions are intransitive copula clauses. The body state verb appears as an adjective complement to the locative-existential copula dé ‘be.loc’ (1267). The property items gúd ‘be well’, bád ‘be bad’, and fáyn ‘be fine’ appear in such predicate adjective constructions when they express a transient body state rather than an (intrinsic) value (cf. 7.6.5):

(1267) Dán tɛ́n a dé fáyn.

that time 1sg.sbj be.loc fine

‘That time, I was fine.’ [ru03wt 024]

The two body state expressions sík ‘be sick’ and bɛlfúl ‘be satiated’ may also appear in transitive clauses involving associative objects(cf. 9.3.2):

(1268) E de sík fíba.

3sg.sbj ipfv sick fever

‘She’s sick with fever.’ [dj07ae 273]

(1269) A bɛlfúl plantí.

1sg.sbj be.satiated plantain

‘I’m full with plantain.’ [dj07ae 529]

## Valency adjustments

Verb valency is adjusted in three ways. For one part, the omission of the core participants subject (cf. 9.4.1) or object (cf. 9.4.2) reduces verb valency by one. Object omission is also at play when reflexive and reciprocal object pronouns remain unexpressed (cf. 9.4.3). Second, a notional patient object may be added to a clause by employing a causative construction (cf. 9.4.4). Causative constructions involve biclausal structures and secondary predication. They are therefore a means of increasing valency periphrastically.

Thirdly, an agent can be backgrounded, though not wholly removed, by employing as the subject the 3pl dependent pronoun dɛn or a generic human-denoting noun with impersonal reference (cf. 9.4.5). In that, agent backgrounding is functionally similar to passive voice in other languages.

### Unexpressed subjects

Subjects are normally expressed overtly but subject omission (indicated by ∅) occasionally occurs with verbs with impersonal reference, as with fít ‘can’ in an excerpt from a procedural text (1270):

(1270) ∅ fít sifta ín sóté tú tɛ́n mék mék

2sg can sieve 3sg.indp until two time make sbjv

dán smɔ́l smɔ́l watá dɛn nó lɛ́f.

that small rep water pl neg remain

‘(You) can sift it up to two times to make none of that little water remain.’ [dj03do 008]

In another context, we find something similar to subject omission. The quotative marker sé may appear at the beginning of an independent prosodic unit, rather than within a prosodically integrated sentence. In such contexts, the element sé straddles the boundary of a verbal meaning ‘say’ and its function as a quotative marker and introducer of direct discourse. Hence, the “absence” of a subject may be seen as a form of omission (cf. also 10.4).

The following two sentences are uttered in sequence by the same speaker. Compare ambiguous function of sé like (1271)(b), which is introduced by sé, with (a) where sé is firmly integrated into the sentence as a quotative marker:

(1271) a. E tɛ́l=an sé ‘papá mí nɛ́va chɔ́p

3sg.sbj tell=3sg.obj quot father 1sg.indp neg.prf eat

mi sénwe’.

1sg.indp emp

‘He told him “please, I myself haven’t eaten yet”.’ [ye03cd 149]

b. Sé chico, dí tín nó go dú mí.

quot boy this thing neg pot do 1sg.indp

‘(He said) “man, this won’t do for me”.’ [ye03cd 150]

A final form of subject omission occurs when the particles na ‘foc’ and nóto ‘neg.foc’ incorporate 3sg reference by default in their function as identity copulas. When pronominal reference is to be overtly established, na/nóto must be preceded by independent (emphatic) personal pronoun (cf. also 7.6.1). Dependent pronouns may not precede these two particles.

### Unexpressed objects

In principle, objects need not be overtly expressed. In practice, highly transitive verbs are unlikely to appear without a patient object, even if the object is non-specific. The verb bló ‘give a blow’ in (1272) denotes a situation which implies a high degree of volition and instigation by an agent. Equally, the situation involves no notion of affectedness of the agent (cf. Næss 2007):

(1272) A bló dí pikín.

1sg.sbj give.blow this child

‘I gave this child [guy] a blow.’ [dj07ae 031]

When bló occurs without an object it is understood to be the homophonous bló ‘rest; relax’ (1273), a verb which is lower on the transitivity scale, but may also be used transitively (1274), due to its status as a labile experiential verb:

(1273) A de bló ɔ a de rɛ́s.

1sg.sbj ipfv relax or 1sg.sbj ipfv rest

‘I’m relaxing or I’m resting.’ [dj07ae 030]

(1274) Mék a bló dí pɔ́sin mék e fít recupera.

sbjv 1sg.sbj relax this person sbjv 3sg.sbj can recover

‘Let me make this person rest for her to be able to recover.’ [dj07ae 033]

When highly transitive verbs are used in a context of non-specificity, they usually occur with generic nouns as objects. Compare the non-specific object sɔn tín ‘something’ of the highly transitive verb híb ‘throw (away)’ (1275) and pɔ́sin ‘person’, object of nák ‘hit’ (1276):

(1275) (...) yu híb sɔn tín fɔ grɔ́n (...)

2sg throw some thing prep ground

‘(...) (if) you throw something on the ground (...)’ [hi03cb 028]

(1276) (...) na ín e de nák pɔ́sin.

foc 3sg.indp 3sg.sbj ipfv hit person

‘(...) that’s why she’s hitting somebody.’ [au07se 191]

The omission of objects is more common with verbs characterised by a lower degree of semantic transitivity, in particular where the objects are non-specific. Object omission is therefore principally found with “effected-object verbs” (Hopper 1985) and “affected-agent verbs” (Tenny 1994; Næss 2007).

The objects of effected object verbs come into existence through the situation denoted by the verb. They are not affected or changed by the situation denoted by the verb like the patient objects of more prototypically transitive verbs. The non-specific effected objects of verbs of speech and sound emission often occur without a speech- and sound-denoting noun or pronoun. Consider the following use of tɔ́k ‘say; talk’ in a transitive (1277) and in an intransitive clause (1278):

(1277) Bikɔs yu dɔ́n tɔ́k wán bád tɔ́k, e sé

because 2sg prf talk one bad word 3sg.sbj quot

‘gɔ́d háma yu mɔ́t!’

God hammer 2sg mouth

‘Because you have said something bad, she says

“God may hammer your mouth!”’ [au07se 030]

(1278) Sé ‘a bin sí bɔt a nó fít tɔ́k.’

quot 1sg.sbj pst see but 1sg.sbj neg can talk.

‘(He) said “I saw (it) but I couldn’t talk”.’ [kw03sb 167]

Another verb that may be used in this way is síng ‘síng’ (1279):

(1279) E de síng na Píchi.

3sg.sbj ipfv síng loc Pichi

‘He sings in Pichi.’ [au07se 233]

Likewise, the effected non-specific objects of verbs denoting a process of production may remain unexpressed. Compare só ‘sew’ (1280)–(1281) and kúk ‘cook’ (1282)–(1283) in the transitive and intransitive sentence pairs below:

(1280) (...) wé yu nó nó to fíks wán klós, to só wán klós (...)

sub 2sg neg know to fix one clothing to sew one clothing

‘(...) when you don’t know how to fix a dress, to sew a dress (...)’ [hi03cb 120]

(1281) Di sastre de só.

def tailor ipfv sew

‘The tailor is sewing.’ [dj07ae 353]

(1282) E kin kúk súp.

3sg.sbj hab cook soup

‘He cooks soups.’ [ye03cd 086]

(1283) Di húman kán na hós di áwa wé a de kúk.

def woman come loc house def hour sub 1sg.sbj ipfv cook

‘The woman came to the house at the time when I was cooking.’ [ro05de 022]

Affected-agent verbs are also lower on the scale of semantic transitivity than prototypical transitive verbs, because the actors are themselves affected by the situation in addition to the undergoer. In this group, we find transitive motion verbs like rích ‘reach; arrive’ (1284)–(1285) and gó ‘go (away)’ (1286)–(1287), whose goal objects may remain unexpressed:

(1284) Yu nɛ́a rích Lubá?

2sg neg.prf arrive place

‘You’ve not yet been to Luba?’ [li07re 058]

(1285) E dɔ́n rích.

3sg.sbj prf arrive

‘He has arrived.’ [dj07ae 356]

(1286) Bueno, a de gó mákit náw.

good 1sg.sbj ipfv go market now

‘Alright, I’m going to the market now.’ [ro05fe 047]

(1287) A go gó.

1sg.sbj pot go

‘I’ll (eventually) go.’ [ra07se 097]

Typical affected-agent verbs are the ingestive verbs chɔ́p (1288) ‘eat’ and dríng ‘drink’ (1289). These two transitive verbs are usually encountered without a patient object when its reference is non-specific. Note that object omission with dríng in combination with a habitual reading renders the idiomatic meaning ‘habitually drink alcohol’:

(1288) A kán chɔ́p.

1sg.sbj pfv eat

‘(Then) I ate.’ [ed03sb 016]

(1289) Dí pɔ́sin de dríng, na chak-mán.

this person ipfv drink foc drink.cpd-man

‘This person drinks, he’s a drunkard.’ [dj07ae 363]

A final group of affected-agent verbs denote sensory perception, as well as mental and physical activities. Verbs belonging to this group that regularly occur without an overt non-specific object are lúk ‘look’ and hía ‘hear, understand’ and sabí/nó ‘know’ and sí ‘see’.

When sí ‘see; perceive’ occurs without an object, its non-specific reading may translate as ‘understand’ or ‘witness’ (cf. e.g. (1278)). However, sí is also very often encountered in a non-specific context with a 3sg object pronoun (1290) or an object NP di tín ‘the thing’ (1291). Both of these objects are only faintly referential and therefore appear to function as dummy objects in very much the same way as non-referential subjects with expletive verbs (cf. 9.2.4):

(1290) Yɛ́s, yu de sí=an?

yes 2sg ipfv see=3sg.obj

‘Yes, do you understand?’ [dj05ae 188]

(1291) Yu sí di tín?

2sg see def thing

‘You see?’ [ur05fn 013]

The cognition verb mɛ́mba often appears without an explicit object with its meaning of ‘remember’ (1292):

(1292) A nó de mɛ́mba.

1sg.sbj neg ipfv remember

‘I don’t remember.’ [fr03ft 047]

However, when mɛ́mba occurs in a transitive clause, it is best translated as ‘think of’, both with a specific object (1293) and a non-specific one (1294):

(1293) A kin mɛ́mba yú bɔkú.

1sg.sbj hab think 2sg.indp much

‘I think of you a lot.’ [nn05fn 045 ]

(1294) Nó hambɔ́g mí, a de mɛ́mba sɔn tín!

neg bother 1sg.indp 1sg.sbj ipfv think some thing

‘Don’t bother me, I’m thinking about something!’ [fr 05fn 111]

Likewise, verbs denoting physical activities often occur with unexpressed objects. Consider plé ‘play’ in (1295):

(1295) Bɔt wi fít de plé a jám yú yu fɔdɔ́n.

but 1pl can ipfv play 1sg.sbj make.contact 2sg.indp 2sg fall

‘But we could be playing [football], I hit you (and) you fall.’ [au07se 178]

The non-specific objects of verbs denoting the characteristic property of an agent often remain unexpressed. A sense of non-specificity permeates the following example featuring the verb bɛt ‘bite’. It manifests itself in the use of the bare noun dɔ́g ‘dog’, the presence of the habitual aspect marker kin and the absence of an overt object:

(1296) Dɔ́g kin bɛ́t.

dog hab bite

‘Dogs bite.’ [dj07ae 371]

### Unexpressed reflexive and reciprocal nominals

Pichi speakers may make use of the reflexive anaphor sɛ́f or a body part noun in order to express reflexivity and recprocity (cf. 9.3.5 and 9.3.6). There are also verbs that allow a reflexive interpretation but do not generally occur with a reflexive pronoun. Verbs whose reflexive pronouns usually remain unexpressed instantiate “middle voice” (Kemmer 1993) and denote situations that imply volition and instigation by the agent, involve physical action of the agent upon her/himself, or imply movement of the body.

The following examples involve the “body care” verbs wás ‘wash’ (1297), báf ‘bathe’ (1298), and wɛ́r ‘dress (up)’ (1231). Note that wɛ́r takes an object in (1300) and still implies reflexivity:

(1297) Dɛn de kán sé dɛn kán wás.

3pl ipfv come quot 3pl come wash

‘They come to wash themselves.’ [nn07fn 145]

(1298) Yu dɔ́n báf?

2sg prf bathe

‘Have you bathed?’ [dj07ae 377]

(1299) A wɛ́r.

1sg.sbj wear

‘I’m dressed up.’ [ye05ae 233]

(1300) Na lɛk if yu wɛ́r sɔ́t di gud-sáy

foc like if 2sg wear shirt def good.cpd-side

wet di rɔn-sáy.

with def wrong.cpd-side

‘That’s like if you put on a shirt the right way and inside out.’ [au07se 049]

In principle, these verbs may also occur with a reflexive pronoun, although they do so less frequently. Compare the usage of wás ‘wash (oneself)’ and wɛ́r ‘dress (up)’ in the following sentences:

(1301) Wás yu skín!

wash 2sg body

‘Wash yourself!’ [dj07ae 504]

(1302) Djunais wɛ́r in sɛ́f.

name wear 3sg.poss self

‘Djunais has dressed up.’ [dj07ae 375]

The basic posture verbs slíp ‘lie (down); sleep’, tínap ‘stand (up)’ and sidɔ́n ‘sit (down)’ are never encountered with a reflexive pronoun in the corpus (cf. 8.1.3 for an extensive treatment). In contrast, verbs denoting less prototypical postures, e.g. líng ‘lean over’ and bɛ́n ‘bend (over)’ in (1303)–(1304), as well as those denoting other types of body-related events, e.g. háyd ‘hide’ in (1305)–(1306) are found with or without reflexive pronouns:

(1303) E de wáka e bɛ́n.

3sg.sbj ipfv walk 3sg.sbj bend

‘He is walking stooped over.’ [ra07se 080]

(1304) Sé dɛn líng dɛn sɛ́f ɔ fɔ lɛk háw

quot 3pl lean 3pl self or prep like how

dɛn bɛ́n dɛn sɛ́f?

3pl bend 3pl self

‘That they’re leaning (onto something) or how

they’re stooped over?’ [dj07re 026]

(1305) A kán háyd ínsay hós.

1sg.sbj pfv hide inside house

‘(Then) I hid in the house.’ [dj07ae 382]

(1306) A háyd mi sɛ́f na hós.

1sg.sbj hide 1sg.poss self loc house

‘I hid myself in the house.’ [dj07ae 383]

Other verbs in this group that occur with or without reflexive pronouns are the synonymous verbs bló ‘rest’ or rɛ́s ‘rest’:

(1307) A de bló ɔ a de rɛ́s.

1sg.sbj ipfv relax or 1sg.sbj ipfv rest

‘I’m relaxing or I’m resting.’ [dj07ae 030]

(1308) A wánt gó rɛ́s mi sɛ́f.

1sg.sbj want go rest 1sg.poss self

‘I want to go rest.’ [dj07ae 379]

(1309) A wánt gó bló mi sɛ́f.

1sg.sbj want go relax 1sg.poss self

‘I want to go rest.’ [dj07ae 380]

Verbs with an inherently reciprocal meaning may appear with or without the reflexive and reciprocal anaphor sɛ́f ‘self’. Consider the use of reciprocal sɛ́f with the sexual act denoting verbs nák ‘knock’ (1310) and slíp ‘sleep with’ (1311), as well as the unexpressed reciprocal pronoun in (1312). These examples also illustrate that sexual act denoting verbs, including highly transitive ones like nák, do not imply a male agent in Pichi:

(1310) (...) wi nák wi sɛ́f.

1pl knock 1pl self

‘(...) we knocked each other.’ [dj07ae 300]

(1311) Ínsay di motó, na dé unu de slíp unu sɛ́f?

inside def car foc there 2pl ipfv sleep 2pl self

*‘*In the car, that’s where you sleep with each other?’ [ro05rt 020]

(1312) Una slíp?

2pl sleep

‘You slept (with each other)?’ [fr03wt 028]

Conversely, the inherently reciprocal verbs of social interaction mít ‘meet’ and mítɔp ‘meet’ do not normally occur with the anaphor sɛ́f (1313)–(1314):

(1313) E tɛ́l mí sé wi kin mítɔp ínsay wán motó.

3sg.sbj tell 1sg.indp quot 1pl hab meet inside one car

‘He told me “we usually meet inside a car”.’ [ro05rt 019]

(1314) Áfta wi kán mít layk wán seis años después.

then 1pl pfv meet like one six years afterwards

‘Then we met some six years later.’ [fr03ft 191]

Nevertheless, like other inherently reciprocal verbs, mít and mítɔp may take part in a reciprocal alternation (cf. also fɛ́t ‘fight’ in (1090)ff.). The two participants may be expressed as coordinate subjects in an intransitive clause while reciprocity is understood. Compare the transitive use of mít ‘meet’ in (1315), with its intransitive use with two coordinate subjects in (1316):

(1315) Pero e mít mi gran-má.

but 3sg.sbj meet 1sg.poss grand-ma

‘But he met my grandmother.’ [fr03ft 085]

(1316) Mí wet Djunais wi mítɔp.

1sg.indp with name 1pl meet

‘Me and Djunais (we) met.’ [dj07ae 092]

A further example for this alternation is provided with fíba ‘resemble’ in the following transitive and intransitive sentences:

(1317) Djunais fíba Boyé.

name resemble name

‘Djunais resembles Boyé.’ [dj08ae 397]

(1318) Djunais wet Boyé dɛn fíba.

name with name 3pl resemble

‘Djunais and Boyé (they) resemble (each other).’ [dj07ae 393]

### Causative constructions

A lexically restricted means of expressing causation in Pichi is the use of labile verbs in transitive clauses (cf. 9.2.3). Pichi also features inherently causative verbs like kíl ‘kill’, which pairs with dáy ‘die’ in a semantic relation of causation. In this section, we are, however, only concerned with fully productive means of causative expression in Pichi.

Pichi causative constructions are periphrastic and involve the use of subordinate predication. Hence, the causative verb is realised as a main verb to a subordinate predicate of effect. Table 9.12 summarises the majority patterns of causative formation in Pichi. Minor variations to these patterns are discussed below:

Table 9.12 Causative constructions

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Function | Causative verb | Expression of causee | Expression of effect |
| Causative | mék ‘make’ | Subject of sbjv clause | Subjunctive clause |
| Permissive causative | lɛ́f ‘leave’ | Object of lɛ́f and simultaneously subject of sbjv clause | Subjunctive clause |
| Resultative causative | lɛ́f ‘leave’ | Object of lɛ́f | Resultative complement |

Causative and permissive constructions are formed with the two verbs mék ‘make’ and lɛ́f ‘leave; permit’. Examples (1319)–(1320) present their use in non-causative transitive clauses:

(1319) Yu fít mék mí wán café?

2sg can make 1sg.indp one coffee

‘Can you make me a coffee?’ [ye07ga 034]

(1320) A sé a nó fít lɛ́f=an.

1sg.sbj quot 1sg.sbj neg can leave=3sg.obj

‘I said I can’t leave her (behind).’ [ab03ay 143]

Two types of causative constructions can be distinguished on formal grounds (cf. Yakpo 2012b; 2017). The most common type of causative construction in Pichi inolves a “balanced” structure (Cristofaro 2003). The causative event is expressed in two finite clauses and the causative verb and the verb-of-effect are linked in a relation of subordination. Example (1321) below features the (inanimate) causer NP lotería ‘lottery’, the causative main verb mék ‘make’, the causee NP mi mɔní ‘my money’, and the subordinate verb-of-effect bɔkú ‘be much’. The subordinate status of the effect situation is evident through its appearance in a subjunctive clause introduced by the modal complementiser and subjunctive marker mék ‘sbjv’:

(1321) Lotería dɔ́n **mék** **mék** mi mɔní **bɔkú**.

lottery prf make sbjv 1sg.poss money be.much

‘The lottery has made my money become a lot.’ [dj07ae 198]

The second type of causative construction involves a “deranked” (Cristofaro 2003) or “reduced” (Lehmann 1988) structure and argument sharing. The causee (here *=an* ‘3sg.obj’) is the syntactic object of the causative main verb *mék* and at once the notional subject of the subordinate verb-of-effect *gó* as in (1322). This construction is marginal in terms of frequency, and only attested with Group 1 speakers (cf. 1.3). I could not identify any semantic differences between the two types of caustive constructions:

(1322) A go mék =an gó tumɔ́ro.

1sg.sbj pot make=3sg.obj go tomorrow

‘I’ll make him go tomorrow.’ [to05fn 030]

Both transitive and intransitive verbs may be causativised. Example (1323) features a causative construction with the intransitive verb of effect bɛ́lch ‘belch’ and (1324) one with the transitive verb wích ‘bewitch’. Like all complement clauses, the subjunctive clause in these constructions can optionally be introduced by the quotative marker sé ‘quot’ in addition to mék ‘sbjv’ (1324):

(1323) A níd fɔ drink sɔn tín wé de mék

1sg.sbj need prep drink some thing sub ipfv make

mék a bɛ́lch

sbjv 1sg.sbj belch

‘I need to drink something that will make me belch.’ [ye07ga 029]

(1324) Na ín mék sé mék dɛn wích=an.

foc 3sg.indp make quot sbjv 3pl bewitch=3sg.obj

‘That’s why he was bewitched.’ [ru03wt 011]

Sentence (1325) illustrates the two options for rendering causative meaning with labile verbs. Before the comma, the verb drɔ́ngo ‘be/get drunk’ is used as a transitive and causative verb followed by the patient object pronoun =an ‘3sg.obj’. In the second half of the sentence, causative meaning is expressed periphrastically through the mék causative construction. When the second option is used, the speaker may want to express that causation is less direct. Meanwhile, the use of the transitive variant of a labile verb implies a direct, possibly even physical implication of the causer:

(1325) A drɔ́ngor=an, a mék mék e drɔ́ngo.

1sg.sbj get.drunk=3sg.obj 1sg.sbj make sbjv 3sg.sbj be.drunk

‘I got him drunk, I made him drunk.’ [dj07ae 053]

The following example illustrates the causative use of the ditransitive transfer gí ‘give’ in a double-object construction:

(1326) E bin mék mék a gí di gɛ́l di plantí.

3sg.sbj pst make sbjv 1sg.sbj give def girl def plantain

‘She made me give the girl the plantain.’ [dj05be 003]

There are no restrictions on negation in causative constructions. The causative verb in the main clause (1327) as well as the verb of effect in the subordinate clause (1328) may be negated:

(1327) Pút di watá pero nó mék mék e fɔdɔ́n nado.

put def water but neg make sbjv 3sg.sbj fall outside

‘Put the water (inside) but don’t make it fall outside (the vessel).’ [dj05be 169]

(1328) Fít sifta ín sóté tú tɛ́n mék mék

can sieve 3sg.indp until two time make sbjv

dán smɔ́l smɔ́l watá dɛn nó lɛ́f.

that small small water pl neg remain

‘(You) can sift it up to two times to make none of that little

water remain.’ [dj03do 008]

There are instances in which TMA marking in the subjunctive clause of effect is not reduced as it usually is in a subjunctive clause (cf. 10.5.1). These instances involve the idiomatic expressions na ín mék/na di tín mék ‘that’s why’ and the question phrase wétin mék ‘why’.

Hence, the subordinate clauses in (1329) and (1330) feature regular TMA marking via dɔ́n ‘prf’ and de ‘ipfv’, respectively, instead of subjunctive marking. Nonetheless, even these idioms are occasionally conceived of as regular causative constructions with the reduced TMA marking characteristic of subjunctive subordinate clauses (cf. (1324) above):

(1329) Na ín mék dɔtí dɔ́n plɛ́nte.

foc 3sg.indp make dirty prf plenty

‘That’s why the dirt has become so much.’ [hi03cb 033]

(1330) Wétin mék yu nó de wók tidé?

what make 2sg neg ipfv work today

‘Why aren’t you working today?’ [ro05ee 016]

The subjunctive marker mék also introduces the complement clauses of other main verbs, which – like the causative verb mék ‘make’ – induce deontic modality over their subordinate clauses. One such main verb is wánt ‘want’ (1331) (cf. 10.5.5 for a full treatment of the functions of mék ‘sbjv’ in subordinate clauses):

(1331) Ús=sáy yu wánt mék di smók kɔmɔ́t?

q=side 2sg want sbjv def smoke come.out

‘Where do you want the smoke to come out?’ [ye07fn 123]

Besides that, mék ‘sbjv’ introduces purpose and certain types of consecutive clauses (cf. 10.7.6) as well as imperatives and other types of directive main clauses (cf. 6.7.3.3). The conflation of these functions in the element mék represents a case in which the semantic linkages within a functional domain are actually instantiated in a single form (cf. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994:213–30; Song 2001:25–33).

The verb lɛ́f ‘leave; remain’ is employed as a causative verb in the formation of permissive causatives. This type of causative is usually formed differently from the causative proper, i.e. constructions featuring the causative verb mék ‘make’. The effect situation is also expressed in a subjunctive clause. Yet, it is commonplace to express the causee as the object of lɛ́f and reiterate it as the subject of the subordinate subjunctive clause.

Consider the following two permissives and compare them with a causative construction like (1323) above. In (1323), the causative verb mék takes no object pronoun mí ‘1sg.indp’ that is co-referential with the subject a ‘1sg.sbj’ of the subjunctive clause:

(1332) A lɛ́f mi pikín mék e gó Panyá.

1sg.sbj leave 1sg.poss child sbjv 3sg.sbj go Spain

‘I allowed my child to go to Spain.’ [dj07ae 443]

(1333) Seis años, lɛ́f=an mék e wɛ́r klós,

six year.pl leave=3sg.obj sbjv 3sg.sbj wear clothing

mék e gó báy in brɛ́d.

sbjv 3sg.sbj go buy 3sg.poss bread

‘(At) six years, let him dress up (by himself), let him go buy his (own) bread.’ [ab03ab 151]

The verb lɛ́f ‘leave; remain’ is also employed in the formation of resultative causatives. Resultative causative constructions serve to causativise stative situations denoted by property items, as well as stative situatons denoted by the identity copulas na/nóto and bí and their complements in equative clauses. Resultative causative constructions do not feature a subordinate clause. Instead, the effect situation is expressed as a resultative complement to the causative verb lɛ́f (cf. 11.3 for resultative adjuncts in secondary predicate constructions).

Sentence (1334) features the property item yún ‘be young’. The resultative causative equivalent in (1335) features the causer e ‘3sg.sbj’ = ‘it’ (i.e. ‘the clothing’), the causee yú ‘2sg.indp’, which is an object to lɛ́f ‘leave’, as well as the resultative complement yún ‘young’. The verb lɛ́f in these constructions may either be used as an inchoative-stative verb, as in (1335), or a dynamic verb, as in (1339) below, where lɛ́f is specified by de ‘ipfv’:

(1334) Dís húman yún yét.

this woman be.young yet

‘This woman is still young.’ [ro05fe 014]

(1335) E lɛ́f yú yún.

3sg.sbj leave 2sg.indp be.young

‘It makes/made you (appear) young.’ [dj07ae 197]

Example (1336) presents a non-causative predication involving the inchoative-stative property item kɔrɛ́t ‘be correct’. The resultative causative counterpart in (1337) features the force causer gɔ́d ‘God’, the causative verb lɛ́f ‘leave’, and the resultative complement kɔrɛ́t ‘(be) correct’:

(1336) Dí wán nó kɔrɛ́t.

this one neg be.correct

This one is not correct.’ [dj07ae 188]

(1337) Gɔ́d go lɛ́f di mán kɔrɛ́t.

God pot leave def man be.correct

‘God will make this man righteous.’ [dj07ae 202]

Sentence (1338) is an equative clause featuring the identity copula/focus marker na ‘foc. The causative equivalent in (1339) once more features the resultative causative verb lɛ́f, as well as the compound noun and resultative complement yun-bɔ́y ‘young.cpd-boy’:

(1338) Di húman na yun-gɛ́l.

def woman foc be.young.cdp-girl

‘The woman is a young woman.’ [ro05fe 013]

(1339) Di klós dɛn de lɛ́f yú yun-bɔ́y.

def clothing pl ipfv leave 2sg.indp be.young.cpd-boy

‘These clothes make you (appear) a young man.’ [dj07ae 196]

An interesting semantic aspect of the use of resultative causatives is that they are not attested with human causers occupying the agent role. All recorded instances of resultative causatives feature inanimate force causers in the subject position. I assume that speakers prefer to employ causative constructions featuring mék ‘make’ where the causer is human, or where they intend to convey a notion of strong agency on the part of the causer even if it is inanimate (e.g. sentence (1321) above with the force causer lotería ‘lottery’ and the property item bɔkú ‘be much’ as a verb of effect).

The verb pút ‘put’ is also used as a causative verb in a few instances in the corpus. In (1340) below, pút is employed like lɛ́f in (1335) and (1339) above in order to express the resultative causative equivalent of a non-causative equative clause. The sentence contains the non-causative equative clause yu húman na bíg húman ‘your wife is an important woman’ and the causative equivalent pút yu sɛ́f bíg mán ‘make yourself an important man’:

(1340) Ɛf yu húman na bíg húman, e hád fɔ

if 2sg woman foc big woman 3sg.sbj hard prep

pút yu sɛ́f bíg mán.

put 2sg self big man

‘If your wife is an important woman, it is difficult to make yourself

an important man.’ [ma03hm 083]

### Impersonal constructions

A backgrounding passive may be formed by using impersonal dɛn ‘3pl’ in the subject position. To begin with, the 3pl personal pronoun dɛn may be used generically to refer to a loosely specified collective. Example (1341) features the generic, impersonal use of dɛn in a transitive clause:

(1341) Dɛn de wɛ́r wáyt ɔ́p violeta dɔ́n.

3pl ipfv wear white up violet down

‘They [the pupils] wear white up (and) violet down.’ [ma03hm 032]

The pronoun dɛn is also used impersonally with verbs characterised by a higher degree of semantic transitivity. In clauses with verbs that presuppose a volitional, instigating, and animate agent and an affected patient, impersonal use of dɛn serves to background a non-specific agent:

(1342) Esto na wán ɔ́da kɔ́ntri, dɛn go púl yú inmediatamente,

this loc one other country 3pl pot remove 2sg.indp immediately

dɛn de púl yú wók.

3pl ipfv remove 2sg.indp work

‘This in another country, they would remove you immediately, they

would remove you from your job.’ [ye03cd 077]

The following two sentences exemplify the pragmatic and syntactic rearrangements which go along with the use of the labile property item strét ‘be straight; straighten’ in an intransitive (1343) and a transitive clause (1344), respectively. In the intransitive clause, the subject ród ‘road’ is patient to the inchoative-stative verb strét. In the transitive clause, impersonal dɛn in subject position denotes the backgrounded agent, while the patient ród is now in object position:

(1343) Di ród strét.

def road be.straight

‘The road is straight.’ [dj07ae 122]

(1344) Dɛn dɔ́n strét di ród.

3pl prf straighten def road

‘The road has been straightened.’ [dj07ae 123]

Impersonal dɛn always refers to an unspecified group of animate, usually human agents. The lower the agent is on the animacy scale, and hence its capacity of volition and instigation, the less likely it is to be referred to by impersonal dɛn. For example, (1345) sounds akward, since the backgrounded agent is construed as animate and human. A situation involving a non-human agent like snék ‘snake’ is therefore more likely to be expressed through an ‘active’ clause with a foregrounded agent in subject position (1346):

(1345) ?Dɛn bɛ́t=an na fám.

3pl bite=3sg.obj loc farm

?She was bitten on the farm. [li07fn 098]

(1346) Snék bɛ́t=an na fám.

snake bite=3sg.obj loc farm

‘A snake bit her on the farm.’ [li05fn 099]

However, impersonal dɛn does not retain its plural reference by default. Sentence (1347) was elicited by means of the “caused positions” video clip series of the Language and Cognition Group of the Max Planck Insitute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen. In all preceding clips, the agent of a series of actions had been a single individual. Nonetheless, the following sentence was given in response to a still image showing a pot lying upside down on a table:

(1347) Dɛn pút=an mɔ́t dɔ́n fɔ di tébul.

3pl put=3sg.obj mouth down prep def table

‘It has been put mouth-down on the table.’ [li07pe 089]

Impersonal dɛn is subject to some morphosyntactic restrictions inherent to the non-specific nature of the pronoun. Impersonal dɛn may not be focused, relativised, or subjected to other operations which require specific reference.

Agent-backgrounding may also be achieved via the use of generic, non-specific, and non-referential nouns like pɔ́sin ‘person’ and mán ‘man; human-being’. The generic noun pɔ́sin ‘person; human-being’ may occur as an agent subject in transitive clauses and function like impersonal dɛn ‘3pl’. The noun pɔ́sin refers to a backgrounded non-specific human agent. Compare the use of pɔ́sin and dɛn in these two near-identical sentences:

(1348) Pɔ́sin go entiende bɔt e nó dé bien.

person pot understand but 3sg.sbj neg be.loc good

‘One would understand but it’s not correct.’ [dj05be 043]

(1349) Dɛn go hía ín bɔt e nó só dé claro.

3pl pot hear 3sg.indp but 3sg.sbj neg like.that be.loc clear

‘It would be understood but it’s not so clear.’ [ye0502e2 050]

In addition to dɛn ‘3pl’, other personal pronouns are also sometimes used with weak reference. Example (1350) features the use of wi ‘1pl’ in the idiom which serves as a response to the enquiry ‘how are you?’. Also compare the use of wi in (1351):

(1350) Wi de pús=an.

1pl ipfv push=3sg.obj

‘I’m managing.’ [*Lit*. ‘We’re pushing it.’] [ur07fn 100]

(1351) Na lɛkɛ wí náw, wi de tɔ́k Panyá, wi go

foc like 1pl.indp now 1pl ipfv talk Spanish 1pl pot

nó sé dís pɔ́sin, na nigeriano.

know quot this person foc Nigerian

‘It’s like with us now, (if) we spoke Spanish, we would know

that this person, is Nigerian.’ [ma03hm 045]

Likewise, the impersonal backgrounded use of yu ‘2sg’ is common in procedural texts (1352):

(1352) Dé, ɛ́ni káyn tín na mɔní, yu fít mék

there every kind thing foc money 2sg can make

ɛ́ni káyn tín yu go sí mɔní.

every kind thing 2sg pot see money

‘There, everything is money, you can do anything (and)

you’ll earn money.’ [ma03hm 054]

Finally, the copula and focus marker na ‘foc’ may be used to construct purpose-like clauses with impersonal reference with an obligation reading in combination with the prepositions fɔ ‘prep’ or to ‘to’ and a subsequent verb without person-marking (1353):

(1353) Na fɔ tík=an mɔ́.

foc prep thicken=3sg.obj more

‘It has to be thickened more.’ [dj07ae 151]

(1354) Na to inicia ín.

foc to initiate 3sg.indp

‘He has to be initiated [to social life in Malabo].’

# Clause linkage

Relations between clauses may be established in various ways in order to form complex clauses consisting of more than one verb. A relation between clauses can be expressed by using linking adverbials and anaphoric pronouns (10.1). Adjacent clauses may also be linked by continuative intonation alone, or in combination with the other means available (10.8). Clause linkers may be employed in order to form complex coordinate (10.3), complement (10.5), relative (10.6), and adverbial clauses (10.7).

The resulting constructions are syntactically integrated to varying degrees. For instance, subjunctive clauses introduced by mék ‘sbjv’ (10.5.5), purpose clauses introduced by *fɔ* ‘prep’, and complement clauses introduced by *fɔ* ‘prep’ or *de* ‘ipfv’ are less finite and arguably syntactically subordinate to their main clauses. At the same time, it is not very useful to posit a relation of syntactic subordination between clauses in many (other) adverbial relations. In these structures, the linked clauses retain their full potential for the expression of person, tense, aspect, and modality (e.g. the various types of adverbial clauses introduced by wé ‘sub’, cf. 10.7.1). Clauses may also be linked in multiverb constructions, which are covered separately in section 10.8.

## Linking adverbs and anaphor

Linking adverbs occur at the beginning of a clause and ensure referential continuity with a preceding clause, often in combination with continuative intonation. Recurrent linking elements are áfta ‘then; afterwards’, bɔt ‘but’, the phrasal adverbial dán tɛ́n ‘(at) that time’, as well as the anaphoric phrase na ín ‘foc 3sg.indp’.

The adverb áfta ‘then; afterwards’ relates a situation with a previous one. It can be employed in ways very similar to that of certain clause linkers in prosodically more integrated constructions involving the clause linker wé ‘sub’ (cf. 10.7.1). In the following sentence, áfta and wé both establish a link of temporal succession with the preceding clause. Both elements are preceded by continuative intonation (indicated by a comma):

(1355) Yu gó yu pé, siete mil yu baja, áfta yu fínis yu sube ,

2sg go 2sg pay seven thousand 2sg go.down then 2sg finish 2sg go.up

wé yu de pák mɔ́ siete mil, wé yu sube.

sub 2sg ipfv pack more seven thousand sub 2sg go.up

‘You go, you pay, seven thousand, you go down, then you finish, you

go up and take seven thousand again and go up.’ [f203fp 012]

Example (1356) shows how the sequential meaning of áfta can be read as a result relation in combination with continuative intonation:

(1356) A nó sabí ús=tín bin kán pás, áfta e gó

1sg.sbj neg know q=thing pst pfv pass then 3sg.sbj go

na hospital.

loc hospital

‘I don’t know what happened that he went to (the) hospital.’ [ye03cd 074]

The adverb áfta may also introduce the then-clause of reality conditionals in which the if-clause is introduced by lɛ́k ‘like’ (1357):

(1357) Lɛk náw, lɛk Boyé só na mi mán, áfta mi sísta

like now like name like.that foc 1sg.poss man then 1sg.poss sister

go kɔ́l=an sé, wé e go kán, ‘ús=sáy mi

pot call=3sg.obj quot sub 3sg.sbj pot come q=side 1sg.poss

brɔda-lɔ́ dé?

brother.cpd-law be.loc

‘Suppose now, suppose Boyé here were my husband, then my sister would

call him, if she came, “where’s my brother-in-law?”’ [ro05de 005]

Example (1358) shows how the sequential meaning of áfta can be read as a reason relation:

(1358) Ɛf yu sí sé, sɔn sáy di plés klín, áfta dɛn de dú

if 2sg see quot some side def place be.clean then 3pl ipfv do

di tín dɛn fáyn, yu nó go bísin ɛf yu gasta mɔní.

def thing pl fine 2sg neg pot be.busy if 2sg spend money

‘If you see that, somewhere the place is clean and/ because things are done well,

you don’t bother if you spend money.’ [ma03hm 066]

The phrasal adverbial dán tɛ́n ‘at that time’ also relates a situation to a preceding one. In (1359)(b), dán tɛ́n indicates a temporal relation of simultaneity with the preceding clause (a):

(1359) a. E mít mi antí.

3sg.sbj meet 1sg.poss aunt

‘He met my aunt.’ [fr03ft 086]

b. Dán tɛ́n mi antí gɛ́t bɛlɛ́.

that time 1sg.poss aunt get belly

‘At that time my aunt was pregnant.’ [fr03ft 087]

The phrase na ín, consisting of the focus marker na and the emphatic 3sg pronoun ín establishes various types of anaphoric relationships (cf. also 7.4.3.3). In (1360), a temporal interpretation is favoured due to the presence of the adverbial las doce ‘twelve (o’clock)’:

(1360) Bikɔs ín de sé, ɛ́ni las doce na ín in

because 3sg.indp ipfv quot every the.pl twelve foc 3sg.indp 3sg.poss

abuela kin kán kɔ́l=an.

grandmother hab come call=3sg.obj

‘Because she would say, always at twelve o’clock, that’s when her

grandmother used to come and call her.’ [ed03sb 150]

## Clause linkers

Next to the use of anaphors, intonation, and SVCs, Pichi employs a large array of clause linkers to express relations between clauses. Linkers that serve to introduce adverbial clauses more specialised in their meanings are dealt with in 10.7. At the same time, most types of relations, including adverbial ones, can be expressed by one, or a combination of, the multifunctional elements wé ‘sub’, sé ‘quot’, mék ‘sbjv’, and fɔ ‘prep’.

These four linkers have multiple, partially overlapping functions, which are mapped in Figure 10.1. The ways in which these four linkers introduce different types of clauses are covered in the following sections of this chapter:

Figure 10.1 Functions of *fɔ*, *mék*, *wé*, and *sé* by clause type

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  |  | Serial verb construction |  |  |  |  |  | | |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | | |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | | |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | Purpose |  |  |  |  |  | | |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | | |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | Complement |  |  |  | Quotative | Naming | | |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | | |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | | |  |  |
|  | Relative |  |  |  | Time  Reality conditional |  |  |  |  |  | | |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | Manner  Circumstance |  |  |  | Cause |  | | |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | Concessive |  |  |  |  |  | | |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | Adversative |  |  |  |  | fɔ |  | *mék* | | |
|  |  |  |  |  | Coordinate |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | | |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | *wé* |  | *sé* | | |
|  |  |  |  | Independent clause | | |  |  |  |  |  |  | | |

## Coordination

Coordinate clauses may be linked by way of intonation as well as the linkers wé ‘sub’ and an ‘and’. In (1361), bús ‘forest’ bears a continuative boundary tone, which links the clause to the following one after the comma:

(1361) Só e gó na bús, e sé e de

so 3sg.sbj pot loc forest 3sg.sbj quot 3sg.sbj ipfv

gó kíl bíf.

go kill wild.animal

‘So he went to the forest, (and) he said he was going to kill

wild game.’ [ma03sh 004]

The clause linker wé ‘sub’ can, amongst its other uses, link coordinate clauses. The preposition wet ‘with’ may only conjoin NPs (cf. 5.5), hence an important function of wé is to serve as a clausal connective that can be translated as ‘and (then)’. The formal differentiation between NP and clausal coordination in Pichi corresponds to an areal (West) African pattern (Mithun 1988:349–353).

In the following excerpt from a personal narrative, the first wé ‘sub’ in (b) establishes a link (b) to the preceding clause (a) after a clause-final declarative intonation (indicated by the full stop). At the same time, context suggests a more temporal meaning of ‘when’ of the second wé in (b). Clause (c) resumes the narrative after declarative intonation at the end of (b):

(1362) a. Áfta na mi gran-má a bin de kɔ́l mamá.

then foc 1sg.poss grand-ma 1sg.sbj pst ipfv call mother

‘So it’s my grandmother that I used to call mother.’ [fr03ft 016]

b. Wé wi kán kán na tɔ́n, **wé** a bigín gó skúl,

sub 1pl pfv come loc town sub 1sg.sbj begin go school

wé a bin gɛ́t, a tínk sé seis años.

sub 1sg.sbj pst get 1sg.sbj think quot six years

And then we came to town, and then I began to go to school, when I was,

I think six years old.’ [fr03ft 017]

c. A bigín gó skúl

1sg.sbj begin go school

‘I began going to school.’ [fr03ft 018]

The sequential and temporal meanings of wé ‘sub’ in clauses like (1362)(b) above may extend into contiguous meanings such as adversative (1363). The various related meanings of wé in these contexts may blur beyond recognition the demarcation between the coordinate clauses described in this section and the adverbial clauses covered in 10.7.1.

(1363) a. Frijoles yɛ́s frijoles.

bean.pl yes bean.pl

‘[The Cubans call them] frijoles, yes frijoles.’ [ed03sp 119]

b. Wé yá só, frijoles na haricot na yá.

sub here like.that bean.pl foc bean loc here

‘While here, frijoles is haricot here.’ [ed03sp 120]

The quotative marker sé ‘quot’ also functions as a sequential connective and clause coordinator in ways very similar to wé ‘sub’ when it signals inner speech or “internal awareness” (Güldemann 2008:422ff.) and thereby often occurs without an overt subject as in (1364):

(1364) a. Dɛn de kɔ́l dís tín fɔ cacahuete,

3pl ipfv call this thing prep groundnut

dɛn de kɔ́l=an maní.

3pl ipfv call=3sg.obj ground.nut

‘They call this peanut thing, they call it “maní”.’ [ed03sp 082]

b. Sé mɔ́nin tɛ́n a go gó, a báy,

quot morning time 1sg.sbj pot go 1sg.sbj buy

a ték tú peso (...)

1sg.sbj take two peso

‘So in the morning, I would go and buy (it), I would take two pesos

(...)’ [ed03sp 083]

The element an ‘and’ may link NPs as well as coordinate clauses. Its use is, however, exceedingly rare, and speakers overwhelmingly favour coordinate structures linked by means of wé ‘sub’ or reduced clauses involving secondary predication (cf. 11.3):

(1365) E nák di tébul an di stáyl wé e nák di tébul strɔ́n,

3sg.sbj hit def table and def style sub 3sg.sbj hit def table be.strong

e kán sék di plét an di plét kán brók.

3sg.sbj pfv shake def plate and def plate pfv break

‘He hit the table and the way that he hit the table in a strong way,

he shook the plate, and the plate broke.’ [au07se 014]

The disjunctive coordinator ɔ ‘or’ may also link coordinate clauses, cf. (1408) for an example.

## Quotation

The element sé ‘quot’ is characterised by an exceptional polyfunctionality that includes use as a lexical verb ‘say’ and use as quotation marker for direct speech and naming, renders inner speech and internal awareness, introduces adverbial clauses of manner, circumstance, and purpose, and reaches into the domain of clausal complementation. Following (Güldemann 2008), I assume that the function as an index of direct reported speech lies at the heart of the functional versatility of sé ‘quot’.

The element sé occurs with a more lexical meaning of ‘say’. It may take TMA marking and at the same time predicate a quotative construction. In the following example, sé is employed as a speech verb. It is marked for potential mood by means of go ‘pot’ and introduces a direct quote:

(1366) Di dé wé yu go níd=an, yu go sé ‘a nó gɛ́t pamáyn’,

def day sub 2sg pot need=3sg.obj 2sg pot quot 1sg.sbj neg get oil

yu go kɔ́t gadinɛ́ks.

2sg pot cut egg-plant

‘The day that you will need it, you are going to say “I don’t have oil,” (and)

you will cut egg-plants.’ [ab03ay 015]

In the example below, the use of sé as a lexical verb ‘say’ coincides with the presence of habitual marking (i.e. kin ‘hab’). However, in the overwhelming majority of instances, sé remains bare, and hence marked for factative TMA, since quotative constructions by their very nature occur in reported, past-time discourse:

(1367) E kin sé ‘kán wi gó na Barca wi gó dríng.’

3sg.sbj hab quot come 1pl go loc place 1pl go drink

‘He usually says “come let’s go to Barca and drink”.’ [ro05rt 029]

The transition from a more lexical reading of sé to a more functional one is far from clear-cut (which is why I have opted for a unitary gloss of ‘quot’ in all contexts). First, distributional restrictions set sé apart from the true speech verbs tɔ́k ‘talk; say’ and tɛ́l ‘tell’. For instance, sé does not normally take a nominal object, as does tɔ́k. Compare (1368)(a) and (b)

(1368) a. \*Mék a sé wán wɔ́d.

sbjv 1sg.sbj quot one word

\*Let me say one word. [to07fn 219]

b. A tɔ́k wán wɔ́d.

1sg.sbj talk one word

‘I said one word.’ [to07fn 220]

Beyond that, adverbials do not usually modify sé ‘quot’ (1369)(a). Adverbials only appear as quoted complements indexed by sé (b). Again, there is no restriction on adverbial modification of the speech verb tɔ́k ‘talk; say’ (c):

(1369) a. \*A sé=an kwík.

1sg.sbj quot=3sg.obj quickly

\*I said it quickly.’ [to07fn 221]

b. A sé ‘kwík’.

1sg.sbj quot quickly

‘I said “quickly”.’ [to07fn 222]

c. A tɔ́k=an kwík

1sg.sbj talk=3sg.obj quickly

‘I said it quickly.’ [to07fn 223]

Secondly, sé ‘quot’ is not normally encountered as a verb in any type of MVC. Hence below, the speech verb tɔ́k ‘talk; say’ appears as verbal complement to the modal verb fít ‘can’. The appearance of sé in this position is not attested.

(1370) Yu fít tɔ́k ‘a de fíl di sɛ́nt fɔ lɛk háw

2sg can talk 1sg.sbj ipfv feel def scent prep like how

e de kúk di plantí’ ɔ ‘a de siente di sɛ́nt

3sg.sbj ipfv cook def plantain sp 1sg.sbj ipfv feel def scent

sé pɔ́sin de kúk plantí dé’.

quot person ipfv cook plantain there

‘You can say “I smell the scent of him cooking the plantain”, or “I smell

the scent that somebody is cooking plantain there”.’ [dj05ae 026]

Note that I do not analyse sé as a V2 of a complementation SVC when it functions as a complementiser to a verb like siente ‘feel’ above (cf. also 10.5.6). The peculiar distribution of sé as a speech “verb” and its broad functional domain, which extends far beyond complementation, may point to the fact that sé ‘quot’ did not start out as a speech verb in the first place. Instead, it is conceivable that the use of sé as a speech “verb” is derived from quotation just like its many other functions (cf. Güldemann 2008:272–275). In this view, the resemblance of sé with a purported English etymon sáy may be due either to chance or to the convergence of diverse etymologies and functions in one form.

The recurrent use of quotative clauses introduced by sé ‘quot’ with or without a preceding subject in order to render direct and inner speech is a conspicuous feature of longer stretches of narrative discourse. Direct speech in Pichi rarely serves the sole aim of giving neutral reports of utterances. One of its crucial functions is the creation of an atmosphere of vivacity and authenticity that builds up tension and draws listeners into the narrative. Compare (1371)(a)–(e), in which speaker (ed) recalls his difficulty in distinguishing a transsexual man from a woman:

(1371) a. A sé ‘na mán dís?’

1sg.sbj quot foc man this

‘I said “this is a man?”’ [ed03sb 222]

b. E sé ‘na mán.’

3sg.sbj quot foc man

‘He said “it’s a man”.’ [ed03sb 223]

c. A sé ‘yu de krés mán.’

1sg.sbj quot 2sg ipfv be.crazy man

‘I said “you’re crazy, man’.’ [ed03sb 224]

d. E sé ‘na mán dís.’

3sg.sbj quot foc man this

‘He said “this is a man”.’ [ed03sb 225]

e. Sé na mán?

quot foc man

‘(You) say it’s a man?’ [ed03sb 226]

Example (1372) shows that the absence of overt subjects in this type of discourse opens up a grey area in which there is ample room for both a more functional and a more lexical reading of a subject-less, clause-initial sé. Compare the unambiguous use of sé as a speech verb in (1372)(a) with the alternative translations of the subject-less sé in (1372)(b):

(1372) a. E go sé e de fíɛ, e nó go gí

3sg.sbj pot quot 3sg.sbj ipfv fear 3sg.sbj neg pot give

mí di tín wé a de sɛ́n=an.

1sg.indp def thing sub 1sg.sbj ipfv send=3sg.obj

‘He would say, he was afraid (and) he wouldn’t give me the thing that

I was sending him for.’ [ab03ab 041]

b. Sé ín nó wánt in abuelo skrách=an.

quot 3sg.indp neg want 3sg.poss grandfather scratch=3sg.obj

‘(He’d) say he [emp] doesn’t want his grandfather to scratch him.’ Or

‘Because he doesn’t want his grandfather to scratch him.’

Reported discourse also renders inner speech at important narrative junctures. In such a context, reported discourse may serve to express the intention of referents as in the sentences below:

(1373) In brɔ́da dɛn ɔ́l kɔmɔ́t na tɔ́n yá só

3sg.poss brother pl all go.out loc town here like.that

dɛn sé dɛn de kán ték=an.

3pl quot 3pl ipfv come take=3sg.obj

‘His brothers all left town, (so) they said they came to take her.’ [ab03ay 142]

(1374) E nó sabí tɔ́k ni Panyá, e sé e wánt

3sg.sbj neg know talk even Spanish 3sg.sbj quot 3sg.sbj want

muchachita de diecisiete años.

young.girl of seventeen year.pl

‘He doesn’t even know how to talk Spanish (and) he says he wants a young girl

of seventeen years.’ [ye03cd 053]

Speakers may use 3rd person pronouns in reported speech as in (1374) above or insert direct quotations as in (1375) below. These elements together constitute some of the conspicuous characteristics of Pichi narrative discourse, in which the already weak boundary between direct and indirect speech in Pichi is often deliberately blurred as part of a performance-oriented narrative technique:

(1375) Tidé e kán e sé, ‘a tínk sé

today 3sg.sbj come 3sg.sbj quot 1sg.sbj think quot

a go fínis ɔ́l di resto’.

1sg.sbj pot finish all def rest

‘Today he came, he said “I think I am going to finish all the rest”.’ [ye03cd 147]

A further facet of the quotative function is the use of sé in a naming construction which serves to identify a nominal element by name and introduce members of a list (cf. Güldemann 2008:398ff.). The named or listed items appear as nominal objects of sé.

(1376) Krío mamá dɛn wé dɛn de tɔ́k Píchi dɛn kin tɔ́k sé grín.

Krio mother pl sub 3pl ipfv talk Pichi 3pl hab talk quot green

‘The elderly Krio women, when they talk Pichi, they usually say green.’

[as opposed to ‘verd’ like younger people] [dj05ce 257]

In combination with the verb kɔ́l ‘call’, the naming construction translates as ‘be in a kinship relation with X’:

(1377) Na fada-lɔ́, na di papá wé e bɔ́n mí, na ín

foc father.cpd-law foc def father sub 3sg.sbj beget 1sg.indp foc 3sg.indp

mi mán go kɔ́l sé suegro.

1sg.poss man pot call quot father-in-law

‘That is the father-in-law, that is the father who begat me, it is him that my

husband would call father-in-law.’ [ro05de 007]

Sentence (1378) exemplifies the use of sé in listing. In these examples, the name or members of the list appear as nominal complements of sé:

(1378) A fít tɛ́l yú sé morera, teca, kalabo.

1sg.sbj can tell 2sg.indp quot mulberry teak kalabo

‘I can tell you mulberry, teak, kalabo [listing types of wood].’ [ro05de 051]

The use of sé to identify a nominal element represents the only context in which the quotative marker does not introduce a clause. Through this characteristic, the naming construction may be structurally identical to a copula construction involving the focus marker and identity copula na ‘foc’. Compare the two consecutive sentences in (a) and (b) below:

(1379) a. Na mi mamá.

foc 1sg.poss mother

‘That’s my mother.’ [dj05ce 036]

b. **Sé** mi móm.

quot 1sg.poss mother

‘Namely my mum.’ [dj05ce 037]

The data also contains examples in which the use of sé as a deictic identifier of a nominal entity has been taken to its logical conclusion. In (1380), sé expresses identity in combination with the copula and focus marker na:

(1380) Di pikín ɔ́l sé na mi yón

def child all quot foc 1sg.poss own

bikɔs a dɔ́n pé mɔní.

because 1sg.sbj prf pay money

‘The children are all mine because I have paid money

[the dowry].’ [hi03cb 196]

Aside from the functions covered in this section, the element sé ‘quot’ is employed as a general clausal complementiser (cf. 10.5).

## Complementation

This section covers complex clauses featuring subordinate clauses with the syntactic function of complements. In the following, such clausal participants are referred to as complement clauses. Five strategies of integration of main and subordinate verbs are used next to each other, and sometimes they overlap (cf. Table 10.1). These strategies are covered in the following sections.

### Finiteness

Finiteness is an indicator of the degree of integration of Pichi complement clauses with main clauses. Main verbs vary with respect to how syntactically independent their complement predicates may be. Main verbs differ with respect to the complementiser they occur with, the time reference they project over their complement predicates, the person and TMA marking potential they accord their complement verbs, and the potential they confer on their complement verbs to be negated. In this vein, complement clauses consisting of a verb alone constitute the non-finite pole and complement clauses, in which the verb retains its full syntactic potential and constitutes the finite pole of complement clauses. Table 10.1 checks the four principal complementation strategies in Pichi against five diagnostics of finiteness. “Complement clause” is abbreviated as “CC” in the table, “main clause” as “MC”:

Table 10.1 Complementation and finiteness

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Feature/strategy | fɔ ‘prep’ | ∅ /*de* ‘ipfv’ | mék ‘sbjv’ | sé ‘quot’ |
| TMA reference of CC verb? | depends on MC verb | depends on MC verb | depends on MC verb | independent from MC verb |
| Same or different subject CC? | same | same | same or different | same or different |
| Is person marking with the CC verb obligatory, optional, or illicit? | illicit | illicit | obligatory | obligatory |
| Is independent negation of the CC verb obligatory, optional, or illicit? | illicit | illicit | obligatory | obligatory |
| Is TMA marking on the CC verb obligatory, optional, or illicit? | illicit | optional, with some verbs | optional, but restricted | obligatory |

The complementation strategies in Table 10.1 form part of a continuum of complement clauses. The cline from non-finiteness to finiteness encompasses four complementation strategies, featuring the three overt complementisers *fɔ* ‘prep’, mék ‘sbjv’, and sé ‘quot’, and a “zero” strategy. At the left end of the continuum, we find the highest number of syntactic restrictions in CCs linked to main verbs via the associative preposition *fɔ* ‘prep’. These are aspectual and modal auxiliary constructions. The subject of the CC verb must be co-referential with that of the main verb, is dependent on the temporal specification provided by the main verb, and may not be marked independently for person, negative polarity, or TMA.

A significant number of modal and aspectual auxiliary verbs take clausal complements without an intervening complementiser, indicated by the column headed by “∅ (none)” in Table 10.1. A small sub-group of these verbs may, however, optionally be followed by the imperfective marker *de*, which may then be seen to function as complementiser. However, the presence of *de* ‘ipfv’ also adds an aspectual nuance by emphasising the continuous nature of the situation denoted by the CC verb. Such structures are therefore slightly more finite. On the one hand, the CC verb may be marked for aspect. On the other hand, the time reference of the CC verb is determined by the taxis relation projected by the MC verb over the complex clause; for example the CC verb *chɔ́p* ‘eat’ is necessarily in a relation of simultaneous taxis with the MC verb *bigín* ‘begin to’ in a complement construction like *a bigín de chɔ́p* ‘I began to eat.’

Subjunctive complement clauses are, again, more finite. They may be same or different subject, always feature person marking, and must be negated independently of the main verb to signal negative polarity. They are, however, restriced in their TMA marking potential and depend on the main verb in their time reference (they are invariably future-projecting). At the right end of the continuum we find fully-fledged biclausal structures introduced by the quotative marker sé ‘quot’, which therefore functions as a typical finite complementiser. Not included in Table 10.1 are the clause linkers ɛf(ɛ) and íf ‘if’, which may function as complementisers in indirect question clauses (cf. 10.6.5).

### Complement-taking verbs and complementisers

Table 10.2 lists approximately sixty frequent Pichi main verbs that may take different types of complement clauses. The table sorts these verbs according to the type of complement clause linkage these verbs are attested with. The feature “semantic class” correlates strongly with the complementiser provided in the “linkage type” column. Beginning from the top of the table, the clause “linkage types” increase in finiteness as they descend towards the bottom. Verbs that may take complements introduced by sé ‘quot’ are not fully listed, since that would make the list unduly long. Equally, some of the verbs listed with complementisers other than *sé* ‘quot’ may nevertheless take complements introduced by *sé* when these are statements of fact and have independent time reference, e.g. *a de sɔ́ri* ***sé*** *e dɔ́n kán* ‘I’m sorry that he has come.’ Conversely, speech verbs take quotative complements introduced by *sé* but subjunctive complements when these are indirect commands, e.g. *a hála* ***sé*** *“kán”* ‘I hollered “come”’ vs. *a hála sé* ***mék*** *e kán* ‘I hollered for him to come.’

Some verbs are listed twice under two types of clause linkage where the functions of complement clauses differ correspondingly. For example, *wánt* usually appears without an overt complementiser (∅) in prospective aspect constructions. However, *wánt* takes ∅ and *de* ‘ipfv’ complements in same-subject (desire) modal auxiliary constructions, and must take *mék* ‘sbjv’ with different-subject complements. Likewise, the general subordinator *wé* ‘sub’ is not listed in the table, since its function as a complementiser is marginal. Table 10.2 does not capture many other distributional complexities of complementisers and idiosyncracies of complementation, including negation in complement constructions. Details are provided in the corresponding sections of this chapter.

Table 10.2 Complement-taking verbs, semantic class, and type of clause linkage

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Semantic class | Verb | Gloss | ∅ | *de* ‘ipfv’ | fɔ ‘prep’ | mék ‘sbjv’ | sé ‘quot’ |
| Aspectual | kɔmɔ́t | Egressive | x |  |  |  |  |
| & modal | fínis | Completive | x |  |  |  |  |
|  | sigue | Continuative | x |  |  |  |  |
|  | wánt | Prospective | x |  |  |  |  |
|  | bigín | Ingressive | x | x |  |  |  |
|  | fít | ‘can’ | x | x |  |  |  |
|  | gɛ́fɔ | ‘have to’ | x | x |  |  |  |
|  | hébul | ‘be capable of’ | x |  |  |  |  |
|  | mánech | ‘manage to’ | x |  |  |  |  |
|  | sabí | ‘know how to’ | x |  |  |  |  |
|  | lɛ́k | ‘like to’ | x |  |  |  |  |
|  | kɔ́stɔn | ‘be used to’ | x |  |  |  |  |
|  | lɛ́f | ‘stop (doing)’ |  |  | x |  |  |
|  | lán | ‘learn to’ |  |  | x |  |  |
|  | fɔgɛ́t | ‘forget to’ |  |  | x |  |  |
| Experiential | bísin | ‘be busy (with)’ |  |  | x |  |  |
| & body state | táya | ‘be tired of’ |  |  | x |  |  |
|  | gládin | ‘be happy to’ |  |  | x |  |  |
|  | sɔ́ri | ‘be sorry to’ |  |  | x |  |  |
|  | sém | ‘be ashamed of’ |  |  | x |  |  |
| Weak | fáyn | ‘be fine to’ |  |  | x | x | x |
| deontic | bád | ‘be bad to’ |  |  | x | x | x |
|  | gúd | ‘be good to’ |  |  | x | x | x |
|  | hád | ‘be difficult to’ |  |  | x | x | x |
|  | ísi | ‘be easy to’ |  |  | x | x | x |
|  | fía | ‘be afraid to’ |  |  | x | x | x |
|  | mɛ́mba | ‘remember to’ |  |  | x | x | x |
|  | fíl | ‘feel like’ |  |  | x | x | x |
|  | tráy | ‘try to’ | x |  | x | x | x |
|  | níd | ‘need to’ |  |  | x | x | x |
|  | grí | ‘agree to’ |  |  | x | x | x |
|  | hɛ́lp | ‘help to’ |  |  | x | x | x |
| Strong | wánt | ‘want to’ | x | x |  | x | x |
| deontic | mék | ‘cause to’ |  |  |  | x | x |
|  | lɛ́f | ‘allow to’ |  |  |  | x | x |
|  | fɔ́s | ‘force to’ |  |  |  | x | x |
|  | tún | ‘persuade to’ |  |  |  | x | x |
|  | tɛ́l | ‘tell to’ |  |  |  | x | x |
|  | áks | ‘ask to’ |  |  |  | x | x |
|  | bɛ́g | ‘ask to’ |  |  |  | x | x |
| Speech | tɔ́k | ‘talk; say’ |  |  |  |  | x |
|  | tɛ́l | ‘tell that’ |  |  |  |  | x |
|  | hála | ‘shout that’ |  |  |  |  | x |
|  | ánsa | ‘answer that’ |  |  |  |  | x |
| Perception | chɛ́k | ‘think that’ |  |  |  |  | x |
| & cognition | tínk | ‘think that’ |  |  |  |  | x |
|  | nó/sabi | ‘know that’ |  |  |  |  | x |
|  | bilíf | ‘believe that’ |  |  |  |  | x |
|  | kechɔ́p | ‘realise that’ |  |  |  |  | x |
|  | sí | ‘see that’ |  |  |  |  | x |
|  | hía | ‘hear that’ |  |  |  |  | x |
|  | smɛ́l | ‘smell that’ |  |  |  |  | x |
|  | fíl | ‘feel that’ |  |  |  |  | x |
| (Other) | e dé | ‘it is that’ |  |  |  |  | x |
| factives | na (nóto) | ‘it is (not) that’ |  |  |  |  | x |
|  | di tín dé | ‘the thing is that’ |  |  |  |  | x |
|  | di kés dé | ‘the thing is that’ |  |  |  |  | x |

### *de* ‘ipfv’

The aspectual and modal verbs bigín ‘begin’, wánt/wɔ́nt ‘want; be about to’, fít ‘can’, and gɛ́fɔ ‘have to’ feature complements introduced by the zero strategy or complement verbs preceded by the imperfective marker de ‘ipfv’. Bigín is particularly likely to occur with de ‘ipfv’ when used as an ingressive auxiliary (cf. 6.4.1 for examples). The use of the imperfective marker *de* emphasises the continuous nature of the situation dennoted by the verb. Compare the following constructions:

(1381) Yú wɔ́nt de gó?

2sg want ipfv go

‘You want to (get) go(ing)?’ [nn07fn 202]

(1382) Yu fít de bɔ́n yu pikín dɛn (...)’

2sg can ipfv give.birth 2sg child pl

‘You can be (continuously) having your children (...)’ [ab03ab 197]

(1383) Yu gɛ́fɔ de tɔ́n=an.

2sg have.to ipfv turn=3sg.obj

‘You have to (continuously) be stirring it.’ [dj03do 057]

Note that both verbs in the constructions above are always co-referential; they have a subject in common. Aspect-marking for simultaneous taxis via imperfective aspect is also found with depictive secondary predicates (cf. 11.3).

### *fɔ* ‘prep’

The multifunctional element fɔ ‘prep’ is, amongst its many other uses, employed to mark the citation form of verbs (e.g. fɔ rós ‘to burn’, fɔ *espia* ‘to spy on’). As a clause linker, fɔ introduces nominal, hence non-finite complements. Hence, when fɔ is used as a complementiser, the complement verb may not take an overtly expressed subject and the main and complement verbs have the same subject by default.

Some aspectual and modal verbs are characterised by variation in their occurrence with *fɔ*-complements. For instance, *grí* ‘agree’ and tráy ‘try’ are attested with the zero strategy of complementation and with complements introduced by *fɔ*. The modal verb tráy ‘try’ appears without the element fɔ in (1384) and with it in (1385):

(1384) E wánt tráy mɛ́n fɔ́s.

3sg.sbj want try cure first

‘She wanted to try to get better first.’ [ed03sb 044]

(1385) E de tínap, smɔ́l pikín wé e de

3sg.sbj ipfv stand up small child sub 3sg.sbj ipfv

tráy fɔ tínap yet.

try prep stand up yet

‘She’s beginning to stand, a small child that is still trying

to stand.’ [dj05be 219]

As a complementiser, fɔ introduces the complements of aspectual and modal verbs that may not occur without an overt complementiser. One of these verbs is lɛ́f ‘leave; stop to’ (1386), a verb that expresses the aspectual notion of cessation:

(1386) Mék e lɛ́f fɔ dríng.

sbjv 3sg.sbj leave prep drink

‘She should leave drinking.’ [ra07fn 033]

The element fɔ ‘prep’ also introduces the complements of a number of experiential and body state verbs, which are also not attested in any other type of construction. These verbs predetermine a simultaneous time reference of their complements. An example follows, in which fɔ introduces the complement of the experiential verb sém ‘be ashamed’ (1387):

(1387) Náw a dɔ́n de fínis sém fɔ wɛ́r dán sús,

now 1sg.sbj prf ipfv finish be.ashamed prep wear that shoe

ɛf a bin nó a fɔ kɛ́r ɔ́da sús.

if 1sg.sbj pst know 1sg.sbj cond carry other shoe

‘Now I am completely ashamed to be wearing those shoes, if I had known

I would have brought another (pair of) shoes.’ [ma03hm 021]

Furthermore, fɔ introduces complements of a number of verbs whose meaning contains an element of proposal, desire, evaluation, and similar affective nuances compatible with deontic modality. I regroup these verbs under the label “weak deontic”. The deontic meaning of these verbs is also compatible with the modal meanings of fɔ itself (cf. 6.7.3.2). When main and complement verbs have the same subject, the complement clause may be introduced by fɔ. Compare the verbs ísi ‘be easy’ (1388) and grí ‘agree’ (1389):

(1388) Di chɔ́p ísi fɔ chɔ́p.

def food be.easy prep eat

‘The food is easy to eat.’ [ye07je 095]

(1389) Di gál nó grí fɔ fála mí.

def girl neg agree prep follow 1sg.indp

‘The girl didn’t agree to come with me.’ [au07ec 060]

Any weak deontic verb may alternatively take a subjunctive clause complement introduced by the subjunctive marker and modal complementiser mék ‘sbjv’ if the main verb is understood to induce a posterior time reference over the complement verb. For example, the complements of the weak deontic verb mɛ́mba ‘remember to’ may be introduced by fɔ ‘prep’ (1390) or by mék ‘sbjv’ (1391). In both sentences below, the main and complement clauses share the same subject. However, the subjunctive clauses is more finite – it requires an overt subject. In contrast, the use of a fɔ-complement does not permit the occurrence of an overt subject.

(1390) A mɛ́mba fɔ kɔ́l=an.

1sg.sbj remember prep call=3sg.obj

‘I remembered to call her.’ [au07ec 067]

(1391) A mɛ́mba mék a kɔ́l=an.

1sg.sbj remember sbjv 1sg.sbj call=3sg.obj

‘I remembered to call her.’ [au07ec 065]

With weak deontic verbs, the subjunctive marker mék ‘sbjv’ may not only be employed instead of fɔ ‘prep’. A subjunctive clause may also immediately follow fɔ. Hence all weak deontic verbs may feature the complementiser series fɔ mék ‘prep sbjv’ as in (1392) below:

(1392) So wé yu dɔ́n lán yu lángwech ɛ́n, e dɔ́n hád

so sub 2sg prf learn 2sg language intj 3sg.sbj prf hard

fɔ mék yu lán Panyá.

prep sbjv 2sg learn Spanish

‘So when you’ve learned your (home) language, it is hard for you to learn

Spanish.’ [to03gm 020]

The use of subjunctive complement clauses is, however, required with weak deontic verbs whenever the main and complement clauses do not have a subject in common. Compare (1385) above with (1393) below. Both sentences feature the main verb tráy ‘try’:

(1393) (...) a go tráy mék e báy mí dán káyn

1sg.sbj pot try sbjv 3sg.sbj buy 1sg.indp that kind

gafas por dios.

glasses by God

‘(...) I will try that she buys me that kind of glasses, by God.’ [ye07ga 003]

A subjunctive complement is also necessary if the complement verb is negated. This is so because non-finite verbs – including those that appear in fɔ-complements – are not normally negated in Pichi. Compare the negated complement clause introduced by mék ‘sbjv’ in (1394) with the affirmative complement clause introduced by fɔ ‘prep’ in (1390) above. Both sentences involve the main verb mɛ́mba ‘remember’:

(1394) Na ín a mɛ́mba mék a nó gó dé.

foc 3sg.indp 1sg.sbj remember sbjv 1sg.sbj neg go there

‘That’s when I remembered not to go there.’ [bo05fn 021]

The evaluative verbs fáyn ‘be fine’, hád ‘be hard’, ísi ‘be easy’, bád ‘be bad’, and gúd ‘be good’ may be followed by a fɔ-complement when the subject of the main clause is expletive, i.e. refers to no specific person or entity as in (1395). Complements of evaluative main verbs with expletive subjects are amongst the few ones that function as the notional subject of the main clause:

(1395) E fáyn fɔ dríng smɔ́l-wán.

3sg.sbj fine prep drink small-adv

‘It’s good to drink little.’ [ma03hm 071]

Once the complement situation has a fully referential subject (which is necessarily not co-referential with the expletive subject of the main clause), a subjunctive complement clause is required (1396):

(1396) Wé yu de dríng, e dé fáyn sé mék yu nó chák.

sub 2sg ipfv drink 3sg.sbj be.loc fine quot sbjv 2sg neg get.drunk

‘When you drink, it’s good not to get drunk.’ [ur07fn 288]

Note the presence of the quotative marker and general complementiser sé ‘quot’ in (1396) above. Any subjunctive clause may additionally be preceded by sé (cf. 10.5.5):

### *mék* ‘sbjv’

Verbs expressing the strong deontic notion of manipulation are only attested with subjunctive complements introduced by mék ‘sbjv’. These complements have a dependent time reference; the complement situation is always posterior to that of the main verb. Strong deontic verbs invariably express a strong degree of manipulation, a notion that is compatible with the use of subjunctive mood in directives (cf. 6.7.3.3). Below follow subjunctive complements of the manipulative verbs fɔ́s ‘force’ (1397) and tún ‘tune; persuade’ (1398):

(1397) A fɔ́s=an mék e lúk mí.

1sg.sbj force=3sg.obj sbjv 3sg.sbj look 1sg.indp

‘I forced him to look at me.’ [dj05ae 034]

(1398) A tún=an sé mék e báy mí motó.

1sg.sbj tune=3sg.obj quot sbjv 3sg.sbj buy 1sg.indp car

‘I coaxed her into buying me a car.’ [ye05fn 044]

The class of manipulative complement-taking verbs also includes the verbs mék ‘make; cause to’ (1399) and lɛ́f ‘leave; permit’ in their respective functions as causative and permissive-causative verbs (cf. 9.4.4):

(1399) E mék mék in húman dríng di cerveza.

3sg.sbj make sbjv 3sg.poss woman drink def beer

‘He made his woman drink the beer.’ [dj05be 001]

The manipulative verb of desire wánt ‘want’ is very versatile. It may occur in same subject complement clauses (cf. e.g. (412)) or may take complements featuring the imperfective marker de ‘ipfv’ (cf. e.g. (1381)). When the subjects of the main and complement clauses are not the same, a subjunctive mék-complement is required:

(1400) E nák di plét pan di tébul bikɔs e wánt

3sg.sbj hit def plate pan def table because 3sg.sbj want

mék di plét brók.

sbjv def plate break

‘He hit the plate on the table because he wanted the plate to break.’ [au07se 194]

Speech verbs employed as verbs of ordering and manipulation always take subjunctive complements. Examples of such indirect imperatives are provided in the following two sentences involving the verbs tɛ́l ‘tell (to)’ (1401) and bɛ́g ‘ask to’ (1402):

(1401) Áfta, bueno tɛ́l=an sé mék e bák

then good tell=3sg.obj quot sbjv 3sg.sbj give.back

yú di mɔní.

2sg.indp def money

‘Then, ok, tell him that he should give you back the money.’ [ye03cd 032]

(1402) E bin bɛ́g=an sé mék e kíl di fɔ́l.

3sg.sbj pst beg=3sg.obj quot sbjv 3sg.sbj kill def fowl

‘She asked him to kill the fowl.’ [dj05ae 043]

In a few instances in the data, the complements of strong deontic verbs are not introduced by mék ‘sbjv’; the subjunctive marker is absent. I give two examples featuring the main verbs lɛ́f ‘leave; permit’ (1403) and wánt ‘want’ (1404):

(1403) Na ín mi gran-má bin kán tɔ́k sé

foc 3sg.indp 1sg.poss grand-ma pst come talk quot

in nó go lɛ́f mi a gó.

3sg.indp neg pot leave 1sg.indp 1sg.sbj go

‘That’s when my grandma said that she [emp] wouldn’t let me go.’ [fr03ft 078]

(1404) Sé ín nó wánt in abuelo skrách=an.

quot 3sg.indp neg want 3sg.poss grandfather scratch=3sg.obj

‘(He) said, he [emp] didn’t want his grandfather to scratch him.’ [ab03ab 042]

Notwithstanding the absence of the subjunctive marker, I analyse the clauses in bold in (1403) and (1404) above as subjunctive clauses. Evidence comes from the reduced TMA marking that characterises these clauses. Although both subordinate clauses are future-referring, they are not marked by go ‘pot’ as they would if they occurred in main clauses or clauses with independent time reference (e.g. in quotative clauses introduced by sé ‘quot’). Instead, the subordinate verbs gó ‘go’ and skrách ‘scratch’ appear stripped of any TMA marking as do subjunctive complements introduced by mék ‘sbjv’.

This shows that the reduction of TMA marking, or “deranking” (Stassen 1985: 76–86; cf. also Cristofaro 2003) of the subjunctive subordinate clause is just as much a diagnostic of subjunctive mood as is the presence of the modal complementiser mék ‘sbjv’.

### *sé* ‘quot’

We saw in the preceding two sections that the quotative marker sé ‘quot’ can optionally introduce any subjunctive complement featuring the modal complementiser mék ‘sbjv’. This distribution is in line with the function of the quotative marker as a general complementiser.

The quotative marker sé ‘quot’ introduces the finite complement clauses of speech (1405), cognition (1406), and perception verbs (1407). Complement clauses introduced by sé have independent time reference and are not reduced; they are finite and may occur with the full range of TMA marking as in the following examples:

(1405) Yɛ, a kán tɛ́l=an sé ‘chica, mí nó lɛ́k yú

yeah 1sg.sbj pfv tell=3sg.obj quot girl 1sg.indp neg like 2sg.indp

bɔt wi fít dé lɛk kɔ́mpin’.

but 1pl can be.loc like friend

‘Yeah, I told her “girl, I don’t love you but we can be like friends”.’ [ru03wt 029]

(1406) Nɔ́ a tínk sé realmente yu níd pikín.

intj 1sg.sbj think quot really 2sg need child

‘Actually, I think that one really needs children.’ [fr03ft 163]

(1407) Yu jɔ́s hía sé pɔ́sin dɛn bin de tɔ́k, bɔt yu nó listin.

2sg just hear quot person pl pst ipfv talk but 2sg neg listen

‘You just heard that people were talking but you didn’t listen.’ [au07se 109]

When sé ‘quot’ introduces the complements of speech verbs, the difference between direct and indirect speech hinges on pronominal reference. For instance, the sentence in quotes in (1405) above is a direct speech complement of tɛ́l ‘tell’, because reference to chica ‘girl’ switches from =an ‘3sg.obj’ in the main clause to the object pronoun yú ‘2sg.indp’ in the complement clause.

With cognition and perception main verbs, the perceived situation can also be expressed as an adverbial time clause introduced by sé ‘quot’ (1408) (cf. also (1469) further below) or wé ‘sub’ (cf. (1463)), and an adverbial time clause introduced by lɛk háw ‘the way that’ (1408). The adverbial clause is marked for imperfective aspect, since it is simultaneous with the main clause situation:

(1408) A de hía ín sé e de nák di gitá ɔ

1sg.sbj ipfv hear 3sg.indp quot 3sg.sbj ipfv hit def guitar or

a de hía ín lɛk háw e de nák di gita.

1sg.sbj ipfv hear 3sg.indp like how 3sg.sbj ipfv hit def guitar

*Lit*. ‘I hear him that he’s playing the guitar.’ Or ‘I hear him how he’s playing

the guitar.’ [dj05ae 053]

The quotative marker also introduces the complements of copula verbs in statements of facts. In such factive clauses, the copula verb takes a dummy noun like tín ‘thing’, kés ‘matter’, or the expletive subject pronoun e ‘3sg.sbj’. Factive main clauses like the one in (1409) are very common as introductory formulas in narrative discourse (cf. also (1136)ff.):

(1409) E dé sé dán gál e bin de kán yá.

3sg.sbj be.loc quot that girl 3sg.sbj pst ipfv come here

‘It’s that/it came to pass that that girl used to come here.’ [ru03wt 019]

Evaluative verbs like fáyn ‘be fine’, gúd ‘be good’, or bád ‘be bad’ can induce either an indicative or a subjunctive mood over their complements. Evaluative verbs are followed by indicative complements when these are intended to convey factual information about present or past situations (1410):

(1410) E fáyn sé e kán yɛ́stadé.

3sg.sbj fine quot 3sg.sbj come yesterday

‘It’s good that he came yesterday.’ [dj07ae 260]

A subjunctive complement (albeit with the usual optional sé ‘quot’) is required when the evaluative main verb refers to a potential situation (1411). By expressing a preference, it harmonises with the deontic sense associated with the subjunctive mood in Pichi:

(1411) E fáyn sé mék e kán tumɔ́ro.

3sg.sbj fine quot sbjv 3sg.sbj come tomorrow

‘It’s good for him to come tomorrow.’ [dj07ae 257]

Interrogative complements of speech, cognition, and perception verbs are no different from headless, free relative clauses and are covered in 10.6.5.

### *wé* ‘sub’

The multifunctional linker wé ‘sub’ is employed as a subordinator in relative clauses, an adverbial clause linker and a clausal coordinator. In a small minority of complement relations in the corpus, it is also used as a complementiser.

The wé-clause in (1412) is a borderline case that may either be analysed as an adverbial clause, i.e. a modifying time clause, or a subject complement clause:

(1412) E dɔ́n sté, a tínk sé e dɔ́n sté

3sg.sbj prf be.long 1sg.sbj think quot 3sg.sbj prf be.long

wé una bin gɛ́t insecticida yá.

sub 2pl pst get insecticide here

‘It’s long ago, I think that it’s long ago that you people had insecticide here/

when you people last had insecticide here.’ [fr03wt 060]

The same holds for the wé-clause in (1413), which can be interpreted as the complement clause of hía ‘hear’ or an indirect interrogative clause, although the presence of a subsequent sé-complement clause favours the latter interpretation:

(1413) Yu nó hía wé a tɛ́l Mario sé quiero cocinar?

2sg neg hear sub 1sg.sbj tell name quot I.want cook

‘You didn’t hear that I told Mario that I want to cook?’ Or

‘You didn’t hear when I told Mario that I want to cook?’ [ye03cd 124]

In turn, the complement status of the wé-clause in (1414) featuring the experiential main predicate *sɔ́ri* ‘feel sorry’ is unequivocal. The functional equivalence of wé and the general complementiser sé in such complement clauses is illustrated by way of the analogous example in (1415). However, the data contains no examples of wé-complement clauses to speech verbs:

(1414) Mék yú nó fíl sɔ́ri wé a nó gí yú nó nátín.

sbjv 2sg.indp neg feel sorry sub 1sg.sbj neg give 2sg.indp neg nothing

‘Don’t be disappointed that I didn’t give you anything.’ [to03gm 046]

(1415) A de fíl sɔ́ri sé e de kíl di fɔl.

1sg.sbj ipfv feel sorry quot 3sg.sbj ipfv kill def fowl

‘I feel sorry that she’s killing the fowl.’ [dj05ae 014]

The following example involving wé ‘sub’ is also a straightforward case of complementation involving an experiential main predicate:

(1416) Tɛnk gɔ́d **wé** yu dɔ́n kán!

thank God sub 2sg prf come

‘Thank God that you have come!’

### Complements of nouns

The elements fɔ ‘prep’ and sé ‘quot’ may also introduce purposive complements of nouns and modify a head noun in a way very similar to a relative clause. Below, fɔ introduces the non-finite (hence nominal) complement pás ‘pass’ of the head noun sáy ‘place’. The same function may be fulfilled by sé ‘quot’. In the second half of the, the sé-clause attributes a finite complement clause to the head noun sáy ‘place’, and thereby, introduces a *quasi* relative clause:

(1417) E gɛ́t ɔ́da sáy fɔ pás,bɔt a de fɛ́n

3sg.sbj get other side prep pass but 1sg.sbj ipfv look for

di sáy sé yu nó go gɛ́t hambɔ́g fɔ pípul dɛn.

def side quot 2sg neg pot get irritation prep people pl

‘There is another place to pass (through), but I am looking for the place where you

wouldn’t be bothered by people.’ [ma03ni 009]

In the first example below, a sé-clause specifies the matter of the abstract noun fúlis ‘foolishness’. In the second example, the anaphoric demonstrative pronominal dá wán ‘that one’ is modified by a subjunctive marked purpose clause introduced by sé ‘quot’:

(1418) A sé bikɔs una Camerún, una gɛ́t di fúlis sé,

1sg.sbj quot because 2pl place 2pl get def foolishness quot

wé náw wé yu ték=an, yu go sɛ́l=an.

sub now sub 2sg take=3sg.obj 2sg pot sell=3sg.obj

‘I say because you Cameroonians, you have the foolish habit that, when now,

when you take it, you will sell it.’ [ab03ay 151]

(1419) Yu trowé=an, yu pút ɔ́da nyú wán ínsay,

2sg pour=3sg.obj 2sg put other new one inside

dá wán sé mék e nó simɛ́l.

that one quot sbjv 3sg.sbj neg smell

‘(...) you pour it away, (then) you put another new one [water] inside,

that (is) so that it does not smell.’ [dj03do 048]

## Relativisation

In Pichi, subjects, objects, and PPs, as well as possessor and possessed nouns may be relativised. The most common means of forming relative clauses involves the use of the morphologically invariant subordinator wé ‘sub’ as a relative clause linker. Next to wé ‘sub’, the linkers sé ‘quot’ and fɔ ‘prep’ marginally fulfil the function of relative clause linkers when they introduce noun complements (cf. 10.5.8).

In the second strategy of relative clause formation, no relative clause linker is employed and the relative clause simply follows the main clause. Hence, there is a “gap” between the two clauses. However, resumptive pronouns may optionally refer back to the relativised head noun in most types of relative clauses. Aside from that, restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses are not systematically distinguished on formal grounds.

The use of resumptive pronouns is nearly general in subject relative clauses with [+specific] head nouns, fairly common in object relative clauses, and rare in the relativisation of PPs. The frequency of resumptive pronouns with subject relative clauses runs counter to the predictions of the relativisation accessibility hierarchy (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977), and it should be worthwhile investigating whether it constitutes an areal West African phenomenon (see, however, a similar distribution of resumptive pronouns in Tok Pisin (Sankoff & Brown 1976) and popular Brazilian Portuguese (Tarallo 1983)).

In the example sentences in this section, relative clauses are set in squared brackets. Table 10.3 summarises important features of the different types of relative clauses that Pichi has (RC = relative clause):

Table 10.3 Features of relative clauses

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Feature | Subject RC | Object RC | PP RC | Possessor RC |
| Are “gap” RCs attested? | No | Yes | Yes | No |
| Are resumptive pronouns found in relativised position? | Yes | Yes | Yes | n.a. |
| Are free relative clauses attested? | Yes | Yes | Yes | No |
| Is stranding of prepositions attested? | n.a. | n.a. | Yes | n.a. |
| Is pied-piping of prepositions attested? | n.a. | n.a. | No | n.a. |

### General characteristics

The linker wé ‘sub’ introduces relative clauses as well as adverbial and coordinate clauses. Since the use of resumptive subject pronouns is very common (but still optional) in subject relative clauses with [+specific] head nouns (cf. Table 10.3 above), some subject relative clauses may therefore have the same constituent order as an adverbial clause introduced by wé ‘sub’. Consider the alternative relative and adverbial translations I provide for sentence (1420):

(1420) Ɔ́l dí mán dɛn [wé dɛn gɛ́t mɔní], na di tín

all this man pl sub 3pl get money foc def thing

wé dɛn de mék.

sub 3pl ipfv make

‘All these men who have money, that’s what they do.’ Or

‘All these men, when they have money, that’s what they do.’ [ed03sb 133]

However, the meaning of the sentence above is not as ambiguous as it may appear. Relative clauses are never separated from their main clauses by a prosodic break; relative constructions form single prosodic units. In contrast, adverbial clauses are very often separated from their main clauses by a prosodic break: The main clause bears continuative intonation, and the subordinate clause is separated from the main clause by a pause. The adverbial clause then begins with the high pitch onset that is characteristic for independent utterances (cf. also 3.4.4). An adverbial interpretation of the clause introduced by wé ‘sub’ in (1420) above would therefore only be possible if a comma were inserted between mán dɛn ‘men’ and wé ‘sub’.

In contrast, pronoun resumption, even if possible, is not very often seen in object relative clauses, even if the head noun is [+specific]. In the object relative clause below, gɛ́t ‘get’ is not followed by an object pronoun co-referential with the head noun mɔní:

(1421) Mék e bák yú di mɔní [wé e gɛ́t].

sbjv 3sg.sbj give.back 2sg.indp def money sub 3sg.sbj get

‘Let him give you back the money that he got.’ [fr03cd 027]

The possibility of abstaining from pronoun resumption in Pichi relative clauses, such as (1421) (for a subject relative clause without a resumptive pronoun, cf. (1432) below) and the prosodic unity of relative constructions are good arguments for viewing relative clauses as embedded clauses.

Relative clauses always follow the head NP that they refer to. The head NP and its relative clause are often separated by quantifiers (1422), as well as topic and focus particles (1423). The examples in this section and the following ones also show that TMA and person marking in relative clauses is “balanced” (Stassen 1985); hence it is not reduced and identical to that of simple declarative clauses:

(1422) Somos tú dásɔl [wé wi dé láyf] (...)

we.are two only sub 1pl be.loc life

‘We are, (it’s) only two of us that are alive (...)’ [ab03ay 133]

(1423) Sɔn dé yét sɛ́f [wé a nó mék].

some be.loc yet emp sub 1sg.sbj neg make

‘Some is actually still left that I haven’t made.’ [dj03do 009]

Headed restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses cannot be distinguished on formal grounds. In (1424), the commas in squared brackets in the translation indicate the non-restrictive alternative interpretation of the sentence. Note the presence of the English loan apart from in this example:

(1424) Apart from mi antí [wé e dé yá], ɔ di pikín

apart from 1sg.poss aunt sub 3sg.sbj be.loc here or def child

dɛn fɔ mi gran-má wet mi gran-pá [wé dɛn stíl dé

pl prep 1sg.poss grand-ma with 1sg.poss grand-pa sub 3pl still be.loc

láyf], dɛn-ɔ́l dɛn dé na Panyá.

life 3pl.indp.cpd-all 3pl be.loc foc Spain

‘Apart from my aunt [,] who is here, or the children of my grandmother and grandfather

[,] who are still alive, they are all in Spain.’ [fr03ft 038]

If the head noun has plural reference, the pluraliser dɛn ‘pl’ appears immediately after the head noun and before the subordinator wé ‘sub’ (1425). Note the presence of the resumptive subject pronoun dɛn ‘3pl’ in the relative clause, which is co-referential with the head noun tín dɛn ‘things’:

(1425) Porque dán tín na tín dɛn [wé dɛn dɔ́n sté

because that thing foc thing pl sub 3pl prf stay

dán tɛ́n dɛn wé esclavitud dé].

that time pl sub slavery be.loc

‘Because those are things that have stayed (from) those times when there

was slavery.’ [hi03cb 228]

Pichi exhibits generous possibilities of relative clause formation (cf. Keenan 1985:148). For example, the relativisation of a nominal that is part of a coordinate structure is permitted (1426). Equally, a relative clause may contain a focused resumptive pronoun (1427):

(1426) Bikɔs mí dé sɔn stáyl, layk dán gɛ́l [wé mí wet=an

because 1sg.indp be.loc some style like that girl sub 1sg.indp with=3sg.obj

bin gó dé], a tɛ́l=an sé a wɔ́nt sí háw dɛn de mék.

pst go there 1sg.sbj tell=3sg.obj 1sg.sbj want see how 3pl ipfv make

‘Because I was (feeling) a way, like that girl with whom I went there, I told her that

I wanted to see how it is done.’ [ed03sb 149]

(1427) Bɔt di pé wé yu gɛ́fɔ pé, if yu nó de gí mí yu

but def pay sub 2sg have.to pay if 2sg neg ipfv give 1sg.indp 2sg

fɔ́s mán [wé na in gí yú dí bɛlɛ́], yu de gí

first man sub foc 3sg.indp give 2sg.indp this belly 2sg ipfv give

mi di pikín [wé de kɔmɔ́t].

1sg.indp def child sub ipfv come.out

Lit. ‘But the price that you have to pay (is), if you don’t give me your first man,

who it is him who gave you the first pregnancy, you will give me the child that

will come out.’ [ed03sb 020]

Likewise, there is no restriction on the relativisation of the subject or object of a complement clause (1428) or of an indirect question clause (1429):

(1428) Na dán bɔ́y [wé a tɛ́l yú sé in mamá dɔ́n

foc that boy sub 1sg.sbj tell 2sg.indp quot 3sg.poss mother prf

gó na Panyá].

go loc Spain

‘It is that boy (of) who I told that his mother has gone to Spain.’ [he07fn 253]

(1429) A gɛ́t sɔn kɔ́mpin, sɔn Ghana-mán [wé a nó sabí

1sg.sbj get some friend some Ghana.cpd-man sub 1sg.sbj neg know

ús=sáy dán mán dé].

q=side that man be.loc

*Lit*. ‘I have a friend, a Ghanaian who I don’t know where that man is.’ [ed03sb 188]

Relative constructions are also made use of to express adverbial relations of time, location, and manner through the relativisation of generic nouns like áwa ‘time; hour’, tɛ́n ‘time’ (1473), dé ‘day’ (1474) and stáyl ‘manner; style (10.7.4).

### Subjects and objects

Subject relative clauses normally feature a resumptive subject pronoun that is co-referential with the [+specific] relativised noun. Relative clauses featuring a relativised subject pronoun also usually contain a resumptive pronoun if the head NP is not a 3rd person pronoun (1431):

(1430) Ɛf yu chɔ́p ɔ́l dís chɔ́p [wé e nó dɔ́n], tumɔ́ro

if 2sg eat all this food sub 3sg.sbj neg done tomorrow

yu go sík.

2sg pot be.sick

‘If you eat all this food that is not done you’ll be sick tomorrow.’ [ro05ee 045]

(1431) Mí na wán húman [wé a síryɔs].

1sg.indp foc one woman sub 1sg.sbj be.serious

‘I [emp] am a woman who is serious.’ [ro05ee 017]

Sentence (1431) exemplifies the relativisation of subject NPs without resumptive pronominal marking. Although the head nouns gabonés and guineano are preceded by the definite article di ‘def’, these nouns have [-specific], generic reference, hence they are not reiterated by a resumptive subject pronoun in the relative clause (cf. also 5.1.4):

(1432) Pero di gabonés [wé de tɔ́k Bata] wet di guineano

but def Gabonese sub ipfv talk Fang with def Guinean

[wé de tɔ́k Bata], di sonido nó dé di sén.

sub ipfv talk Fang def sound neg be.loc def same

‘But the Gabonese who talks Fang and the Guinean who talks Fang,

the sound is not the same.’ [ma03hm 048]

“Gap” subject relative constructions without the subordinator are not attested. However, object relative clauses formed by means of the gap strategy are sometimes heard. The relativised cognate object in (1433) is a patient object. Note the absence of the subordinator wé ‘sub’ as well as that of a resumptive object pronoun in the relative clause after the verb wánt ‘want’:

(1433) Mék e bít yú, mék e dú yú di dú

sbjv 3sg.sbj beat 2sg.indp sbjv 3sg.sbj do 2sg def do

[e wánt] (...)

3sg.sbj want

‘Let him beat you, let him do to you [what he wants] (...)’ [bo03cb 135]

Object relative clauses involve the use of the subordinator wé ‘sub’ in the vast majority of cases. Take note of the absence of a resumptive object pronoun with reference to the non-specific head noun bloques dɛn ‘blocks’:

(1434) Sɔn bloques dɛn lɛ́f [wé dɛn gɛ́fɔ monta] nɔ́?

some block.pl pl remain sub 3pl have.to mount intj

‘Some blocks remain that have to be mounted, right?’ [ye03cd 114]

A resumptive pronoun may also refer to a recipient head noun in a double-object construction (1435). Recipient resumptive pronouns are optional and may therefore be omitted as in (1436):

(1435) Yu sí dán pikín dé [wé in mamá de gí=an chɔ́p]?

2sg see that child there sub 3sg.poss mother ipfv give=3sg.obj food

‘Have you seen that child whose mother is giving her food?’ [li07fn 455]

(1436) A bin sí di pikín [wé di húman bin gí chɔ́p na strít].

1sg.sbj pst see def child sub def woman pst give food loc street

‘I saw the child that the woman gave food to in the street.’ [dj05ae 065]

### Prepositional phrases

There are no formal constraints on the relativisation of PPs. However, this type of relativisation is rather rare compared to that of subjects and objects. The following relative constructions involve relativised prepositional phrases introduced by the prepositions fɔ ‘prep’ and pan ‘on’. These two prepositions, as well as the preposition wet ‘with’, can also be stranded, in other words they may remain in their original position, while the relativised NP appears at the beginning of the sentence. Pied-piping of prepositions, i.e. the appearance of the preposition at the beginning of the relative clause, is not attested:

(1437) Di béd [**wé** e de slíp pan], e dé na di rúm.

def bed sub 3sg.sbj ipfv sleep on 3sg.sbj be.loc loc def room

‘The bed that she sleeps on, it’s in the room.’ [tr05fn 047]

In the more common alternative to stranding, a resumptive pronoun fills the original position of the relativised noun. Compare wet=an ‘with her’ in (1426) above. Alternatively, a resumptive pronoun need not be used at all. The exact meaning of the sentence is then provided by pragmatic context. In such instances of “prepositional phrase chopping” (Tarallo 1983; 1985) disambiguation is left to pragmatic context.

In (1438), there is no wet ‘with’ in the relative clause to point to the semantic role of instrument of the relativised head noun gɔ́n ‘gun’:

(1438) Dɛn de gó wet dán gɔ́n [**wé** dɛn de kíl bíf] ɔ pistola.

3pl ipfv go with that gun sub 3pl ipfv kill wild.animal or pistol

‘They go with that gun which they kill wild animals (with) or a pistol.’ [ed03sb 114]

Similarly, the wé-clause in (1439) induces a locative, that in (1440)(b) an instrumental interpretation. It is also of interest that (1440) is an example for the use of fɔ as an introducer of a noun complement that is very similar in function to the preceding relative clause (cf. 10.5.8):

(1439) A kán kɔmɔ́t na dán hós [**wé** a bin dé].

1sg.sbj pfv go.out loc that house sub 1sg.sbj pst be.loc

‘I left that house which I had been (in).’ [ab03ay 097]

(1440) a. Yu nó nó na ús=tín, matapenso?

2sg neg know foc q=thing pestle

‘You don’t know what it is, a pestle?’ [ye05ce 098]

b. Dán tín [**wé** dɛn de mék súp], fɔ mék fufú.

that thing sub 3pl ipfv make soup prep make fufu

‘That thing they make soup (with), in order to make fufu (with).’ [dj05ce 099]

In a similar vein, the wé-clauses in (1441) and (1442) allow that a causal meaning is inferred:

(1441) So na di tín [**wé** e rɔ́n], e kɔmɔ́t.

so foc def thing sub 3sg.sbj run 3sg.sbj go.out

‘So that is why [lit. ‘the thing that’] she fled, (and) she left.’ [ed03sb 041]

(1442) (...) e go sé e de fíɛ e nó go gí mí

3sg.sbj pot quot 3sg.sbj ipfv fear 3sg.sbj neg pot give 1sg.indp

di **tín** [**wé** a de sɛ́n=an].

def thing sub 1sg.sbj ipfv send=3sg.obj

‘(...) he would say he is afraid, he would not give me the thing that I had sent

him (for).’ [ab03ab 041]

Such constructions are structurally no different from those involving objects, and, like the latter, they may involve “gap” constructions. Note the absence of the subordinator wé ‘sub’ in the following example. The head noun of the relative clause sáy ‘side; place’ is the syntactic object of sidɔ́n ‘sit (down); stay’:

(1443) A de gó nía di sáy [Paquita sidɔ́n].

1sg.sbj ipfv go near def side name stay

‘I am going near where Paquita stays.’ [dj05be 147]

Prepositional phrase chopping should be differentiated from instances in which the goal of a verb may be expressed as an object, as is the case in double-object constructions involving pút ‘put’ in (1444) (cf. 9.3.4 for more details). Once more, note the occurrence of a “gap” relative clause in this example:

(1444) A ték tú peso a báy dán dís-tín,

1sg.sbj take two peso 1sg.sbj buy that this-thing

sɔn smɔ́l pépa [dɛn de pút=an cacahuete].

some small paper 3pl ipfv put=3sg.obj groundnut

‘I took two pesos (and) I bought this whatsit, a small paper

(into which) groundnuts are put.’ [ed03sp 083]

Example (1445) shows how the resumption of the entire relativised noun in the position of relativisation can be an alternative to stranding or chopping. Anaphoric NP reiteration is accompanied by a deictic element, the demonstrative dís ‘this’ in (1445):

(1445) Bikɔs wán isla dé [wé e fíba sé

because one island be.loc sub 3sg.sbj seem quot

petroleo dé na dís isla].

oil be.loc loc this island

‘Because there is an island of which it seems that there is oil

on this island.’ [fr03ft 109]

In sentence (1446) below, the direct object blák gɛ́l dɛn ‘black girls’ is resumed through another full NP, namely the demonstrative pronominal dá wán ‘that (one)’:

(1446) A sé blák gɛ́l dɛn gɛ́t sɔn fáyn

1sg.sbj quot black girl pl get some fine

[wé wáyt húman dɛn nó gɛ́t dá wán].

sub white woman pl neg get that one

‘I say black women have a beauty which white women do not

have (that one).’ [ed03sp 046]

Full NP anaphora can also be observed in the complex relative construction in (1429) above, where dán mán ‘that man’ in the relative clause refers to the head noun Ghana-mán ‘Ghanaian’. All these structures are reminiscent of correlative constructions found in other languages and demonstrate the diversity of relativisation strategies in Pichi.

### Possessors

When a possessor noun is relativised, a co-referential possessive pronoun and the possessed noun immediately follow the subordinator wé ‘sub’ (1447):

(1447) (...) dɛn de kɔmɔ́t na wán pueblo [wé in ném na

3pl ipfv hail.from loc one village sub 3sg.poss name foc

Basakato dé la Sagrada Familia].

place

‘(...) they come from a village whose name is Basakato dé la Sagrada

Familia.’ [fr03ft 042]

The preceding example features a possessor head noun that functions as the subject of the relative clause. When the possessor head noun functions as the object of the relative clause, it is relativised by way of a structure in which the head noun and the relative clause function as the topic. The remainder of the main clause functions as the comment, and is set off from the topic by a pause, while a possessive pronoun anaphorically refers to the head noun (1448):

(1448) Dán húman [wé a só yú], in motó dé na strít.

that woman sub 1sg.sbj show 2sg.indp 3sg.poss car be.loc loc street

‘That woman which I showed you, her car is in the street.’ [dj05ae 068]

Possessed nouns are relativised like core participants. Reference is upheld due to the juxtaposition of the possessed noun and the relative clause (1449):

(1449) A ték di stík in kandá [wé a sí dé],

1sg.sbj take def tree 3sg.poss bark sub 1sg.sbj see there

a rós=an.

1sg.sbj burn=3sg.obj

‘I took the barki of the treej thati saw there, I burnt iti.’ [bo05n 001]

### Free relatives and indirect questions

Free relative clauses do not feature an overt head noun and are introduced by a question word. In free relative constructions featuring question words, the relative clause is formally identical with the corresponding content question (cf. 7.3.2). The subordinator wé ‘sub’ is not employed to introduce free relative clauses. Free relative clauses often function as objects of verbs of cognition, perception, asking, or speaking.

Below, we find a free subject relative clause, which is introduced by the question word wétin ‘what’:

(1450) A dɔ́n tɛ́l yú [wétin pás na nɛ́t], dán nɛ́t.

1sg.sbj prf tell 2sg.indp what pass loc night that night

‘I’ve already told you what happened in the night, that night.’ [ab03ab 043]

Free relatives introduced by the question words údat ‘who’, ús=mán ‘who’, and ús=pɔ́sin ‘who’ question human referents. The following two examples are free object relative clauses:

(1451) Dɛn nó nó [údat hambɔ́g=an].

3pl neg know who bother=3sg.obj

‘They don’t know who disturbed her.’ [dj05ce 127]

(1452) Mí nó sabí [ús=mán dɛn kíl], a nɔ́ba hía

1sg.indp neg know q=man 3pl kill 1sg.sbj neg.prf hear

dán torí sɛ́f.

that story emp

‘I don’t know which man they killed, I haven’t even heard that

story.’ [ro05de 049]

The corresponding question words also introduce the free variants of relative clauses with generic head nouns like tɛ́n ‘time’ and sáy ‘side’ which function as adverbial clauses of time and place. Compare (1453).

(1453) E nɛ́a tɛ́l mí [ús=tɛ́n e go rích dé].

3sg.sbj neg.prf tell 1sg.indp q=time 3sg.sbj pot arrive there

‘He hasn’t told me when he is going to arrive there.’ [eb07fn 582]

The question word háw ‘how’ introduces free relatives and indirect questions that question a property (1454), quantity, or degree; the latter two in the collocation háw mɔ́ch ‘how much’ (1455):

(1454) Bɔt mí wánt sabí [háw dán tín dé].

but 1sg.indp want know how that thing be.loc

‘But I wanted to know how that thing is.’ [ed03sb 147]

(1455) Mí nó áks=an [háw mɔ́ch e wɔ́nt].

1sg.indp neg ask=3sg.obj how much 3sg.sbj want

‘I [emp] didn’t ask him how much he wants.’ [lo07fn 068]

Indirect yes–no question clauses may be introduced by the clause linker ɛf(ɛ)/if ‘if’ which then functions as a complementiser in combination with sentence-final question intonation. Alternatively, such question clauses may be introduced by sé ‘quot’ if phrased as a question in the type of direct speech that characterises the use of quotative sé ‘quot’ in many contexts:

(1456) Sé yu wánt sabí ɛf rén de fɔ́l, nɔ́?

quot 2sg want know if rain ipfv fall intj

‘(that) you want to know if the rain is falling, right?’ [dj07ae 236]

(1457) Mí sɛ́f, ɔ́l pɔ́sin dɛn kin áks mí sé

1sg.indp emp all person 3pl hab ask 1sg.indp quot

yu dɔ́n bɔ́n?

2sg prf give.birth

‘Even me, everybody usually asks me “have you given

birth”?’ [fr03ft 144]

## Adverbial relations

The clause linkers wé ‘sub’ and sé ‘quot’ together have the potential to participate in the expression of most types of adverbial relations that we find in Pichi. Additionally, Pichi features an array of adverbial clause linkers with more specific meanings. These are summarised in Table 10.4 below. The following sections provide an overview of adverbial clause formation in Pichi. Purpose clauses are covered in 10.7.6.

The first column in Table 10.4 below provides an overview of the types of adverbial clauses attested. The second column contains the linkers that introduce these types of clauses in Pichi. Alternative means of formation are given in the remaining three columns: The third column indicates whether a clause introduced by wé ‘sub’ or sé ‘quot’ can be used instead of the linker in the second column in order to express the same adverbial relation.

The fourth column provides other alternatives for expressing the corresponding adverbial relation. Independent sentences may also be linked through adverbials. These are contained in the last column on the right. A blank space indicates that the corresponding means is not available.

Table 10.4 Adverbial relations

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Clause type | Clause linkers | Linkage with wé or sé alone? | Other means of linkage? | Linkage by adverbial? |
| Time | bifó ‘before’  lɛk háw ‘as soon as’ | wé ‘sub’ | di tɛ́n wé  ‘the time that’ | áfta ‘then’, *dasɔ́l ‘*then’,dán tɛ́n ‘that time’, na ín/na dé ‘then’ |
| Manner | lɛk háw ‘the way that’ |  | di stáyl wé ‘the manner that’ | na só ‘that’s how’ |
| Locative |  |  | di sáy/plés wé ‘the place that’ |  |
| Cause | bikɔs/porque ‘because’, as/ como ‘since’,  fɔséka ‘due to’ | sé ‘quot’ |  | na ín (mék)  ‘that’s why’, *so* ‘so’ |
| Purpose | mék ‘sbjv’, fɔ ‘prep’ | sé ‘quot’ |  |  |
| Extent | sóté ‘until’ |  |  |  |
| Limit | dásɔl sé/ónli sé  ‘only that’ |  |  |  |
| Source | frɔn wé/síns (wé) ‘since’ |  |  |  |
| Conditional | ɛf/ if ‘if’,  lɛ́k (sé) ‘like’ | wé ‘sub’,  sé ‘quot’ | Juxtaposition |  |
| Concessive | ɛf/ if — sɛ́f ‘even if’, aunque ‘although’, adɔnkɛ́ — wáns ‘even if’ | wé ‘sub’,  sé ‘quot’ |  | bɔt ‘but’ |

### *wé* ‘sub’

The subordinator wé ‘sub’ may introduce adverbial clauses of time, condition, and concession. Although wé is most commonly used to express temporal relations the other uses are frequent as well. A wé-clause may precede (1458) or follow (cf. (1464) below) its main clause and is often set off from preceding and following material by a prosodic break (cf. also 10.6.1). In this function, wé is best translated as ‘when’

(1458) **Wé** a go fínis skúl, a go tɔ́n dɔ́kta.

sub 1sg.sbj pot finish school 1sg.sbj pot turn doctor

‘When I finish school, I’ll become a doctor.’ [ro05ee 023]

The expression of time relations by means of wé-clauses cannot be divorced from the function of wé ‘sub’ of introducing sequences of coordinate clauses. Compare the time clause in (1458) with the multiple occurrences of wé here:

(1459) Pero **wé** a kán mít dís mán, **wé** wi bigín bɔ́n

but sub 1sg.sbj pfv meet this man sub 1pl begin beget

in yón pikín dɛn.

3sg.poss own child pl

‘But then/when I met this man, and then we began to have his

own children.’ [ab03ab 214]

Time clauses introduced by wé are interpreted as being in a relation of temporal overlap with the main clause if both clauses contain imperfective readings (1460) or are unspecified with respect to aspect like the two clauses in (1458) above containing the potential mood marker go ‘pot’:

(1460) **Wé** e kin kɔmɔ́t wók a kin mék=an só,

sub 3sg.sbj hab come.out work 1sg.sbj hab make=3sg.obj like.that

lɛk háw mún fínis.

like how month finish

‘When he leaves work, I do to him like this [stretches out hand in a gesture

that indicates that her husband’s salary should be handed over to her],

as soon as the month is over.’ [ro05rt 042]

The relation between a main clause and a dependent clause introduced by wé can also be one of temporal succession rather than overlap. The interpretation of the temporal relation between the clauses depends on the lexical aspect class of the verbs involved as well as on aspect-marking. For example, in (1461) perfective marking with the dynamic verbs *rích* ‘reach’ and sé ‘say; quot’ implies succession, however brief the interval:

(1461) **Wé** a rích na hós dé, a sé

sub 1sg.sbj reach loc house there 1sg.sbj quot

‘yu go tɛ́l mi di sáy wé unu kin gó mítɔp.’

2sg pot tell 1sg.indp def side sub 2pl hab go meet

‘When I reached the house, I said “you’re going to tell me where

you usually meet.’ [ro05rt 018]

Temporal succession can be rendered more explicit through the use of the perfect marker *dɔ́n* ‘prf’ in the main or dependent clause. Hence, the main clause in (1462) is posterior to the time clause introduced by wé ‘sub’:

(1462) A go firma **wé** a go dɔ́n chɔ́p.

1sg.sbj pot sign sub 1sg.sbj pot prf eat

‘I will sign when I have finished eating.’ [ye03cd 038]

The boundary is fuzzy between temporal and other adverbial meanings of clauses introduced by wé. In (1463), the temporal sense of the wé-clause shades off into a manner or circumstance sense. Context may also give rise to a concessive meaning of the subordinate clause (1464):

(1463) Dɛn púl di motó na garaje **wé** dɛn de pús=an.

3pl remove def car loc workshop sub 3pl ipfv push=3sg.obj

‘They removed the car from the workshop by pushing it.’ [ro05ee 052]

(1464) Náw fɔ mék dɛn fít gɛ́t wán amiga nadó **wé** yu

now prep sbjv 3pl can get one girlfriend outside sub 2sg

sísta dɛn sabí, in go had.

sister 3pl know 3sg.indp pot be.hard

‘Now for them to be able to have a girl-friend outside while/although

your sisters know, that will be difficult.’ [ro05rt 034]

The relation between the first clause in (1465)(a) and the clause introduced by *wé* is best interpreted as adversative. This is illustrated by the follow-up clause in (1465)(b):

(1465) a. Yu nó bin dé na mákit, **wé** a tɛ́l yú sé

2sg neg pst be.loc loc market sub 1sg.sbj tell 2sg.indp quot

mék yu bríng mi watá?

sbjv 2sg bring 1sg.indp water

‘Weren’t you at the market although I had told you to bring me water?’ [ye0503e? 069]

b. Wétin yu kán sin watá?

what 2sg come without water

‘Why did you come without water?’ [ye0503e? 070]

Finally, in (1466)(b), we find two wholly independent clauses separated by an intonation break, with the second one being introduced by wé. The wé-clause is contrasted with the implicitly understood concessive proposition in squared brackets. Clause (1466)(b) may be interpreted as being in a causal relationship to clause (a):

(1466) a. Sɔn mamá dɛn, dɛn bád.

some mother pl 3pl bad

‘Some mothers, they are bad.’ [ab03ay 109]

b. Wé yu pikín, yu nó aconseja ín frɔn doce años.

sub 2sg child 2sg neg advise 3sg.indp from twelve years

‘Because as for your child, you didn’t advise her from twelve years on.’

[although you know about the dangers of early pregnancy].’ [ab03ay 109]

The linker wé ‘sub’ is also encountered in the temporal source clause introducers frɔn wé and síns wé, both of which mean ‘since’ (cf 10.7.10).

### *sé* ‘quot’

The quotative marker sé ‘quot’ may provide adverbial modifications of purpose and result, cause, manner and circumstance, time and condition. The answer to (a) in (b) below can be interpreted as a cause clause. The sé-clause in this example once more vividly illustrates the diversity of meanings of sé, particularly in contexts like this one, where it straddles the boundary between quotation proper and other, related functions:

(1467) a. Wétin yu de wét?

what 2sg ipfv wait

‘What [why] are you waiting?’ [fr03wt 048]

b. Sé in mamá go dráyb=an fɔ́s.

quot 3sg.poss mother pot drive=3sg.obj first

‘(He) says/because his mother will chase him away at first.’ [dj03wt 049]

The code-mixed example (1468) features a sé-clause that permits a temporal or conditional interpretation. These interpretations are favoured due to the sentence-initial position of the sé-clause. The sentence is also instructive because the speaker uses the Spanish temporal conjunction cuando ‘when’ in order to render Pichi sé ‘quot’ when reiterating the clause in Spanish:

(1468) ‘Yu hól wán motó’, yu de dráyb=an, pero sé yu gɛ́t,

2sg hold one car 2sg ipfv drive=3sg.obj but quot 2sg get

cuando tienes, ‘a gɛ́t wán motó’.

when you.get 1sg.sbj get one car

‘”Yú hól wán motó” (means) you’re driving it, but if you possess it,

when you have it “a gɛ́t wán motó”.’ [dj05ae 223]

A sé-clause that follows a main clause and is marked for temporal overlap with the main clause by means of imperfective aspect may function as a modification of manner or circumstance in the same way as a wé-clause. Compare (1469) with (1463) above:

(1469) Dɛn púl di motó na garaje sé dɛn de pús=an.

3pl remove def car loc workshop quot 3pl ipfv push=3sg.obj

‘They removed the car from the workshop by pushing it.’ [pa05fn 024]

Such clauses also lend themselves to a concessive interpretation if suggested so by pragmatic context. Compare the concessive wé-clause in (1464) with the following sé-clause in (1470):

(1470) E dú di ejercicio sé e táya.

3sg.sbj do def exercise quot 3sg.sbj be.tired

‘She did the exercise while/although she was tired.’ [ra07ve 021]

Finally, sé is optionally attested with many adverbial clause linkers, among them bikɔs (sé) ‘because’. *Sé* is obligatory when prepositions take clausal, rather than nominal complements, e.g. fɔséko sé ‘due to; because’, and lɛk sé ‘as if’ (1471):

(1471) ‘A hól wán motó’ na lɛk sé yu de dráyb

1sg.sbj hold one car foc like quot 2sg ipfv drive

wé yu de wók.

sub 2sg ipfv work

‘“A hól wán motó” is like you drive (a car temporarily) while you work.’ [dj05ae 225]

### Time clauses

I have shown that temporal relations between clauses may be established in various ways through the polyfunctional linker wé ‘sub’. The following clause linkers express adverbial relations of time with more specific meanings.

Relative clauses featuring the generic head nouns áwa ‘time, tɛ́n ‘time’, and dé ‘day’ function as time clauses. The nature of the temporal relation between the main and the relative clause situations is determined by lexical and clausal aspect marking:

(1472) Di húman kán na hós di áwa [wé a de kúk].

def woman come loc house def hour sub 1sg.sbj ipfv cook

‘The woman came to the house when I was cooking.’ [ro05de 022]

(1473) Di tɛ́n [wé dɛn bin de kán hía wet kenú], (...)

def time sub 3pl pst ipfv come here with canoe

‘(The time) when they were coming here by canoe (...)’ [ed03sb 189]

(1474) Di dé [wé a nó wánt gí yú quinientos]

def day sub 1sg.sbj neg want give 2sg.indp five.hundred

a de gí yú trescientos para tu cigarillo.

1sg.sbj ipfv give 2sg.indp three.hundred for your cigarette

‘(The day) when I don’t want to give you five hundred, I give you

three hundred for your cigarette.’ [ro05rt 045]

The clause-linker and collocation lɛk háw ‘as soon as’ introduces time clauses. Time clauses introduced by lɛk háw precede their main clauses and establish a relation of anteriority with the main clause. This linker may also introduce adverbial manner clauses (cf. 10.7.4 below):

(1475) Tumɔ́ro, lɛk háw yu tɔ́k wet Buehú, yu kɔ́l mí, (…)

tomorrow like how 2sg talk with name 2sg call 1sg.indp

‘Tomorrow, as soon as you’ve talked to Buehu, you call me, (…)’ [fr03cd 111]

The linker bifó ‘before’ introduces time clauses that are in a relation of posteriority to the main clause. Bifó-clauses are preferably sentence-initial, though they are also found in sentence-final position in after-thought apposition, as in (1477):

(1476) Bifó a kin gráp, a de sí bíg bíg fáya.

before 1sg.sbj hab get.up 1sg.sbj ipfv see big rep fire

‘Before I could get up, I saw a huge fire.’ [ab03ay 067]

(1477) (...) wé dɛn sáyn yu bigín baja mɔ́, bifó yu ɛ́nta.

sub 3pl sign 2sg begin go.down more before 2sg enter

‘(...) when they have signed, you begin to go down once more before

you enter.’ [f203fp 004]

It is interesting that the corpus contains no instance of an after-relation expressed by áfta ‘after’ in analogy with bifó in (1477) above. Apparently, áfta may only serve as an ‘and then’ clausal connective and does not mean relational ‘after’. Hence, after-relations must be constructed as iconical ‘and then’ relations with the proadverbial áfta as in (1478):

(1478) Lɛ́f=an, a go chɔ́p, áfta a go dríng.

leave=3sg.obj 1sg.sbj pot eat then 1sg.sbj pot drink

‘Leave it, I will eat, then I will drink.’ [ye03cd 079]

Alternatively, the after-relation can be expressed by an initial wé-clause accompanied by perfect marking, as in (1479):

(1479) Sifta, wé a dɔ́n sifta ín, e de lɛ́f wet di watá.

sift sub 1sg.sbj prf sift 3sg.indp 3sg.sbj ipfv leave with def water

‘Sift (it), when I have sifted it, it’ll be left with the water.’ [dj03do 007]

### Manner clauses

Manner clauses may be expressed through a relative construction featuring the generic head noun stáyl ‘style; manner’:

(1480) A bin chɔ́p di plantí di stáyl [wé pɔ́sin dɛn

1sg.sbj pst eat def plantain def style sub person pl

fɔ Malábo dɛn de chɔ́p=an]

prep Malabo 3pl ipfv food=3sg.obj

‘I ate the plantain the way Malabo people eat it.’ [dj05ae 069]

Manner clauses may also be formed by way of adverbial clauses introduced by the collocation lɛk háw ‘like how’ = ‘the way that’. Compare the near-identical sentence above with the two following ones:

(1481) Mí chɔ́p di plantí lɛk háw Malabo-pípul dɛn de chɔ́p=an.

1sg.indp eat def plantain like how Malabo.cpd-people pl ipfv eat=3sg.obj

‘I [emp] ate the plantain the way Malabo people eat it.’ [ro05de 019]

(1482) A nó sabí ús=tín dɛn nó go restaura ín

1sg.sbj neg know q=thing 3pl neg pot restorate 3sg.indp

lɛk háw e bin dé jamás.

like how 3sg.sbj pst be.loc ever

‘I don’t know why they won’t restore it the way it was back then.’ [hi03cb 038]

Manner clauses introduced by lɛk háw ‘like how’ are also often employed to denote the perceived situation of a main clause verb of sensory perception like hía ‘hear’ (1483), sí ‘see’, lúk ‘look’, smɛ́l ‘smell’ (1484), and fíl ‘feel’. Such clauses vacillate between readings denoting manner and temporal overlap:

(1483) A de hía ín lɛk háw e de nák di gita.

1sg.sbj ipfv hear 3sg.indp like how 3sg.sbj ipfv hit def guitar

‘I hear him playing the guitar.’ Or ‘I hear (him) how he’s playing the guitar.’ [dj05ae 053]

(1484) A de smɛ́l di sɛ́nt fɔ lɛk háw e de kúk plantí.

1sg.sbj ipfv smell def scent prep like how 3sg.sbj ipfv cook plantain

‘I smell the scent of him cooking plantain.’ [dj05ae 025]

The collocation lɛk háw also forms part of the idiomatic phrase lɛk háw yu (de) sí X (X referring a person) which means something along the lines of ‘when looking at X you should also know’. Compare the following example:

(1485) Mí, lɛk háw yu de sí mí a dɔ́n sí plɛ́nte tín.

1sg.indp like how 2sg ipfv see 1sg.indp 1sg.sbj prf see plenty thing

‘(As for) me, when you looking at me you should also know that I have seen many

things [in life].’ [ab03ab 023]

Manner clauses introduced by lɛk háw may shade off into a temporal reading and vice-versa. Manner clauses generally follow their main clauses as in the preceding examples. In contrast, time clauses introduced by lɛk háw normally precede their main clauses (cf. (1475) above in the previous section).

However, we also sometimes find manner clauses introducecd by lɛk háw in a sentence-initial, topical position. When such a clause is marked for an imperfective reading, it is likely to be interpreted as a manner clause. Lɛk háw then means ‘the way that’ (1486):

(1486) Lɛk háw e de wáka, e butú, e nó bɛ́n.

like how 3sg.sbj ipfv walk 3sg.sbj stoop 3sg.sbj neg bend

‘The way he’s walking (now), he’s stooped over, he’s not bent over.’ [au07se 082]

On the other hand, if a sentence-initial clause introduced by lɛk háw is marked for a perfective reading, it is very likely to be interpreted as a time clause. Lɛk háw then translates as ‘as soon as’. In (1487), the subordinate clause contains the factative marked (hence perfective) dynamic verb pút ‘put’. Compare the temporal interpretation of this sentence with the manner reading of (1486) above. Also compare the temporal interpretation of the factative-marked verb pút ‘put’ in the previous section in (1475) above:

(1487) Lɛk háw e pút dán mɔní na mi hán, nó wét mɔ́!

like how 3sg.sbj put that money loc 1sg.poss hand neg wait more

‘As soon as he has put that money into my hand, no time to waste!’ [ro05rt 043]

If a manner interpretation is nevertheless desired for a clause featuring a situation marked for a perfective reading, a relative construction featuring the head noun stáyl ‘style; manner’ is chosen. In (1488), the manner relation is expressed via a relative construction. This option is chosen because the subordinate dynamic verb nák ‘hit’ is marked for factative TMA, hence it is perfective and bounded:

(1488) E nák di tébul an di stáyl [wé e nák di tébul

3sg.sbj hit def table and def style sub 3sg.sbj hit def table

strɔ́n], e kán sék di plét, an di plét kán brók.

be.strong 3sg.sbj pfv shake def plate and def plate pfv break

‘He hit the table and the way that he hit the table in a strong way, he shook the plate,

and the plate broke.’ [au07se 014]

Other means of providing manner modification by clauses are adverbial SVCs and the use of adverbial clauses introduced by wé ‘sub’ and sé ‘quot’. Note that equative clauses – manner clauses which serve as the standard in a comparison – are also introduced by the collocation lɛk háw (cf. (508)–(509)).

### Locative clauses

The formation of locative clauses involves the relativisation of the generic head nouns sáy ‘side’ and less frequently plés ‘place’. Locative adverbial relations can only be expressed via such relative constructions, because the linker wé ‘sub’ does not introduce headless locative relative clauses:

(1489) Náw e dɔ́n wánt bigín de fɛ́t wet

now 3sg.sbj prf want begin ipfv fight with

di chía, di sáy [wé dɛn sidɔ́n].

def chair def side sub 3pl sit

‘Now he already wanted to begin fighting with the chair,

where they were sitting.’ [ab03ab 132]

(1490) Yu nó nó di plés [wé a sidɔ́n]?

2sg neg know def place sub 1sg.sbj stay

‘You don’t know where I stay?’ [he07fn 307]

### Purpose and result clauses

The clause linkers fɔ ‘prep’ and sé ‘quot’, as well as the subjunctive marker mék are employed to introduce purpose clauses. A purpose relation typically involves a willful and animate subject that intentionally performs a main clause action aimed at the completion of the situation in the subordinate clause. There are no semantic restrictions on the type of main verb that purpose clauses may modify in Pichi. Neither is there any formal difference between “realised” (i.e. that the purpose is achieved) and “unrealised” purpose clauses (cf. Bickerton 1981:59).

Thus below, we find purpose clauses modifying main clauses with verbs as diverse as ol ‘be old’ or wét ‘wait’:

(1491) A dɔ́n tú ól fɔ máred.

1sg.sbj prf too old prep marry

‘I’m too old to marry.’ [fr03ab 206]

(1492) A go firma, wét fɔ mék a chɔ́p, a bɛ́g.

1sg.sbj pot sign wait prep sbjv 1sg.sbj eat 1sg.sbj beg

‘I’ll sign, wait for me to eat/have eaten, please.’ [ye03cd 043]

The motion verbs gó ‘go’ (1493) and kán ‘come’ ((1494) below) may optionally reinforce the purposive sense of the subordinate clause:

(1493) Dɛn kán kɛ́r mí na Madrid fɔ mék dɛn gó opera mí.

3pl pfv carry 1sg.indp loc place prep sbjv 3pl go operate 1sg.indp

‘They took me to Madrid in order to operate on me.’ [fr03ft 026]

When the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are identical, the purpose clause may be introduced by the non-finite clause linker fɔ ‘prep’ alone (1494):

(1494) Mi papá bin kán yá fɔ kán wók.

1sg.poss father pst come here prep come work

‘My father came here in order to work.’ [fr03ft 063]

When the main and subordinate clauses have different subjects, the purpose clause is expressed as a “more” finite subjunctive clause. Such purpose clauses are marked in the same way as other types of different-subject subordinate clauses that involve a form of deontic modality. The subjunctive marker may optionally be preceded by fɔ ‘prep’ as in (1495):

(1495) Layk háw dɛn go pút yú na tébul yu dɔ́n de rɔ́tín,

like how 3pl pot put 2sg.indp loc table 2sg prf ipfv rot

fɔ mék dɛn gó bɛ́r yú kwík.

prep sbjv 3pl go bury 2sg.indp quickly

‘As soon as they put you on the table you are already rotting away

for you to be buried quickly.’ [ed03sb 101]

However, a very frequent alternative is for both different- (1496) and same-subject (1497) purpose clauses to be introduced by the subjunctive marker alone:

(1496) Na ín dɛn táy=an mék e nó kɔmɔ́t.

foc 3sg.indp 3pl tie=3sg.obj sbjv 3sg.sbj neg go.out

‘That’s why they tied it [the dog] so that it wouldn’t leave.’ [ma03hm 005]

(1497) A go gó lúk=an fɔ wán vecino mék a

1sg.sbj pot go look=3sg.obj prep one neighbour sbjv 1sg.sbj

lúk las damas.

look the.pl lady.pl

‘I’ll watch it at a neighbour’s in order to look at the (first) ladies.’ [ma03hm 074]

Negation of the subordinate situation obligatorily entails the use of subjunctive purpose clauses, even where the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are identical, as in (1498):

(1498) A dríng di mɛ́rɛsin fɔ mék a nó sík.

1sg.sbj drink def medicine prep sbjv 1sg.sbj neg be.sick

‘I drank the medicine in order not to fall sick.’ [ro05de 021]

When the purpose clause is fronted for emphasis, it is not usually introduced by mék alone. Instead, the purpose clause is normally introduced by fɔ ‘prep’ or sé ‘quot’ and then followed by mék ‘sbjv’. This is probably so because a sentence-initial mék ‘sbjv’ signals the presence of a subjunctive-marked directive main clause:

(1499) Fɔ mék yu fít ɛ́nta yu gɛ́fɔ bísin na wán pɔ́sin

prep sbjv 2sg can enter 2sg have.to be.busy loc one person

fɔ di fámbul (...)

prep def family

‘In order to be able to enter, you have to be involved with a person

of the family (...)’ [ed03sb 077]

Different subject purpose clauses may also additionally feature the quotative marker sé ‘quot’ like any other subjunctive subordinate clause. In such cases, the purpose clause is also usually marked for subjunctive mood. Compare the sentence below; it contains a purpose clause introduced by sé mék as well as one introduced by mék alone:

(1500) A bin lás gó a de fɛ́n bíg bíg mamá dɛn, sé mék

1sg.sbj pst end.up go 1sg.sbj ipfv look.for big rep mother pl quot sbjv

dɛn bí mi gɛ́l frɛ́n, mék dɛn de gí mi chɔ́p.

3pl be 1sg.poss girl friend sbjv 3pl ipfv give 1sg.indp food

‘I finally went to look for mature/established women for them to be my girlfriends,

for them to give me food.’ [ed03sp 079]

The following two sentences featuring clauses introduced by the quotative marker sé can be interpreted as purposive although they are not followed by subjunctive clauses. These sentences are further evidence for the polyfunctionality of the quotative marker. Here, the expression of speaker intention through inner speech rendered in a quotative construction acquires a purposive reading.

This is the case in the 1st person statement of intention in direct speech in (1501), in which sé functions more like a clause linker as well as in the 3rd person indirect speech, in which sé behaves like a lexical verb (1502):

(1501) A wáka wet=an sé ‘tidé a go gó vive ín.’

1sg.sbj walk with=3sg.obj quot today 1sg.sbj pot go live 3sg.indp

‘I went with him so that today I would witness it.’ [ed03sb 007]

(1502) So e go na bús e sé e de gó kíl bíf.

so 3sg.sbj pot loc forest 3sg.sbj quot 3sg.sbj ipfv go kill wild.animal

‘So he went to the forest in order to/he said he’d go kill a wild animal.’ [ma03sh 004]

Finally, a sé-clause may acquire a result reading when it features non-modal TMA marking or when a modal complementiser is absent. Compare the following example:

(1503) (...) e sút=an sé e dɔ́n wɔ́nt gó ték=an,

3sg.sbj shoot=3sg.obj quot 3sg.sbj prf want go take=3sg.obj

e sí di tín dɔ́n de tɔ́n pɔ́sin.

3sg.sbj see def thing prf ipfv turn person

‘(...) he shot it [the animal] and was about to go take it, (when) he saw the thing

turning into a human-being.’ [ma03sh 005]

### Cause clauses

Cause relations may be expressed through sé-clauses and adverbial clauses introduced by the linkers bikɔs (sé) ‘because’, foséka ‘due to; for the sake of’, and ás ‘as’. Speakers also employ the Spanish-origin linkers porque ‘because’ and como ‘as’, which have been borrowed into Pichi and form an integral part of the Pichi system of clause linkage (cf. 13.2.3 for a more detailed treatment in the context of codemixing). Compare bikɔs (sé) below:

(1504) A drɛ́b mi mán bikɔs sé a nó wánt=an mɔ́.

1sg.sbj drive 1sg.poss man because quot 1sg.sbj neg want=3sg.obj more

‘I drove my husband away because I didn’t want him anymore.’ [ro05de 015]

Cause clauses introduced by bikɔs may appear at the beginning of the sentence (1505). When this is so, the cause clause is focused with na ‘foc’ and reiterated by means of one of the resumptive expressions na ín ‘foc 3sg.indp’ and na di tín ‘foc def thing’, both of which mean ‘that’s why’ in this particular context:

(1505) Na bikɔs e bɔ́n pikín, na di tín

foc because 3sg.sbj give.birth child foc def thing

mék e dáy.

make 3sg.sbj die

‘It is because she gave birth (to a child), that’s why she died.’ [dj05be 051]

Cause clauses introduced by ás ‘as’ (1506) and como ‘since’ (1507) precede their main clauses:

(1506) Ás dɛn nɔ́ba bin sí plantí, dɛn bin chɔ́p=an rɔ́n-wán.

as 3pl neg.prf pst see plantain 3pl pst eat=3sg.obj wrong-adv

‘As they hadn’t yet seen plaintain, they ate it in the wrong way.’ [ro05ee 062]

(1507) Como e sabí sé dán tín dé na mi hát (…)

since 3sg.sbj know quot that thing be.loc loc 1sg.poss heart

‘Since she knows that that thing [matter] is in my heart (…)’ [ro07fn 673]

The linkers bikɔs ‘because’ and porque ‘because’ may be found in the initial position in sentences (i.e. in prosodically independent utterances) with a weak causal link with preceding sentences. In such instances, these linkers function as discourse markers that introduce elaborations to preceding material. Compare the use of porque in (1508):

(1508) a. E bin fɔ dé fáyn.

3sg.sbj pst cond be.loc fine

‘That would be fine.’ [fr03ft 172]

b. Porque mi sɛ́f, fɔ́s tɛ́n a bin de sidɔ́n

because 1sg.indp emp first time 1sg.sbj pst ipfv stay

dásɔl wet húman dɛn.

only with woman pl

‘Because me, formerly I was staying only with women.’ [fr03ft 173]

The preposition fɔséka (and its occasional free variant fɔséko) ‘due to; for the sake of’ takes nominal, not clausal, complements (cf. eg. (1063)). However, when fɔséka is followed by the quotative marker and complementiser sé ‘quot’, the resulting collocation may introduce a cause clause like the other linkers treated in this section (1509):

(1509) Mí dú=an fɔséko sé a bin wánt hɛ́lp=an.

1sg.indp do=3sg.obj due.to quot 1sg.sbj pst want help=3sg.obj

‘I [emp] did it because I wanted to help her.’ [ro05ee 069]

### Extent and result clauses

Speakers make use of the linker sóté ‘until’ in order to express a relation of temporal extent, as in the first example below. Such clauses may also be interpreted as result clauses in the appropriate context (1511). Sóté ‘until’ is a multifunctional word that is also used as a preposition (cf. 9.1.3), as a degree adverbial (cf. 7.7.3), and in the expression of spatial extent (cf. e.g. (903)):

(1510) Mék e wét sóté mún dɔ́n, wé wi gɛ́t di mɔní,

sbjv 3sg.sbj wait until month finish sub 1pl get def money

gó báy di chɔ́p.

go buy def food

‘Let him wait until the month is over, when we have the money, (then we)

go buy the food.’ [hi03cb 214]

(1511) A chɔ́p frijoles sóté a táya.

1sg.sbj eat bean.pl until 1sg.sbj be.tired

‘I ate beans until I was tired (of it).’ [ed03sp 121]

Extent clauses introduced by sóté are marked for subjunctive mood when the speaker expresses an anticipated outcome as in (1512). This usage may be due to interference from Spanish. The equivalent Spanish conjunction hasta que ‘until (that)’ is also used with the subjunctive mood. Compare the subjunctive-marked *llegue* ‘arrive’ in (1513).

(1512) Tɔ́n=an tɔ́n=an, mék yu nó para sóté mék e tík

turn=3sg.obj turn=3sg.obj sbjv 2sg neg stop until sbjv 3sg.sbj be.thick

lɛk háw e bin dé só.

like how 3sg.sbj pst be.loc like.that

‘Stir it, stir it, don’t stop until it is as thick as it was right now!’ [dj03do 058]

(1513) ¡Haga cola hasta que llegue el cajero!

do line until that arrive:sbjv the teller

‘Make a line until the teller arrives!’

However, the appearance of subjunctive marking in a clause like (1512) above also harmonises with deontic notions like preference and desire that also underlie the use of subjunctive in similar clause types, e.g. purpose clauses:

### Limit clauses

Limit clauses are formed by using the quantifying adverb dásɔl ‘only’ before the appropriate adverbial clause linker. Below, dásɔl ‘only’ collocates with fɔ ‘prep’, which in turn, introduces a non-finite purpose clause:

(1514) A bin mék=an dásɔl fɔ hɛ́lp.

1sg.sbj pst make=3sg.obj only prep help

‘I did it only in order to help.’ [dj05be 129]

The following example illustrates the use of dásɔl followed by sé ‘quot’, which introduces a finite complement clause:

(1515) Wi de sí dásɔl sé di písis dɔ́n hɛ́ng.

1pl ipfv see only quot def piece.of.cloth prf hang

‘We only see that the piece of cloth is already hanging.’ [li07pe 059]

The quantifying adverb ónli ‘only’ may be employed in the same way as dásɔl and occurs equally often in limit clauses. In this sentence, ónli ‘only’ precedes a cause clause introduced by bikɔs ‘because’:

(1516) Ónli bikɔs yu de tɔ́k só, yu de salút só,

only because 2sg ipfv talk like.that 2sg ipfv greet like.that

yu de ánsa só.

2sg ipfv answer like.that

‘Only because you talk like that, you greet like that, you respond like that.’ [au07se 158]

### Source clauses

Temporal source clauses may be introduced by the collocations frɔn wé ‘from sub’ = ‘since’ and síns wé ‘since sub’ = ‘since’. Both collocations require the subordinator because they involve prepositions that take nominal complements. Compare the following examples:

(1517) Frɔn wé dán bɛ́lps de wók, chico, e dɔ́n chénch.

from sub that babe ipfv work boy 3sg.sbj prf change

‘(Ever) since that babe has been working, man, she has changed.’ [dj07ae 173]

(1518) Frɔn wé a bí pikín a bin wánt kɔmɔ́t

from sub 1sg.sbj be child 1sg.sbj pst want go.away

na dís kɔ́ntri.

loc this country

‘(Ever) since I was a child, I wanted to leave this country.’ [ro05ee 027]

The preposition síns ‘since’ is one of two dedicated temporal prepositions of Pichi (the other one being ápás ‘after’, cf. 8.2.2) and may introduce source clauses in combination with the subordinator wé ‘sub’, cf. (1519) below:

(1519) Síns wé a bí pikín, a de mɛ́mba fɔ

since sub 1sg.sbj be child 1sg.sbj ipfv think.of prep

kɔmɔ́t na dí kɔ́ntri.

go.out loc this country

‘Since I was a child, I think about leaving this country.’ [li07fn 303]]

### Conditional clauses

Table 10.5 summarises the most common ways of expressing conditional relations in Pichi. It features the three functionally identical if-clause introducers ɛf, ɛfɛ, and if, all of which mean ‘if’ as well the various types of TMA marking attested in the if- and then-clauses. I comment on the relative frequency of the different constructions below:

Table 10.5 Conditional relations

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Type | Introducer | if-clause | then-clause |
| Reality | ɛf, if ‘if’ | Non-modal tense & aspect | Non-modal tense & aspect |
| Potential | ɛf, if ‘if’ | Factative TMA, go ‘pot’, de ‘ipfv’ | go ‘pot’, de ‘ipfv |
| Counterfactual | ɛf, if ‘if’ | bin ‘pst’ | (bin) fɔ ‘(pst) prep’ |

For one part, a conditional relation can be expressed by the juxtaposition of clauses and a prosodic break at the margin of the first clause (indicated by commas). In such sentences, the order of clauses is iconical; the if-clause(s) come(s) first, as in (1520):

(1520) Yu kɔmɔ́t dɔ́n, yu wánt ɛ́nta mɔ́, yu gɛ́fɔ gó pé

2sg go.out down 2sg want enter more 2sg have.to go pay

ɔ́da quinientos.

other five.hundred

‘(If) you come out from below and you want to enter again, you have to

go pay five hundred again.’ [f203fp 005]

Secondly, a conditional relation may be signalled overtly through the use of the equative preposition and clause linker lɛk (sé) ‘like quot’ ‘as if; supposing that’ (1521). The use of lɛk (sé) is not attested with counterfactuals:

(1521) Lɛk sé yu de dríng nɔ́, dán pɔ́sin wé dé yandá,

like quot 2sg ipfv drink intj that person sub be.loc yonder

e de kán sube wí wet glás, na di tín

3sg.sbj ipfv come go.up 1pl.indp with glass foc def thing

wé mék mék yu nó dríng nó nátin wet glas.

sub make sbjv 2sg neg drink neg nothing with glass

‘Supposing that you were (out) drinking, right, (and) that person who

is over there comes up to us with a glass, that’s what would make you

not drink anything from a glass.’ [ed03sb 097]

The linker lɛk may also introduce the then-clauses of conditional sentences. In the few cases attested, the if-clause is then always explicitly marked by the conditional clause introducer ɛf or if. This constellation renders a form of bipartite and discontinuous conditional clause marking. Compare the following sentence:

(1522) Ɛf yu bin bigín lás wík, lɛk yu dɔ́n fínis di wók.

if 2sg pst begin last week like 2sg prf finish def work

‘If you had begun last week, you would have finished the work.’ [ro05de 029]

The third way of expressing a conditional relation is the most frequent one in the data and involves one of the conditional clause linkers ɛf, ɛfɛ, or if ‘if’. These forms are equivalent in meaning and occur in free variation; however, ɛf is the most frequent form. Any of these linkers may introduce the if-clause of reality, potential, and counterfactual conditionals. Sentence (1523) is a reality conditional:

(1523) Pero ɛf na húman na bíg húman yu mán

but if foc woman foc big woman 2sg man

nó de tɔ́n bíg mán.

neg ipfv turn big man

‘But if it’s the wife who’s an influential woman, your [her] husband

doesn’t [automatically] turn into an influential man.’ [ma03hm 079]

Sentence (1524) features a potential conditional relation. The most common type of potential conditional features factative TMA in the if-clause, while the then-clause features the potential marker go. Sometimes, the imperfective marker de ‘ipfv’ comes to mark conditional modality in the then-clause instead of go ‘pot’ (cf. e.g. (1528))

(1524) Ɛf yu chɔ́p ɔ́l dís chɔ́p wé e nó dɔ́n,

if 2sg eat all this food sub 3sg.sbj neg done

tumɔ́ro yu go sík.

tomorrow 2sg pot sick

‘If you eat/ate all this food that is not done, you’ll/’d be

sick tomorrow.’ [ro05ee 045]

The markers go ‘pot’ (1525) and de ‘ipfv’ (1526) are also found to mark conditional modality in hypothetical statements contingent upon inferred conditions. The two following sentences are not preceded by an overt if-clause. The “condition” is deduced from context:

(1525) Mí nó go tɛ́l=an nó nátín.

1sg.indp neg pot tell=3sg.obj neg nothing

‘I [emp] wouldn’t tell him anything.’ [bo03cb 138]

(1526) Nóto mí a de ɛ́nta ínsay dán hós ó.

neg.foc 1sg.indp 1sg.sbj ipfv enter inside that house sp

‘It’s not me who would enter that [haunted] house.’ [ne05fn 031]

Although the verb in the if-clause of potential conditionals usually apears with factative TMA, a minority of conditionals also feature go ‘pot’ or de ‘ipfv’ in the if-clause and in the then-clause, as in (1527) and (1528). I interpret this use as instances of modal harmony between the two hypothetical situations:

(1527) Ɛf dɛn go gó bɛ́r yú, dɛn sén go gó na dán bɛ́rin.

if 3pl pot go bury 2sg.indp 3pl emp pot go loc that burial

‘If they go to bury you, they themselves will go to that burial.’ [ed03sb 102]

(1528) If yu nó de gí mí yu fɔ́s mán

If 2sg neg ipfv give 1sg.indp 2sg first man

wé na in gí yú dí bɛlɛ́, yu de gí

sub foc 3sg.indp give 2sg.indp this belly 2sg ipfv give

mi di pikín wé de kɔmɔ́t.

1sg.indp def child sub ipfv come.out

*Lit*. ‘But the price that you have to pay (is), if you don’t give me your first man

who it is him who gave you the first pregnancy, you will give me the child that

will come out.’ [ed03sb 020]

Counterfactual conditionals feature the past marker bin in the if-clause. In the then-clause, we either find the marker sequence bin fɔ ‘pst cond’ (1529) or the conditional mood marker fɔ ‘cond’ alone (1530) irrespective of past or present tense reference of the situation. Also note the occurrence of potential mood marking in the complement clause introduced by sé ‘quot’ in (1530):

(1529) Ɛf a bin sí=an yɛ́stadé a bin

if 1sg.sbj pst see=3sg.obj yesterday 1sg.sbj pst

fɔ gí=an di mɔní.

cond give=3sg.obj def money

‘If I had seen her yesterday, I would have given her the money.’ [ro05de 028]

(1530) Ɛf a bin nó sé e nó go fɔ́l

if 1sg.sbj pst know quot 3sg.sbj neg pot rain

a fɔ bríng ɔ́da sús.

1sg.sbj cond bring other shoe

‘If I had known that it wouldn’t rain, I would have worn

other shoes.’ [ma03hm 025]

The marker(s) (bin) fɔ are also encountered in counterfactual statements contingent upon inferred conditions (1531). Sentence (1532) illustrates that fɔ may fulfil the latter function by itself, without explicit tense marking by bin, if a past tense temporal frame has been set by prior discourse:

(1531) E bin fɔ dé fáyn.

3sg.sbj pst cond be.loc fine

‘It would have been nice.’ [fr03ft 172]

(1532) Yu fɔ gɛ́t hemorragia sóté blɔ́d fínis náw.

2sg cond get hemorrhage until blood finish now

‘You would have hemorrhaged until your blood would have finished.’ [ab03ay 094]

In the vast majority of cases, the if-clause precedes the then-clause in Pichi conditionals. Nevertheless, the corpus contains a few instances of initial then-clauses (1533). These types of conditionals are pragmatically marked and usually involve focus of the preposed then-clause. This example is also of interest, because it reflects some of the residual obligation meaning that the preposition cum modal particle fɔ may have in counterfactual conditionals (cf. also 6.7.3.2):

(1533) A bin fɔ máred a los veinti-uno ɛf Maura

1sg.sbj pst cond marry at def.pl twenty-one if name

in papa nó bin dáy.

3sg.poss father neg pst die

‘I should/would have married at twenty-one if Maura’s father hadn’t died.’ [ab03ab 210]

### Concessive clauses

Concessive meaning may be expressed by clauses introduced by wé ‘sub’ (cf. (1464)) and sé ‘quot’ (cf. (1470)). Alternatively, concessive meaning may be expressed through conditional clauses in conjunction with clausal focus by means of the focus particle sɛ́f ‘emp’, or by way of the Spanish-derived clause linker *aunque* ‘although’. In (1534), the conditional relation is not signalled overtly. The presence of the focus particle sɛ́f ‘emp’ alone is sufficient to signal concession:

(1534) Yu nó sɛ́f, yu jɔ́s kán yu nó go sabí,

2sg know emp 2sg just come 2sg neg pot know

yu nó go tɔ́k lɛkɛ dɛ́n.

2sg neg pot talk like 3pl.indp

‘Even if you know, if you have just come, you wouldn’t know,

you wouldn’t talk like them.’ [ma03hm 044]

A concessive clause may also be introduced by the linkers ɛf(ɛ) and if, just like a conditional clause. TMA marking is also the same as in conditional clauses:

(1535) Ɛf yú na smɔ́l húman sɛ́f, dɛn go kɔ́l yú dama.

if 2sg.indp foc small woman emp 3pl pot call 2sg.indp lady

‘Even if you [emp] are an insignificant woman, they’ll call you lady.’ [ma03hm 076]

Concessive clauses are sometimes also introduced by the Spanish clause linker aunque ‘although’ (1536):

(1536) Aunque nóto paludismo, if dɛn gív tratamiento yu nó go dáy.

although neg.foc malaria if 3pl give treatment 2sg neg pot die

‘Even if it is not malaria, if they give you a treatment, you won’t die [of the treatment].’ [fr03wt 061]

The linker adɔnkɛ́ ‘no matter if’ also introduces concessive clauses. Adɔnkɛ́ is often part of a disjoint structure, namely adɔnkɛ́ — wáns, ‘even if — once’. The concessive clause is introduced by the first, and the main clause by the second element (1537):

(1537) (...) adɔnkɛ́ e nó sí yú wán hól dé, e nó bísin,

even.if 3sg.sbj neg see 2sg.indp one whole day 3sg.sbj neg be.busy

wáns yu bríng di pamáyn.

once 2sg bring def oil

‘Even if she didn’t see you the whole day, she didn’t care, if only you

brought the oil.’ [ab03ab 036]

## Intonation

Continuative intonation accompanies various types of clause linkage (cf. also 3.4.4). For example, it may be found at the boundary between coordinate clauses and the main and subordinate clauses in conditionals. Continuative intonation also occurs on its own without any other linker to signal a relation between adjacent clauses. By definition, serial verb construction do not, however, involve continuative intonation. They form single prosodic units. The main and subordinate clauses of relative constructions are not normally linked by continuative intonation either.

The deictic manner adverb só ‘like that’ in the example below bears a continuative boundary tone. Such a non-final intonation at the boundary of the first clause signals that it is linked with the subsequent one. The nature of the relation between the clauses is determined by context. In this case, a cause relation reading is favoured:

(1538) Bɔkú motó dɛn dé yá só, a nó nó sé

much car pl be.loc here like.that 1sg.sbj neg know quot

Pancho mék lɛkɛ sé e de sube bihɛ́n

name make like quot 3sg.sbj ipfv go.up behind

wí e baja mɔ́.

1pl.indp 3sg.sbj go.down more

‘(Because) a lot of cars were just there, I didn’t know that Pancho pretended to

go up behind us and went down again.’ [ye03cd 176]

Conditional relations are also frequently signalled by means of continuative intonation alone instead of clause linkers (1539):

(1539) Yu mék=an in fray-rɛ́s, in banána dé,

2sg make=3sg.obj 3sg.poss fry.cpd-rice 3sg.poss banana there

e go chɔ́p=an.

3sg.sbj pot eat=3sg.obj

‘(if/when) you make him his fried rice (and) his banana, he will eat it.’ [ro05rt 059]

# Multiverb constructions

I employ the term “multiverb constructions” (MVCs) as a generous cover term for serial verb constructions (SVCs), secondary predication, and clause chaining in Pichi. Multiverb constructions all have in common that there is some form of semantic dependence of one or more predicates with another, which is reflected in some form of reduction, restriction, or merging of elements of one or several predicates. Nonetheless, some of the constructions described in this chapter exhibit varying degrees of resemblance with some of the multiclausal structures covered in chapter 10. As a consequence, the classification as “multiverb” or “multiclausal” is sometimes difficult to make.

## General characteristics

Multiverb constructions form a continuum of structures involving predicates that are strung together in various ways. The area covered by MVCs stretches from tightly integrated verb strings to clause chains, i.e. structures that can barely be distinguished from a series of fully finite clauses. In the middle range of the continuum, we find secondary predication, which is characterised by more flexibility than SVCs, both in the types of verbs that may enter the construction as well as in the ways of paraphrasing them. SVCs are the most integrated MVCs. I use the term SVC only for constructions where “[o]ne verb is from a relatively large, open, or otherwise unrestricted class, and another from a semantically or grammatically restricted (or closed) class” (Aikhenvald 2006:21).

The verb from the restricted class in SVCs is henceforth referred to as the “minor verb” and the open-class verb as the “major verb” (Durie 1997). The relative position of verbs in SVCs is indicated by V1, V2, VX irrespective of their function as minor or major verbs. Whether (and which) SVCs constitute monoclausal or multiclausal structures in Pichi is left to future research to determine.

SVCs are less central to event integration in Pichi than the variety of constructions might suggest. SVCs constitute somewhere between five to twenty per cent of the clause linkage types in a given text. Equally, older (+50 years) speakers tend to use SVCs more frequently. Maybe increased language contact between Pichi and the non-serialising languages Spanish and Bube has led to the reinforcement of already existing, non-serialising strategies of clause linkage in Pichi (see Hajek (2006) on contact-induced “deserialisation”). This observation concerns in particular argument-introducing SVCs, a prominent type of SVCs in serialising languages of the region. Equally, there is a tendency towards the lexicalisation of certain SVCs involving particular verbs. This characteristic warrants analysing at least some of these SVCs as compound verbs.

## Serial verb constructions

Table 11.1 lists all types of SVCs identified in the corpus. The table lists the minor verbs of each construction. The semantic class of the major verb is indicated in the V1 or V2 column, e.g. “dynamic verb”. Where there is no significant semantic restriction on the semantic class of the major verb, the row simply contains the entry “verb”. The possibility of using switch-function (pro)nouns is listed in the table and discussed below where it applies.

Table 11.1 Serial verb constructions

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Type of SVC | V1 | V2 | Description | Switch-function? |
| Motion- | Motion verb | gó ‘go’ | Motion away | Yes |
| direction | Motion verb | kán ‘come’ | Motion towards | Yes |
|  | Motion verb | kɔmɔ́t ‘go out’ | Motion outwards | Yes |
|  | Motion verb | rích ‘reach’ | Motion up to | Yes |
| Motion-action | gó ‘go’ | Dynamic verb | Motion away/purpose & action | No |
|  | kán ‘come’ | Dynamic verb | Motion to/purpose & action | No |
| Participant- | ték ‘take’ | Dynamic verb | Instrument; theme | No |
| introducing | fála ‘follow’ | Motion verb | Comitative | No |
|  | Verb | pás ‘(sur)pass’ | Comparative | No |
| Complemen-tation | hía ‘hear’, sí ‘see’ | Verb | Immediate perception | Yes |

Not included in the table above are structures involving the following words with highly grammaticalised functions: go ‘pot’ (<gó ‘go’), kán ‘pfv’ (<kán ‘come’), mék ‘sbjv’ (<mék ‘make’), and sé ‘quot’ (< sé ‘?say’). Comparative SVCs featuring the minor verb *pás* ‘(sur)pass’ are covered in detail in section 6.9.

Verbs that participate in SVCs may not be separated by juncture markers such as declarative intonation, pauses, and continuative intonation, nor adverbial clause linkers and complementisers. Equally, the V2 may not be negated separately from the V1, while the negation of V1 has scope over the entire construction. Compare the following examples involving a motion-direction SVC:

(1540) \*Yu kɛ́r=an yu nó gó hospital?

2sg carry=3sg.obj 2sg neg go hospital

\*Didn’t you take him to hospital? [pa07me 006]

(1541) Yu nó kɛ́r=an gó hospital?

2sg neg carry=3sg.obj go hospital

‘Didn’t you take him to hospital?’ [pa07me 005]

Further, the V2 of an SVC does not appear with TMA marking, since it acquires its TMA specifications from the V1. Only the V1 is marked for tense, mood, and aspect. Hence, the second translation of (1542) as a motion-direction SVC is rejected. Instead, the construction may only be interpreted as involving a depictive secondary predicate (cf. 11.3.2). The inability to be independently marked for TMA also distinguishes SVCs from the verbal complements of aspectual and modal auxiliaries, some of which may be preceded by the imperfective aspect marker as well (cf. 10.5.3).

(1542) Yu de kɛ́r=an de gó hospital.

2sg ipfv carry=3sg.obj neg go hospital

‘You’re carrying him while going to the hospital.’ [pa07me 009]

\*You’re taking him to the hospital.’

### Motion-direction SVCs

Motion-direction SVCs involve one of the four motion verbs listed in Table 11.1 as minor verbs and V2s. These verbs contribute direction to the motion expressed by the V1. The construction is only attested with a total of eight motion verbs in the major verb, V1 position (cf. Table 8.5 for a summary of some of their semantic and syntactic characteristics). Of these verbs, four denote locomotion (i.e. wáka ‘walk’, rɔ́n ‘run’, fláy ‘fly’, and fála ‘follow’), while the remaining four (ték ‘take’, kɛ́r ‘take; carry’, bríng ‘bring’, and sɛ́n ‘send’) include direction, manner, and causation as part of their meaning.

The V1 position is therefore not open to other potential candidates with similar meanings (e.g. drɛ́b ‘drive’, ɛ́nta ‘enter’, or pús ‘push’), and the use of other motion verbs usually involves non-serial strategies of expressing direction. Indeed, the lexical specialisation of this SVC may justify an analysis of the construction as involving compound verbs rather than more open structures created by syntactic processes.

The following example presents a motion-direction SVC involving the V1 rɔ́n ‘run’ and the V2 gó ‘go’, which expresses motion away from the ground. Section 8.1.5 contains an extensive treatment of goal and source-marking in combination with motion-direction SVCs and other constructions involving spatial relations:

(1543) E sé ‘mɔ́mi mɔ́mi, yu nó de sí dán mán wé e

3sg.sbj quot mum mum 2sg neg ipfv see that man sub 3sg.sbj

rɔ́n gó abuela in rúm?’

run go grandmother 3sg.poss room

‘He said “mum, mum, don’t you see that man who ran into

grandmother’s room?”’ [ab03ab 053]

The goal of the motion may be expressed as an object of the V2 motion verb as in (1543) above. The goal may also be instantiated in a prepositional phrase introduced by na ‘loc’ (1544). Motion-direction SVCs featuring a transitive V1 can involve a “switch-function” (pro)noun (Aikhenvald 2006:14–15), in which case the object *=an* ‘3sg.obj’ of the V1 kɛ́r ‘carry’ may be analysed as the subject of the V2 gó ‘go’ in the following example:

(1544) A kɛ́r=an gó na comedor.

1sg.sbj carry=3sg.obj go loc dining-room

‘I carried him to the dining-room.’ [ab03ab 091]

A string of two verbs may be followed by additional serial verbs. Example (1545) illustrates multiple serialisation with the verb string kɛ́r–gó–wáka ‘carry–go–walk’. The construction is an overlap of a motion-direction SVC (kɛ́r–gó) and a motion-action SVC (gó-wáka):

(1545) Di bíg wán, a bin de kɛ́r=an gó wáka

def big one 1sg.sbj pst ipfv carry=3sg.obj go walk

na nɛ́t wet Tokobé.

loc night with name

‘As for the big one, I was carrying it off travelling by night with Tokobé.’ [ab03ab 006]

The V2 kán ‘come’ expresses motion towards a ground (1546). Strings involving the verb kɔmɔ́t ‘go out’ as the V2 express evacuation, i.e. motion out of a ground (1547). Note the presence of the prepositions fɔ ‘prep’ and na ‘loc’ which mark goal and source, respectively:

(1546) Kɛ́r di motó yu bríng kán fɔ yá.

take def car 2sg bring come prep here

‘Take the car and bring it here.’ [ro05de 036]

(1547) E kán rɔ́n kɔmɔ́t na kɔ́ntri, (...)

3sg.sbj pfv run go.out loc country

‘She fled from the [her] home town, (...)’ [ed03sb 035]

The notion of ‘movement up to’ is formed with the verb rích ‘arrive’ in the V2 position as in (1548). This construction is, however, rare:

(1548) A tínk sé e gɛ́t treinta y ocho años náw

1sg.sbj think quot 3sg.sbj get thirty and eight years now

wé e dɔ́n de gó rích cuarenta.

sub 3sg.sbj prf ipfv go reach forty

‘I think that he’s thirty-eight years old now and is already going towards forty.’

[fr03ft 146]

The situation expressed by motion-direction SVCs is more often expressed in non-serial structures featuring prepositional phrases as in (1549). In these constructions, context and common sense disambiguate the potentially locative (i.e. ‘in the pharmacy’) and goal (‘to the pharmacy’) meanings of the PP introduced by the general locative preposition na ‘loc’:

(1549) Dɛn rɔ́n na farmacia, receta de mɛ́rɛsin.

3pl run loc pharmacy prescription of medicine

‘They ran to the pharmacy, (to get a) prescription for medicine.’ [ab03ab 123]

Motion-direction SVCs and alternative ways of expressing the events they denote are also treated extensively in section 8.1.5.

### Motion-action SVCs

Motion-action SVCs involve the motion verbs gó ‘go’ and kán ‘come’ as minor verbs in the V1 position. This SVC denotes movement and subsequent action. It often has an underlying purposive meaning best translated as ‘go/come in order to’. The construction is the most frequent SVC in the corpus and involves a large variety of minor verbs in the V2 position.

The construction may involve another motion verb as V2 (1550), or any other dynamic verb (1551). Motion-action SVCs are only attested with a dynamic V2:

(1550) Di pikín dɔ́n gɛ́t sɛ́ven hía, e go wánt gó wáka,

def child prf get seven year 3sg.sbj pot want go walk

‘hɛ́, nó kɔmɔ́t na hós!’

intj neg go.out loc house

‘(When) the child is seven years old, she will want to go walk [roam around],

[then you tell her], “don’t you leave the house!”’ [ab03ay 115]

(1551) Ápás tumɔ́ro a go gó sí mi mamá.

after tomorrow 1sg.sbj pot go see 1sg.poss mother

‘After tomorrow, I will go see my mother.’ [ro05ee 131]

Below follow motion-action SVCs involving the minor kán ‘come’ as the V1. Like gó-SVCs, kán-SVCs are encountered with (1552) and without (1553) resumptive subject marking with the V2:

(1552) Yu kán yu púl=an.

2sg come 2sg remove=3sg.obj

‘You came and removed it.’ [ro05ee 094]

(1553) Na ín e de kán púl mí dán torí.

foc 3sg.indp 3sg.sbj ipfv come remove 1sg.indp that story

‘That’s when she was coming to tell me that story.’ [ab03ab 073]

SVCs involving the use of kán as a verb in a motion-action SVC like (1553) need to be distinguished from the use of kán as a narrative perfective aspect marker in a sentence like (1554) below. There are two ways of making the distinction. Firstly, (1553), the lexical verb kán ‘come’ may be marked by TMA markers like any other Pichi verb. On the contrary, the narrative perfective marker kán ‘pfv’ is subject to co-occurrence restrictions. For example, the TMA marker sequence \*de kán ‘ipfv pfv’ in (1553) above would be ungrammatical:

(1554) Na ín e kán vɛ́ks, e kán gó.

foc 3sg.indp 3sg.sbj pfv be.angry 3sg.sbj pfv go

‘That’s why he got angry, (and) he left.’ [fr03ft 190]

Secondly, speakers may employ resumptive subject marking with the V2 in sentences like (1552) above in order to avoid the potential ambiguity between a motion-action SVC and a verb marked for narrative perfective aspect (i.e. yu kán púl=an ‘2sg come remove=3sg.obj’ = ‘(then) you removed it)’. The same strategy is employed in (1555) below. In both examples, the bare lexical verb kán ‘come’ is likely to be interpreted as the narrative perfective marker kán ‘pfv’ if the sequence were not interrupted by the personal pronoun yu ‘2sg’. That said, these two uses of kán are often very similar and appear to be diachronically related:

(1555) Porque if yu mék, yu sí dán polvo, e de

because if 2sg make 2sg see that powder 3sg.sbj ipfv

pút=an ínsay, yu kán yu dríng, (...)

put=3sg.obj inside 2sg come 2sg drink

‘Because if you make, you see that powder, he’s putting it inside,

you come and drink (…)’ [ed03sb 099]

Motion-action SVCs frequently involve the use of resumptive gó and kán. In (1556), the verb string is interrupted by the adverbial phrase na peluquería ‘to the hairdresser’s’, after which we find a resumptive gó. Example (1557) features resumptive kán after the adverbial phrase wán dé ‘one day’:

(1556) Ɛf yu wántbába, yu wánt gó na peluquería gó kɔ́t yu hía.

if 2sg want cut.hair 2sg want go loc hairdresser’s go cut 2sg hair

‘If you want to have a hair-cut, you want to go cut your hair at the hairdresser’s.’

[ro05fe 031]

(1557) Dán mán fít kán wán dé kán ték yú sé

that man can come one day come take 2sg.indp quot

‘kán wi gó’, (...)

come 1pl go

‘That man can come take you one day (and) say “let’s go” (…).’ [hi03cb 196]

A more literal motion meaning may give way to a purposive meaning. In (1558), movement to the speakers hometown has already occurred before the motion-action SVC a gó bɔ́n ‘I went to give birth’ follows. There is no prosodic juncture between the two clauses:

(1558) A gó fɔ kɔ́ntri a gó bɔ́n.

1sg.sbj go prep country 1sg.sbj go give.birth

‘I went to my home town in order to give birth.’

In (1560), the literal meaning of the V1 gó recedes further behind a purposive sense. In this example, we see how motion through space instantiated by kɛ́r ‘bring’, the motion metaphor of the purpose clause introduced by fɔ ‘prep’, and the motion/purpose reading of gó itself harmonise:

(1559) Dɛn kán kɛ́r mí na Madrid fɔ mék dɛn gó opera mí.

3pl pfv carry 1sg.indp loc place prep sbjv 3pl go operate 1sg.indp

‘They took me to Madrid in order to go and operate me.’ [fr03ft 026]

The motion-action SVC in (1560) does not involve directed motion through space either. The SVC a gó a púl di trɔsis ‘I (went and) removed the trousers’ involves no motion other than removing the pair of trousers:

(1560) A púl in camiseta, a pút=an pantáp béd,

1sg.sbj remove 3sg.poss singlet 1sg.sbj put=3sg.obj top bed

a gó a púl di trɔsis a híb=an

1sg.sbj go 1sg.sbj remove def trousers 1sg.sbj throw=3sg.obj

ínsay di bañera.

inside def bath.tub

‘I removed his singlet, I put him on the bed, I (went and) removed his trousers,

I heaved him into the bath tub.’ [ab03ab 083]

Example (1560) also points towards a difference in meaning that may arise between motion-action serialisation without resumptive subject marking (cf. e.g (1559) above) and motion-action SVCs, in which the V2 has an overt subject pronoun (cf. e.g. (1560)). While the former type tends to extend metaphorically into the expression of purpose relations, the latter tends to focus the action designated by V2. Motion-action SVCs involving kán also lend themselves to less literal interpretations. Compare (1555) above, where the V1 kán also focuses the following V2 dríng ‘drink’.

### Participant-introducing SVCs

In participant-introducing SVCs, a noun appears as the syntactic object of the minor verb, but this object may occupy diverse semantic roles. One type of participant-introducing SVC involves the verb ték ‘take’. Ték-SVCs may in turn be divided into two types.

In the first type, the object of the V1 ték ‘take’ is the instrument or means used for performing V2. Compare wán blák lapá ‘a black cloth’ in (1561). The instrument may also be an abstract noun like páwa ‘power’ (1562) or papá gɔ́d ‘God’ in the idiom in (1563):

(1561) E kin dé lɛk sé dɛn ték wán blák lapá dɛn kɔ́ba yú.

3sg.sbj hab be.loc like quot 3pl take one black cloth 3pl cover 2sg.indp

‘It is usually so that they cover you with a black cloth.’ [ed03sb 119]

(1562) Yu fít gó sé ‘bueno a ték páwa gó’ (...)

2sg can go quot good 1sg.sbj take power go

‘You can go and say, “well, I leave by my own authority (...)”’ [hi03cb 194]

(1563) A ték papá gɔ́d bɛ́g=an.

1sg.sbj take father God ask=3sg.obj

‘I implored him in the name of God.’ [sa07fn 297]

In the second type, the object of the V1 ték ‘take’ is the theme of the V2. This type of ték-SVC is far more frequent than the one involving an instrument role. Equally, in this type, the theme is always reiterated by a resumptive object pronoun following V2, and very frequently it additionally involves resumptive subject marking. These two characteristics may make such ték-SVCs difficult to distinguish from clause chaining when the first subevent of the situation denoted by the SVC may actually involve “taking” in a literal sense (cf. 11.4).

Compare the alternative translations of (1564) and (1565). Note the use of a resumptive object pronoun alone in the first example, and the use of both a resumptive object and subject pronoun in the second one:

(1564) A ték=an pút=an pantáp mi bɛlɛ́.

1sg.sbj take =3sg.obj put=3sg.obj top 1sg.poss belly

‘I (took him and) put him onto my belly.’ [ab03ab 067]

(1565) Yu ték di maíz yu hól=an.

2sg take def maize 2sg hold=3sg.obj

‘You take the maize (and) you hold it.’ [dj03do 003]

However, a theme object of ték need not be an entity that can be “taken” in a literal sense. The following example once more involves resumptive object and subject pronouns. With an object like yáy ‘eye’, no literal interpretation of ték as ‘take’ is possible here:

(1566) A tɛ́l yú sé mi mán ték ín yáy

1sg.sbj tell 2sg.indp quot 1sg.poss man take 3sg.poss eye

e pút=an bɔtɔ́n grɔ́n só.

3sg.sbj put3sg.obj bottom ground like.that

‘I tell you that my husband diverted his eye [gaze] down like this.’ [ro05rt 011]

When the theme object of ték is human, it may also receive a comitative ‘together with’ interpretation. This occurs with the object di gɛ́l ‘the girl’ in the relative construction in (1567):

(1567) Porque e fíba sé di gɛ́l [wé e bin de ték kɔmɔ́t],

because 3sg.sbj seem quot def girl sub 3sg.sbj pst ipfv take go.out

e bin gɛ́t bɔkú bɔ́y dɛn.

3sg.sbj pst get much boy pl

‘Because it seems that the girl that he was going out with, she had many boyfriends.’

[fr03ft 127]

Example (1567) above is also noteworthy because it shows what happens when the object of ték is relativised. The object di gɛ́l ‘the girl’ is placed in the head noun position, while the relativised position may remain empty, which leads to V1 and V2 occurring next to each other. Contiguity of ték and the V2 is also found when the object of ték is fronted in content questions. Sentence (1569) features the questioned concrete noun plɛ́nk ‘board’ and (1569) the abstract noun stáyl ‘manner’:

(1568) Ús=káyn plɛ́nk dɛn ték bíl di hós?

q=kind board 3pl take build def house

‘What kind of board did they build the house with?’ [dj05ce 104]

(1569) Na ús=káyn stáyl yu ték kán na yá?

foc q=kind style 2sg take come loc here

‘How did you come here.’ [ro05ee 005]

SVCs involving ték are less frequent than equivalent combinations of verbs and prepositions. A PP involving wet ‘with’ is more commonly employed to express the semantic role of instrument (1570). Comitative ték-serialisations are even less common. Speakers usually resort to a PP introduced by the preposition ẁet ‘with’ as in (1575) further below:

(1570) Dɛn bíl di strít wet caterpillar.

3pl build def street with caterpillar

‘The street was built with a caterpillar.’ [dj05be 078]

The competition between the serial and prepositional strategies of participant-marking is manifest in the rather exceptional sentences (1571) and (1572) elicited from two different speakers. Here, the questioning of the instrument noun produced redundant marking of the question phrase ús=káyn tín ‘q=kind thing’ = ‘what’ with both a preposition and a ték-SVC. Non-interrogative double uses of this kind were not found, however:

(1571) Wet ús=káyn tín dɛn ték bíl di hós?

with q=kind thing 3pl take build def house

‘(With) what did they build the house with?’ [ye05ce 106]

(1572) Wet ús=káyn stík yu bin ték bíl di hós?

with q=kind wood 2sg pst take build def house

‘(With) what kind of wood did you build the house with?’ [ro05de 050]

The verb fála ‘follow; accompany’ participates as a V1 in the expression of a comitative role. The object of fála is the accompanee of the situation denoted by the V2. The object of fála is usually human and placed between V1 and V2:

(1573) Yɛ́s, Concha fála Princess gó viaje.

yes name follow name go voyage

‘Yes, Concha went on the voyage together with Princess.’ [dj05be 097]

Once more, most speakers prefer to express accompaniment through non-serial alternatives. One possibility is the use of the verb jwɛ́n ‘join’, followed by the nominalised reference verb as in (1574). The most common means involves a comitative prepositional phrase introduced by wet ‘with’ (1575):

(1574) A jwɛ́n Boyé fɔ chɔ́p.

1sg.sbj join name prep eat

‘I ate together with Boyé.’ [ur05fn 045]

(1575) E gó wet in mamá?

3sg.sbj go with 3sg.poss mother

‘Did he go with his mother?’ [fr03do 033]

A final type of participant-introducing SVC is the comparative construction featuring the verb pás ‘(sur)pass’ (1576). The object of pás is the standard of comparison. Comparative SVCs are covered in detail in section 6.9.1:

(1576) Lage de tɔ́k Bubɛ pás mí.

name ipfv talk Bube pass 1sg.indp

‘Lage speaks Bube better than me.’ [fr03ab 012]

### Complementation SVCs

This type of SVC features a verb of immediate perception as a minor verb and V1. In the corpus, this construction is attested with sí ‘see’ and hía ‘hear’ as V1. The construction features a switch-function (pro)noun. In (1577), the object of sí ‘see’, i.e. sɔn wáyt pambɔ́d ‘a white bird’, functions as the notional subject of the V2 kán ‘come’:

(1577) A sí sɔn wáyt pambɔ́d de kán.

1sg.sbj see some white bird ipfv come

‘I saw a white bird coming.’ [ed03sb 174]

Apart from participant overlap via switch-function, a defining feature of complementation SVCs is the temporal overlap between V1 and V2. Hence, in the example above, the dynamic verb kán ‘come’ is marked for imperfective aspect, which signals simultaneity with the situation denoted by the factative marked V1 sí ‘see.’ The appearance of imperfective aspect to indicate simultaneity is also found with depictive secondary predicates (cf. 11.3.2). Complementation SVCs are, however, syntactically more integrated; they may involve switch-function (pro)nouns while secondary predication may not.

When the V2 in a complementation SVC is an inchoative-stative property item, the V2 may appear with an overt subject e ‘3sg.sbj’, which is coferential with the preceding object pronoun *=an* ‘3sg.obj’, as in the example below. Without the V2 subject, the property item *fáyn* would be interpreted as an adverbial modifier of *sí* ‘see’. This structure is now in fact identical to some of the depictive secondary predications covered in section 11.3, e.g. (1601). Complementation structures are therefore not so clear-cut cases of SVCs, and it is debatable whether they should not be seen as “overlapping clauses” (Ameka 2006), hence multiclausal structures.

(1578) If yu gó fɔ di máred, yu sí=an e fáyn.

if 2sg go prep def marry 2sg see=3sg.obj 3sg.sbj be.fine

‘If you go to the marriage, you see it (to be) nice.’ [*Lit*. ‘(…) it is nice’] [hi03cb 006]

The more common alternative to complementation SVCs is for the perceived situation to be expressed as a complement clause introduced by sé ‘quot’, as in the following example:

(1579) Yu jɔ́s hía sé pɔ́sin dɛn bin de tɔ́k bɔt yu nó lístin.

2sg just hear quot person pl pst ipfv talk but 2sg neg listen

‘You just heard that people were talking but you didn’t listen.’ [au07se 109]

### Adverbial SVCs

Two verbs in the corpus appear as minor verbs in adverbial SVCs. In these structures the V1 provides a modification that is temporal in nature. The verb lás ‘be the last to; end up’ enters into an adverbial SVC as a minor verb (1580). Proof for the verbal status of lás comes from (1581): lás may not appear in the postverbal adverbial position. In contrast, the word fɔ́s ‘first’ which also expresses temporal meanings may, since it is an adverb (1582):

(1580) A lás chɔ́p.

1sg.sbj be.last eat

‘I was the last to eat/I ended up eating.’ [eb07fn 130]

(1581) \*Na mí chɔ́p lás.

foc 1sg.indp eat last

\*I ate last. [ra07ve 025]

(1582) A wás fɔ́s.

1sg.sbj wash first

‘I washed (myself) first.’ [ra07ve 023]

The dynamic verb sté ‘stay’ is employed as the V1 in an SVC in order to express (excessive) duration. This SVC is frequently used in a context of current relevance, where it commonly appears together with the perfect marker dɔ́n:

(1583) Yu dɔ́n sté kán?

2sg prf stay come

‘Did you come long ago?’ [ge07fn 164]

Many speakers reject this adverbial SVC as ungrammatical. Instead, they prefer to express duration through a biclausal structure with co-referential subjects (1584) or an expletive subject to sté (1585). The latter use is once more similar to secondary predication covered below in section 11.3:

(1584) A sté wé a nɛ́va chɔ́p.

1sg.sbj stay sub 1sg.sbj neg.prf eat

‘It’s been long since I haven’t eaten.’ [au07ec 081]

(1585) E nó sté a recibe di carta,

3sg.sbj neg stay 1sg.sbj receive def letter

di tín wé a bɛ́g.

def thing sub 1sg.sbj ask.for

‘It wasn’t long and I received the letter, the thing I (had) asked for.’ [ed03sb 214]

## Secondary predication

Pichi deploys reduced clauses as adjuncts to clauses fully specified for person and TMA. In the following, I refer to the predicator of the reduced clause as the secondary predicate, and to that of the full clause as the primary predicate (Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann 2004; Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt 2006). Secondary predicates may range in complexity from fully-fledged clauses to reduced clauses consisting of the secondary predicate alone. In Pichi, there is therefore no clear-cut distinction between structures involving secondary predication and some of the time, manner, and result clauses covered in section 10.7.

There are two types of secondary predication in Pichi, namely depictives (11.3.2) and resultatives (11.3.3). The difference between the two types is both semantic and formal. Resultatives secondary predicates instantiate an end-state and can therefore be seen to stand in a relation of temporal sequentiality or posteriority to the primary predicate. In formal terms, only inchoative-stative property items can function as resultative secondary predicates.

Depictive secondary predicates are in a temporal relation of simultaineity to the primary predicate and therefore contribute manner or temporal readings to the primary predicate. It makes little sense to distinguish further in Pichi between secondary predicates commonly referred to as depictives and those known as circumstantials (cf. Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt 2006). The semantic and formal differences that we find between individual constructions are due to differences in the lexical aspect class, degree and type of transitivity, and other semantic features (e.g. animacy) of the primary and secondary predicates. These features also co-determine whether a secondary predicate is subject- or object-oriented. With depictives, the lexical aspect class of the secondary predicate also determines whether the secondary predicate is marked for imperfective aspect by factative TMA (i.e. with inchoative-stative verbs) or by the use of *de* ‘ipfv’ (i.e. with dynamic verbs).

### Secondary predication vs. serial verb constructions

Secondary predicates can be distinguished from SVCs on formal grounds. For one, the secondary predicate is connected to the primary predicate in a loose way, i.e. via adjunction. The secondary predicate can therefore be paraphrased by fuller clauses with sometimes only slight modifications to the sentence (cf. (1590)).

A second distinguishing feature is that secondary predicate constructions do not involve switch-function (pro)nouns. In the following motion-direction SVC, *=an* ‘3sg.obj’, the object of the V1 kɛ́r ‘carry’, simultaneously functions as the notional subject of the V2 kán ‘come’. In fact, the overt expression of a subject pronoun with the V2 would be ungrammatical (i.e. \*a kɛ́r=an e gó na comedor ‘I carried him, he went to the dining-room’).

(1586) A kɛ́r=an gó na comedor.

1sg.sbj carry=3sg.obj go loc dining-room

‘I carried him to the dining-room.’ [ab03ab 091]

The following secondary predicate construction is therefore rejected. The object mí ‘1sg.indp’ of the primary predicate mít ‘meet’ may not simultaneously serve as the subject of the secondary predicate kúk ‘cook’:

(1587) \*E mít mí de kúk.

3sg.sbj meet 1sg.indp ipfv cook

\*He came across me while (I was) cooking. [pa07me 017]

In such cases of object-subject identity involving an animate participant, the secondary predicate must rather have an explicit subject, even if the primary predicate object and the secondary predicate subject are co-referential:

(1588) E mít mí a de kúk sɛ́f.

3sg.sbj meet 1sg.indp 1sg.sbj ipfv cook emp

‘He came across me while I was actually cooking.’ [ro05de 023]

Further, the V2 of an SVC acquires its TMA specification from the V1; the V2 may not be independently marked for tense, mood, and aspect (cf. (1542)). In contrast, depictive secondary predicates must be marked for simultaneity by imperfective aspect, either via factative TMA or via *de* ‘ipfv’. Compare the imperfective-marked secondary predicate *chɔ́p* ‘eat’ in this example:

(1589) Yu pikín sidɔ́n de chɔ́p dɛn tú brɛ́d.

2sg child sit ipfv eat 3pl two bread

‘Your child was sitting (there) eating those two loaves of bread.’ [ab03ab 128]

Many secondary predicates in the data do not feature overt subjects either and in that, they resemble the V2s of SVCs like (1586) above. However, contrary to the SVC in (1586), the notional subject of the secondary predicate may optionally be expressed. Secondary predicates may therefore be expanded into fuller clauses.

The following sequence of near-identical resultative constructions graphically shows the progression from the reduced clause typical of secondary predication to a biclausal structure involving overt clause linkage:

(1590) a. A lɛ́f di domɔ́t ópin.

1sg.sbj leave def door be.open

‘I left the door open.’ [pa07me 029]

b. A lɛ́f di domɔ́t e ópin.

1sg.sbj leave def door 3sg.sbj be.open

‘I left the door open.’ [pa07me 030]

c. A lɛ́f di domɔ́t sé e ópin.

1sg.sbj leave def door quot 3sg.sbj be.open

‘I left the door open.’ [pa07me 031]

### Depictives

In formal terms, there are two types of depictive secondary predicates. One type features a bare verb with a stative interpretation, the other a dynamic verb marked for imperfective aspect. Both types are therefore marked for simultaneous taxis with the primary predicate – the bare inchoative-stative verb by default via factative TMA, and the dynamic verb via explicit imperfective aspect marking. Further, depictive secondary predications can be differentiated according to their participant orientation. Subject-oriented predicates predicate a situation relating to the subject, object-oriented ones relate a situation relating to the object.

Transitive verbs denoting various types of use or manipulation are prone to occuring with object-oriented depictive predicates. For example, affected-agent verbs like the verbs of ingestion dríng ‘drink’ and chɔ́p ‘eat’ appear with object-oriented secondary predicates with a depictive function:

(1591) E dríng di watá kól.

3sg.sbj drink def water be.cold

‘He drank the water (and it was) cold.’ [ra07ve 004]

(1592) Dɛn chɔ́p di banána grín.

3pl eat def banana be.green

‘They ate the banana green [unripe].’ [dj05be 108]

Another group that appears with object-oriented depictives are verbs of handling and manipulation (e.g. bay ‘buy’, kɛ́r ‘carry’, sɛ́l ‘sell’, yús ‘use’). The following example illustrates this usage by means of kɛ́r ‘carry’ and the secondary predicate ɛ́nti ‘be empty’:

(1593) A kɛ́r di bokit-pán ɛ́nti.

1sg.sbj carry def bucket.cpd-pan be.indpty

‘I carried the bucket empty.’ [pa07me 039]

Subject-oriented depictives occur in intransitive clauses with various types of intransitive or low-transitivity primary predicates. A prominent group of primary predicates encompasses locomotion verbs like kɔmɔ́t ‘go/come out’ as in this example:

(1594) E kɔmɔ́t na rúm nékɛd.

3sg.sbj go.out loc room be.naked

‘He left the room naked.’ [ra07ve 001]

Some depictive secondary predications may alternatively be expressed through nominal depictives. One strategy involves the use of a prepositional phrase introduced by the multifunctional preposition wet ‘with’ (cf. also (888) and (885)–(886)):

(1595) E kɔmɔ́t na wók wet hángri.

3sg.sbj go.out loc work with hunger

‘He left work hungry.’ [ra07ve 073]

A common subject-oriented depictive construction in the data involves the expression of “associated posture” (Enfield 2002): The secondary predicate denotes a situation that holds while the subject assumes a posture denoted by the primary predicate. The secondary predicate is therefore both participant- (the subject) and event-oriented (the primary predicate). When associated posture verbs co-occur with a dynamic secondary predicate, temporal simultaneity is marked overtly by imperfective marking. This is the case in (1596) where the posture verb sidɔ́n ‘sit (down)’ is followed by the imperfective marked dynamic verb chɔ́p ‘eat’:

(1596) Yu pikín sidɔ́n de chɔ́p dɛn tú brɛ́d.

2sg child sit ipfv eat 3pl two bread

‘Your child was sitting there eating those two loaves of bread.’ [ab03ab 128]

The secondary predicate in an associated posture construction may also be another locative verb that elaborates on the type of posture taken by the subject. In (1597), the posture verb sidɔ́n ‘sit (down)’ is followed by the inchoative-stative locative verb ráwn ‘form a circle’. Since ráwn is not dynamic, the situation of temporal overlap is not marked by means of the imperfective aspect. It is rather marked by factative TMA, hence the bare verb (cf. 6.1). The use of a co-referential subject pronoun with the V2 (the second dɛn ‘3pl’ in the example) is common if the secondary predicate is not dynamic:

(1597) Dɛn sidɔ́n dɛn ráwn di fáya.

3pl sit 3pl surround def fire

‘They’re sitting around the fire.’ Or ‘They sat down around the fire.’ [ro05ee 115]

The following example also involves associated posture, this time featuring the locative-existential copula *dé* ‘be.loc’ serving as a primary predicate. The general locative meaning of the copula allows various interpretations of associated posture. The use of dé ‘be.loc’ together with the adverbial complement dé ‘there’ in such a construction also conveys affective nuances like negligence or irritation with the situation denoted by the secondary predicate:

(1598) Di pikín dé dé de kráy.

def child be.loc there ipfv cry

‘The child is just (standing/sitting/lying) there crying.’ [pa07me 027]

A second, equally common subject-oriented secondary predicate features a dynamic locomotion verb as the primary predicate. The secondary predicate provides information about the subject as well as the event denoted by the primary predicate itself. In the example below, both verbs are dynamic, hence, imperfective marking is again used to express the temporal overlap of the two predicates. Note the optional use of a resumptive subject pronoun with the secondary predicate:

(1599) Dɛn de fála dɛn sɛ́f dɛn de rɔ́n.

3pl ipfv follow 3pl self 3pl ipfv run

‘They’re following each other running.’ [dj07re 005]

The construction in (1600) features the the locomotion verb wáka ‘walk’ as primary predicate and the idiomatic reflexive construction ópin in sɛ́f ‘(to) boast’ as secondary predicate. Note the presence of the resumptive subject pronoun e ‘3sg.sbj’ in this example as well:

(1600) E nó gɛ́t mɔní, wétin e de wáka

3sg.sbj neg get money what 3sg.sbj ipfv walk

e de ópin in sɛ́f so?

3sg.sbj ipfv open 3sg.poss self like.that

‘He doesn’t have money, why does he go around boasting like that?’ [ye07je 132]

Animacy provides additional cues to the meaning of constructions involving secondary predication. When the object of a transitive verb has an animate object as in (1601) (i.e. mí ‘1sg.indp’), the secondary predicate may be interpreted as either subject- or object-oriented. In such cases, the secondary predicate requires a subject pronoun in order to establish reference with either of the two participants:

(1601) Pero dɛn kán **dú** mí a de sté na Móka,

but 3pl pfv do 1sg.indp 1sg.sbj ipfv stay loc place

dɛn kán dú mí na Móka.

3pl pfv do 1sg.indp loc place

‘But they did it to me while I was staying in Moka, they did it to

me in Moka.’ [ab03ay 071]

### Resultatives

Resultative secondary predicates express resultant states, hence, they also involve stative(ly interpreted) property items. Resultative meaning arises in sentences featuring highly transitive effected-object verbs as primary predicates and property items as secondary predicates. Resultatives are invariably object-oriented.

In (1602), the verb of production pént ‘paint’ is followed by the patient object hós ‘house’ and the secondary predicate blák ‘black’). The secondary predicated is an object-oriented resultative adjunct that denotes the resultant state of the event denoted by the primary predicate:

(1602) E pént di hós blák.

3sg.sbj paint def house black

‘He painted the house black.’ [pa07me 037]

Sentence (1603) features the effected-object verb mék ‘make, prepare’ as a primary predicate. Note that the secondary predicate takes the subject pronoun e ‘3sg.sbj’, which is co-referential with the primary predicate object café ‘coffee’. The overt subject pronoun is not necessary here because the resultative predicate is clearly object-oriented (unlike the primary predicate presented in (1588) above). I assume that an explicit subject pronoun is nevertheless employed because of the presence of the preverbal degree adverb tú ‘too (much)’. This makes the secondary predicate more complex and motivates the use of a finite resultative clause featuring an overt subject:

(1603) Dɛn mék di café e tú swít.

3pl make def coffee 3sg.sbj too be.sweet

‘They prepared the coffee (it’s) too sweet.’ [ra07ve 064]

Resultatives may be paraphrased by employing a nominal strategy. The resultative secondary predicate in (1604), i.e. the property item wɔwɔ́ ‘be ugly; messed up’ may be vaguely paraphrased via an NP in which it appears as a prenominal modifier to the generic noun stáyl ‘manner’ (1605). The generic noun stáyl ‘manner’ is also used in modifications of manner (cf. e.g. (880) and in manner question words (cf. e.g. (629)), hence in (1605), it is ambiguous between a participant-oriented resultative reading and an event-oriented manner reading:

(1604) Dɛn bíl di ród wɔwɔ́.

3pl build def road be.ugly

‘They built the road (and it’s) shoddy.’ [ra07ve 059]

(1605) Dɛn bíl=an wɔwɔ́ stáyl.

3pl build=3sg.obj ugly style

‘They built it (and it’s) shoddy.’ Or ‘They built it shoddily.’ [ra07ve 060]

Pichi resultative constructions are object-oriented and require the secondary predicate to be an inchoative-stative property item. Neither inchoative-stative verbs from other semantic classes nor dynamic verbs are employed as resultative secondary predicates. In contrast, Pichi’s West African sister languages have object-oriented resultative SVCs featuring dynamic secondary predicates as in the Krio example below, and subject-oriented resultatives featuring change-of-state secondary predicates as in Ghanaian Pidgin English.

(1606) Di wúmán kúk rɛ́s sɛ́l. Krio

def woman cook rice sell

‘The woman cooked rice and sold it.’ (Finney 2004:72)

(1607) A **chɔ́p** táya. Ghanaian Pidgin English

1sg.sbj eat be.tired

‘I ate (until I was) tired (of it).’ (field data)

Accordingly, Pichi also does not have a resultative completive aspect construction featuring the dynamic verb *fínish* ‘finish’ as a secondary predicate, as in the following example. In Pichi, completive aspect is instead expressed via an auxiliary construction and a verbal complement (cf. 6.4.3):

(1608) A **chɔ́p** fínish. Ghanaian Pidgin English

1sg.sbj eat finish

‘I’ve finished eating/ I’m done eating.’ (field data)

Resultant situations like the ones above must therefore be expressed through fuller clauses in Pichi. When the secondary predicate is not a property item and subject-oriented, a clause linker like sóté ‘until’ may be sufficient*.* When the secondary predicate is not a property item and object-oriented, a chained clause with person-marking is required:

(1609) A viaja \*(sóté) táya.

1sg.sbj travel until be.tired

‘I travelled until (I was) tired (of it).’ [ju07ae 531]

(1610) Bɔt wi fít de plé, a jám yú yu fɔdɔ́n.

but 1pl can ipfv play 1sg.sbj make.contact 2sg.indp 2sg fall

‘But we could be playing, I hit you (and) you fall.’ [au07se 178]

## Clause chaining

Clause chaining is utilised in narrative discourse to describe tightly-knit situations that take place in sequence. In chained clauses, speakers use one predicate after the other without pausing or placing clause linkers between them. However, chained predicates invariably feature resumptive personal pronouns, and the subject is repeated with each verb in the series. Verbs that participate in clause chaining are always dynamic and form part of foregrounded sections of narrative discourse (cf. 6.8.1).

TMA marking is reduced in chained clauses. Tense, aspect, and mood marking is overtly expressed with the initial one or two verb(s) in order to provide orientation and grounding. Subsequent verbs, however, remain bare. Clause chaining is therefore different from linkage involving fuller clauses through the absence of prosodic juncture marking and the reduction of TMA marking. At the same time, chained clauses differ from SVCs because they exhibit overt person marking.

The clause chain below features the initial verbs rɛdí ‘be/make ready’ and mék ‘make’, which are both fully finite and marked for potential mood. The verbs following mék, i.e. ték ‘take’, pút ‘put’, sɛ́n ‘send’, and gó ‘go’ are all left bare without TMA marking. Instead, they form part of a clause chain, in which the initial two verbs alone provide the temporal, aspectual, and modal frame of reference. Note that the bare verbs in the clause chain cannot be interpreted as being marked for factative TMA, since the temporal and modal frame of the paragraph is provided by the potential mood marked on *rɛdí* ‘prepare’ and *mék* ‘make’:

(1611) Dɛn go rɛdí yú dɛn go mék lɛk háw dɛn de mék

3pl pot prepare 2sg.indp 3pl pot make like how 3pl ipfv make

fɔ wích, dɛn ték yú dɛn pút yú na avión

prep sorcery 3pl take 2sg.indp 3pl put 2sg.indp loc plane

dɛn sɛ́n yú fɔ ɔ́da kɔ́ntri yu gó wók mɔní.

3pl send 2sg.indp prep other country 2sg go work money

‘They would prepare you like the way it’s done by sorcery, they’ll take you,

put you into a plane, and send you to another country (and) you’ll go earn

(them) money.’ [ed03sb 104]

The following example illustrates how the difference between clause chaining and the linkage of fully finite clauses may hinge on intonation when a series of dynamic verbs are marked for factative TMA.

In (1612), the verbs ték ‘take’, pé ‘pay’, kɔmɔ́t ‘go out’, rích ‘arrive’, and pé ‘pay’ are iconically ordered along the time axis and describe successive events. However, they are separated by pauses. Additionally, the last constituent of each clause bears continuative intonation (indicated by a comma), which alerts the hearer to the existence of a clausal boundary. For these reasons, (1612) does not involve clause chaining:

(1612) Lúk=an, di dé wé dís Paquita in papá bin kán ték=an,

look=3sg.obj def day sub this name 3sg.poss father pst come take=3sg.obj

e pé avioneta, kɔmɔ́t Alemania, rích na Douala,

3sg.sbj pay small.aircraft go.out place reach loc place

pé avioneta, e kán na yá só.

pay small.aircraft 3sg.sbj come loc here like.that

‘Look at her, the day that Paquita’s father came to take her, he rented a small plane,

left Germany, got to Douala, rented a small plane, (and) came here.’ [ab03ay 140]

# Pragmatic elements and routines

The pragmatically oriented elements covered in this chapter form part of a range of performative and expressive devices which extend into the realm of gesture and body posture. In this chapter, sections are dedicated to ideophones, interjections, and two other elements that have much in common with interjections but defy rigid demarcation: The sentence particle ó ‘sp’ as well as ‘suck teeth’, a phonetic realisation with important pragmatic functions.

Like interjections, ideophones represent an expressive dimension of communicative interaction. Also common to both micro word classes is that many of their members do not enter into grammatical constructions with other word classes, and are fít into discourse by adjunction. Equally, many interjections and ideophones manifest some degree of sound symbolism, hence the relation between form and meaning is not entirely arbitrary. However, while interjections can occur as utterances on their own, ideophones (unless they are interjectional) occur as parts of utterances.

The two final sections cover two important manifestations of the socio-pragmatic domain of politeness, namely the address system and greeting routines.

## Ideophones

Ideophones are words with expressive and imaginistic semantics and particular structural characteristics (e.g. Westermann 1930:187–189; Doke 1935:118–119; Dingemanse 2017). Ideophones are found in different syntactic categories in Pichi, but they may be seen to constitute a coherent semantic class. Compare the ideophone gbogbogbo in (1613), which expresses haste or precipitous hurry:

(1613) Tokobé dɔ́n wɛ́r klós gbogbogbo.

name prf wear clothing ideo

‘Tokobé had put on (her) clothes in haste.’ [ab03ab 111]

The importance of iteration with ideophones reflects the sound symbolic dimension of this word class. Compare the ideophonic verbs (a) and ideophonic nouns (b) in (1614):

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (1614) | a. | kata.kátá | ‘be (hyper-)active; hectic’ |
|  |  | ményé.ményé | ‘nag in a childlike fashion’ |
|  | b. | pɔtɔ.pɔ́tɔ́ | ‘mushy substance; mud’ |
|  |  | wuru.wúrú | ‘disgrace; confusion’ |

Like other ideophones, the words listed above have a rather unusual segmental structure: they involve bisyllabic simplex forms which feature a single vowel type (e.g. /a/ in kata-) and two “similar” consonants (e.g. /w/ and /r/ in wuru-). Other ideophones feature the phonemes /gb/ and /kp/, which are only attested with this word class (i.e. gbin, gbogbogbo, and kpu) or otherwise rare clusters like /fw/ in fwífwífwí ‘sound of the wind blowing’.

Most ideophones in the corpus involve some form of iteration (cf. 4.5). Iteration may involve reduplication (e.g. katakátá ‘be hectic’) or be syntactic and involve repetition (e.g. fwífwífwí ‘sound of the wind blowing’). Most ideophones are preferably used as adverbs and therefore occur in the postverbal, adverbial position in order to modify the verb with respect to manner. A few ideophones preferably function as verbs or nouns, and one is used as an interjection (kɔ́ngkɔ́ngkɔ́ng ‘seek permission to enter’). All ideophones that involve a form of iteration are listed in (1615):

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (1615) | Word class attested | Example | Translation |
|  | Verb | kakara | ‘be restless’ |
|  |  | katakátá | ‘be active, hectic’ |
|  |  | ményéményé | ‘whine; nag in a childlike fashion’ |
|  | Verb & adjective | *wɔwɔ́* | ‘be ugly; in disorder’ |
|  | Noun | pɔtɔpɔ́tɔ́ | ‘mushy substance; mud’ |
|  |  | wuruwúrú | ‘deceit’ |
|  | Adverb | fwífwífwí | ‘sound of wind blowing’ |
|  |  | gbin | ‘sound of a hard, sudden blow’ |
|  |  | gbogbogbo | ‘in haste’ |
|  |  | kamúkamú | ‘sight of the buttocks moving’ |
|  |  | kutuku | ‘sound of heart beating’ |
|  |  | wéwé; wówó | ‘sound of crying and wailing’ |
|  | Interjection | kɔ́ngkɔ́ngkɔ́ng | ‘seek permission to enter’ |

Ideophones that involve reduplication feature a suprasegmental structure of the type that we find with bisyllabic iterative reduplications like hala-hála ‘red.cpd-shout’ = ‘repeated shouting’ in (61) above: Two phonetic L tones over the first two syllables of the reduplicant are followed by a succession of two phonetic H tones over the base (with the last H tone resulting from raising of the lexical L to H, which is phonologised and does not vary). One such ideophone is the property item katakátá ‘be (hyper-)active; hectic’, which appears in the prenominal modifier position in the following sentence. Another ideophone belonging to this group is the noun pɔtɔpɔ́tɔ́ ‘mud’, also below:

(1616) Na wán katakátá mán.

foc one hectic man

‘He’s a hectic man.’ [tr07fn 229]

(1617) Dán sáy gɛ́t bɔkú pɔtɔpɔ́tɔ́.

that side get much mud

‘[Mind you] that place is very muddy.’ [ne07fn 230]

The most commonly used ideophonic verb (and a generally quite frequent verb) is wɔwɔ́ ‘be ugly; messy; in disorder’. This verb also belongs to the group of ideophones with a tone configuration that suggests the operation of reduplication rather than repetition.

A second group of ideophones involves repetition. Some words of this group may be encountered as simplex forms, (i.e. kutuku ‘sound of the heart beating’, kakara ‘be restless’) and may optionally be repeated in order to express meanings associated with repetition, such as emphasis or duration. Iterations of such ideophones therefore do not involve lexicalisation proper, even if there is a strong tendency for them to be repeated in discourse.

Hence, the ideophonic verb kakara ‘be restless’ is employed as a dynamic verb in (1624), preceded by the imperfective marker de ‘ipfv’ and repeated for emphasis. The comma after the first kakara signals the presence of a short pause, which indicates that this ideophone can also stand alone as simplex form:

(1618) Ín de kakara, kakara kakara.

3sg.indp ipfv be.restless rep rep

‘He [emp] was all restless.’ [ab03ab 047]

The ideophone kutuku ‘sound of the heart beating’ may also optionally be repeated for emphasis, as in the following sentence:

(1619) Na só in hát mék kutuku kutuku kutuku.

foc like.that 3sg.poss heart make ideo ideo ideo

‘That’s how his heart was going “kutuku kutuku kutuku”.’ [ab03ab 070]

Other ideophones that formally involve repetition are not usually encountered as simplex forms. Therefore, the ideophone gbogbogbo which expresses haste or precipitous hurry has no attested simplex form \*gbò. The ideophone only occurs as a triplicated iteration, as in this example:

(1620) Tokobé dɔ́n wɛ́r klós gbogbogbo.

name prf wear clothing ideo

‘Tokobé had put on (her) clothes in haste.’ [ab03ab 111]

Likewise, the ideophone fwífwífwí ‘sound of the wind blowing’ is only used as a triplicated lexicalised repetition. In the example below, this ideophone modifies the preceding clause headed by the Spanish-derived verb sopla ‘(to) fan; (to) blow’:

(1621) Na só a de wáyp=an, a de sopla ín fwífwífwí.

foc like.that 1sg.sbj ipfv wipe=3sg.obj 1sg.sbj ipfv blow 3sg.indp ideo

‘I was wiping him like that, I was fanning him.’ [ab03ab 068]

Both groups of ideophones, i.e. those involving lexicalised reduplication and those involving repetition that is lexicalised in varying degrees, can be contrasted with ideophones like gbin ‘sound of a hard; sudden blow’ in (1622). This ideophone is not encountered with any form of iteration in the corpus:

(1622) E gí mí gbin.

3sg.sbj give 1sg.indp ideo

‘He hit me hard and suddenly.’ [ne07fn 008]

Some other combinations of verbs and ideophonic manner adverbs that are not encountered with iteration in the data are: nák kìp ‘hit=3sg.obj ideo’ = ‘hit and produce a dull thud’, mék nɔ́ys tík ‘make noise ideo’ = ‘make a cracking noise’.

A look back at the examples in this section show that iteration (whether it involves reduplication or repetition) with most ideophones also evokes the same type of “disaggregation” of the relevant situation that we find with iterated non-ideophones. This may explain why ideophones like gbin, kip, and tík are not iterated. These ideophones denote sudden and inherently terminative situations, which are not normally associated with the typically cyclic, repetitive, disaggregated events depicted by iterated ideophones.

The following sentence is particularly illustrative of the notion of a series of often quick motion events that is attached to iterated ideophones. The ideophone kamúkamú depicts the countermovement of a pair of buttocks as their owner strides along:

(1623) Yu sí lɛk háw in bata dɛn de sék kamúkamú?

2sg see like how 3sg.poss buttocks pl ipfv shake ideo

‘Do you see her buttocks moving to-and-fro (as she walks along)?’ [ye07fn 231]

Ideophones are not very prominent in the corpus and tend to be employed more by older, Group 2 (cf. 1.3) speakers. All ideophones encountered in the data are listed in Table 12.1. Many of the ideophones listed below and in particular those listed under “manner adverb” and “verb” in particular appear to be multicategorial. It is highly likely that they may be used in the syntactic positions of other word classes as well. On the other hand, an ideophonic noun like pɔtɔpɔ́tɔ́ ‘mud’ and the verb/adjective wɔwɔ́ seem to be firmly entrenched as members of their wordclasse(s). The list also features an ideophonic interjection.

Many of the ideophonic manner adverbs given in the table only occur once in the corpus. It is therefore difficult to ascertain how widespread the use of these ideophones is, and whether some of them are sound symbolic ad hoc creations, whether they are carried over from other languages used by the speaker, or whether they form part of the lexicon of Pichi (e.g. bwa, fwífwífẃi and wówó/wéwé).

Table 12.1 Ideophones

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Word class attested | Example | Translation |
| Verb | kakara | ‘be restless’ |
|  | katakátá | ‘be active; hectic’ |
|  | ményéményé | ‘whine; nag in a childlike fashion’ |
| Verb & adjective | *wɔwɔ́* | ‘be ugly; in disorder’ |
| Noun | pɔtɔpɔ́tɔ́ | ‘mushy substance; mud’ |
|  | wuruwúrú | ‘deceit’ |
| Manner adverb | bwa | ‘sound of water gushing’ |
|  | bya | ‘sound of coughing’ |
|  | fwífwífwí | ‘sound of wind blowing’ |
|  | gbin | ‘sound of a hard, sudden blow’ |
|  | gbogbogbo | ‘in haste’ |
|  | kamúkamú | ‘sight of buttocks moving’ |
|  | kip | ‘sound of a dull thud’ |
|  | kutuku | ‘sound of heart beating’ |
|  | kwáráng | ‘sound of round and hard object(s) |
|  |  | falling into a receptacle’ |
|  | kpu | ‘sound of impact on a soft matter’ |
|  | príng | ‘sound of ringing’ |
|  | súkútúpampa | ‘in a cheap and mean fashion’ |
|  | tík | ‘cracking sound’ |
|  | wéwé; wówó | ‘sound of crying and wailing’ |
| Interjection | kɔ́ngkɔ́ngkɔ́ng | ‘seek permission to enter’ |

Ideophones differ from other word classes in three respects: most of the ideophones listed above belong to minor tone classes; about half of the ideophones listed above represent cases of lexicalised full or partial duplication and triplication (cf. also 4.5.3); three ideophones feature the phonemes /gb/ and /kp/, which are only attested with this word class (i.e. gbin, gbogbogbo, and kpu), while others exhibit “unusual” phoneme combinations. For example, the word-initial cluster /fw/ is not attested in any other word than the ideophone fwífwífwí. Equally, many of the ideophones listed feature otherwise rare CV syllable structures (e.g. súkútúpampa, kutuku, wéwé). Further, at least one ideophone, namely bwa, may be pronounced with a breathy voice.

Ideophonic verbs are found in the syntactic positions available to any other property item of the language. Hence, the ideophone kakarakakara ‘be restless’ is employed as a dynamic verb in (1624), and preceded by the imperfective marker de ‘ipfv’. Note the repetition of the ideophone for emphasis:

(1624) Ín de kakara, kakara kakara.

3sg.indp ipfv be.restless rep rep

‘He [emp] was all restless.’ [ab03ab 047]

Like other property items, ideophonic verbs also appear in the prenominal modifier position. Compare katakátá ‘be (hyper-)active; hectic’ in the following sentence:

(1625) Na wán katakátá mán.

foc one hectic man

‘He’s a hectic man.’ [tr07fn 229]

The most commonly used ideophonic (and generally quite frequent) verb is wɔwɔ́ ‘be ugly; messy; in disorder’. This verb, too, is attested as a stative verb (1626), and in a prenominal position as an attributive modifier (1627). Some speakers also employ wɔwɔ́ as an adjective, i.e. a complement to the locative-existential copula dé ‘be.loc’ (1628). Another indication of the ideophonic nature of wɔwɔ́ besides its segmental structure is that it is often pronounced with reduced speed and overarticulation, and is accompanied by a facial expression suggestive of disapproval:

(1626) Di sáy wɔwɔ́ ɛ́n.

def side be.ugly sp

‘The place is messy, you know.’ [ma03ni 014]

(1627) Na Afrika e gɛ́t wɔwɔ́ wɔwɔ́ tín dɛn (…).

loc place 3sg.sbj get ugly rep thing pl

‘In Africa there are really messy things [happening], (…).’ [ed03sb 187]

(1628) Dís chɔ́p dé wɔwɔ́.

this food be.loc ugly

‘This food is a mess.’ [dj05ae 181]

Ideophonic nouns appear in the same syntactic position as other nouns. In the following sentence, pɔtɔpɔ́tɔ́ ‘mud’ is the head of an object NP featuring the quantifier bɔkú ‘much’:

(1629) Dán sáy gɛ́t bɔkú pɔtɔpɔ́tɔ́ ó.

that side get much mud sp

‘[Mind you] that place is very muddy.’ [ne07fn 230]

Ideophonic adverbs usually modify verbs in the clause-final position. Sentence (1630) illustrates the depictive power of an ideophone like kwáráng when used to express the sensory experience connected to playing the African board game Oware. Example (1631) presents the ideophone fwí ‘sound of the wind blowing’, which modifies the preceding Spanish-derived verb sopla ‘(to) fan; (to) blow’:

(1630) Dɛn de plé=an kwáráng.

3pl ipfv play=3sg.obj ideo

‘It is played with this hollow sound (of the seeds

falling into the pits of the wooden Oware board).’ [ro07fn 519]

(1631) Na só a de wáyp=an, a de sopla ín fwífwífwí

foc like.that 1sg.sbj ipfv wipe=3sg.obj 1sg.sbj ipfv blow 3sg.indp ideo

‘I was wiping him, I was fanning him just like that.’ [ab03ab 068]

In the following sentence, speaker (ro) uses the ideophone súkútúpampa in order to depict the supposedly cheap and mean manner in which sex workers in Malabo offer themselves for sale:

(1632) Dɛn de sɛ́l dɛn skín súkútúpampa

3pl ipfv sell 3pl body ideo

‘They barter their bodies away.’ [ro05fn 240]

Ideophonic manner adverbs sometimes occur in what appears to be a nominal postion as in the following two sentences. Actually, the ideophones do not enter syntactic constructions in these examples either. Instead, the preceding generic verb mék ‘make’ and gí ‘give’ may be said to function as a kind of quotative index followed by a syntactically independent utterance consisting of the ideophonic adverb:

(1633) Na só in hát mék kutuku kutuku kutuku.

foc like.that 3sg.poss heart make ideo rep rep

‘That’s how his heart was going “kutuku kutuku kutuku”.’ [ab03ab 070]

(1634) E gí mí gbin.

3sg.sbj give 1sg.indp ideo

‘He gave (it) to me “gbin”.’ [ne07fn 008]

Some other combinations of verbs and ideophonic manner adverbs encountered in the data are: nák kìp ‘hit=3sg.obj ideo’ = ‘hit and produce a dull thud’, mék nɔ́ys tík ‘make noise ideo’ = ‘make a cracking noise’, kráy wówó wówó ‘cry ideo rep’ = ‘cry bitterly’.

## Interjections

In the following, I employ the term “interjection” liberally as a cover term for individual words, phrases, and clauses that index physical and discursive entities (Kockelman 2003), cognitive and emotional states (Ameka 1992), and social relations. Interjections are pragmatically oriented elements that appear at the beginning or end of an utterance or constitute utterances onto themselves.

In (1635), the initial interjection ɛ ‘intj’ (cf. Table 12.4) functions as an attention-getter and by doing so, indexes the following utterance. The sentence-final element ɛ́n functions as a channel checker, i.e. ‘have you heard what I’ve just said?’ and thereby solicits a preferably affirmative response. The example also shows that interjections are set off from the rest of the utterance by a prosodic break (indicated by the comma). This indicates that they function as co-text rather than forming an integral part of the clause:

(1635) Ɛ́, dí mán gɛ́t líba, ɛ́n.

intj this man get liver intj

‘Hey, this man has guts, you know.’ [dj05ce 290]

Following Ameka (1992a; 1992b), I classify Pichi interjections along three functions: Expressive, conative, and phatic. Many interjections are “primary” (Ameka 1992a) and constitute a micro word class of mostly monosyllabic “small words” which do not occur in contexts other than those described here. Some primary interjections are also phonologically deviant. For example, interjections constitute the only word class in which vowel length may be distinctive (i.e. a ‘1sg.sbj’ vs. aa ‘expression of insight’). Other interjections are “secondary” and also employed as members of other word classes, and they may enter into grammatical constructions with other constituents.

In the following, I cover the most commonly used interjections. Some interjections are cross-classified and may therefore be members of more than one of the three functional types (e.g. mamá ‘mother’ which is employed as an expressive and a phatic interjection).

### Expressive

Expressive interjections reflect the emotional and cognitive state of the speaker, but they also serve a communicative purpose by drawing the attention of potential listeners to the mental state of the utterer. Consider the following expressive interjections:

Table 12.2 Expressive interjections

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Interjection | Gloss | Function |
| Primary | cháy/chɛ́ | ‘intj’ | Exasperation |
|  | áy | ‘intj’ | Extreme sensation |
|  | ékié | ‘intj’ | Counterexpectation |
|  | ‘chíp’ | ‘suck teeth’ | Irritation, fatigue |
| Secondary | papá gɔ́d | ‘father God’ | Exasperation, self-pity |
|  | nawá (ó) | ‘oh my’ | Exasperation, (self) pity |
|  | mamá | ‘mother’ | Surprise, shock |
|  | chico | ‘boy’ | Surprise, admiration |
|  | dios (mío) | ‘my God’ | Surprise, irritation |
|  | señor(mío) | ‘my Lord’ | Surprise, irritation |
|  | bió bió | ‘behold’ | Pleasant surprise |
|  | mierda | ‘shit’ | Annoyance, anger |

An exemplary primary interjection with an expressive meaning is chɛ́ or cháy, which conveys the feeling of exasperation in the face of a difficult task. In (1636), chɛ́ is the reaction of (dj) to a particularly ungrammatical sentence that I (ko) submit to him for a grammaticality judgement:

(1636) a. Na di púl di motó fɔ di mecánico/

foc def remove def car prep def mechanic

‘[Can you say:] “It’s the removal of the car from the mechanic”/ [ko0502e2 045]

b. Chɛ́!

intj

‘Phew [now this is too much]!’ [dj05be 045]

An extreme physical sensation is expressed by the primary interjection áy. As indicated by the two following examples, the sensation may be pain or pleasure; in particular the pleasure of good food or sexual delight. There are therefore overlaps in meaning with the (near-)identical interjection *ay* in Spanish:

(1637) Dɛn fít nák yú yu fít tɔ́k sé

3pl can hit 2sg.indp 2sg can talk quot

‘áy a fíl hát ó!’

intj 1sg.sbj feel hurt sp

‘You could be hit (and) you would say “ouch I feel pain.”’ [dj05ae 083]

(1638) Áy, di tín swít ó.

intj def thing be.tasty sp

‘Wow, this tastes/feels good.’

The interjection ékié is an established loan from Fang. It expresses counterexpectation, amazement, and (often playful) indignation. In the corpus, ékié is mainly used by female speakers. Sentence (1639) is a humorous comment by speaker (ge) addressed to her female friend. The latter has just said that she finds a white European acquaintance of hers attractive. Speaker (ge) teases her friend by pretending to be outraged and calls her busca-blanco ‘look.for-white.male’ = female sex worker specialised on white men’:

(1639) Ékié, busca-blanco.

intj look.for.cpd-white.male

‘Good gracious, (you’re a) prostitute.’ [ge07fn 077]

Pichi also features expressive “secondary interjections” (Bloomfield 1935:176; Ameka 1992a) which function as members of other word classes besides their use as deictic-pragmatic elements. One group of secondary interjections stems from religious terminology. The lexicalised collocation papá gɔ́d is a Pichi term for ‘God’ (1640). As an interjection, papá gɔ́d is used to implore the help of God during prayer and inner speech (1641), or to express self-pity and exasperation (1642). Note that papá gɔ́d in (1641) is preceded by the conative interjection oó, which introduces an emphatic vocative (cf. Table 12.4):

(1640) Papa gɔ́d go mék mék e chénch, mék e chénch fásin.

father God pot make sbjv 3sg.sbj change sbjv 3sg.sbj change manner

‘God will make him change, change (his) habits.’ [dj07ae 160]

(1641) Di tín de gó mí bád, ó papá gɔ́d,

def thing ipfv go 1sg.indp bad intj father God

mék mí so.

make 1sg.indp like.that

‘The matter is going bad for me, oh God do this for me.’ [dj07ae 161]

(1642) Sé papá gɔ́d ús=káyn trɔ́bul dís?

quot father God q=kind trouble this

‘(I said) God, what (kind of) trouble (is) this?’ [ab03ab 082]

A number of expressive secondary interjections in the corpus are Spanish-derived and used in similar ways in peninsular Spanish. The interjections Señor mío ‘good Lord’ and Dios mío ‘my God’ express sentiments like surprise, irritation, and frustration (1643):

(1643) Señor mío, tɛ́l mí, mi mán

Lord my tell 1sg.indp 1sg.poss man

e de kɔmɔ́t wet yú?

3sg.sbj ipfv go.out with 2sg.indp

‘Good Lord tell me, is my husband going out with you?’ [ro05rt 009]

A second group of expressive secondary interjections includes kinship terms and other human-denoting nouns. These nouns are intermediary in their function. On the one hand, these nouns resonate with a strong emotive component when used as interjections. However, by the very nature of their meaning as kinship terms and terms of address, they also index the social relation which they stand for and thereby convey a phatic message to interlocutors.

The Spanish noun chico ‘boy’ is one of the most frequently employed secondary interjections and covers a large range of expressive meanings. It conveys real, playful, or mock surprise (1644)(a)–( (b), shock and amazement (c), awe and admiration (d):

(1644) a. Chico, yu nó bríng mí glás?

boy 2sg neg bring 1sg.indp glass

‘What, you haven’t brought (along) a glass for me?’ [fr03cd 079]

b. Chico, dí mán e tú ópin in sɛ́f.

boy this man 3sg.sbj too be.open 3sg.poss self

‘Oh boy, this man boasts too much.’ [ye07je 131]

c. Chico, yu de mít ɛ́ni káyn colór dé.

boy 2sg ipfv meet every kind colour there

‘Man, you find any kind of (skin) colour there [in Cuba].’ [ed03sp 030]

d. Chico, Jibril trɔ́n ó!

boy name be.strong sp

‘Wow, Jibril is really great.’ [ye05ce 023]

The following excerpt renders reported discourse of a conversation, in which speaker (ro) is taking her husband to task for cheating on her. The husband tells (ro) that he and his lover would meet up in a car. An incredulous (ro) repeats what her husand has just told her in (1645)(a), and then cries out mamá ‘mother’ in shock (b). Her mental state at that moment is reflected by (c). The kinship term papá ‘father’ is employed as an expressive interjection in a similar way to mamá (cf. (1649) below):

(1645) a. Ínsay di motó, na dé unu de slíp unu sɛ́f?

inside def car foc there 2pl ipfv sleep 2pl self

*‘*In the car, that’s where you sleep with each other?’ [ro05rt 020]

1. Mamá.

mother

‘Good gracious.’ [ro05rt 021]

c. A krés.

1sg.sbj be.crazy

‘I went mad.’ [ro05rt 022]

The interjection mamá therefore expresses the emotional stress that speaker (ro) was experiencing at that moment. But beyond that, mamá is also a meta-comment on the amorality of the husband’s act, a performative element embedded in reported discourse, directed at us, the listeners of the narrative. This type of “rhetorical underlining” (Longacre 1996:39), in which the narrator steps out of the narrative and addresses her audience is a significant element of Pichi narrative technique. The use of mamá in this way sheds light on the communicative dimension of expressive interjections in Pichi.

The interjection bió bió ‘(lo and) behold’ expresses surprise. By doing so, this interjection also has a strong phatic component to its meaning:

(1646) Bió bió, dɛn dɔ́n kán.

behold rep 3pl prf come

‘Lo and behold, they’ve (finally) come.’ [pa05fn 456]

The Spanish noun mierda ‘shit’ is used as an expressive interjection for anger and annoyance. The Pichi equivalent kaká ‘faeces’ is not used in this way. However, the Pichi compound kaka-rás {faeces.cpd-arse} ‘shitty arse’ is used as an insult:

(1647) Mierda mierda, ús=sáy e pás?

shit rep q=side 3sg.sbj pass

‘Shit, shit, which way did she go?’ [ro05rt 002]

### Phatic

Phatic interjections and phrases are embedded in the verbal interaction between interlocutors. These elements are interactional and are aimed at constructively maintaining the communicative situation. Table 12.3 lists the phatic interjections encountered in the corpus. The functions of the phatic elements and agreement markers yɛ́(s) ‘yes’ and nó/nɔ́ ‘no’ are covered in detail in 7.3.3:

Table 12.3 Phatic interjections

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Interjection | Gloss | Function |
| Primary | aa | ‘intj’ | Insight |
|  | o.k | ‘okay’ | Insight |
|  | é | ‘intj’ | Dismay, empathy |
|  | ‘chip’ | ‘suck teeth’ | (Solicit) empathy |
| Secondary | papá (gɔ́d) | ‘father (God)’ | Express/solicit empathy |
|  | mamá | ‘mother’ | Express/solicit empathy |
|  | dúya | ‘please’ | Solicit favour |
|  | plís | ‘please’ | Solicit favour |
|  | ɛskyús | ‘excuse (me)’ | Present excuses |
|  | kúsɛ́ (ó) | ‘good job’ | Encouragement for work |
|  | yɛ́(s) | ‘yes’ | Agreement, appreciation |
|  | nɔ́/nó | ‘no’ | Disagreement, doubt |

The phatic interjection aa expresses sudden insight into a proposition or real-world fact. In this, its meaning is similar to o.k. (1648)(b):

(1648) a. A dé wet Paquita.

1sg.sbj be.loc with name

‘I’m with Paquita.’ [ko03cb 075]

b. Aa o.k.

intj intj

‘Alright.’ [hi03cb 076]

The interjection e is usually uttered with a compressed voice and an extra-high tone. It is also usually lengthened to up to three beats. It is best translated as ‘good gracious’ and expresses dismay and empathy with a deplorable event or fact. In (1649), the expressive meaning of e is underlined by the presence of the interjection papá ‘father’:

(1649) a. E gɛ́t bɛlɛ́, wé e wɔ́nt púl di bɛlɛ́.

3sg.sbj get belly sub 3sg.sbj want remove def belly

‘She was pregnant and wanted to abort the pregnancy.’ [ko03cb 099]

b. É papá!

intj father

‘Good gracious!’ [bo03cb 100]

The kinship terms papá ‘father’ and mamá ‘mother’ are also employed as phatic interjections in appealing for consideration, empathy, and compassion by evoking the nature of the kinship relation that holds between a parent and a child, a provider and a dependent. Consider (1650), where (ye) relates how Rubi appeals to the person represented by =*a*n ‘3sg.obj’ to leave him his fair share of the remaining food:

(1650) a. E de fɔgɛ́t sé Rubi nɔ́ba chɔ́p.

3sg.sbj ipfv forget quot name neg.prf eat

‘He forgot that Rubi hadn’t yet eaten.’ [dj03cd 148]

b. E tɛ́l=an sé ‘papá mí nɛ́va

3sg.sbj tell=3sg.obj quot father 1sg.indp neg.prf

chɔ́p mí sénwe.’

chop 1sg.indp emp

‘(So) he [Rubi] told him ‘please, I also haven’t eaten myself.’ [ye03cd 149]

The interjection dúya ‘please’ and the less frequent plís ‘please’ play an important role as politeness markers. Both interjections are used in polite imperatives like the following one:

(1651) Pút=an mɔ́ dúya!

put=3sg.obj more please

‘Put [play] it again, please!’ [au07se 095]

### Conative

Conative interjections solicit a verbal or kinetic response from listeners. By their imperative nature, they are used in calling and responding, seeking approval and confirmation, constraining and restraining the interlocutor. Table 12.4 lists common conative interjections:

Table 12.4 Conative interjections

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Interjection | Gloss | Function |
| Primary | ó | ‘sp’ | Vocative, warning |
|  | yée | ‘intj’ | Response to call |
|  | ónli | ‘intj’ | Response to call |
|  | yɛ́s | ‘yes’ | Response to call |
|  | oó | ‘intj’ | Emphatic vocative |
|  | ɛ́ | ‘intj’ | Attention getter |
|  | ɛ́n? | ‘intj’ | Channel check |
|  | hɛ́ | ‘intj’ | Rebuke |
|  | aa | ‘intj’ | Impatience, repudiation |
|  | ‘chip’ | ‘suck teeth’ | Remonstrative |
| Secondary | nɔ́? | ‘intj’ | Channel check |
|  | (yu de) hía? | ‘(do you) hear?’ | Channel check |
|  | nó tɔ́k (ɛ́n)! | ‘don’t talk!’ | Solicit approbation |
|  | nó láf (ɛ́n)! | ‘don’t laugh’ | Solicit approbation |
|  | a tɛ́l yú | ‘I tell you’ | Emphasise veracity |
|  | kɔ́ngkɔ́ngkɔ́ng | ‘ideo’ | Seek permission to enter |
|  | dí bɔ́y/ dí gɛ́l | ‘hey you (m/f)’ | Vocative (for m/f) |

One of the numerous functions of the sentence-final particle ó is its use as a vocative marker in combination with a personal name (cf. 12.2.3 for more). An emphatic, imploring vocative is formed by preposing the interjection oó to the name or term of address of the person called (cf. (1641) above).

The appropriate way of responding to the call of a social superior is by calling out the term of address of the caller (1652)(b). If the caller is a peer, the person called may also simply respond with yɛ́s ‘yes’

(1652) a. Pancho!

name

b. Mamá!

mother

‘(Yes) mum.’

Alternatively, a person can respond with a response call involving the vowels /e/ and /o/ with different degrees of lengthening and in slightly varying pitch configurations over the lengthened vowel. A response call may simply follow the call or additionally feature the caller’s name (1653)(b):

(1653) a. Pancho!

name

b. Yéé Paquita!

intj name

The interjection hɛ́ is employed as a remonstrative when a grown-up or social superior scolds a child or a socially inferior. It is used shortly before, or in the very moment a person commits a transgression in order to warn and rebuke them:

(1654) Di pikín dɔ́n gɛ́t sɛ́ven hía, e go wánt gó wáka,

def child prf get seven year 3sg.sbj pot want go walk

‘hɛ́, nó kɔmɔ́t na hós!’

intj neg go.out loc house

‘(When) the child is seven years old, she will want to roam the streets,

(then you say to her) “don’t you dare leave the house!”’ [ab03ay 115]

The interjection aa (homonymous with the phatic aa in (1648) above)) expresses negligence. In that sense, it may communicate to an interlocutor not to worry or bother about a situation. In the appropriate context, negligence may shade off into impatience and serve to express irritation with a person’s insisting or nagging stance. In the latter case, àá is often pronounced with a rising contour and supported by ‘suck teeth’ (1656).

The uses of this interjection point towards an area of transition between phatic interjections aimed at constructively maintaining a communicative situation and conative interjections with their imperative nature:

(1655) Aa, lɛ́f=an dé!

intj leave=3sg.obj there

‘Just leave it there [don’t bother to pick it up]!’

(1656) ‘chip’ aa apaga eso!

skt intj extinguish this

‘Switch this off! [you’re getting on our nerves

with that noise]’ [dj05be 116]

The interjections and phrases ɛ́n, nɔ́, hía ‘hear’, and yu de hía? ‘2sg ipfv hear’ = ‘do you hear?’ are employed as channel checking devices in seeking feedback or approval from discourse participants. Thus, they always bear the boundary tone associated with question intonation. Compare ɛ́n, which occurs in sentence-final position often after a pause in order to increase dramatic effect, as well as nɔ́ (cf. (655) further above):

(1657) Di trú comedor dé fɔ soja, Manolete,

def true dining.room be.loc prep soy name

Corrobes, ɛ́n.

name intj

‘The true dining room had soy (oil), Manolete (oil),

Corrobes (oil), you hear?’ [ab03ab 031]

A sentence-final hía ‘hear’ may require explicit approval, so it is used in addressing a listener of equal or inferior social rank. The undertone of authority is stronger with the question phrase yu (de) hía? in (1659)(a), which always requires explicit approval, usually with the idiom a hía ‘I have heard’ (1659)(b):

(1658) Nó obstante, a bɛ́g gó sí dɔ́kta fɔ́s, hía?

nonetheless 1sg.sbj beg go see doctor first hear

‘Nonetheless, please go see a doctor first, you hear?’ [fr03wt 053]

(1659) a. Yu de hía?

2sg ipfv hear

‘Do you hear?’ [fr03wt 056]

b. A hía.

1sg.sbj hear

‘I’ve heard.’ [ru03wt 057]

Other phrasal interjections are employed to seek attention, approbation and confirmation. The phrases nó tɔ́k ‘don’t talk’, which appears together with nɔ́ and ɛ́n in (655) further above and nó láf ‘neg laugh’ = ‘I’m not kidding’ (1660)(b) underline the credibility of the speaker’s proposition or story. A similar function is fulfilled by a tɛ́l yú ‘I tell you’ in (1661):

(1660) a. Djunais tɔ́k sé ‘nɔ́ Rubi, dí gɛ́l lɛ́k yú,

name talk quot intj name this girl like 2sg.indp

dí gɛ́l lɛ́k yú, náw bigín mék=an só.’

this girl like 2sg.indp now begin make=3sg.obj like.that

‘(So) Djunais said “really Rubi, this girl likes you, this girl likes you,

now go about it like this with her.”’ [ru03wt 021]

b. Nó láf!

neg laugh

‘I’m not kidding.’ [ru03wt 022]

(1661) A tɛ́l yú, dɛn nó lɛ́k pɔ́sin.

1sg.sbj tell 2sg.indp 3pl neg like person

‘I tell you, they don’t like people.’ [ma03hm 010]

The interjections dí bɔ́y ‘this boy’ and dí gál/gɛ́l ‘this girl’ are used as vocatives for calling social equals or inferiors whose names are unknown. These interjections of address are rather informal but not necessarily impolite. They are frequently heard on the streets of Malabo, where they are employed particularly by the youth:

(1662) Dí bɔ́y, ús=sáy dɛn de sɛ́l brɛ́d na yá?

this boy q=side 3pl ipfv sell bread loc here

‘Hey you, where is bread sold around here?’ [nn07fn 241]

### Suck teeth

The term “suck teeth”, or alternatively “kiss teeth”, (transcribed as “chip” and glossed as skt) are terms employed for a phonetic realisation whose various meanings are determined through pragmatic context. “Suck teeth” is produced by closing the mouth and creating a suction in the oral cavity. The lips are then opened while keeping the teeth closed. The influx of air through the teeth in order to fill the vacuum of the oral cavity produces a release sound followed by a short hiss. “Suck teeth” can be modulated in sound and meaning by manipulating the amount of suction and pursing the lips in varying degrees while the air rushes through.

“Suck teeth” is employed as a signifier of “negative affect” (Figueroa 2005) throughout large parts of Africa and in African-descended communities of the Americas (Rickford & Rickford 1976). The large range of functions and meanings of “suck teeth” in Pichi corresponds to those recorded for the entire cultural area.

“Suck teeth” is employed as an expressive interjection to convey negatively loaded sentiments ranging from annoyance, irritation, and frustration to exasperation, fatigue, and weariness. In (1663), speaker (ed) remembers the hard times he went through as a student in Cuba when the Equatoguinean government stopped paying him his living allowance. “Suck teeth” underlines his feeling of exasperation as he delves into his memories:

(1663) a. Sɔ́fa dán mɔní bin de dú mí fɔ ús=tín ‘chip’?

suffer that money pst ipfv do 1sg.indp prep q=thing skt

‘(The) suffering that [lack of] money caused me for what [skt]?’ [ed03sp 099]

b. Tɛ́l yú, a sɔ́fa dé.

tell 2sg.indp 1sg.sbj suffer there

‘(I) tell you, I suffered there.’ [ed03sp 100]

In (1664), the negative affect associated with “suck teeth” is downgraded to signal a frustrated effort and an ensuing change of heart. After her grandchild has fallen sick in the night, speaker (ab) is at a loss about the appropriate treatment. “Suck teeth” expresses her indecision:

(1664) A wánt ték solwatá mék a gí=an,

1sg.sbj want take saltwater sbjv 1sg.sbj give=3sg.obj

a sé ‘chip’, nɔ́.

1sg.sbj quot skt intj

‘I wanted to take salt-water and give it to him (and) I said (to myself)

[skt] no.’ [ab03ab 094]

“Suck teeth” is rarely used to exclusively render inner speech. Rather, there is a smooth transition from expressive to phatic meanings. Sentence (1665) is coloured by reproach. Speaker (ye) employs “suck teeth” – albeit with a humorous undertone – to indicate his irritation with the fact that he has not been invited to go eat at Marathon (a restaurant), while his interlocutors had:

(1665) Náw só, e falta, una dɔ́n gó na Marathon,

now like.that 3sg.sbj lack 2pl prf go loc place

mí nó gó na Marathon ‘chip’.

1sg.indp neg go loc place skt

‘Right now it remains, you [emp] have gone to Marathon, while

I haven’t gone to Marathon [skt].’ [ye05ce 303]

In sentence (1666), speaker (ma) recollects the circumstances of the separation from her husband. “Suck teeth” not only expresses the negative feelings that she recalls. The interjection also communicates to the interlocutor that (ma) attaches a negative moral judgment to the fact that her husband gɛ́t ɔ́da húman ‘got (himself) another woman’:

(1666) E gɛ́t ɔ́da húman ‘chip’, bɔkú problema,

3sg.sbj get other woman skt much problem

dán, mí bin dɔ́n sté, wi bin gɛ́t bɔkú

that 1sg.indp pst prf be.long 1pl pst get much

problema dé áfta/

problem there then

‘He got another woman [skt], many problems, that, I [emp] stayed

(and) we had many problems at that time, then/’ [ma03ni 031]

“Suck teeth” in sentence (1667) below combines expressive and phatic meanings in a similar way as in (1666) above. Speaker (ed) relates that he had not intended to marry a woman from his place of origin, Pagalú, the island of Annobón, until his mother arranged a marriage for him. “Suck teeth” aptly summarises the negligent disinterest that speaker (ed) states to have had for women from Pagalú:

(1667) a. Sí fɔ́s tɛ́n a bin dé hía, a nó

see first time 1sg.sbj pst be.loc here 1sg.sbj neg

bin de bísin fɔ Pagalú gɛ́l dɛn.

pst ipfv be.busy prep place girl pl

‘See formerly, I was here, I didn’t bother about Annobonese girls.’ [ed03sp 005]

b. ‘chip’ a nó bin bísin.

skt 1sg.sbj neg pst be.busy

‘[skt] I couldn’t care less.’ [ed03sp 006]

Feigned disinterest and playful insubordination colour the use of “suck teeth” by female Pichi speakers in flirtatious male–female interaction. A simple “suck teeth” by Beatrice in (1668)(b) is sufficient to ward off the humorous advances of speaker (ye) in (1668)(a). The remonstrative character of “suck teeth” in (b) points towards an area of transition from expressive and phatic to conative functions of “suck teeth”:

(1668) a. Beatrice, wétin mék yu dɔ́n frɛ́s só?

name what make 2sg prf be.fresh like.that

‘Beatrice, how come you’re so fresh recently?’

b. ‘chip’.

skt

[skt]

The conative function of “suck teeth” is brought to its conclusion in (1669)(a), where chip accompanies an insult. The pungency of the insult, and by extension the gesture of “suck teeth” itself, is commented by (dj) in (1669)(b):

(1669) a. ‘chip’ aa múf, kɔmɔ́t yá!

skt intj move go.away here

‘[skt] move, get lost.’ [dj07ae 367]

b. Yu sí dán pɔ́sin lɛk wán dɔ́g.

2sg see that person like one dog

‘You take that person for a dog.’ [dj07ae 368]

### The particle *ó* ‘sp’

The sentence-final particle ó plays an important pragmatic role. It is employed for degree modification (cf. e.g. (899)), may signal clausal focus (cf. 7.4.2), is used as a vocative marker, and provides a means of modifying a sentence with various expressive and emphatic meanings . The function of the particle also extends into the domain of modality. I analyse the element ó as a “sentence particle”, because it is never set off by a prosodic break from the utterance it modifies. Instead, ó forms a prosodic unit with the preceding utterance. One indication for this is that ó normally forms a syllable with the final consonant of the preceding word, i.e. e bád ó [é bá tó] ‘3sg.sbj be.bad sp’ = ‘it’s really bad’.

The particle ó serves as a vocative marker in combination with personal names in order to call people from a distance (1670) or get their attention during conversation (1671). Presumably, it is this function of alerting which lies at the heart of the other uses that follow:

(1670) Concha ó, Maura ó, una kán, a bɛ́g!

name sp name sp 2pl come 1sg.sbj beg

‘Concha! Maura! Come over, please!’ [he07fn 612]

(1671) Lindo ó, Charly ó, una de sí, a bin tɛ́l dí gál sé

name sp name sp 2pl ipfv see 1sg.sbj pst tell this girl quot

mék e nó hambɔ́g mí ó, a go hát=an.

sbjv 3sg.sbj neg bother 1sg.indp sp 1sg.sbj pot hurt=3sg.obj

‘Lindo, Charly, you see, I told this girl not to bother me (lest) I might

hurt her!’ [ye05ce 079]

Urgency, advise, and warning colour the sentences in which this particle is used. The following, successively spoken sentences (1672)(a)–(c) are characterised by an air of urgency and warning as speaker (ab) relates a near-death experience:

(1672) a. A dɔ́n tɛ́l mi sísta sé ‘na di pikín dát ó.’

1sg.sbj prf tell 1sg.poss sister quot foc def child that sp

‘I had already told my sister “mind you, this is the [my] child”.’ [ab03ay 081]

b. Mék yu mɛ́n=an ó!’

sbjv 2sg care.for=3sg.obj sp

‘Be sure to take good care of her [because I’m going to die].’ [ab03ay 082]

c. A dɔ́n de gó ó, a dɔ́n de gó ó.

1sg.sbj prf ipfv go sp 1sg.sbj prf ipfv go sp

‘I’m going [dying], I’m going.’ [ab03ay 083]

Further gradations of the meanings of ó are found in the following sentence. In the example, ó assumes the function of a modal particle, a marker of assertion, which signals commitment by the speaker to the truth of the proposition:

(1673) Yɛ́s, a sabí dé yɛ́s, bɔt a nɔ́ba ɛ́nta ínsay ó.

yes 1sg.sbj know there yes but 1sg.sbj neg.prf enter inside sp

‘Yes, I know that place, yes. But mind you, I haven’t entered the place

before.’ [ma03hm 016]

## Terms of address

Often, the African and European given names of individuals are only known to relatives and close friends. Peers tend to address each other by nicknames which may be conferred on an individual during interaction with family members, friends, the neighbourhood, and the wider community. Nicknames may also change in the passage of time as new events come to mark a person’s daily life.

I list three nicknames in (1674) that are used by peers most of the time in addressing their bearers. The bearer of the first name is female, the second and third names are borne by men. As can be seen, peer nicknames tend to be characterised by an air of informality:

(1674) Nickname Origin

Lage ‘Líneas aéreas de Guinea Ecuatorial’

Boyé Loco ‘Crazy Boyé’

Johnson ‘Johnson Power Systems’

Lage was born aboard a flight from Madrid to Malabo, operated by the now defunct National Airline of Equatorial Guinea, in Spanish Líneas Aéreas de Guinea Ecuatorial (abbrev. LAGE). Her birth back then was the talk of the town and the name stuck for a life time. Boyé Loco’s name is composed of his Bube given name Boyé and the Spanish adjective loco ‘crazy’ due to his reputation as a charismatic *bon vivant*. The byname Johnson originates in the brand name ‘Johnson Power Systems’. Due to the unreliablity of power supply in Malabo, generators produced by ‘Johnson’ are ubiquitous in Malabo. The nickname is a humorous allusion to the bearer’s supposed sexual prowess.

Figure 12.1 presents the degree of formality from informal (the –pole) to very formal (the +pole) attached to the terms of address covered in the following (Mühleisen 2005:209). The corresponding kinship terms can be taken from Figure 12.2 further below.

Figure 12.1 Degree of formality of terms of address

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| - | | Degree of formality | | | + | |
| Nicknames | Same generation | | Kinship terms for | don/doña + FN | | señor/a + LN |
|  | kinship terms + FN | | 1 & 2 generations | señor/a + FN | |  |
|  |  | | older + FN | sa | |  |
|  |  | |  | má | |  |

Spanish honorifics are employed for the most formal degrees of relationships between interactants. Without doubt, this circumstance is intimately tied to the status of Spanish itself as a language of dominance, distance, and social asymmetry. The address terms señor (male) and señora (female) are in use with first names (fn) or last names (ln). The latter option follows Spanish usage (i.e Señora Belobe Toichoa ‘Ms Belobe Toichoa’) and is commonly employed in symmetrical or asymmetrical relations in institutional or work contexts in the formal sector of the economy.

The former option, señor or señora with an FN (i.e. Señora Maura; Señor Javier), is not common in Spanish. In Pichi, it is a means of respectfully addressing an already familiar, social superior in less formal situations than the ones appropriate for señor/a and LN. The use of señor/a and FN parallels that of the Spanish honorifcs don (male) and doña (female) followed by FN, for elderly and respected members of the communty, i.e Don Samuel and Doña Cristina. The combination don/doña and FN is, however, current in Spanish.

Two Pichi address terms of a high degree of formality are, also in use, namely sá ‘sir’ and má ‘madam; mother’. These two terms are used as address terms and sentence-final address tags when interacting with an elder of higher social rank, usually without an FN or LN. For example sá ‘sir’ can be found in the respectful speech of a well-behaved child or youngster when replying to an enquiry by an elder. Compare the following answers by a child to a when enquiry by a female elder (1675) and a yes–no question by a male elder who is not a family relative (1676):

(1675) Yɛ́stadé má.

yesterday madam

‘Yesterday, madam.’ [ra07se 150]

(1676) Yɛ́s sá.

yes sir

‘Yes, sir.’ [au07se 153]

Kinship-based terms of address are situated in the middle range of formality and may be used in addressing familiar persons or strangers. The dimension of age naturally relates to the degree of formality in so far as senior members of society are more likely to be addressed by one of the more formal terms of address in Figure 12.1. Under normal circumstances, the use of an FN presupposes the use of a kinship term if the addressee is older than oneself (i.e. Mamí Rose ‘mother Rose’ = ‘respectful address term for Rose, who is of my mother’s generation’). The use of a first name alone for an older person is highly inappropriate. For people of the same age group, and young people in particular, kinship terms are, however, not required as terms of address. Social equals may refer to each other by their first names or their nicknames alone.

Figure 12.2 provides the kinship-based address terms referred to in Figure 12.2 arranged along the dimension of age:

Figure 12.2 Kinship-derived terms of address

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| - | | Age | | + | |
| Same generation | | 1 generation older | | 2 generations older | |
| cuñada | ‘sister-in-law’ | mamá, mamí | ‘mother’ | gran-má | ‘grandmother’ |
| cuñado | ‘brother-in-law’ | mɔmí | ‘mother’ | gran-pá | ‘grandfather’ |
| sísta | ‘sister’ | papá, papí | ‘father’ | abuela | ‘grandmother’ |
| brɔ́da | ‘brother’ | antí | ‘aunt’ | abuelo | ‘grandfather’ |
| brá | ‘brother’ | ɔnkúl | ‘uncle’ |  |  |
|  |  | tía | ‘aunt’ |  |  |
|  |  | tío | ‘uncle’ |  |  |

As a general principle, any of the address terms listed may be combined with an FN. In practice, an FN hardly ever follows the same generation terms cuñado/a ‘brother/sister-in-law’, sísta ‘sister’ or brɔ́da ‘brother’. At the same time, the use of an FN with a kinship term for an addressee one or two generations older tends to be avoided as well unless there is a high degree of familiarity and/or an actual kinship relation between the interlocutors. Compare the following combination of address term and FN:

(1677) Tía Tokó, ús=sáy yu de gó?

aunt name q=side 2sg ipfv go

‘Auntie Tokó, where are you going?’ [ye07fn 213]

I should point out that Spanish kinship terms form an integral part of the address system of Pichi. The Spanish terms cuñado/a ‘brother/sister-in-law’ – with cuñado invariably being pronounced as [kùnjáò] – have been appropriated and changed in their meaning. In Pichi, these two kinship terms function as markers of aknowledgment and solidarity amongst peers. They are therefore used to address any person of the same generation, whether related or not. In this function, cuñado/a are far more common than the equivalent sísta ‘sister’ and brɔ́da or bra ‘brother’:

(1678) Cuñado, mí gɛ́fɔ gó fɛ́n dán mi

brother-in-law 1sg.indp have.to go look.for that 1sg.poss

prima ó, Cristina.

cousin sp name

‘Brother(-in-law), I [emp] really have to go look for that my (female) cousin, Cristina.’ [ge07ga 045]

In the same vein, the Spanish kinship terms *tía* ‘aunt’ and *tío* ‘uncle’ are equally common as *=antí* ‘aunt’ and *ɔnkúl* ‘uncle’ as terms of address. The same holds for the Spanish-derived terms *abuela* ‘grandmother’ and *abuelo* ‘grandfather’ as opposed to *gran-má* ‘grandmother’ and *gran-pá* ‘grandfather’. However, the Pichi words *antí* ‘aunt’ and *ɔnkúl* ‘uncle’ are more often used to denote the kinship relation as such (1679):

(1679) E mít mi antí.

3sg.sbj meet 1sg.poss aunt

‘He met my aunt.’ [fr03ft 084]

Conversely, the Spanish words abuela ‘grandmother’ and abuelo ‘grandfather’ are more common as terms of address and at least as common as gran-má ‘grandmother’ and gran-pá ‘grandfather’ in denoting the kinship relation as such:

(1680) Abuela, Guinea fít=an?

grandmother Equatorial.Guinea fit=3sg.obj

‘Grandmother, (so) Equatorial Guinea is good for him?’ [fr03ab 171]

Since first names are not normally used to refer to social superiors, including next of kin, a kinship term will normally be used to refer to a common kin. In (1681), speaker (ro) is conversing with her nephew. She refers to her own husband as yu ɔnkúl ‘your uncle’:

(1681) Yu ɔnkúl nó gɛ́t nó hambɔ́g fɔ chɔ́p.

2sg uncle neg get neg bother prep food

‘Your uncle [my husband] is not picky about food.’ [ro05rt 058]

## Greetings and other routines

A general greeting routine is normally initiated by addressing an individual with the phrase in (1682) and a group of people by (1683). These phrases may be reformulated at will to enquire after the health of partners, children, or other relatives (1684). A general observation is that conventional Spanish greeting routines are widely used together with Pichi routines (i.e. buenos días ‘good morning’):

(1682) Háw fɔ yú?

how prep 2sg.indp

‘How are you?’ [ye07je 063]

(1683) Háw fɔ una?

how prep 2pl

‘How are you [pl]?’ [ye07je 064]

(1684) Háw fɔ yu mamá?

how prep 2sg mother

‘How is your mother?’ [ne07fn 215]

The enquiry is usually replied to by one of the phrases in (1685)–(1687):

(1685) A dé.

1sg.sbj be.loc

‘I’m (fine).’ [ye07je 065]

(1686) Dɛn dé fáyn.

3pl be.loc fine

‘They’re fine.’ [ye07je 067]

(1687) A wɛ́l.

1sg.sbj be.well

‘I’m well.’ [li07fn 011]

The most wide-spread greeting formula amongst the youth or peers and in relaxed and informal social settings is featured in (1688). This greetings involves the element *fá*, not found in any other context in Pichi, but almost certainly derived from the English word *fashion.* It is also attested in Krio, Nigerian Pidgin and Cameroon Pidgin. Notably, it is also found in Maroon Spirit Language (Jamaica) (Bilby 1983:50), as well as in Sranan and the other creoles of Suriname in the almost identical form *o fa* ‘which fashion; how’ (Wilner 1994:50). In Pichi, a common reply to the idiom is (1689):

(1688) Háw fá?

how fashion

‘What’s up?’ [be07fn 174]

(1689) Chico, wi de pús=an.

boy 1sg.sbj ipfv push=3sg.obj

‘Man, we’re pushing it [we’re managing].’ [ch07fn 214]

Longer exchanges of greetings are usually initiated by employing the property item gúd ‘be good’ together with the noun that denotes the period of the day in which the greeting takes place. The resulting collocations constitute greeting formulas by themselves but are very often followed by one of the general greeting formulas in (1682)–(1684) above. The collocation (gúd) mɔ́nin ‘good morning’ or a simple mɔ́nin ‘morning’ is used from sunrise to noon (1690):

(1690) ‘Gúd mɔ́nin’ na sóté las doce.

good morning foc until the.pl twelve

‘Good morning is until twelve o’clock.’ [ye07je 015]

Gúd ívin is used from noon to sunset (1691). The collocation gúd áftanun ‘good afternoon’ is sometimes used by Group 1 (cf. 1.3) speakers instead of gúd ívin, but it is virtually absent from the speech of Group 2 speakers:

(1691) Frɔn las doce, sóté e gó las seis,

from the.pl twelve until 3sg.sbj go the.pl six

na ‘gúd ívin’.

foc good evening

‘From twelve to six o’clock, its “good evening”.’ [ye07je 011]

The collocation gúd náyt ‘good night’ is used after night has fallen. The presence of the otherwise rare variant náyt ‘night’ in the greeting instead of nɛ́t ‘night’ is indicative of the formulaic, lexicalised character of the collocation.

Also note the apposition of the 2pl pronoun una when a greeting is directed to more than one person. The use of yu ‘2sg’ in the same position as una in greetings directed at an individual is not attested. Responses to greetings usually involve the repetition of the corresponding phrase by the interlocutor:

(1692) Una gúd náyt.

2pl good night

‘Good night to you [pl].’ [ye07je 045]

Other greetings are issued on specific occasions rather than periods of the day. On the occasion of imminent travel, the most common way of bidding farewell is by saying wáka fáyn ‘walk fine’. Upon arrival, the traveler is greeted by wɛ́lkɔm ‘welcome’.

The greeting formula kúsɛ́ (< Yoruba kuṣẹ, (cf. Abraham 1958)) is said as a token of encouragement and empathy towards one or more people engaged in physically strenuous work (e.g. a group of construction workers working on the road). Kúsɛ́ is also used to congratulate a person for their good work:

(1693) Una kúsɛ́ ó!

2pl good.job sp

‘(We) encourage you [pl] in your good work!’ [ye07je 028]

Gratitude is expressed by means of tɛ́nki ‘thank you’ (1694)(a). Reply options are provided in (b) and (c). Note that fɔ nátinin (b) and na nátin(c) are calques from Spanish dé nada ‘of nothing’ = ‘you’re welcome’:

(1694) a. Tɛ́nki.

thanks

‘Thank you.’ [ye07fn 096]

b. Nɔ́, fɔ nátin.

intj prep nothing

‘No, not at all.’ [hi07fn 097]

c. Lɛ́f, na nátin.

leave foc nothing

‘Don’t mention it, it’s nothing.’ [ye07fn 503]

# Pichi and Spanish in contact

The integration of Spanish elements into Pichi discourse is thoroughly conventionalised, and encompasses borrowing, calquing and codeswitching. Many of the mixing phenomena that can be observed are not “interactionally meaningful” (Auer 1998:20) and point towards codeswitching as an “unmarked choice” (Myers-Scotton 1993), i.e. the normal way of speaking Pichi (cf. Yakpo 2015; Yakpo 2017b). I summarily refer to the Pichi-Spanish contact phenomena described in this chapter by the cover term “codemixing”(Muysken 2000). This implies patterned and “sedimented” (Auer 1999) uses of non-native elements in multilingual interactions. Codemixing therefore forms an integral part of the grammar and pragmatics of Pichi (cf. Yakpo 2009b; Yakpo 2018). In this chapter, all Spanish elements are set in italics.

## Patterns of contact

Codemixing systematically affects different areas of Pichi grammar and lexicon and it does so with differing frequency and depth. The use of certain lexical items and structures involving Pichi and Spanish material is so conventionalised that they can be said to constitute an integral part of the grammatical system and lexicon of Pichi. Table 13.1 summarises some of the most conventionalised patterns of Pichi–Spanish codemixing:

Table 13.1 Patterns of Pichi–Spanish contact

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Elements | Description |
| Noun phrases | SG and PL Spanish NPs occur with the Pichi definite article di and the pluraliser dɛn. |
| Verbs | Spanish verbs occur in a 3sg present tense invariant form and may only take the suppletive object pronoun ín ‘3sg.indp’. |
| Adjectives | All Spanish adjectives and past participles occur as complements to the locative-existential copula dé ‘be.loc’. |
| Numerals &  time units | Spanish numerals occur with rising likelihood the higher the number; no Pichi numeral above seven is attested in the corpus, Spanish day names and other time units have been borrowed. |
| Colours | Less basic colours like ‘green’, ‘blue’, or ‘brown’ occur almost exclusively in Spanish. |
| Adverbials | Spanish adverbs and discourse elements are frequent at the clausal margins. |
| Other | There are numerous individual structural and lexical borrowings and calques from Spanish. |

(Muysken 2000) identifies three patterns of codemixing that accommodate cross-linguistic mixing phenomena: insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalisation. All three of these patterns are operative in Pichi–Spanish codemixing. But the type of back-and-forth switching characteristic of much of Pichi discourse points towards a prominent role of congruent lexicalisation: Material from either language is grafted on grammatical structures common to both languages. Consider the following example:

(1695) A kɔmɔ́t *colegio,* a dé *fuera con mi*

1sg.sbj leave high.school 1sg.sbj be.loc outside with 1sg.poss

mísis *cuatro años* a nó ték bɛlɛ́,

matron four year.pl 1sg.sbj neg take belly

a nó lɛ́f mi vájin.

1sg.sbj neg leave 1sg.poss virginity

‘I came out of high school, I was outside with my guardian for four years,

I didn’t become pregnant, I didn’t give up my virginity.’ [ab03ay 132]

While the noun colegio ‘college’ looks more like an insertion into a Pichi grammatical structure (the noun is left unmarked like a Pichi noun in this position), the switch fuera con mi ‘outside with my’ is best understood as an instance of congruent lexicalisation. Each element could be replaced by the corresponding Pichi elements nadó wet mi. In this context the possessive pronoun mi ‘1sg.poss’ is of particular interest. It is a homophonous diamorph, a morpheme that is identical in form and function in both languages including its suprasegmental feature of low tonedness in Pichi and Equatoguinean Spanish. Besides that, mi functions as a possessive pronoun through juxtaposition with the possessed noun in both languages.

I subjected a smaller section of the corpus consisting of a total of 22,059 words (or tokens, i.e. occurrences of words, irrespective how many times they occur) to a thorough analysis. The subcorpus contains 1475 types (different words). The analysis reveals that the presence of Spanish types and tokens in the Pichi texts varies with word classes in the following ways:

Table 13.2 Type–token analysis of Spanish words in Pichi discourse

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Types | | | Tokens | | |
| Word class | Pichi | Spanish | Spanish % | Pichi | Spanish | Spanish % |
| Nouns | 345 | 346 | 50% | 2748 | 664 | 19% |
| Verbs | 246 | 94 | 28% | 3771 | 192 | 5% |
| Property items | 62 | 48 | 44% | 450 | 99 | 18% |
| Numerals | 17 | 28 | 62% | 166 | 146 | 47% |
| Prepositions | 16 | 9 | 36% | 1107 | 54 | 5% |
| Clause linkers | 6 | 8 | 57% | 663 | 95 | 14% |

With respect to types, the table shows that a total of 50 per cent of all nouns and approximately 28 per cent of all verbs that occur are Spanish. Property items (or “adjectives” in Spanish) were counted separately and amounted to a total of 44 per cent of Spanish types. For numerals, the Spanish percentage stands even higher at 62 per cent.

However, the percentage of Spanish tokens (i.e. total instances of occurrences even if the same word occurs several times) reveals a different picture. Numerals still top the list (47 per cent). But they are followed by a much lower percentage of Spanish nouns (19 per cent) and adjectives (18 per cent). This shows that the frequency with which Spanish words are used is considerably lower than the absolute number of Spanish words in Pichi discourse. With the exception of numerals, the Spanish ratio of tokens stands at roughly 20 per cent of an average text.

## Specific constituents

The following four sections describe the specifics of codemixing involving noun phrases, verbs and adjectives, functional elements, and other constituents.

### Noun phrases

Inserted Spanish constituents belong to various word classes, but the insertion of content words, and nouns in particular, prevails. Thus we find novio ‘fiancé’ and pueblo ‘village’ in (1696). Note that both Spanish nouns are objects of Pichi elements, the first of a verb, the second of a preposition:

(1696) Mék yu nó sé yu dɔ́n gɛ́t *novio* na *pueblo*,

sbjv 2sg know quot 2sg prf get boyfriend loc village

na kɔ́ntri.

loc country

‘You should know that you already have a fiancé in the village,

in the hometown. [ab03ay 010]

When Spanish nouns are inserted as in (1696), they usually remain bare where Pichi nouns do so, or are accompanied by Pichi determiners and the pluraliser dɛn ‘pl’ in the same way as Pichi nouns are. In (1697), the definite Spanish noun paciencia ‘patience’ is preceded by the Pichi definite article di:

(1697) *Porque* fɔ́s, di *paciencia*, yu nó go gɛ́t=an.

because first def patience 2sg neg pot get=3sg.obj

‘Because first, the patience, you wouldn’t have it.’ [fr03ft 189]

When a specific Spanish plural noun is inserted, there is a strong likelihood that it will be additionally marked with the postposed Pichi pluraliser dɛn, in accordance with the pattern that applies to Pichi count nouns (1698). Conversely, Spanish nouns exhibit a strong tendency to occur devoid of Pichi number and definiteness marking where the noun is non-specific as with rallador ‘grater’ in the second example:

(1698) Áfta una báy di *bloques* dɛn tumára.

then 2pl buy def bricks pl tomorrow

‘Then you [plural] buy the bricks tomorrow.’ [fr03cd 112]

(1699) A *ralla* ín wet *rallador*.

1sg.sbj grate 3sg.indp with grater

‘I grated it with a grater.’ [dj03do 004]

The occurrence of pruebas ‘proofs’ in (1700) demonstrates that Spanish nouns may well be devoid of Pichi noun phrase marking, but not necessarily so of the Spanish plural morpheme {-s}:

(1700) Yu go gɛ́t *prueba-s*.

2sg pot get proof-pl

‘You will have proof.’ [ma03sh 013]

This is not surprising, however, since in Spanish, determiner-less plural count nouns may have non-specific reference. The semantic overlap between Spanish plural nouns and Pichi bare nouns in codemixing can be seen in (1701). Here the Pichi bare nouns pía ‘avocado’ and sadín ‘sardine’ are functionally equivalent to the Spanish plural noun tomates ‘tomatoes’:

(1701) Mí wet Rubi wi mék jwɛn-jwɛ́n, wi báy *pía,*

1sg.indp with name 1pl make red.cpd-join 1pl buy avocado

wi báy *sadín,* wi báy *tomates*, wi *desayuna*.

1pl buy sardine 1pl buy tomatoes 1pl have.breakfast

‘Me and Rubi, we teamed up and bought avocados, we bought sardines,

we bought tomatoes, we had breakfast.’ [ye03cd 152]

The insertion of larger nominal groups as opposed to single nouns is rarer. In fact, most of the Spanish adjective-noun combinations we encounter are collocations that are somewhat lexicalised in Spanish. Compare traducción directa ‘direct translation’ in (1702):

(1702) Na *traducción* *directa* e mék.

foc translation direct 3sg.sbj make

‘It’s a direct translation that she made.’ [to03gm 042]

The order of constituents normally remains unchanged when Spanish elements are inserted into a Pichi NP. In (1703), the Pichi quantifier lás ‘last’ is used in prenominal position with the inserted Spanish noun semana ‘week’. However, note that Spanish also features a quantifier + noun order in NPs (i.e. la última semana ‘(the) last week’):

(1703) Ɛf yu bin kán bigín *las* *semana* yu bin fɔ dɔ́n fínis tidé.

if 2sg pst pfv begin last week 2sg pst cond prf finish today

‘If you had begun last week you would have been finished today.’ [dj05ae 057]

We would assume that the inverse NP constituent order (noun + adjective in the majority of cases) of Spanish NPs blocks the admixture of single Spanish attributive adjectives into Pichi NPs (cf. Sankoff & Poplack 1981). This is largely borne out by the data.

There is, however, some variation, although it is not all that frequent. In (1704), the Spanish adjective directo ‘direct’ occurs after the Pichi noun ɔnkúl ‘uncle’ in a Pichi NP and thereby follows the constituent order of a Spanish NP:

(1704) Na wán *ɔnkúl directo,* fɔ mi mamá in papá

foc one uncle direct prep 1sg.poss mother 3sg.poss father

in fámbul pát.

3sg.poss family part

‘He’s a direct uncle on the part of my mother’s father’s family.’ [fr03ft 051]

In (1705), we find the opposite situation. The Spanish adjective especial ‘special’ is in a prenominal position, hence in the syntactic slot of attributively used Pichi property items:

(1705) E bríng fís, e kúk sɔn *especial fís,*

3sg.sbj bring fish 3sg.sbj cook some special fish

e gí mí mék a chɔ́p.

3sg.sbj give 1sg.indp sbjv 1sg.sbj eat

‘She brought (a) fish, she cooked a particular fish and gave it to me

in order to eat.’ [ed03sb 015]

There are other instances of Spanish adjectives that follow Pichi nouns in Pichi NPs. But in these cases, the function of the Spanish words parallels that of some Pichi value property items that are used as adverbials in the same syntactic position. The Spanish adjective serio ‘serious’ in (1706) may be likened to the Pichi manner adverb fáyn ‘well; really’ in (1707):

(1706) Dí wán go tɔ́n plába *serio*.

this one pot turn trouble serious

‘This will turn into real trouble.’ [fr03wt 015]

(1707) ‘Dí mán dé trɔ́n’ nó dé fáyn, e nó gɛ́t

this man be.loc strong neg be.loc fine 3sg.sbj neg get

*sentido fáyn*.

meaning fine

‘“Dí man dé trɔn” is not nice, it doesn’t have a proper meaning.’ [dj05ae 124]

### Verbs and adjectives

The low ratio of Spanish verbs as opposed to nouns in the type and token count may be striking at first glance. However, this tendency may stem from the fact that a small number of high frequency Pichi verbs (e.g. mék ‘make’, gɛ́t ‘get, have’, gí ‘give’) participate in conventionalised verb-noun collocations, in which a Pichi verb is followed by a Spanish noun (cf. 9.3.1 for an extensive treatment). Some of these are gí permiso ‘give permission’, mék rabia ‘be annoyed’, gɛ́t novio/novia ‘have a boy/girlfriend’. The collocations also include calques from Spanish. Compare gí wán vuelta ‘give one round’ = ‘take a walk’ which is a one-to-one calque of Spanish dar una vuelta:

(1708) E de gí wán *vuelta* kwík.

3sg.sbj ipfv give one round quickly

‘She’s taking a walk quickly.’ [dj05be 120]

The admixture of Spanish verbs follows established rules. Spanish verbs are always inserted into Pichi clauses in a invariant form of the 3sg person of the Spanish present tense paradigm. This insertion rule is valid without exception across the three regular Spanish verb inflection classes. Due to its frequency, the 3sg present tense form is also the default form found in most contact scenarios involving Spanish (Clements 2009:20–21). Examples follow with controla ‘control’ (<controlar) in (1709), entiende ‘understand’ (<entender) in (1710), and sufre ‘suffer’ (<sufrir) in (1711):

(1709) Frɔn na yá só dɛn kin *controla* di húman.

from loc here like.that 3pl hab control def woman

‘From here they control the woman.’ [ed03sb 158]

(1710) Pɔ́sin go *entiende* bɔt e nó dé *bien*.

person pot understand but 3sg.sbj neg be.loc good

‘One would understand but it isn’t good.’ [dj05ae 043]

(1711) E *sufre* wé náw dɛn dɔ́n lɛ́f=an, e dɔ́n klós.

3sg.sbj suffer sub now 3pl prf leave=3sg.obj 3sg.sbj prf close

‘It [the building] suffered, while now they have abandoned it, it is closed.’ [hi03cb 044]

The 3sg invariant form is combined with Pichi TMA markers like any Pichi verb as can be seen by the presence of kin ‘hab’ in (1709) and go ‘pot’ in (1710) above. Inserted Spanish verbs may also be reduplicated by the same derivational process that applies to Pichi verbs. Compare pica-píca ‘red.cpd-cut.up’ = ‘repeatedly cut up (into small pieces)’ in (1712):

(1712) A bigín de *pica-píca,* wi fráy *patata*, wi fráy plantí.

1sg.sbj begin ipfv red.cpd-cut.up 1pl fry potato 1pl fry plantain

‘I began to (repeatedly) snip [the trimmings], we fried potatoes, we fried

plantain.’ [ye03cd 172]

Pichi exhibits a phonologically conditioned suppletive allomorphy in the pronominal system. The lexical pitch configuration of a verb determines the choice of allomorph used for the expression of 3sg pronominal object case (cf. 3.2.5). Vowel-final verbs with a word-final low tone take the object pronoun ín ‘3sg.indp’– this group includes a few Pichi verbs and all inserted Spanish verbs (1713). This is because the 3sg invariant form of the (Equatoguinean) Spanish verb always features a word-final L-toned vowel :

(1713) Fíba nó *sube* ín.

fever neg go.up 3sg.indp

‘The fever hasn’t risen on him.’ [eb07fn 171]

The form sigue (<seguir) ‘follow; continue’ is highly conventionalised in its use. It is also employed as an auxiliary verb to indicate continuative aspect in a complement construction:

(1714) A go *sigue* chɔ́p.

1sg.sbj pot continue eat

‘I’ll continue eating.’ [be05 057]

In a similar vein, the verbs sube (<subir) ‘go up’ and baja (<bajar) ‘go down’ are far more frequent than their Pichi counterparts gó ɔ́p and gó dɔ́n (1715):

(1715) Bɔkú motó dɛn dé yá só, a nó nó sé

much car pl be.loc here like.that 1sg.sbj neg know quot

Pancho mék lɛk sé e de *sube* bihɛ́n

name make like quot 3sg.sbj ipfv go.up behind

wí e *baja* mɔ́.

1pl.indp 3sg.sbj go.down more

‘So many cars were there, I didn’t know Pancho pretended to

go up behind us (and) went down again.’ [ye03cd 178]

Spanish adjectives do not only occur as attributes to Pichi nouns. They are systematically inserted into Pichi predicate adjective clauses as complements to the locative-existential copula dé ‘be.loc’ (1716).

(1716) Wán yáy dé *blanco* e nó de sí.

one eye be.loc white 3sg.sbj neg ipfv see

‘One eye is white, it doesn’t see.’ [ye03cd 106]

Neither adjectives nor past participles usually exhibit Spanish-style gender agreement with the subject and are normally inserted in the masculine form. However, past participles always come along with the regular Spanish adjective-deriving morphology (1717):

(1717) A wánt dé *flipa-do* ɔ́l áwa, ɔ́l áwa.

1sg.sbj want be.loc turned.on-adj all hour all hour

‘I want to be turned on all the time, all the time.’ [ye07ga 012]

I have shown that a handful of Pichi property items may be employed as adjectives and inchoative-stative verbs alike (cf. 7.6.5). When used as adjectives, these property items denote a non-time-stable body state and may appear as complements to the copula dé. When used as inchoative-stative verbs, these property items denote a time-stable value. The property item bád ‘be bad’ displays this kind of behaviour. Hence, bád means ‘(intrinsically) bad’ (1718) when used as an inchoative-stative verb and ‘ill’ when it appears as a complement to the copula dé (1719):

(1718) Sɔn mamá dɛn, dɛn bád.

some mother pl 3pl be.bad

‘Some mothers, they are bad.’ [ab03ay 109]

(1719) ‘E dé bad’ min sé ‘e de sík’.

3sg.sbj be.loc bad mean quot 3sg.sbj ipfv be.sick

‘“E dé bad” means “he’s sick”.’ [ye07je 046]

Spanish also exhibits a distinction based on time-stability with respect to property items. In contrast to Pichi, the distinction may, however, be applied to almost any adjective of the language. Examples (1720) and (1721) involve the 3sg present form of the time-stable identity copula ser and the 2sg present of the non-time-stable locative-existential copula estar, respectively. A comparison of the Pichi examples in (1718)–(1719) above with the two sentences below show the functional overlap of the relevant constructions in the two languages:

(1720) Es malo. Spanish

He.is bad

‘He is bad.’

(1721) ¿Estás mal hoy? Spanish

You.are bad today

‘Do you feel bad today?’

Despite the similarities between the dé + property item construction and the Spanish estar + adjective construction, all predicatively used Spanish adjectives always appear as complements to the Pichi locative-existential copula dé, regardless of whether the denoted property is non-time-stable or time-stable.

Hence the time-stable property denoted by the Spanish adjective blanco ‘white’ appears as a complement to the copula *dé* in (1716) above, while the Pichi colour term *wáyt* ‘be white’ can only be employed as a inchoative-stative verb as in (1722):

(1722) Di mán wáyt.

def man be.white

‘The man is white.’ [ed05fn 077]

Why is the time-stability distinction not maintained with predicatively used Spanish adjectives? An explanation is that the Pichi construction involving the copula dé and an adjectival complement is more compatible with congruent lexicalisation than the use of Spanish adjectives as (inchoative-)stative verbs. With the former pattern, the phrasal syntax of adjectival predication remains identical in both languages. This allows speakers to graft such code-mixed constructions onto a common grammatical structure (cf. Meechan & Poplack 1995). Pichi–Spanish contact in the predicate adjective construction has therefore led to the generalisation of a structure which would otherwise be specialised to a handful of Pichi property items. The obligatory use of a copula in these mixed collocations may also be seen as a case of structural interference from Spanish where a copula verb *must* be used in predicate adjective constructions.

### Functional elements

The most frequently used Spanish functional elements are the cause clause linkers como ‘since’ (1723) and porque ‘because’ (1724). Both linkers form an integral part of the Pichi system of clause linkage and are best seen to have been borrowed into the language:

(1723) *Como* wí de kɔ́l=an *mono* na Panyá, ín chɛ́k=an

since 1pl.indp ipfv call=3sg.obj monkey loc Spanish 3sg.indp think=3sg.obj

sé ɛf e tɔ́k sé wán mɔnkí, e go dé fáyn.

quot if 3sg.sbj talk quot one monkey 3sg.sbj pot be.loc fine

‘Since we [emp] call it “mono“ in Spanish, he [emp] understood it such

that if he said “one monkey”, it would be all right.’ [to03gm 005]

(1724) Yu nɛ́a gɛ́t pikín *porque* yu nɛ́a máred.

2sg neg.prf get child because 2sg neg.prf marry

‘You don’t yet have a child, because you aren’t yet married.’ [ab03ab 204]

The linkers como and porque are employed in the same syntactic position as the Pichi equivalents as ‘as’ (1725) and bikɔs ‘because’ (1726), respectively:

(1725) Ás in sísta dɛn bin de kɔ́l in mamá sé

as 3sg.poss sister 3pl pst ipfv call 3sg.poss mother quot

sísta, in de kɔ́l in mamá sé sísta.

sister 3sg.indp ipfv call 3sg.poss mother quot sister

‘As her sisters would call her mother sister, she [emp] would

call her mother sister.’ [ab03ay 145]

(1726) Bɛt a dɔ́n nó wétin yu níd, bikɔs wi gɛ́t sɔn

but 1sg.sbj prf neg what 2sg need because 1pl get some

prɔ́blɛm wé wi de tɔ́k Pichi na Malábo.

problem sub 1pl ipfv talk Pichi loc place

‘But I already know what you need, because we have a problem when

we talk Pichi in Malabo.’ [au07se 005]

Table 13.3 shows the frequency with which the Spanish linkers como and porque occur in Pichi sentences in relation to as and bikɔs. The table indicates that in the overwhelming majority of cases (89 per cent for como and 91 per cent for porque) both conjunctions occur as single constituents in Pichi clauses rather than in clausal switches in which the following material is also in Spanish. The second line of Table 13.3 shows that these two Spanish function words are established loans. In 76 per cent of all occurrences, ‘since’ is expressed as como, hence only 24 per cent is expressed with the Pichi equivalent as. In 41 per cent of all cases ‘because’ is expressed as porque, so Pichi bikɔs occurs as the causal conjunction in 59 per cent of all cases.

Table 13.3 Distribution and frequency of *como* and *porque*

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Type of percentage | como | porque |
| Single constituent switch over total | 89% | 91% |
| Spanish conjunction over total | 76% | 41% |

The clause linker aunque ‘although’ occurs so frequently that it is best seen to be fully integrated into the Pichi lexicon as well. In Spanish too, *aunque* is used both as a concessive or adversative conjunction as in (1727) and as a a similative adverbial as in (1728):

(1727)*Aunque* nóto *paludismo* if dɛn gív yú *tratamiento*

although neg.foc malaria if 3pl give 2sg.indp treatment

yu nó go dáy.

2sg neg pot die

‘Even if it isn’t malaria, if you are given treatment, you won’t die.’ [fr03ft 061]

(1728) Wé yu de mék=an na hós, jɔ́s ték=an,

sub 2sg ipfv make=3sg.obj loc house just take=3sg.obj

pút=an na pɔ́t *aunque* wán *taza* só.

put=3sg.obj loc pot like one cup like.that

‘When you make it at home, just take it (and) put it into a pot,

like one cup or so.’ [dj03do 010]

The Spanish time clause linker mientras ‘while’ occurs less systematically, but it still provides an optional resource for combining clauses:

(1729) *Mientras* yu de sí sé di tín de *transforma* pɔ́sin

while 2sg ipfv see quot def thing ipfv transform person

yu de kɔ́t wán tín fɔ in fínga.

2sg ipfv cut one thing prep 3sg.poss finger

‘While you see that the thing is turning into a human-being you cut

off a part of its finger.’ [ma03sh 012]

The Spanish coordinator pair ni – ni ‘neither – nor; not even’ can express negative disjunction in Pichi utterances. Like in Spanish, ni can be used alone (1730) or in discontinuous negation (1731). Unlike in Spanish, however, subject disjunction in Pichi requires the kind of negative concord characteristic of other negative clauses in Pichi (1731):

(1730) E nó sabí tɔ́k *ni* Panyá, e sé

3sg.sbj neg know talk neither Spanish 3sg.sbj quot

e wánt *muchachita de diecisiete años*.

3sg.sbj want young.girl of seventeen year.pl

‘He doesn’t even know how to speak Spanish, (and) he says he wants

a girl of seventeen years.’ [ye03cd 053]

(1731) *Ni* ín *ni* in brɔ́da dɛn nó lán.

neither 3sg.indp neither 3sg.poss brother 3pl neg learn

‘Neither him nor his brother studied.’ [ro05de 145]

In (1732), we find the cardinal numeral wán ‘one’ in a peculiar construction with the meaning ‘around’ in combination with quantity expressions. When wán is employed in this way, it usually modifies NPs containing numerals (1732) and time units (1733):

(1732) Yu jɔ́s gɛ́t wán *diecisiete años* .

2sg just get one seventeen year.pl

‘You’re just about seventeen years old.’ [ab03ay 105]

(1733) Tumɔ́ro mɔ́nin tɛ́n, wán *las siete* só, a go gó dé.

tomorrow morning time one the.pl seven like.that 1sg.sbj pot go there

‘Tomorrow in the morning, around seven or so, I will go there.’ [ye03cd 011]

I attribute this particular usage of the numeral wán to structural borrowing from Spanish. In Spanish, the plural indefinite articles unos, unas serve the same function (1734).

(1734) Me faltan unos dos mil francos. Spanish

Me they.lack one.pl two thousand franc.pl

‘I am short of some 2000 francs (CFA).’

### Other constituents

Spanish discourse markers and adverbs frequently occur at the beginning of a sentence. Speakers often use Spanish material that is not syntactically integrated into a Pichi clause structure. This includes the high frequency adverbs bueno ‘well’ (1735) and pero ‘but’ (1736). Conversely, the interjection chico ‘boy’ (1736) is not common in European Spanish. It might have developed in Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi through mutual reinforcement and calquing of other person-denoting interjections in Pichi and other Equatoguinean languages:

(1735) *Bueno,* so e kán tɛ́l mí sé na tidé.

well so 3sg.sbj pfv tell 1sg.indp quot foc today

‘Well, so she told me that it was today.’ [ed03sb 005]

(1736) *Pero chico,* na yu pikín in láyf.

but boy foc 2sg child 3sg.poss life

‘But man, it’s your child’s life.’ [bo03cb 133]

The interjection chico ‘boy’ in (1736) above is more common than other human-denoting Pichi equivalents such as mán ‘man’, papá ‘father’, or mamá ‘mother’. The Spanish noun mierda ‘shit’ is very common as a deprecative interjection (1737):

(1737) *Mierda mierda,* ús=sáy e pás?

shit rep q=side 3sg.sbj pass

‘Shit, shit, which way did she go?’ [ro05rt 002]

Whole adverbial phrases are also admixed in this way. Like discourse markers, these occur at the beginning or the end of a clause:

(1738) A fít hól dán mɔní *durante un mes entero.*

1sg.sbj can hold that money during one month entire

‘I can keep that money during an entire month.’ [ro05rt 049]

Alternation may also involve larger syntactically independent chunks of Spanish up to a clause boundary:

(1739) A bɔ́n nayntín twɛnti-fó, *por lo tanto*

1sg.sbj be.born nineteen twenty.cpd-four therefore

*ahora tengo ochenta años.*

now I.have eighty year.pl

‘I was born in 1924, therefore I am now eighty years old.’ [ab03ay 007]

The Spanish focus syntagma es que ‘it is that’ may also be seen as a peripheral element which constitutes an independent syntactic unit (1740). However, es que is so much an integral part of the Pichi system of focus marking that it seems like a holophrastic borrowing (cf. 7.4.3 for more). Also note the interesting switch to Spanish at the clausal boundary between the relative clause and the following main clause:

(1740) *Es que*  húman wé e gɛ́t bɛlɛ́

It.is that woman sub 3sg.sbj get belly

*siempre suele ser así.*

always usually be like.that

‘It’s that women who are pregnant are always like that.’ [ro03rr 008]

## Specific semantic fields

Some semantic fields are more regularly affected by codemixing than others. Numerals and other similarly tightly interwoven semantic fields like the expression of time or colour are characterised by the extensive use of Spanish words and structures. In many instances, the corresponding Pichi expressions are no longer used or are falling out of use. The corresponding Spanish words and structures have been borrowed into Pichi.

### Numerals, days, and dates

In natural speech, the occurrence of Pichi cardinal numerals drops rapidly after trí ‘three’. The percentages of attributive cardinal numerals of Pichi and Spanish provenance in the corpus are presented in Table 13.4. Borrowing has a profound impact on the Pichi numeral system, where Spanish numerals have substituted all but the basic Pichi numerals below eight. Note that this table only lists the usage of wán ‘one’ as a cardinal numeral and does not include wán in its use as an indefinite determiner with the meaning ‘a’:

Table 13.4 Use of Pichi numerals

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Numeral | Pichi % |
| 1 | 89% |
| 2 | 80% |
| 3 | 63% |
| 4 | 45% |
| 5 | 30% |
| 6 | 40% |
| 7 | 22% |
| 8 | 0% |
| 9 | 0% |

The attributive use of Spanish numerals goes along with the insertion of Spanish head nouns – there is no instance of a mixed combination of a Spanish numeral and a Pichi noun:

(1741) Lɛ́f=an mék e rích *a los quince años.*

leave=3sg.obj sbjv 3sg.sbj reach to the.pl fifteen year.pl

‘Leave her, let her reach [the age of] fifteen years.’ [ab03ay 138]

When telling the time, Spanish lexical items are fit into a conventionalised mixed construction which does not have an exact equivalent in Spanish. In the Pichi construction, the clock time is an adverbial complement to the locative-existential copula dé ‘cop’. The copula, in turn, takes the 1pl subject wi (1743). In the Spanish construction, the clock time functions as the subject of the identity copula ser ‘be’ (1743):

(1742) Wi dé *las cuatro y media.*

1pl be.loc the.pl four and half

‘It’s four thirty.’ [nn07fn 483]

(1743) Son *las cuatro y media.*

They.are the.pl four and half

‘It’s four thirty.’

Equally, the majority of speakers employ Spanish dates. One of the few tokens of a date featuring Pichi numerals was produced by a lady of more than eighty years of age (1745). I assume this instance and the few other similar ones in the corpus to be holophrastic insertions. This view is supported by the fact that the date in (1745) is the speaker’s date of birth and perhaps just as significantly, she was married to a Nigerian in her youth. Other than that, this speaker’s use of numerals parallels the one outlined in Table 13.4 above:

(1744) *El diez de agosto,* bay gɔ́d in páwa, a go pás na yá.

the ten of August by God 3sg.poss power 1sg.sbj pot pass loc here

‘(On) the tenth of August, by the grace of God, I’ll pass by this place.’ [ab07fn 113]

(1745) *Soy del veinticuatro,* a bɔ́n nayntín twɛnti-fó.

I am of.the twenty-four 1sg.sbj be.born nineteen twenty.cpd-four

‘I am of [the year] twenty-four, I was born in nineteen twenty-four.’ [ab03ay 006]

Most speakers are not familiar with Pichi day names and employ the Spanish day nomenclature (1746). Even older speakers rarely if ever use the corresponding Pichi day names mɔ́nde ‘Monday’, tyúsde ‘Tuesday’, wɛ́nsde ‘Wednesday’, tɔsde ‘Thursday’, frayde ‘Friday’, sátidé ‘Saturday’, and sɔ́nde ‘Sunday’ (1747):

(1746) Dí *miércoles* a de gó Lubá.

this Wednesday 1sg.sbj ipfv go place.’

‘This Wednesday, I am going to Luba.’ [ro05ee 119]

(1747) *Lunes* na *mɔ́nde*, *tyúsde* wé na *martes*.

monday foc Monday tuesday sub foc tuesday

‘“Lunes” is Monday. Tuesday that’s “martes”.’ [ro05ee 121]

The elicitation of Pichi day names with two speakers below twenty-eight years was unsuccessful save sɔ́nde ‘Sunday’, certainly because of its social importance for religious practice. A speaker above fifty-five years experienced considerable difficulties in retrieving Pichi day names (1748)(a)–(c). Wɛ́nsde ‘Wednesday’ was only retrieved after an external input (b) and the elicitation of ‘Thursday’ and ‘Friday’ produced the misnomers tyúsde ‘Tuesday’ (c) and wɛ́nsde ‘Wednesday’ (d), respectively’:

(1748) a. *Miercoles* na, áy [pause], pero a sabí=an.

wednesday foc intj but 1sg.sbj know=3sg.obj

‘Wednesday is, ah [pause], but I know it.’ [ro05ee 123]

b. Wɛ́nsde?

‘Wednesday?’ [ko05ee 124]

c. *Jueves* na tyúsde.

Thursday foc Tuesday

‘Thursday is “tyúsde”.’ [ro05ee 125]

d. Frayde na *miércoles*.

friday foc wednesday

“Frayde” is Wednesday.’ [ro05ee 126]

In contrast, Pichi designations for the seasons of the year are fully in use, as shown by the use of the compound noun ren-sísin ‘rainy season’ (1749) and amatán ‘harmattan’ in (1750):

(1749) Dís dé dɛn ren-sísin go bigín.

this day pl rainy.cpd-season pot begin

‘These days, the rainy season should begin.’ [dj05ce 059]

(1750) Wi de kɔ́l yá só amatán dán, lɛkɛ sé

1pl ipfv call here like.that harmattan that like quot

e kin dé lɛkɛ *niebla*.

3sg.sbj hab be.loc like fog

‘Here, we call harmattan that, like it’s usually like fog.’ [ye05ce 062]

### Colours

Colour terminology was elicited with three speakers between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-seven and with two speakers above the age of fifty-five. The exercise revealed the apparent-time differences in colour terminology contained in Table 13.5. Pichi terms are in normal font, variants are indicated by a semicolon. Spanish terms are in italics. Table 13.5 indicates that the younger speakers employ the basic Pichi colour terms blák ‘black’ and wáyt ‘white’ consistently. The colours ‘red’ and ‘yellow’ are more frequently referred to by the Spanish terms rojo and amarillo, respectively, but the Pichi terms rɛ́d ‘red’ and yɛ́lo ‘yellow’ are also used. All other colours are uniquely referred to by Spanish terms. The older group consistently makes use of Pichi rɛ́d ‘red’ in addition to the basic colours blák and wáyt. Meanwhile ‘blue’ and ‘green’ are referred to by the Pichi terms blú and grín , respectively, or by their Spanish equivalents azul and verde.

At least in apparent time, the range of Pichi colour terms appears to have been reduced from the six colours *blák, wáyt,* *rɛ́d, yɛ́lo, blú*,and *grín* with the older group, to the two basic colours *blák* and *wáyt*, supplemented by the less frequent *rɛ́d* and *yɛ́lo*:

Table 13.5 Apparent time differences in the use of colour terms

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| 21–27 years | +55 years | Gloss |
| blák | blák | ‘black’ |
| wáyt | wáyt | ‘white’ |
| rɛ́d*;* *rojo* | rɛ́d | ‘red’ |
| yɛ́lo*;* *amarillo* | yɛ́lo*;* *amarillo* | ‘yellow’ |
| *azul* | blú*;* *azul* | ‘blue’ |
| *verde* | grín*;* *verde* | ‘green’ |
| *naranja* | *naranja* | ‘orange’ |
| *rosa* | *rosa* | ‘pink’ |
| *violeta* | *violeta* | ‘violet’ |
| *marrón* | *marrón* | ‘brown’ |

Many West African languages, including basilectal Nigerian Pidgin (Faraclas 1996:286) express colours and hues other than ‘black’ and ‘white’ through periphrasis, suprasegmentals and ideophones. We also find the expression of colours through periphrasis in Pichi, as in the following two examples:

(1751) Di bɔ́y yɛ́lo lɛkɛ Chici.

def boy be.yellow like name

‘The guy is yellow like [the guy called] Chici.’ [i.e. He has a light brown skin colour]

(1752) Dán tín yɛ́lo lɛk banána.

that thing be.yellow like banana

‘That thing is yellow like a banana.’ [i.e. It has a bright yellow colour]

The rarity of Pichi colour terms beyond the basic ones of blák and wáyt with the younger group may therefore be indicative of a departure from the West African composite system of colour denomination towards a European simplex system in which non-basic colours are also denoted by specific property items.

When Spanish colour terms are used attributively, they occur with Spanish head nouns (1753). The corpus contains no examples of mixed collocations involving a Spanish colour denoting property item and a Pichi head noun:

(1753) A tínk sé na *judías blancas* ***o no sé****.*

1sg.sbj think quot foc bean.pl white.pl or neg I.know

‘I think they’re white beans or so.’ [eb03sp 122]

Spanish colour terms also occur as predicate adjectives in the specific type of mixed copula clause involving Spanish adjectives covered in 13.2.2 above. In contrast, Pichi colour terms are only lexicalised as inchoative-stative verbs.

### Other semantic fields

Other semantic fields characterised by a high incidence of codemixing involve formalised, institutional domains. One of the few Pichi country names in use is Panyá ‘Spain’, the designation for the former colonial power. Spanish lexemes are exclusively employed for country names like Guinea (Ecuatorial) ‘Equatorial Guinea’, Gabón ‘Gabon’ (1754), ethnonyms like europeo ‘European’ or cameruneses ‘Cameroonians’ (1755), as well as terms belonging to the state domain such as problema diplomático ‘diplomatic problem’ (1754):

(1754) *Entonces* wán *problema diplomático* kán dé entre

so one problem diplomatic pfv be.loc between

*Guinea* wet *Gabón*.

place with place

‘So a diplomatic problem came to be between Guinea and Gabon.’ [fr03ft 007]

(1755) *Cameruneses,* yɛ́s dɛn plɛ́nte yá.

Cameroonians yes 3pl be.plenty here

‘Cameroonians, yes they are many here.’ [ma07fn 607]

Also compare the Spanish terms registro ‘(civil) registry’ and registra ‘(to) register’ in (1756):

(1756) A bin gɛ́fɔ chénch in ném na *registro*

1sg.sbj pst have.to change 3sg.poss name loc register

a *registra* ín.

1sg.sbj register 3sg.indp

‘I had to change her name in the register, I registered her.’ [ab03ay 162]

The Pichi lexemes skul ‘school’, gɔ́bna ‘government’ (1757), and chɔ́ch ‘church’ (1758) designate these institutions in their general sense and are favoured over their Spanish equivalents escuela, gobierno, and iglesia:

(1757) E de gó fɔ, sɔn skúl wé dé fɔ gɔ́bna.

3sg.sbj ipfv go prep some school sub be.loc prep government

‘She goes to a school that belongs to government.’ [ma03hm 028]

(1758) E sé e gó chɔ́ch fɔ, fɔ Marieta na Ela Nguema,

3sg.sbj quot 3sg.sbj go church prep prep place loc place

na *catedral*.

loc cathedral

‘She said she went to church at Marieta’s in Ela Nguema, by the cathedral.’ [hi03cb 078]

Meanwhile, the incidence of Spanish lexemes rises with the degree of specificity of words within the semantic fields designated by these superordinates. Thus, we have catedral ‘cathedral’ in (1758) above, bolí ‘pen’ and cuaderno ‘exercise book’ (1759), as well as profe(sor) ‘teacher’ – though tícha ‘teacher’ is also common, however less so beyond primary school.

(1759) Wé, yu wánt báy *cuaderno*, *bolí* ɔ́l dán tín dɛn

sub 2sg want buy exercise.book pen all that thing pl

na wet *dólar*.

foc with dollar

‘While, if you want to buy exercise books, pens, all those things are

with the dollar.’ [ed03sp 096]

(1760) Di *profesor*, na bɛ́ta *profe*.

def teacher foc very.good teacher

‘The (secondary school) teacher is a very good teacher.’ [dj05be 172]

The preponderance of Spanish lexemes in other semantic fields reflects the asymmetric power relation that holds between Pichi and Spanish in a different way. For example, semantic fields relating to illness and medical treatment that are highly differentiated in other languages of the region (e.g. Yoruba, see Adegbite (1993)) probably did not assert itself in Pichi due to the marginalisation of African medical science with the advent of colonialism. In (1761), we therefore find placenta ‘placenta’ and *matriz* ‘womb’ for which only the general term bɛlɛ́ ‘belly; womb’ is recorded and Spanish *membrano* ‘membrane’ which has no equivalent in Pichi:

(1761) Wé dɔ́kta ópin, wé dɛn bigín drɔ́ di, sɔn tín we

sub doctor open sub 3pl begin draw def some thing sub

e kin dé bihɛ́n *placenta*, na *membrano*, sɔn kán lɛ́f

3sg.sbj hab be.loc behind placenta foc membrane some pfv remain

bifó di *matriz*, so di *matriz* nó kán lɔ́k.

before def womb so def womb neg pfv lock

‘When the doctor opened (the womb), they began to draw out the, a certain thing that

is usually behind the placenta, it’s a membrane, some remained in front of the womb,

so the womb didn’t close.’ [ab03ay 084]

The systematic use of Spanish items also occurs in semantic fields that designate aspects of material and non-material culture of external origin. In (1762), a car mechanic explains the disadvantages of an Opel ignition cable. Note the Spanish technical terms in the sentence:

(1762) Hɛ́, a go fála yú bikɔs sɔn *cable* dé

intj 1sg.sbj pot accompany 2sg.indp because some cable be.loc

wé na fɔ Opel, yu *intenta* bríng Opel in yón na

sub foc prep name 2sg try bring name 3sg.poss own foc

*corriente*, Opel de kɛ́r bɔkú *corriente* só e

electricity name ipfv take much electricity like.that 3sg.sbj

nó go fít ɛ́nta na dán *bujía*, yu go wánda sɛ́f.

neg pot can enter loc that ignition.plug 2sg pot wonder emp

‘Hey, I’ll accompany you because there’s a cable which is an Opel (cable), (and if)

you try to connect the Opel one with electricity, Opel takes a lot of electricity, so

it won’t be able to enter that ignition plug, (and) you’ll be very surprised.’ [f103fp 017]

Spanish kinship terms have also left their mark on the language (cf. also 12.3). In (1763), we find primo ‘(male) cousin’, a kinship concept that is only rarely expressed by the Pichi term *kɔsín.*

(1763) A tínk sé dɛn papá na mi mamá in *primo*.

1sg.sbj think quot 3pl father foc 1sg.poss mother 3sg.poss cousin

‘I think that their father is my mother’s cousin.’ [fr03ft 059]

Conversely, the incidence of Spanish words is low in semantic fields characterised by the use of autochthonous technology, such as farming and with designations for locally-grown foodstuffs and other flora. Thus, in (1764), we have díg grɔ́n ‘dig ground’ = ‘plough up the ground’, plánt ‘(to) plant’, gádin ‘small field; garden’, jakató ‘bitter tomato’ and kíp ‘grow; rear’, as well as pamáyn ‘oil’, and gadinɛ́ks ‘egg-plant’ (1765):

(1764) A díg grɔ́n, a plánt chɔ́p, a gó na gádin,

1sg.sbj dig ground 1sg.sbj plant food 1sg.sbj go foc garden

a kíp jakató, verdura.

1sg.sbj grow bitter.tomato vegetables

‘I ploughed the ground, I planted food, I went to the garden, I grew bitter tomato,

vegetables.’ [ab03ay 063]

(1765) Di dé wé yu go níd=an, yu go sé a nó gɛ́t

def day sub 2sg pot need=3sg.obj 2sg pot quot1sg.sbj neg get

pamáyn, yu go kɔ́t gadinɛ́ks.

oil 2sg pot cut egg-plant

‘The day when you would need it, you would say “I don’t have oil”,

(and) you would harvest egg-plants.’ [ab03ay 015]

# Typological summary of Pichi

Pichi is an Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creole language spoken on the island of Bioko, Equatorial Guinea. With somewhere between 100–150,000 speakers, Pichi is one of the most widely spoken languages of the country. Pichi is an offshoot of 19th century Krio (Sierra Leone) and shares many characteristics with its sister languages Krio, Aku (Gambia), and Nigerian, Cameroonian, and Ghanaian Pidgin. However, insulation from English and intense contact with Spanish, the colonial and official language of Equatorial Guinea, have given Pichi a character distinct from the other West African English-lexifier creoles and pidgins.

Pichi has a nominative–accusative alignment, SV(O), adjective–noun order, prenominal determiners, and prepositions. Pichi has a seven-vowel system and twenty-two consonant phonemes, including two labio-velar plosives. The language has a two-tone system with tonal minimal pairs, morphological tone for the marking of case distinctions, and numerous tonal processes. The morphological structure of Pichi is largely isolating. However, there is some inflectional and derivational morphology in which affixation and tone are put to use. Pichi is characterised by a weak verb–adjective distinction.

The categories of tense, modality, and aspect are primarily expressed through preverbal particles. Pichi is an aspect-prominent language in which aspect, rather than tense, plays a dominant role in expressing temporal relations. Besides that, the modal system includes an indicative–subjunctive opposition. The copula system employs various suppletive forms and is differentiated along the semantic criterion of time-stability.

Pichi verbs fall into three lexical aspect classes: dynamic, inchoative-stative, and stative. Content questions are formed by way of a mixed question-word system which involves transparent and opaque question elements. Clause linkage is characterised by a large variety of strategies and forms, in which a subordinator, a quotative marker, and two modal complementisers stand out as multifunctional elements with overlapping functions. The language also features various types of multiverb constructions. These include secondary predication, clause chaining, and serial verb constructions. Amongst the latter figure instrumental serial verb constructions involving the verb ték ‘take’ as well as comparative constructions featuring the verb pás ‘(sur)pass’.

Many of the typological characteristics summarised above align Pichi closely with the Atlantic-Congo languages spoken in the West African litoral zone and beyond. At the same time, characteristics like the prenominal position of adjectives and determiners show a typological overlap with English. There are also numerous structural and lexical parallels with the Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles of the (Circum-)Caribbean, such as, for example, Jamaican, Creolese (Guyana), and the creole languages of Suriname.

# Texts

The following six Pichi texts represent four types of genre: narrative, routine procedure, elicitation, and conversation. Each sentence is provided with its text codes (placed above the sentence it refers to). This allows comparison with the analysis of examples in the grammar section. In conversations, speakers can be identified by the two-letter speaker code at the beginning of the text code. All texts contain Spanish material ranging from single words to whole sentences. Spanish material is set in italics. An interlinear gloss of Spanish material is provided where it occurs in the same utterance along with Pichi material. For sentences entirely in Spanish, only a free translation is provided. There are only a few Bube elements in the text, all of which stem from speaker [ab]. The presence of Bube material is indicated in squared brackets. Bube was not transcribed due to the absence of a scientific grammar and comprehensive dictionary. This has been partly remedied by the publication of Bolekia 2009, but the description of Bube still leaves much to be desired.

## Narrative and conversation: Miguel falls sick

The main narrator in the following text is Abuela ‘grandmother’ (ab). Other discourse participants are Francisca (fr) and myself (ko). The text begins with a conversation between (ab) and (fr) on the latter’s competence in the Bube language. From (023)–(038), the conversation gives way to a brief story by (ab), in which she relates the hardship she endured living as an adolescent away from her family with a mísis ‘matron’. In (039)–(042), (ab) then draws a comparison between the style of upbringing back then and her grandson Miguel’s behaviour towards grown-ups today.

This leads (ab) to the main narrative from (043)–(134), in which (ab) gives an account of how her grandson Miguel came down with malaria a few nights before the recording took place, and how he was brought to hospital. The protagonists of this personal narrative are (ab) herself, her grandson Miguel, and his mother Tokobé. The narrative is characterised by extensive codemixing between Pichi and Spanish, as well as Pichi and Bube (Speaker (ab) speaks Spanish and Bube with her grandson).

ab03ab 008

Hɛ́ a, yu nó de tɔ́k Bubɛ, a wɔnda náw

intj 1sg.sbj 2sg neg ipfv talk Bube 1sg.sbj wonder now

lɛk háw e dɔ́n fɔgɛ́t Bubɛ wé e gó Panyá.

like how 3sg.sbj prf forget Bube sub 3sg.sbj go Spain

‘Hey I, you don’t speak Bube, I wonder now how she had forgotten Bube when she went to Spain.’

ab03ab 009

*Pero* ɛf e dé yá wán mún, e go

but if 3sg.sbj be.loc here one month 3sg.sbj pot

tɔ́k=an.

talk=3sg.obj

‘But if she were here for a month, she would speak it.’

ab03ab 010

Dí wán dɔ́n de tɔ́k, dí wán de tɔ́k fáyn pás

this one prf ipfv talk this one ipfv talk fine pass

in sísta.

3sg.poss sister

‘This one (here) already speaks it, this one talks better than her sister.’

fr03ab 011

Nó, nóto trú *abuela*.

neg neg.foc be.true grandmother

‘No, that’s not true grandmother.’

fr03ab 012

Lage de tɔ́k Bubɛ pás mí.

name ipfv talk Bube pass 1sg.indp

‘Lage speaks Bube better than me.’

ab03ab 013

E de tɔ́k Bubɛ pás yú?

3sg.sbj ipfv talk Bube pass 2sg.indp

‘She speaks Bube better than you?’

ab03ab 014

Dís wán sɛ́f, yu dɔ́n de tráy.

this one foc 2sg prf ipfv try

‘Even this one [you], you’re making an effort.’

ko03ab 015

Bɔt yu bin de tɔ́k Bubɛ bifó?

but 2sg pst ipfv talk Bube before

‘But you were speaking Bube before?’

ab03ab 016

E bin de tɔ́k=an, e nó bin de hía

3sg.sbj pst ipfv talk=3sg.obj 3sg.sbj neg pst ipfv hear

ɔ́da langwej.

other language

‘She was speaking it, she didn’t understand any other language.’

fr03ab 017

Wé a bin smɔ́l, a bin de tɔ́k Bubɛ.

sub 1sg.sbj pst be.small 1sg.sbj pst ipfv talk Bube

‘When I was small, I was speaking Bube.’

ab03ab 018

Wé yu kɔmɔ́t sík dán sík na Panyá, wé yu

sub 2sg come.out be.sick that be.sick loc Spain sub 2sg

bin sík, náw yu bigín tɔ́k Panyá.

pst be.sick now 2sg begin talk Spain

‘When you had just been sick in Spain, when you were sick, then you began speaking Spanish.’

ab03ab 019

Áfta, yu dé hía, *¿cuántos años estuviste aquí?*

then 2sg be.loc here how.many year.pl you.were here

‘Then, you were here, how many years were you here?’

fr03ab 020

*Medio año, seis meses*.

half year six month.pl

‘Half a year, six months.’

ab03ab 021

Áfta in papá sɛ́f kán ték=an.

then 3sg.poss father self come take=3sg.obj

‘Then her father himself came to take her [away from here].’

ab03ab 022

Áfta *es la respuesta*.

then it.is def answer

‘Then that’s the answer.’

ab03ab 023

Mí, lɛk háw yu de sí mí, a dɔ́n sí

1sg.indp like how 2sg ipfv see 1sg.indp 1sg.sbj prf see

plɛ́nte tín.

be.plenty thing

‘As for me, as you see me, I’ve seen many things (in life).’

ab03ab 024

A nó di tɛ́n wé yu de smɛ́l pamáyn,

1sg.sbj know def time sub 2sg ipfv smell oil

swit-ɔ́yl.

tasty.cpd-oil

‘I know the time when you’d smell oil, sweet oil.’

ab03ab 025

Yu mísis sɛ́n yú gó na shɔp, sé gó báy

2sg matron send 2sg.indp go loc shop quot go buy

mí swit-ɔ́yl.

1sg.indp tasty.cpd- oil

‘The matron [head (f.) of the household that speaker (ab) was staying in] of the house would send you to the shop, saying “go buy some sweet oil for me”.’

ab03ab 026

Yu gó yu bríng sɔn ɔ́yl.

2sg go 2sg bring some oil

‘You would go (and) bring some oil.’

ab03ab 027

Wé e lúk=an só [exclamation].

sub 3sg.sbj look=3sg.obj like.that

‘And she’d look at it like this [exclamation in Bube].’

ab03ab 028

Dís?

this

‘This?’

ab03ab 029

Dís nóto Manolete.

this neg.foc name

‘This is not Manolete (oil).’

ab03ab 030

Gó lɛ́f=an, gó lɛ́f=an!

go leave=3sg.obj go leave=3sg.obj

‘Go leave it, go leave it [bring it back]!’

ab03ab 031

Di trú *comedor* dé fɔ *soja*, Manolete, Cordobés.

def be.true dining-room be.loc prep soya name name

‘The real dining-room has soy bean oil, Manolete, Cordobes [vegetable oil brands], right?’

ab03ab 032

Na di bɛ́tɛ bɛ́tɛ swít ɔ́yl, pyɔ́ pyɔ́ *uvas*.

foc def very.good rep tasty oil pure rep grapes

‘That’s the very best sweet oil, (made from) purest grapes.’

ab03ab 033

Ɛf nóto yu báy, dán húman go bít yú sóté

if neg.foc 2sg buy that woman pot beat 2sg.indp until

yu go gó lɛ́f=an.

2sg pot go leave=3sg.obj

‘If it weren’t the case that you had bought (the right oil), that woman would beat you until you would go leave it [bring it back].’

ab03ab 034

Wé yu dɔ́n gó lɛ́f=an, yu go gí di mán

sub 2sg prf go leave=3sg.obj 2sg pot give def man

wé e de sɛ́l di *funda*, e nó go

sub 3sg.sbj ipfv sell def receptacle 3sg.sbj neg pot

ték=an fɔ yú.

take=3sg.obj prep 2sg.indp

‘When you’ve gone to leave it, you would give (the oil) to the man who is selling the receptacle (with the oil) and he wouldn’t take it (back) from you.’

ab03ab 035

Yu gɛ́fɔ gó fɔ yu fámbul.

2sg have.to go prep 2sg family

‘You would have to go to your (own) family.’

ab03ab 036

Yú gí dɛ́n dán smɔ́l pamáyn mék dɛn gí

2sg.indp give 3pl.indp that small oil sbjv 3pl give

yú mɔní yu go báy di wán wé yu mísis

2sg.indp money 2sg pot buy def one sub 2sg matron

dé, adɔnkɛ́ e nó sí yú wán hól dé,

there even.if 3sg.sbj neg see 2sg.indp one whole day

e nó bísin wáns yu bríng di pamáyn.

3sg.sbj neg care once 2sg bring def oil

‘You would give them [your family] that little bit of oil so that they gave you money (so that) you would go buy the one [the correct oil] that your matron there, even if she didn’t see you for a whole day, she wouldn’t care once you brought the [correct] oil.’

ab03ab 037

Mí dɔ́n sɔ́fa.

1sg.indp prf suffer

‘I have suffered.’

ab03ab 038

A dɔ́n sí bihɛ́n [continues in Bube].

1sg.sbj prf see behind

‘I have seen behind (...)’

ab03ab 039

Pero pikín tidé, náw yu sɛ́n=an, dí pikín, wé

but child today now 2sg send=3sg.obj this child sub

a de sɛ́n=an, e nó de gó mɔ́.

1sg.sbjipfv send=3sg.obj 3sg.sbj neg ipfv go more

‘But a child today, (if) you send it (for something) now, this child, when I’m sending him, he doesn’t go anymore.’

ab03ab 040

*Ay, todo el día de hoy tú me vas a mandar, ¡vete tú misma!*

‘[My grandson would say] “Oh, the whole day today you’re going to send me around, you go yourself!”’

ab03ab 041

Náw náw mék a sɛ́n=an na gran-pá

now rep sbjv 1sg.sbj send=3sg.obj loc grand-pa

in rúm, e go sé e de fíɛ, e nó

3sg.poss room 3sg.sbj pot say 3sg.sbj ipfv fear 3sg.sbj neg

go gí mí di tín wé a de sɛ́n=an.

pot give 1sg.indp def thing sub 1sg.sbj ipfv send=3sg.obj

‘Right now, let me (try) send him to grandfather’s room, he [my grandson] would say that he’s afraid, (that) he wouldn’t give me the thing I’m sending him for.’

ab03ab 042

Sé ín nó wánt in *abuelo* skrách=an.

quot 3sg.indp neg want 3sg.poss grandfather scratch=3sg.obj

‘Because he [emp] doesn’t want his [deceased] grandfather to scratch him.’

ab03ab 043

A dɔ́n tɛ́l yú wétin pás na nɛ́t, dán nɛ́t.

1sg.sbj prf tell 2sg.indp what happen loc night that night

‘I’ve already told you what happened at night, that night.’

ab03ab 044

Yɛ́stadé.

yesterday

‘Yesterday.’

ab03ab 045

Mí gó na mi béd, a bigín de mɛ́mba

1sg.indp go loc 1sg.poss bed 1sg.sbj begin ipfv remember

mi yón trɔ́bul.

1sg.poss own trouble

‘I [emp] went to bed, I began thinking about my own problems.’

ab03ab 046

Dɛ́n slíp dɛn de *ronca*.

3pl.indp sleep 3pl ipfv snore

‘They [emp] [the others in the house] had lied down and were snoring.’

ab03ab 047

Ín de kakara, kakara kakara.

3sg.indp ipfv ideo rep rep

‘He [Miguel] was all fidgety.’

ab03ab 048

E de *costumbre*.

3sg.sbj ipfv habit

‘He’s was getting used to it.’

ab03ab 049

Di wé in áwa nɔ́ba rích fɔ slíp, e go

def way 3sg.poss hour neg.prf arrive prep sleep 3sg.sbj pot

bigín de hala-hála mí.

begin ipfv red.cpd-shout 1sg.indp

‘Since his time for sleeping hadn’t come yet, he was going to begin shouting for me.’

ab03ab 050

Smɔ́ltɛn slíp kéch=an.

shortly.after sleep catch=3sg.obj

‘Shortly after, he became sleepy.’

ab03ab 051

E sé ‘áy’ a hía di hála.

3sg.sbj say intj 1sg.sbj hear def shout

‘He said “ay”, I heard the shout.’

ab03ab 052

In mamá sé wétin pás, wétin pás?

3sg.poss mother say what happen what happen

‘His mother said what happened, what happened?’

ab03ab 053

E sé ‘mɔ́mi mɔ́mi yu nó de sí dán mán wé

3sg.sbj say mum mum 2sg neg ipfv see that man sub

e rɔ́n gó *abuela* in rúm?’

3sg.sbj run go grandmother 3sg.poss room

‘He said “mum, mum don’t you see that man who ran into grandmother’s room?”’

ab03ab 054

‘E dɔ́n pás, e dɔ́n pás, e dɔ́n pás.’

3sg.sbj prf pass 3sg.sbj prf pass 3sg.sbj prf pass

‘“He has just passed by, he has just passed by, he has just passed by.”’

ab03ab 055

E bigín de trímbul.

3sg.sbj begin ipfv tremble

‘He began to tremble.’

ab03ab 056

Náw e sé/ in mamá tɛ́l=an sé

now 3sg.sbj say 3sg.poss mother tell=3sg.obj quot

nɔ́, *abuela fue a la cocina a beber agua*.

‘Now he said/ his mother told him that “no, grandmother went to the kitchen to drink water”.’

ab03ab 057

E sé *pero es un hombre.*

3sg.sbj say but it.is def man

‘He said “but it’s a man”.’

ab03ab 058

E nó kán slíp mɔ́ ó.

3sg.sbj neg pfv sleep more sp

‘He actually didn’t sleep again.’

ab03ab 059

Sɔn káyn fíba kán kéch=an, Tokobé nó kán sabí.

some kind fever pfv catch=3sg.obj name neg pfv know

‘He got a serious fever (and) Tokobé didn’t get to know (about it).’

ab03ab 060

Mɔ́nin tɛ́n e gráp e sé

morning time 3sg.sbj get.up 3sg.sbj say

*Miguel vete a hacer pipí y vete a bañarte, hay clase.*

‘In the morning she got up (and) she said “Miguel go do a wee-wee and go take a bath, you have classes”.’

ab03ab 061

E kán, e sé *"abuela, llevame al hospital".*

3sg.sbj come 3sg.sbj quot grandmother bring.me to hospital

‘He came, he said “grandmother take me to hospital”.’

ab03ab 062

E sé *“no puedo parar”.*

3sg.sbj quot neg I.can stand

‘He said “I can’t (even) stand”.’

ab03ab 063

E dé na grɔ́n.

3sg.sbj be.loc loc ground

‘He was (lying) on the ground.’

ab03ab 064

Na só e de swɛ́t.

foc so 3sg.sbj ipfv sweat

‘He was sweating just like that.’

ab03ab 065

Wé a kin mék só, a nó de fíl hɔ́t.

sub 1sg.sbj hab makeso 1sg.sbj neg ipfv feel hot

‘When I would do like this [places her hand on her forehead], I wasn’t feeling heat.’

ab03ab 066

Pero wé a kin tɔ́ch in fút, in hán

but sub 1sg.sbj hab touch 3sg.poss leg 3sg.poss arm

dé, na só dɛn kól [ko::l].

there foc so 3pl be.cold

‘But when I would touch his leg (and) his arm there, they were so incredibly cold.’

ab03ab 067

A ték=an pút=an pantáp mi bɛlɛ́.

1sg.sbj take=3sg.obj put=3sg.obj on 1sg.poss belly

‘I put him onto my stomach.’

ab03ab 068

Na só a de wáyp=an, a de *sopla* ín

foc so 1sg.sbj ipfv wipe=3sg.obj 1sg.sbj ipfv blow 3sg.indp

fwífwífwí.

ideo

‘I was wiping him, I was fanning him just like that.’

ab03ab 069

A lúk=an.

1sg.sbj look=3sg.obj

‘I looked at him.’

ab03ab 070

Na só in hát mék kutuku kutuku kutuku

foc so 3sg.poss heart make ideo rep rep

‘His heart was racing just like that.’

ab03ab 071

A kɔ́l Tokobé a sé ‘mɔ́mi’, a sé ‘kán’.

1sg.sbj call name 1sg.sbj quot mum 1sg.sbj quot come

‘I called Tokobé, I said “mother”, I said “come”.’

ab03ab 072

A bɛ́g, lúk dís pikín, dí pikín nó dé gúd.

1sg.sbj ask.for look this child this child neg be.loc good

‘Please, look at this child, this child is not well.’

ab03ab 073

Na ín e de kán púl mí dán torí.

foc 3sg.indp 3sg.sbjipfv come remove 1sg.indp that story

‘That’s when she comes to tell me that story.’

ab03ab 074

E sé ‘na nɛ́t’, e sé ‘na sò yu bin hía

3sg.sbj quot loc night 3sg.sbj quot foc so 2sg pst hear

ín hála’.

3sg.indp shout

‘She said “at night”, she said “that’s how you heard him shout”.’

ab03ab 075

E sé frɔn dán hála di pikín nó slíp mɔ́.

3sg.sbj quot from that shout def child neg sleep more

‘She said “since that shout the child didn’t sleep again”.’

ab03ab 076

E kán gɛ́t fíba.

3sg.sbj pfv get fever

‘He got a fever.’

ab03ab 077

[A sentence in Bube].

ab03ab 078

*‘Vete, a bañar.’*

‘“Off you go, go have a bath”.’

ab03ab 079

E púl=an na pantáp di béd.

3sg.sbj remove=3sg.obj loc on def bed

‘She pulled him from the bed.’

ab03ab 080

Na só e de swɛ́t.

foc so 3sg.sbj ipfv sweat

‘He was sweating just like that.’

ab03ab 081

A púl in klós, a híb=an

1sg.sbj remove 3sg.poss clothing 1sg.sbj heave=3sg.obj

pantáp di béd.

on def bed

‘I removed his clothes, I heaved him onto the bed.’

ab03ab 082

Sé ‘papá gɔ́d, ús=káyn trɔ́bul dís?’

quot intj q=kind trouble this

‘(I) said (to myself) “oh God, what kind of trouble is this?”’

ab03ab 083

A púl in *camiseta,* a pút=an

1sg.sbj remove 3sg.poss singlet 1sg.sbj put=3sg.obj

pantáp béd a gó a púl di trɔsís a

on bed 1sg.sbj go 1sg.sbj remove def trousers 1sg.sbj

híb=an ínsay di *bañera*.

heave=3sg.obj inside def bathtub

‘I removed his singlet, I put him on the bed (and) I removed the trousers (and) I heaved him inside the bathtub.’

ab03ab 084

A ték wán kɔ́p watá, a ték=an a

1sg.sbj take one cup water 1sg.sbj take=3sg.obj 1sg.sbj

mék bwa bwa bwa bwa.

make ideo rep rep rep

‘I took a cup of water, I took him (and) splushed him all over with water.’

ab03ab 085

A sé [continues in Bube].

1sg.sbj quot

‘I said (...)’

ab03ab 086

Smɔ́ltɛn e mék [imitates exhalation]

shortly.after 3sg.sbj make

‘Shortly he made [imitates exhalation].’

ab03ab 087

A sé *‘¿cómo sientes?’*

1sg.sbj quot how you.feel

‘I said “how do you feel?”’

ab03ab 088

E sé *‘abuela ya siento bien.’*

3sg.sbj quot grandmother here I.feel good

‘He said “grandmother, I already feel fine”.’

ab03ab 089

E kɔmɔ́t na *bañera,* ín sɛ́f kán gó.

3sg.sbj come.out loc bathtub 3sg.indp self pfv go

‘He came out of the bathtub, he himself went.’

ab03ab 090

A gí=an di haf-táwɛl.

1sg.sbj give=3sg.obj def half.cpd-towel

‘I gave him the [his] little towel.’

ab03ab 091

A kɛ́r=an gó na *comedor*.

1sg.sbj carry=3sg.obj go loc dining-room

‘I carried him to the dining-room.’

ab03ab 092

Sé Tokobé, kɛ́r di pikín na ɔspítul.

quot name carry def child loc hospital

‘(I) said Tokobé, bring this child to hospital.’

ab03ab 093

Mí nó sé di pikín [continues in Bube].

1sg.indp neg quot def child

‘I know that the child (...)’

ab03ab 094

A wánt ték solwatá mék a gí=an,

1sg.sbj want take saltwater sbjv 1sg.sbj give=3sg.obj

a sé ‘chip’ nɔ́.

1sg.sbj quot skt neg

‘I wanted to take saltwater and give it to him, I said [skt] no.’

ab03ab 095

E sé na hángri.

3sg.sbj quot foc hunger

‘He said “it’s hunger” [that’s worrying me].’

ab03ab 096

Dán banána, a gí=an sɔn.

that banana 1sg.sbj give=3sg.obj some

‘That banana [points to a stalk lying in the corner], I gave him one.’

ab03ab 097

E sé *‘abuela*, e nó kɛ́r’.

3sg.sbj quot grandmother 3sg.sbj neg carry

‘He said “grandmother, it wasn’t enough.”’

ab03ab 098

Mí sé [continues in Bube].

1sg.indp quot

‘I [emp] quot (...)’

ab03ab 099

A sé nó gí=an *leche*, gí=an wɔtá!

1sg.sbj quot neg give=3sg.obj milk give=3sg.obj water

‘I said “don’t give him milk, give him water!”’

ab03ab 100

A gí=an.

1sg.sbj give=3sg.obj

‘I gave him (the water).’

ab03ab 101

E sé e nó kɛ́r.

3sg.sbj quot 3sg.sbj neg carry

‘He said it wasn’t enough.’

ab03ab 102

Lɛk háw Tokobé púl di/ e nɔ́ba púl di

like how name remove def 3sg.sbj neg.prf remove def

glás e wánt mɔ́.

glass 3sg.sbj want more

‘As soon as Tokobé removed the/ she hadn’t yet removed the glass (and) he wanted more.’

ab03ab 103

Mí gó dɔ́n.

1sg.indp go down

‘I went down(stairs).’

ab03ab 104

Wé a kɔmɔ́t dɔ́n, a gó sidɔ́n bifór=an,

sub 1sg.sbj come.out down 1sg.sbj go sit before=3sg.obj

a sé ‘*¿cómo sientes*?’

1sg.sbj quot how feel

‘When I came back from downstairs, I went to sit before him (and) I said “how do you feel?”’

ab03ab 105

E sé *‘abuela, siento mal, quiero ir al*

3sg.sbj quot grandmother I.feel bad I.want go to

*hospital’.*

hospital

‘He said “grandmother, I feel bad, I want to go to the hospital”.’

ab03ab 106

E sé *‘cuando una persona está enferma*

3sg.sbj quot when a person is sick

*los demás no deben estar con ella sentada’.*

the others not must be with him seated

‘He said “when a person is sick, the other are not supposed to be sit with him”.’

ab03ab 107

*Porque cuando se va a vomitar, se va a mojar con vómito*.

"Because when he vomits they will get wet with vomit."

ab03ab 108

A sé *‘has vomitado?’*

1sg.sbj quot have.you vomited

‘I said “did you vomit?”’

ab03ab 109

E sé *‘sí, abuela yo siento a vomitar."*

3sg.sbj quot yes grandmother I I.feel to vomit

‘He said “yes, grandmother I feel like vomiting.”

ab03ab 110

A sé ‘Tokobé kán ó!’

1sg.sbj quot name come sp

‘I said “Tokobé come, please!”’

ab03ab 111

Tokobé dɔ́n wɛ́r klós gbogbogbo ‘nó fɔ

name prf wear clothing ideo neg prep

fɛ́n *cuaderno*’.

look.for exercise.book

‘Tokobé had already worn her clothes in a rush, “no we have to look for the patient’s logbook”.’

ab03ab 112

E mít wán ól ól *cuaderno*, di tɛ́n fɔ

3sg.sbj meet one old rep exercise.book def time prep

Niumbɛ, na ín e bin rɔ́n wet=an ɔspítul.

name foc 3sg.indp 3sg.sbj pst run with=3sg.obj hospital

‘She found a very old patient’s book, from the time of Niumbe, that’s what she ran to the hospital with.’

ab03ab 113

Dɛn gó na ɔspítul.

3pl go loc hospital

‘They went to the hospital.’

ab03ab 114

Sé nɔ́ bifó di dɔ́kta de kán wé a de kán

quot neg before def doctor ipfv come sub 1sg.sbj ipfv come

fɔ́s.

first

‘Then before the doctor was coming I was already coming first [had come to the hospital from home as well].’

ab03ab 115

Dɛn gó sé *análisis.*

3pl go quot analysis

‘They went for an analysis.’

ab03ab 116

Dɛn rɔ́n gó mék *análisis.*

3pl run go make analysis

‘The rushed off to make an analysis.’

ab03ab 117

Lɛk háw e de bríng di *análisis,* wi sí di

like how 3sg.sbj ipfv bring def analysis 1pl see def

dɔ́kta dɔ́n de kán, *ya era la una y algo.*

doctor prf ipfv come here was def one and something

‘As soon she [Tokobé] brought the analysis, we saw the doctor coming (when) it was already past one o’clock.’

ab03ab 118

*Paciente* dɛn dé na sala, yú dɔ́kta *‘la una* yu

patient pl be.loc loc hall 2sg.indp doctor def one 2sg

de kán?’

ipfv come

‘Patients are in the waiting room, (and) you doctor, “you’re [only] coming at one o’clock?”’

ab03ab 119

Dɔ́kta dɛn nó dé na dís kɔ́ntri na mék pípul dɛn

doctor pl neg coploc this country foc make people pl

de dáy plɛ́nte.

ipfv die plenty

‘There are no doctors in this country, that’s what’s making people die a lot.’

ab03ab 120

Wántɛn wé e lúk di pikín, e lúk di

at.once sub 3sg.sbj look def child 3sg.sbj look def

*análisis,* *‘tiene paludismo de una cruz* wé kin kíl

analysis he.has malaria of one cross sub hab kill

pikín sɛ́f.’

child foc

‘At once, when he looked at the child, he looked at the analysis, “he has malaria of one cross [degree of intensity] that can even kill a child”.’

ab03ab 121

Yu de mɛ́mba sé e de slíp.

2sg ipfv remember quot 3sg.sbj ipfv sleep

‘You would think that he [the boy] was sleeping.’

ab03ab 122

Dɛn gí=an mɛ́rɛsin.

3pl give=3sg.obj medicine

‘He was given medicine.’

ab03ab 123

Dɛn rɔ́n na *farmacia,* *receta de mɛ́rɛsin*.

3pl run loc pharmacy prescription of medicine

‘They rushed to the pharmacy [to get a] prescription.’

ab03ab 124

Dɛn bin gí=an di *receta* fɔ kán báy=an.

3pl pst give=3sg.obj def prescription prep come buy=3sg.obj

‘They had given her [Tokobé] the prescription in order to come buy it.’

ab03ab 125

Sé mɔ́mi, e sé *‘siento hambre.’*

quot mum 3sg.sbj quot I.feel hunger

‘(He) said, “I feel hungry”.’

ab03ab 126

Mɔ́mi, gó báy tú *bocadillo!*

mum go buy two bun

[I told his mum] ‘Mum, go buy two buns!’

ab03ab 127

Tú brɛ́d.

two bread

‘Two (loaves) of bread.’

ab03ab 128

Yu pikín sidɔ́n de chɔ́p dɛn tú brɛ́d.

2sg child sit ipfv eat 3pl two bread

‘Your child [directed at the listener [fr]] was sitting (there) eating those two (loaves of) bread.’

ab03ab 129

E sé ‘a wánt Fanta’.

3sg.sbj quot 1sg.sbj want name

‘He said “I want Fanta”.’

ab03ab 130

Dís smɔ́l bɔ́tul dɛn Fanta, wé e gɛ́t Coca-Cola,

this small bottle pl name sub 3sg.sbj get name

e gɛ́t Fanta, a gɛ́t *limón,* e báy=an

3sg.sbj get name 1sg.sbj get lemon 3sg.sbj buy=3sg.obj

wán.

one

‘These small bottles of Fanta, of which there is (also) Coca-Cola, there is Fanta, there is lemon, she bought one for him.’

ab03ab 131

E nák=an.

3sg.sbj hit=3sg.obj

‘He gulped it down.’

ab03ab 132

Náw e dɔ́n wánt bigín de fɛ́t wet di chía, di

now 3sg.sbj prf want begin ipfv fight with def chair def

say wé dɛn sidɔ́n.

side sub 3pl sit

‘Now he wanted to begin fighting with the chair, where they were sitting [due to his delirium].’

ab03ab 133

Sé ‘nɔ́, dɔ́kta wi dɔ́n fít gó?’

quot neg doctor 1pl prf can go

‘(We) said “doctor, can we go now?”’

ab03ab 134

E sé ‘una dɔ́n fít gó.’

3sg.sbj quot 2pl prf can go

‘He said “you can go now”.’

## Narrative and conversation: Annobón sorcery

The following text begins with a conversation between Francisca (fr), Rubi (ru), and Djunais (dj) in which (fr) tries to persuade (ru) to give an account of how he was bewitched. Speaker (fr) manages to coax (ru) into telling the story by jokingly threatening to report to the police (015) and to bring the matter into the Equatoguinean reality TV show “Vivencias” (016)–(017). Speaker (ru) then relates in (018)–(044) how he was bewitched by a fling of his from the island of Annobón, which has caused him to fall sick with fever. The protagonists are (ru), (dj), and (ru)’s fling “the girl from Annobón”. In the remainder of the text (057ff.), (fr) tries to convince (ru) and (dj) of the importance of malaria prevention.

ru03wt 001

Wán Annobón gɛ́l wích mí mán.

one place girl bewitch 1sg.indp intj

‘A girl from Annobón bewitched me, man.’

fr03wt 002

Na wán Annobón gɛ́l wích yú?

foc one place girl bewitch 2sg.indp

‘It’s a girl from Annobón that bewitched you?’

fr03wt 003

Na fɔ dán tín mék yu gó dɔ́kta.

loc prep that thing sbjv 2sg go doctor

‘That’s why you should go to the doctor.’

fr03wt 004

Údat tɛ́l yú sé e wích yú?

who tell 2sg.indp quot 3sg.sbj bewitch 2sg.indp

‘Who told you that she bewitched you?’

fr03wt 005

Na torí a de hía ó!

loc story 1sg.sbj ipfv hear sp

‘I’m hearing the story [come on let’s hear the story]!’

fr03wt 006

Yu sabí ús=káyn tín na wích nɔ́?

2sg know q=kind thing loc bewitch neg

‘You know what sorcery is, right?

fr03wt 007

Annobón?

place

‘(And) Annobón?’

fr03wt 008

Yu sabí ús=tin na Annobón sɛ́f.

2sg know q=thing foc place foc

‘You even know what Annobón is.’

ko03ft 009

Yu fɔgɛ́t sé a dɔ́n gó dé.

2sg forget quot 1sg.sbj prf go there

‘You forgot that I had already gone there.’

fr03wt 010

E bin dé na Annobón yɛ́stadé.

3sg.sbj pst there loc place yesterday

‘He was in Annobón yesterday.’

fr03wt 011

Djunais, na ín mék sé mék dɛn wích=an.

name foc 3sg.indp make quot sbjv 3pl bewitch=3sg.obj

‘(It’s) Djunais, it’s him who made them bewitch him.’

dj03wt 012

Nó *mete* mí ínsay dí tɔ́k a bɛ́g!

neg put 1sg.indp inside this talk 1sg.sbj ask.for

‘Don’t involve me in this matter, please!’

ru03wt 013

Na yú mék=an.

foc 2sg.indp make=3sg.obj

‘It’s you who made it [laughter].’

fr03wt 014

Ús=káyn tín e mék?

q=kind thing 3sg.sbj make

‘What did he do?’

fr03wt 015

If mí kɛ́r dís plába náw, ɛ́n, na *comisaría,*

if 1sg.indp carry this trouble now intj loc police.station

una sabí sé dɛn nó lɛ́k dís tin, nó nátin fɔ

2pl know quot 3pl neg like this thing neg nothing prep

wích, dí wán go tɔ́n plába *serio*.

bewitch this one pot turn trouble serious

‘If I take this matter, right, to the police-station, you [pl] know that they don’t like this thing, nothing concerning sorcery, this would turn into serious trouble.’

fr03wt 016

Áfta dɛn go kɛ́r una, na Vivencias fɔ, ús=wán

then 3pl pot carry 2pl loc name prep q=one

na in ném?

foc 3sg.poss name

‘Then they’d take you [pl] to Vivencias” to, what’s his name?’

fr03wt 017

Fɔ Olinga, wé e go gó chám in Panyá dé.

prep name sub 3sg.sbj pot go chew 3sg.poss Spanish be.loc

‘To Olinga and he would go speak his bad Spanish there.’

fr03wt 018

Una púl di torí!

2pl remove def story

‘Tell [pl] the story!’

ru03wt 019

E dé sé dán gɛ́l e bin de kán yá.

3sg.sbj be.loc quot that girl 3sg.sbj pst ipfv come here

‘It’s that that girl used to come here.’

ru03wt 020

Mí nó bin de lúk=an ó.

1sg.indp neg pst ipfv look=3sg.obj sp

‘Mind you, I [emp] wasn’t looking at [paying attention to] her.’

ru03wt 021

Djunais tɔ́k sé, nɔ́ Rubi dí gɛ́l lɛ́k yú, dí

name talk quot neg name this girl like 2sg.indp this

gɛ́l lɛ́k yú, náw bigín mék=an só.

girl like 2sg.indp now begin make=3sg.obj like.that

‘Djunais said, no Rubi, this girl likes you, this girl likes you, now begin doing it like this.’

ru03wt 022

Nó láf!

neg laugh

‘Don’t laugh!’

fr03wt 023

Djunais, nó láf!

name neg laugh

‘Djunais, don’t laugh!’

ru03wt 024

Dán tɛ́n a dé fáyn.

that time 1sg.sbj be.loc fine

‘That time I was fine.’

ru03wt 025

A gó, a lúk di gɛ́l, wi bigín tɔ́k, wi bigín

1sg.sbj go 1sg.sbj look def girl 1pl begin talk 1pl begin

tɔ́k, wi bigín tɔ́k *tal* *tal*.

talk 1pl begin talk so so

‘I went, I had a look at the girl, we began to talk and talk and talk, and so on.’

ru03wt 026

Tumɔ́ro di gɛ́l wánt sé mék wi slíp.

tomorrow def girl want quot sbjv 1pl sleep

‘The next day the girl wanted us to sleep (with each other).’

ru03wt 027

E *insiste* sóté [click].

3sg.sbj insist until

‘She insisted until [clicks with his fingers].’

fr03wt 028

Una slíp?

2pl sleep

‘You slept (with each other)?’

ru03wt 029

Yɛ, a kán tɛ́l=an sé ‘*chica,* mí nó lɛ́k

yes 1sg.sbj pfv tell=3sg.obj quot girl 1sg.indp neg like

yú bɔt wi fít dé lɛk kɔ́mpin’.

2sg.indp but 1pl can be.loc like friend

‘Yeah, I eventually told her “girl, I [emp] don’t love you but we can be like friends”.’

ru03wt 030

‘A wɔ́nt mék yu dú mí sɔn fébɔ, mék yu

1sg.sbj want sbjv 2sg do 1sg.indp some favour sbjv 2sg

wás mí sɔn klós dɛn.’

wash 1sg.indp some clothing pl

‘“I want you to do me a favour and wash some clothes for me.”’

fr03wt 031

Ɔ́l dán tɛ́n Djunais de gív=an di *acción,*

all that time name ipfv give=3sg.obj def action

e de pút *calor.*

3sg.sbj ipfv put heat

‘All that time Djunais was causing commotion, he was fanning the flames.’

fr03wt 032

Djunais yu badhát ɛ́n.

name 2sg be.mean intj

‘Djunais, you’re mean, you know.’

ru03wt 033

E gó, e wás di klós dɛn.

3sg.sbj go 3sg.sbj wash def clothing pl

‘She went (and) she washed the clothes.’

ru03wt 034

E wás di klós dɛn, e dráy dɛ́n, nɔ́, na

3sg.sbj wash def clothing pl 3sg.sbj dry 3pl.indp neg foc

mí dráy dɛ́n.

1sg.indp dry 3pl.indp

‘She washed the clothes, she dried them, no, it was me who dried them.’

ru03wt 035

*Pero* di klós dɛn slíp na dɔ́n ó.

but def clothing pl lie loc down sp

‘But the clothes came to lie down [on the ground].’

ru03wt 036

Mɔ́nin tɛ́n wé a kán lúk a de sí sɔn

morning time sub 1sg.sbj pfv look 1sg.sbj ipfv see some

klós dɛn, a nó de sí mi yón dɛn.

clothing pl 1sg.sbj neg ipfv see 1sg.poss own pl

‘In the morning, when I came to look, I saw some clothes (but) I didn’t see mine.’

ru03wt 037

Áfta a de mít=an nía di klós dɛn di

then 1sg.sbj ipfv meet=3sg.obj near def clothing pl def

mɔ́nin mɔ́nin tɛ́n.

morning rep time

‘Then I find her next to the clothes early in the morning.’

ru03wt 038

A áks=an sé ‘ús=say di klós dɛn dé?’

1sg.sbj ask=3sg.obj quot q=side def clothing pl be.loc

‘I asked her “where are the clothes?”’

ru03wt 039

E sé ‘nó, a de sí lɛk sé dɛn dɔ́n tíf

3sg.sbj quot neg 1sg.sbj ipfv see like quot 3pl prf steal

sɔn’.

some

‘She said “no, it seems to me like some have been stolen”.’

ru03wt 040

Ús=say mi klós dɛn dé, di ívin tɛ́n,

q=side 1sg.poss clothing pl be.loc def evening time

[click] fíba, fíba sóté a kɔ́l=an.

fever fever until 1sg.sbj call=3sg.obj

‘Where were my clothes, in the evening [clicks with his fingers], fever, fever until finally I called her.’

ru03wt 041

E dé e nó de ánsa mí mɔ́, e

3sg.sbj be.loc 3sg.sbj neg ipfv answer 1sg.indp more 3sg.sbj

de pás só lɛk sé e nó nó mí mɔ́.

ipfv pass so like quot 3sg.sbj neg know 1sg.indp more

‘She was there and wasn’t responding to me anymore, she was passing by as if she didn’t know me anymore.’

ru03wt 042

A tɛ́l=an sé ‘*chica,* sóté yu de kán na

1sg.sbj tell=3sg.obj quot girl until 2sg ipfv come loc

mi drim dɛn ɛ́n, na só só tín yu mék

1sg.poss dream pl intj foc so rep thing 2sg make

mí, tráy *reduce* ín’.

1sg.indp try reduce 3sg.indp

‘I told her “girl, you even come into my dreams, you know, it’s this and that you did to me, try to reduce that”.’

ru03wt 043

*‘¿Tú piensas eso de mí?’*

‘[She replied] “You think that of me?”’

ru03wt 044

A dɔ́n *explica* Boyé dɛn, sé na só mí de

1sg.sbj prf explain name pl quot foc so 1sg.indp ipfv

mɛ́mba, ɔ́l tín.

remember all thing

‘I’ve already explained to Boyé and the others, that’s how I remember everything.’

fr03wt 045

Yu dɔ́n gó sí yu mamá?

2sg prf go see 2sg mother

‘Have already gone to see your mother?’

ru03wt 046

Nɔ́.

neg

‘No.’

fr03wt 047

Wétin yu de wét?

what 2sg ipfv wait

‘What are you waiting (for)?’

dj03wt 048

Sé in mamá go dráyb=an fɔ́s.

quot 3sg.poss mother pot drive=3sg.obj first

‘Because his mother would chase him away first.’

fr03wt 049

In mamá go dráyb=an fɔ́s *pero* in

3sg.poss mother pot drive=3sg.obj first but 3sg.poss

mamá na di ónli pɔ́sin wé e fít gó wáka

mother foc def only person sub 3sg.sbj can go walk

wet=an, mí nó sabí wáka.

with=3sg.obj 1sg.indp neg know walk

‘His mother could chase him away first but his mother is the only person that could go walk with him [i.e. take care of his spiritual protection], I don’t know how to walk.’

ru03wt 050

Annobón mɛ́rɛsin nó de tɔ́n mi héd.

place sorcery neg ipfv turn 1sg.poss head

‘Annobón sorcery doesn’t turn my head [have an effect on me].’

dj03wt 051

Annobón mɛ́rɛsin, e nó de gó bihɛ́n.

place sorcery 3sg.sbjneg ipfv go behind

‘As for Annobón sorcery, it doesn’t go behind [have a profound effect].’

fr03wt 052

*No obstante*, a bɛ́g gó sí dɔ́kta fɔ́s, hía?

nonetheless 1sg.sbj ask.for go see doctor first hear

‘Nonetheless, please go see the doctor first, (you) hear?’

fr03wt 053

Na fɔ dán tín yu nó de gó dɔ́kta *porque* yu

foc prep thatthing 2sg neg ipfv go doctor because 2sg

de chɛ́k sé na wích?

ipfv think quot foc bewitch

‘Is that why you’re not going to the doctor because you think it’s witchcraft?’

fr03wt 054

Gó dɔ́kta fɔ́s, wé di dɔ́kta go gí yu sɔn tín

go doctor first sub def doctor pot give 2sg some thing

mék yu fíl smɔ́l fáyn, yu bigín mék di ɔ́da tín

sbjv 2sg feel a.bit fine 2sg begin make def other thing

dɛn.

pl

‘Go to the doctor first, when the doctor will give you something for you to feel a fine a bit, you begin to do the other things.’

fr03wt 055

Yú de hía?

2sg.indp ipfv hear

‘Do you hear?’

ru03wt 056

A hía.

1sg.sbj hear

‘I hear.’

fr03wt 057

E fít bì sé na *paludismo*.

3sg.sbj can be quot foc malaria

‘It could be that it’s malaria.’

fr03wt 058

Ús=tɛ́n una lás *impregna una mosquiteros* dɛn?

q=time 2pl be.last impregnate 2pl mosquito.nets pl

‘When did you [pl] last impregnate your [pl] mosquito nets?’

fr03wt 059

E dɔ́n sté, a tínk sé e dɔ́n sté wé

3sg.sbj prf last 1sg.sbj think quot 3sg.sbj prf last sub

una bin gɛ́t *insecticida* yá.

2pl pst get insecticide here

‘It’s been a long time, I think that it’s been a long time that you had insecticide here.’

fr03wt 060

Dán bíg bíg *mosquito* dɛn wé dɛn fíba *aviones* dɛn.

that big rep mosquito pl sub 3pl resemble plane.pl pl

‘Those huge mosquitos that resemble airplanes.’

fr03wt 061

*Aunque* nóto *paludismo*, if dɛn gív yú

even.if neg.foc malaria if 3pl give 2sg.indp

*tratamiento* yu nó go dáy.

treatment 2sg neg pot die

‘Even if it’s not malaria, if they give you a treatment you won’t die.’

## Conversation: Dinner for four

The text that follows is an extensive conversation involving four people: Boyé (ye), Djunais (dj), Francisca (fr), and sporadically myself (ko). The conversation was recorded during a dinner hosted by (fr). A relaxed and cheerful atmosphere reigns during the conversation and the discourse participants, who are members of the same extended family, joke and tease each other on numerous occasions (e.g. in (015)–(019), (091)–(94) and the entire section from (130)–(143)). The conversation also contains many instances of Pichi–Spanish codemixing (e.g. (001)–(008)).

The text features three themes between which the speakers switch to and fro. The main theme is the ongoing construction of a family house commissioned by (fr) and overseen by (ye). This discussion is contained in sections (001)–(038), (99)–(120), (154)–(164), and (173)–(178) and is chiefly concerned with problems in a cement delivery ordered from two protagonists named Buehu and Gabriel. The sections on the construction works are driven by (fr), who repeatedly brings the conversation topic back to this issue of great importance to her.

A second theme revolves around eating. In (080)–(097), (dj) and (ye) comment on each other’s cooking abilities, in (121)–(127), an exchange ensues about the effect of the pepper in the food, and in (132)–(143), (ye) teases (dj) because the latter has just drunk tap water (which is not without risk in Malabo). In (144)–(153) and (164)–(172), both (dj) and (ye) complain about the eating habits of Pancho (pa) who is not present at the table. Both (dj) and (ye) live in one place with (pa) and the account of (ye) in (173)–(178) shows that (pa) was also supposed to run an errand for (fr) as part of the building activities. A third theme is the interlude in (051)–(078) in which (fr) and (ye) scoff at Olinga, the TV presentor of “Vivencias”, a popular Equaotoguinean TV reality show.

ye03cd 001

*Pues hemos estado ahí,* a tínk sé wán las

so we.have been there 1sg.sbj think quot one the.pl

*cuatro* wé di chɛ́f kɔmɔ́t e nó *aparece* yet.

four sub def boss go.out 3sg.sbj neg appear yet

‘So we were there, I think around four o’clock that the boss went out (and) he hadn’t appeared yet.’

ye03cd 002

Di ɔ́da mán tɛ́l mí sé dɛn dɔ́n báy *veinte*

def other man tell 1sg.indp quot 3pl prf buy twenty

*sacos*.

bags

‘The other man told me that they had bought twenty bags.’

ye03cd 003

E lɛ́f *doce*.

3sg.sbj remain twelve

‘Twelve remain.’

ye03cd 004

E *falta* mɔní fɔ púl *saco* dɛn dé fɔ

3sg.sbj lack money prep remove sack pl there prep

kɛ́r=an na hós.

carry=3sg.obj loc house

‘The money is lacking to remove the bags there in order to bring them to the house.’

fr03cd 005

*Me van a tocar los cojones porque* mí gí

me they.will to touch the.pl testicle.pl because 1sg.indp give

dɛ́n *diez mil* fɔ *transporte*.

3pl.indp ten thousand prep transport

‘They’re going to get me really annoyed because I gave them ten thousand for transport.’

ye03cd 006

Na só ín de tɛ́l mí.

foc so 3sg.indp ipfv tell 1sg.indp

‘That’s what he [emp] told me.’

fr03cd 007

Mék dɛn *transporta* di *cemento* na Ela Nguema

sbjv 3pl transport def cement loc place

*porque* *no estaba dicho que* dɛn go gó lɛ́f di

because neg was said that 3pl pot go leave def

*cemento*.

cement

‘Let them transport the cement to Ela Nguema because it hadn’t been agreed that they would go leave the cement [lying there].’

fr03cd 008

Di *cemento, estaba dicho que* na fɔ kɛ́r=an

def cement was said that foc prep carry=3sg.obj

*directamente* na Ela Nguema.

directly loc place

‘The cement, it had been agreed that it is to be taken directly to Ela Nguema.’

fr03cd 009

Dát min sé Buehu nó kán e nó gí nó

that mean quot name neg come 3sg.sbj neg give neg

mɔní nó nátin.

money neg nothing

‘That means that Buehu didn’t come (and) he didn’t give (them) any money at all.’

ye03cd 010

Nó nátin.

neg nothing

‘Nothing at all.’

ye03cd 011

Tumɔ́ro mɔ́nin tɛ́n, wán *las siete* só a go gó

tomorrow morning time one the.pl seven like.that 1sg.sbj pot go

dé.

there

‘Tomorrow morning, around seven o’clock or so I’ll go there.’

ye03cd 012

Ɔ bɔkú mán dɛn bin de fɛ́n/

or much man pl pst ipfv look.for

‘Or many people were looking for/’

ye03cd 013

*¿Que vas escribiendo así?*

what you.go writing so

‘What are you writing like that?’

ye03cd 014

Ɔ́l dí *compromiso* dɛn fɔ *escribiendo* dán bɔ́y

all this agreement pl prep writing that bɔ́y

in *apellido*, wétin mék yu ráyt mi ném?

3sg.poss surname what make 2sg write 1sg.poss name

‘All these agreements writing that guy’s surname, how come you’ve written my name?’

ye03cd 015

Mék nó mi *caligrafía* gó na dán pépa!

sbjv neg 1sg.poss handwriting go loc that paper

‘None of my handwriting should go on that paper!’

fr03cd 016

Dát min sé yu nó go hɛ́p mí?

that mean quot 2sg neg pot help 1sg.indp

‘That means you’re not going to help me?’

ye03cd 017

Na fɔ ús=káyn tín, *explica* mí!

foc prep q=kind thing explain 1sg.indp

‘It’s for what, explain to me!’

fr03cd 018

A níd wán *lista de participantes.*

1sg.sbj need one list of participants

‘I need a list of participants.’

ye03cd 019

Na *compromiso* dát ó.

foc agreement that sp

‘That’s actually an agreement.’

ye03cd 020

Dán *ficción*, Bata-mán go tɔ́n=an rɔn-say.

that fiction place-man pot turn=3sg.obj wrong.cpd-side

‘That fiction [fictitious agreement], the Fang [the person delivering the cement] will turn it upside down.’

ye03cd 021

E sé ɔ́l tidé e bin de kɔ́l yú yu

3sg.sbj quot all today 3sg.sbj pst ipfv call 2sg.indp 2sg

nó ték *teléfono.*

neg take telephone

‘He said the whole of today, he was calling you (and) you didn’t pick the phone.’

fr03cd 022

‘Ɔ́l tidé e bin de kɔ́l mí’, e kɔ́l

all today 3sg.sbj pst ipfv call 1sg.indp 3sg.sbj call

mí wán tɛ́n dásɔl.

1sg.indp one time only

‘“All of today he was calling me”, he called me only once.’

fr03cd 023

*Bueno,* a bɛ́g tumɔ́ro, gó *recupera* di mɔní

alright 1sg.sbj ask.for tomorrow go recover def money

wé yu lɛ́f.

sub 2sg leave

‘Alright, please tomorrow, go recover the money that you left.’

fr03cd 024

Náw só a gɛ́fɔ pé mɔní mɔ́ fɔ gó kɛ́r

now so 1sg.sbj have.to pay money more prep go carry

di *cemento* na hós.

def cement loc house

‘Now I have to pay money again in order to bring the cement to the house.’

fr03cd 025

Nɔ́, yu sabí di tín wé yu go tɛ́l=an?

neg 2sg know def thing sub 2sg pot tell=3sg.obj

‘No, you know what you’re going to tell him?’

fr03cd 026

Yu go tɛ́l=an sé wi nó de ték di

2sg pot tell=3sg.obj quot 1pl neg ipfv take def

*cemento,* mék e bák yú di mɔní wé

cement sbjv 3sg.sbj give.back 2sg.indp def money sub

e gɛ́t, ɛ́n?

3sg.sbj get intj

‘You’ll tell him that we’re not taking the cement (and) that he should give you back the money that he has, right?’

fr03cd 027

Mék e bák yú di mɔní wé e gɛ́t.

sbjv 3sg.sbj give.back 2sg.indp def money sub 3sg.sbj get

‘Let him give you back the money that he has.’

ye03cd 028

Di wán wé e dɔ́n *sobra* ín.

def one sub 3sg.sbj prf remain 3sg.indp

‘The one [amount] that has remained with him.’

fr03cd 029

Di wán wé e dɔ́n *sobra* ín.

def one sub 3sg.sbj prf remain 3sg.indp

‘The one that has remained with him.’

fr03cd 030

Áfta, *como* ín níd *cemento*, mék e gó

then because 3sg.indp need cement sbjv 3sg.sbj go

gí yú di mɔní, nóto tumɔ́ro e go gí di

give2sg.indp def money neg.foc tomorrow 3sg.sbj pot give def

mɔní.

money

‘Then, since he [emp] needs cement [as well], let him go give you the money, it won’t be tomorrow that he’ll give (you) the money.’

fr03cd 031

*Pero* di tɛ́n wé ín go gɛ́fɔ báy *cemento*,

but def time sub 3sg.indp pot have.to buy cement

mék e ték dán *cemento* dé.

sbjv 3sg.sbj take that cement there

‘But when he himself has to buy cement, let him take that cement (there).’

fr03cd 032

Áfta, *bueno,* tɛ́l=an sé mék e bák

then alright tell=3sg.obj quot sbjv 3sg.sbj give.back

yú di mɔní, mí go tɔ́k wet=an.

2sg.indp def money 1sg.indp pot talk with=3sg.obj

‘Then, alright, tell him to give you back the money, I myself will talk to him.’

fr03cd 033

Mék e ték dán *cemento*.

sbjv 3sg.sbj take that cement

‘Let him take that cement.’

fr03cd 034

Áfta, e go ték di *cemento*.

then 3sg.sbj pot take def cement

‘Then he’ll take the cement.’

fr03cd 035

Áfta, *como* e go gɛ́fɔ pé dán ɔ́da mán

then because 3sg.sbj pot have.to pay that other man

sɛ́f *transporte*, dán tɛ́n e go *devuelve* mí

foc transport that time 3sg.sbj pot give.back 1sg.indp

di mɔní fɔ *transporte*.

def money prep transport

‘Then, since he’ll have to pay transport for the other man, too, at that time he’ll give me back the money for transport.’

fr03cd 036

*Porque yo no estoy para esas cosas.*

‘Because I don’t like these (kind of) things.’

fr03cd 037

*Qué barbaridad.*

‘What nonsense

ye03cd 038

A go *firma* wé a go dɔ́n chɔ́p.

1sg.sbj pot sign sub 1sg.sbj pot prf eat

‘I’ll sign when I’ll have eaten.’

fr03cd 039

*A firmar antes, que no firme, que no coma.*

‘First sign, you don’t sign, you don’t eat [laughter].’

ye03cd 040

A nó de ɛ́nta/

1sg.sbj neg ipfv enter

‘I don’t enter/.

fr03cd 041

*Así que no firme, que no coma.*

‘So you don’t sign, you don’t eat.’

fr03cd 042

A bɛ́g gí mí dán pépa yu gí mí

1sg.sbj ask.for give 1sg.indp that paper 2sg give 1sg.indp

wán bolí.

one pen

‘Please, give me that paper (and) give me a pen.’

ye03cd 043

A go firma, wét fɔ mék a chɔ́p, a

1sg.sbj pot sign wait prep sbjv 1sg.sbj eat 1sg.sbj

bɛ́g.

ask.for

‘I’ll sign, wait for me to eat, please.’

fr03cd 044

Nó, nó, nó, a nó dé ínsay dán stáyl.

neg neg neg 1sg.sbj neg there inside that style

‘No, no, no, I’m not into that (kind of) style.’

ye03cd 045

Lɛ́f mék a/, Djunais!

leave sbjv 1sg.sbj name

‘Let me/, Djunais!’

fr03cd 046

Yu chénch *caligrafía* [the conversation is drowned by loud music for two minutes].

2sg change handwriting

‘You changed (your) handwriting.’

ye03cd 047

Údat?

who

‘Who?’

ye03cd 048

Ín sénwe de tɔ́k=an dé.

3sg.indp foc ipfv talk=3sg.obj there

‘He [emp] himself says it.’

fr03cd 049

Údat tíf, tɛ́l mí di ném!

who steal tell 1sg.indp def name

‘Who stole, tell me the name!’

ye03cd 050

Fíba go sube yú mɔ́.

fever pot go.up 2sg.indp more

‘Fever will rise on you again.’

ye03cd 051

Dɛn go só=an na Vivencias, na di tín dɛn

3pl pot show=3sg.obj loc name loc def thing 3pl

de tɔ́k dé.

ipfv talk there

‘They’ll show it on Vivencias [a TV show], that’s the (kind of) thing they talk (about) there.’

ye03cd 052

Wán mán wé e nó gɛ́t mɔní, e dɔ́n gɛ́t

one man sub 3sg.sbj neg get money 3sg.sbj prf get

*sesenta años.*

sixty year.pl

‘[In Vivencias there was] a man who doesn’t have money, he’s already sixty years old.’

ye03cd 053

E nó sabí tɔ́k ni Panyá, e sé e

3sg.sbj neg know talk even Spanish 3sg.sbj quot 3sg.sbj

wánt *muchachita dé diecisiete años.*

want young.girl of seventeen years

‘He didn’t even know how to speak Spanish, he said he wants a young girl of seventeen years.’

ye03cd 054

E sé *‘yo quiero una muchachita de diecisiete*

3sg.sbj quot I I.want one young.girl of seventeen

*años’.*

year.pl

‘He said “I want a young girl of seventeen years”.’

ye03cd 055

E nó wánt *ni treinta ni cuarenta*, mm

3sg.sbj neg want neither thirty neither forty intj

mm, *diecisiete años.*

intj seventeen year.pl

‘He neither wanted thirty nor forty years, no no, seventeen years.’

ye03cd 056

Na Vivencias dɛn de só dán tín.

loc name 3pl ipfv show that thing

‘In Vivencias they show that (kind of) thing.’

ye03cd 057

Ús=tín dɛn kin de gó fɛ́n mán dɛn wé nó

q=thing 3pl hab ipfv go look.for man pl sub neg

sabí tɔ́k Panyá?

know talk Spanish

‘Why do they always go look for people who don’t know how to talk Spanish?’

ye03cd 058

Dí Olinga.

this name

‘This Olinga.’

fr03cd 059

A nó sabí lɛk háw e dé in wók, bɔt

1sg.sbj neg know like how 3sg.sbj be.loc 3sg.poss work but

e nó sabí tɔ́k Panyá.

3sg.sbj neg know talk Spanish

‘I don’t know how he is at his work, but he doesn’t know how to speak Spanish.’

ko03cd 060

Údat?

who

‘Who?’

fr03cd 061

Olinga na wán *presentador* fɔ wán *programa*.

name foc one presentor prep one programme

‘Olinga is a presentor of a programme.’

fr03cd 062

Na *reportero*, *el programa* *más popular de este*

foc reporter the programme most popular of this

*país,* in ném na Vivencias.

country 3sg.poss name foc name

‘He’s a reporter, the most popular programme of this country, its name is Vivencias.’

fr03cd 063

Di mán e nó sabí tɔ́k Panyá.

def man 3sg.sbj neg know talk Spain

‘The man doesn’t know how to speak Spanish.’

fr03cd 064

E de chɛ́r wán káyn chɛ́r min sé e de

3sg.sbj ipfv tear one kind tear mean quot 3sg.sbj ipfv

mék *fallos* dɛn, *faltas*.

make error.pl pl mistake.pl

‘He “tears one kind of Spanish” means that he makes errors, mistakes.’

fr03cd 065

E de chɛ́r wán káyn chɛ́r wé mí yón

3sg.sbj ipfv tear one kind tear sub 1sg.indp own

Panyá (…)

Spanish

‘He makes such serious mistakes where my own Spanish/’

ye03cd 066

E tɔ́k sé ín na *poeta*.

3sg.sbj talk quot 3sg.indp loc poet

‘He said he’s a poet.’

ye03cd 067

E kin de híb sɔn *poesía* dɛn, *chico* nɔ́.

3sg.sbj hab ipfv throw some poetry pl intj neg

‘He kicks some poetry, man really.’

ye03cd 068

Olinga kɔmɔ́t frɔn bɔtɔ́n.

name come.out from bottom

‘Olinga comes from the bottom [has very modest origins].’

ko03cd 069

Bɔt na ín wé pípul layk=an nɔ́.

but foc 3sg.indp sub people like=3sg.obj neg

‘But that’s why people like him, right.’

fr03cd 070

Áfta *primera dama* báy=an wán motó, wán

then first lady buy=3sg.obj one car one

*todo terreno,* wán *cuatro por cuatro,* mék e

cross-country.vehicle one four-wheel.drive sbjv 3sg.sbj

fít de rích ɔ́l say sóté na Riaba.

can ipfv arrive all side until loc place

‘Then the first lady bought him a car, a cross-country vehicle, a four-wheel drive so that he could reach all places even up to Riaba.’

fr03cd 071

Wán dé wán pikín bin de sík.

one day one child pst ipfv be.sick

‘One day a child was sick.’

fr03cd 072

A nó sabí ús=káyn tín bin pás.

1sg.sbj neg know q=kind thing pst happen

‘I don’t know what had happened.’

fr03cd 073

Nó, na wán mán, ɛhɛ́ wán *accidente* fɔ motó

neg foc one man exactly one accident prep car

bin dé.

pst be.loc

‘No, it was a man, oh yes, there had been a car accident.’

fr03cd 074

A nó sabí ús=tín bin kán pás áfta e gó

1sg.sbj neg know q=thing pst pfv happen then 3sg.sbj go

na *hospital*.

loc hospital

‘I don’t know what had happened for him to arrive at the hospital.’

fr03cd 075

Di bɔ́y dé dé e dɔ́n de dáy.

def bɔ́y be.loc there 3sg.sbj prf ipfv die

‘The guy [a casuality] was already dying.’

fr03cd 076

E pút *micrófono así,* e sé *‘los últimos*

3sg.sbj put microfone so 3sg.sbj quot the.pl last.pl

*suspiros, de un momento al otro se va a morir’.*

sigh.pl of one moment to other self go to die

‘He put the microfone like this, he said “the last sighs, from one moment to another he’ll die”.’

fr03cd 077

*Esto* na wán ɔ́da kɔ́ntri dɛn go púl yú

this loc one other country 3pl pot remove 2sg.indp

*inmediatamente,* dɛn de púl yú wók.

immediately 3pl ipfv remove 2sg.indp work

‘This is in another country, they would remove you immediately, they would remove you from work.’

ye03cd 078

Mán dɔ́n *diaboliza.*

man prf diabolise

‘People have become devilish.’

fr03cd 079

*Chico,* yu nó bríng mí glás?

intj 2sg neg bring 1sg.indp glass

‘Man, you haven’t brought me a glass?’

fr03cd 080

Lɛ́f=an, a go chɔ́p, áfta a go drink.

leave=3sg.obj 1sg.sbj pot eat then 1sg.sbj pot drink

‘Leave it, I’ll eat, then I’ll drink.’

ye03cd 081

Yu nó sabí na mí kúk?

2sg neg know foc 1sg.indp cook

‘You don’t know it’s me who cooked?’

fr03cd 082

Boyé sabí kúk?

name know cook

‘Boyé knows how to cook?’

fr03cd 083

Ús=káyn tín e kúk?

q=kind thing 3sg.sbj cook

‘What did he cook?’

fr03cd 084

E kin tráy náw?

3sg.sbj hab try now

‘So he’s making an effort now?’

fr03cd 085

Ús=káyn tín e kúk, fray-rɛ́s?

q=kind thing 3sg.sbj cook fry.cpd-rice

‘What did he cook, fried rice?’

dj03cd 086

E kin kúk súp.

3sg.sbj hab cook soup

‘He cooks soups.’

fr03cd 087

Ús=káyn súp?

q=kind soup

‘Which kind of soups?’

dj03cd 088

Maluka.

maluka

‘Maluka’

fr03cd 089

Maluka e nó bin tú drɔ́, pantáp *diez,*

maluka 3sg.sbj neg pst too draw on ten

ús=káyn *nota* yu go gí=an?

q=kind mark 2sg pot give=3sg.obj

‘The maluka, wasn’t it too sticky, out of ten which mark would you give him?’

dj03cd 090

*Cuatro con cinco.*

four with five

‘Four out of five.’

ye03cd 091

Ín tɛ́l yú sé pantɔ́p *cinco* ɔ pantɔ́p *diez,*

3sg.indp tell 2sg.indp quot on five or on ten

yu de gí mí *cuatro con cinco.*

2sg ipfv give 1sg.indp four with five

‘Did she tell you out of five or out of ten, (and) you’re giving me four over five.’

fr03cd 092

Ɛhɛ́, dán wán min sé ús=wán na di *escala?*

exactly that one mean quot q=one loc def scale

‘Exactly, that means which one [of the two] is the scale?’

ye03cd 093

Di tɔ́p, di *nota máxima* na *diez*, *entonces* yu de

def top def mark highest foc ten so 2sg ipfv

gí mí *cuatro con cinco.*

give 1sg.indp four with five

‘The top, the highest mark is ten, and you give me four over five.’

ye03cd 094

Nó wi de *conversa,* nó vɛ́ks Djunais.

neg 1pl ipfv converse neg be.angry name

‘No, we’re conversing, don’t be angry Djunais.’

dj03cd 095

A nɔ́ de vɛ́ks.

1sg.sbj neg ipfv be.angry

‘I’m not angry.’

ye03cd 096

Wi de *conversa* na tébul.

1pl ipfv converse loc table

‘We’re conversing at the table.’

ye03cd 097

A nó fít kɛri yú *restaurante* bikɔs sé yu

1sg.sbj neg can carry 2sg.indp restaurant because quot 2sg

go fɛ́t wet sɔn pɔ́sin dé.

pot fight with some person there

‘I can’t take you to a restaurant because you would fight with somebody there.’

fr03cd 098

Wétin yu de tɔ́k/

what 2sg ipfv talk

‘What are you talking/ [music from below drowns the recording for a few minutes].

ye03cd 099

Gabriel e gɛ́t jege.

name 3sg.sbj get ?

Gabriel has a “jege”.’

fr03cd 100

Ús=káyn tín na jege?

q=kind thing foc ?

‘What’s a “jege”?’

ye03cd 101

E gɛ́t sɔn, sɔn smɔ́l jege ínsay in yáy só.

3sg.sbj get some some small ? inside 3sg.poss eye so

‘He has a, a small “jege” inside his eye like that.’

fr03cd 102

Ús=káyn tín na jege?

q= kind thing loc ?

‘What’s “jege”?’

dj03cd 103

Dán wáyt tín wé e dé na in yáy.

that white thing sub 3sg.sbj be.loc loc 3sg.poss eye

‘That white thing that’s in his eye.’

ye03cd 104

Sɔn tín de *tapa* in *retina.*

some thing ipfv cover 3sg.poss retina

‘Something covers his retina.’

dj03cd 105

Nɔ́, wán *accidente* wé e bin gɛ́t.

neg one accident sub 3sg.sbj pst get

‘No, it’s an accident that he had.’

ye03cd 106

Wán yáy dé *blanco*, e nó de sí.

one eye be.loc white 3sg.sbj neg ipfv see

‘One eye is white, it doesn’t see.’

fr03cd 107

Mí nó *fija* ín.

1sg.indp neg notice 3sg.indp

‘I didn’t notice it.’

ye03cd 108

Yu gɛ́fɔ *fija* ín.

2sg have.to notice 3sg.indp

‘One has to notice it.’

ye03cd 109

E de *para* na dán in yáy bɔkú bád.

3sg.sbj ipfv stand loc that 3sg.poss eye much extremely

‘It sits there in his eye real bad.’

ye03cd 110

Ɛhɛ́, ús=tín wi go tɔ́k fɔ Gabriel?

exactly q=thing 1pl pot talk prep name

‘Exactly, what are we going to say to Gabriel?’

fr03cd 111

Tumɔ́ro, lɛk háw yu tɔ́k wet Buehu, yu kɔ́l mí,

tomorrow like how 2sg talk with name 2sg call 1sg.indp

if yu tɔ́k wet=an ɔ yu nó tɔ́k wet=an.

if 2sg talk with=3sg.obj or 2sg neg talk with=3sg.obj

Tomorrow, as soon as you’ve talked to Buehu, you call me, whether you talk to him or you don’t talk to him.’

fr03cd 112

If yu nó tɔ́k wet=an, yu kɔ́l mí, dán tɛ́n

if 2sg neg talk with=3sg.obj 2sg call 1sg.indp that time

yu go gɛ́fɔ kán na wók, mék a gí

2sg pot have.to comeloc work sbjv 1sg.sbj give

yú wán *cheque,* mék yu gó ték mɔní fɔ báy

2sg.indp one cheque sbjv 2sg go take money prep buy

di *bloque*s dɛn wé dɛn lɛ́f.

def brick.pl pl sub 3pl remain

‘If you don’t talk to him, you call me, then you’ll have to come to work, so that I give you a cheque, in order for you to go get money to buy the remaining bricks.’

fr03cd 113

Áfta yu fɔ pé dɛ́n.

then 2sg prep pay 3pl.indp

‘Then you have to pay them.’

fr03cd 114

Sɔn *bloques* dɛn lɛ́f wé dɛn gɛ́fɔ *monta* nɔ́?

some brick.pl pl remain sub 3pl have.to mount neg

‘Some bricks remain that they have to build up, right?’

fr03cd 115

*Pero* e bin tɛ́l mí sé mék a báy

but 3sg.sbj pst tell 1sg.indp quot sbjv 1sg.sbj buy

*cuarenta bloques.*

forty brick.pl

‘But he told me to buy forty bricks.’

ye03cd 116

Yɛ́s *cuarenta*.

yes forty

‘Yes forty.’

fr03cd 117

*Entonces* fɔ *monta* ɔ́l di baf-rúm, e

so prep mount all def bathe.cpd-room 3sg.sbj

bin tɛ́l mí sé na *cuarenta* *mil* fɔ di wók

pst tell 1sg.indp quot foc forty thousand prep def work

wet di *bloques* dɛn wé dɛn lɛ́f.

with def brick.pl pl sub 3pl remain

‘So in order to build the whole bathroom, he had told me that it’s forty thousand for the work with the remaining bricks.’

fr03cd 118

Dán tɛ́n tumɔ́ro, ɛf yu nó kán sí dán mán, mék

that time tomorrow if 2sg neg pfv see that man sbjv

a kán mék a gí yú di mɔní.

1sg.sbj come sbjv 1sg.sbj give 2sg.indp def money

‘By that time tomorrow, if you don’t see that man, let me come and give you the money.’

ye03cd 119

Mék a gí yú di *cheque* mék yú gó

sbjv 1sg.sbj give 2sg.indp def cheque sbjv 2sg.indp go

na *banco* yu gó *cobra*.

loc bank 2sg go receive

‘Let me give you the cheque so that you go to the bank and receive (the money).’

ye03cd 120

Áfta una báy di *bloques* dɛn tumɔ́ro.

then 2pl buy def brick.pl pl tomorrow

‘Then you [pl] buy the bricks tomorrow.’

dj03cd 121

Na in fés, na in héd, sí=an!

loc 3sg.poss face loc 3sg.poss head see=3sg.obj

[Comments on the effects of the pepper in the food (ye) has just tried] ‘In his face, in his head, look at him!’

ye03cd 122

Tɔ́k bifó di/

talk before def

[unintelligible].

‘Talk in front of/ (...)

ye03cd 123

*¿Sí o no?*

yes or no

‘Yes or no?’

ye03cd 124

Yu nó hía wé a tɛ́l Pancho sé *quiero cocinar?*

2sg neg hear sub 1sg.sbj tell name quot I.want cook

‘Didn’t you hear when I told Pancho that I wanted to cook?’

ye03cd 125

Djunais tɔ́k trú!

name talk true

‘Djunais tell the truth!’

ye03cd 126

Sóté a tɛ́l Djunais sé pút mí wet Pancho,

until 1sg.sbj tell name quot put 1sg.indp with name

wi go chɔ́p wán say.

1pl pot eat one side

‘I even told Djunais to put [dish the food] for me and Pancho, we’ll eat in one place.’

ye03cd 127

*Porque* a chɛ́k sé/

because 1sg.sbj think quot

‘Because I thought that/’

fr03cd 128

*Porque* ɛ́ni tɛ́n wé mí de kɔ́l/ e nó gɛ́t

because every time sub 1sg.indp ipfv call 3sg.sbj neg get

*móvil* mɔ́?

mobile more

‘Because anytime that I call/ doesn’t he have a mobile-phone anymore?’

ye03cd 129

Ús=nɔ́mba yu gɛ́fɔ dán *móvil?*

q=number 2sg have.to that mobile

‘Which number do you have in that [your] mobile?’

ye03cd 130

Yu nó sí dán gál de chénch, e de

2sg neg see that girl ipfv change 3sg.sbj ipfv

chénch-chénch dán nɔ́mba dɛn lɛk *terrorista* wé e

red.cpd-change that number pl like terrorist sub 3sg.sbj

nó wánt mék dɛn kéch=an.

neg want sbjv 3pl catch=3sg.obj

‘Don’t you see that girl [referring to speaker (fr)] changes, she constantly changes those numbers like a terrorist who doesn’t want to be caught.’

ye03cd 131

Wétin yu de chench-chénch nɔ́mba dɛn só?

what 2sg ipfv red.cpd-change number pl like.that

‘Why are you constantly changing numbers like that?’

ye03cd 132

Nó drink watá, nó drink watá, yu go *siente*

neg drink water neg drink water 2sg pot feel

ín bád, a tɛ́l yú.

3sg.indp extremely 1sg.sbj tell 2sg.indp

[Addresses speaker (dj) who is drinking tap water] ‘Don’t drink water, don’t drink water, you’ll feel it real bad, I tell you.’

ye03cd 133

A de tɛ́l yú, yu go sí náw yu nó go

1sg.sbj ipfv tell 2sg.indp 2sg pot see now 2sg neg pot

fínis dán watá.

finish that water

‘I’m telling you, you’ll see now you won’t finish that water.’

ye03cd 134

A bin wánt *intenta* dríng watá.

1sg.sbj pst want intend drink water

‘I had wanted to try to drink water.’

dj03cd 135

Mí nóto yú.

1sg.indp neg.foc 2sg.indp

‘I’m not you.’

ye03cd 136

Sí, sí, e fíba vɔ́mit, yu de sí?

see see 3sg.sbj resemble vomit 2sg ipfv see

‘See, see, it [the water] seems like vomit, you see?’

ye03cd 137

A de tɛ́l yú, e fíba vɔ́mit ínsay

1sg.sbj ipfv tell 2sg.indp 3sg.sbj resemble vomit inside

in mɔ́t náw.

3sg.poss mouth now

‘I’m telling you, it seems like vomit inside his mouth now.’

dj03cd 138

Yu dé bád ɛ́n.

2sg be.loc bad intj

‘You’re sick, really,’

ye03cd 139

E dé lɛkɛ sé yu de drink *ácido.*

3sg.sbj be.loc like quot 2sg ipfv drink acid

‘It’s as if you’re drinking acid.’

ye03cd 140

Háw yu *siente* dán watá?

how 2sg feel that water

‘How does that water feel to you?’

dj03cd 141

E kin táyt mi bɛlɛ́ náw só, chakrá dán

3sg.sbj hab be.tight 1sg.poss belly now so destroy that

*pasta* smɔ́l, yu nó go wín mí.

paste a.bit 2sg neg pot wín 1sg.indp

‘It tightens my stomach like this, shakes up that pap [which is being served for dinner] a bit, you won’t defeat me.’

dj03cd 142

Yu nó fít.

2sg neg can

‘You can’t.’

ye03cd 143

Ho, dán mán go dú vɔ́mit tidé, e nó go slíp.

intj thatman pot do vomit today 3sg.sbjneg pot sleep

‘Ho, that man (dj) will vomit today, he won’t sleep.’

ye03cd 144

A go tɛ́l Pancho sé wi de mék *banquete*.

1sg.sbj pot tell name quot 1pl ipfv make banquet

‘I’ll tell Pancho [who’s not present] that we were having a banquet.’

ye03cd 145

Dán káyn tín, yu *cuenta* Pancho dán káyn tín/.

that kind thing 2sg narrate name that kind thing

‘That kind of thing, if you tell Pancho that kind of thing/.’

dj03cd 146

E kin vɛ́ks bád.

3sg.sbj hab be.angry bad

‘He gets really angry [for being left out of the dinner].’

ye03cd 147

Tidé e kán e sé, ‘a tínk sé a go

today 3sg.sbj come 3sg.sbj quot 1sg.sbj think quot 1sg.sbj pot

fínis ɔ́l di *resto*.

finish all def rest

‘Today he came and said “I think I’m going to finish all the rest [of the food]”.’

dj03cd 148

E de fɔgɛ́t sé Rubi nɔ́ba chɔ́p.

3sg.sbj ipfv forget quot name neg.prf eat

‘He was forgetting that Rubi hadn’t eaten yet.’

ye03cd 149

E tɛ́l=an sé ‘papá mí nɛ́a chɔ́p

3sg.sbj tell=3sg.obj quot father 1sg.indp neg.prf eat

mí sénwe’.

1sg.indp foc

‘He [Rubi] told him [Pancho] ‘please, I myself haven’t eaten yet”.’

ye03cd 150

Sé ‘*chico,* di tín nó go dú mí’.

quot intj def thing neg pot do 1sg.indp

‘[Pancho] said “man, this won’t do for me”.’

ye03cd 151

A tɛ́l Pancho sé ‘yu nó lɛ́k yu sɛ́f’.

1sg.sbj tell name quot 2sg neg like 2sg self

‘I said to Pancho “you don’t like yourself [should be ashamed of yourself]”.’

ye03cd 152

"Mí wet Rubi wi mék jwɛn-jwɛ́n, wi báy

1sg.indp with name 1pl make red.cpd-join 1pl buy

pía, wi báy sadín, wi báy *tomates*, wi

avocado 1pl buy sardine 1pl buy tomatoes 1pl

*desayuna*’.

breakfast

‘Me and Rubi, we teamed up, we bought avocados, we bought sardine, we bought tomatoes (and) we had breakfast.’

ye03cd 153

Pancho de lúk mí só.

name ipfv look 1sg.indp like.that

‘Pancho was looking at me like this.’

fr03cd 154

Mɔní nó dé dɔ́n mɔ́?

money neg be.loc down more

‘Is there no money left down (there) [for your daily expenses]?’

ye03cd 155

E nó dé mɔ́.

3sg.sbj neg be.loc more

‘None is left.’

fr03cd 156

*Veinte mil* wé bin dɔ́n fínis?

twenty thousand sub pst prf finish

‘Twenty thousand (that) have already finished?’

ju03cd 157

Dɛn-ɔ́l fínis.

3pl.cpd-all finish

‘They’ve already finished.’

fr03cd 158

*Pero apenas dos semanas* wé yu bin tɛ́l mí

but barely two week.pl sub 2sg pst tell 1sg.indp

sé yu níd a pút veinte mil dɔ́n.

quot 2sg need 1sg.sbj put twenty thousand down

‘But (it’s) barely two weeks (ago) that you told me that you needed me to put twenty thousand down for you.’

ye03cd 159

Na yú bin tɛ́l mí.

foc 2sg.indp pst tell 1sg.indp

‘It was you who told me.’

ye03cd 160

*Bueno,* una bríng mí di pépa.

alright 2pl bring 1sg.indp def paper

‘Alright bring me the paper.’

ye03cd 161

*Porque en dos semanas* mék *veinte mil* fínis.

because in two weeks make twenty thousand finish

‘Because to make twenty thousand finish in two weeks.’

fr03cd 162

Háw mɔ́ch una de ték *por día?*

how much 2pl ipfv take by day

‘How much do you take [spend] per day?’

dj03cd 163

A go bríng di pépa.

1sg.sbj pot bring def paper

‘I’ll bring the paper.’

ye03cd 164

‘Mék yu tɛ́l dɛ́n sé fɔ mí, ɛ́ni dé ɛf yu

sbjv 2sg tell 3pl.indp quot prep 1sg.indp every day if 2sg

de ték un *kilo,* e dú.’

ipfv take one kilo 3sg.sbj do

[Continues quoting Pancho] “Tell them that for me, every day, if you take one kilo, it’s enough.”

dj03cd 165

‘Di dé wé yu sí bɛ́ta chɔ́p yu de chɔ́p fáyn.’

def day sub 2sg see very.good food 2sg ipfv food fine

[Quotes his inner speech to Pancho] ‘The day [when] you find good food, you eat well.’

dj03cd 166

Di dé wé pɛ́pɛ nó dé ínsay pɔ́t ‘a nó de

def day sub pepper neg be.loc inside pot 1sg.sbj neg ipfv

chɔ́p dí *porquería!*’

food this mess

[Continues quoting his inner speech to Pancho] ‘The day [when] there is no pepper in the pot (you say) “I won’t eat this mess.”’

ye03cd 167

A tɛ́l yú sé una de pík pɛ́pɛ aunque na

1sg.sbj tell 2sg.indp quot 2pl ipfv pick pepper even loc

bús, e go chɔ́p ɔ́l káyn tín ɛf e gɛ́t pɛ́pɛ.

forest 3sg.sbj pot eat all kind thing if 3sg.sbj get pepper

‘I tell you, you could pick pepper like in the forest, he would eat any kind of thing if it has pepper.’

ye03cd 168

Yɛ́stadé a kúk mí sénwe, *al final* a gó chɔ́p.

yesterday 1sg.sbj cook 1sg.indp foc finally 1sg.sbj go eat

‘Yesterday I myself cooked (and) then I ate.’

ye03cd 169

Na Pancho dɛn bin de *combate* ín dé

foc name pl pst ipfv fight 3sg.indp there

mɔ́nin tɛ́n.

morning time

‘It’s Pancho they were having an argument with there in the morning.’

ye03cd 170

Sí, na só mí sɛ́f kin dé wé a kin kúk.

see foc so 1sg.indp foc hab be.loc sub 1sg.sbj hab cook

‘(You) see that’s how I am, too, when I cook.’

ye03cd 171

Bɔt wé pɔ́sin de kúk ín sénwe ‘chip’.

but sub person ipfv cook 3sg.indp foc skt

‘But when somebody himself cooks, “chip”.’

ye03cd 172

A bigín de *pica-píca*, wi fráy *patata*, wi

1sg.sbj begin ipfv red.cpd-cut.up 1pl fry potato 1pl

fráy plantí.

fry plantain

‘I began to cut up (the trimmings), we fried potatoes, we fried plantain.’

fr03cd 173

Una bin tɔ́k wet Pancho?

2pl pst talk with name

‘Did you talk to Pancho?’

ye03cd 174

Wi dɔ́n tɔ́k wet=an.

1pl prf talk with=3sg.obj

‘We’ve talked to him.’

fr03cd 175

Bɔt wétin a bin gí yú dán *fax*?

but what 1sg.sbj pst give 2sg.indp that fax

‘But (then) what did I give you that fax for?’

ye03cd 176

Dán dé a bít Pancho, a bít=an a

that day 1sg.sbj beat name 1sg.sbj beat=3sg.obj 1sg.sbj

tɛ́l=an sé, sóté a tɛ́l=an sé ‘ɛf yu

tell=3sg.obj quot until 1sg.sbj tell=3sg.obj quot if 2sg

wánt, a de *alquila* yú *taksí,* yu

want 1sg.sbj ipfv rent 2sg.indp taxi 2sg

*sube* ɔ́p, e sáful.’

go.up up 3sg.sbj go.smoothly

‘That day I beat Pancho, I beat him and told him that, I even told him that “if you want I’ll rent you a taxi, you drive up, (and) it’s cool (like that)”.’

ye03cd 177

‘A de gí yú *quinientos’*, a tɛ́l di

1sg.sbj ipfv give 2sg.indp fifteen 1sg.sbj tell def

*taxi*-mán sé ‘*arriba a mi casa*’.

taxi.cpd-man quot up to 1sg.poss house

[I told Pancho] “I’ll give you five hundred”, I told the taxi driver “up to my house”.’

ye03cd 178

Bɔkú motó dɛn dé yá só, a nó nó sé

much car pl be.loc here so 1sg.sbj neg know quot

Pancho mék lɛkɛ sé e de *sube* bihɛ́n wé

name make like quot 3sg.sbj ipfv go.up behind sub

e *baja* mɔ́.

3sg.sbj go.down more

‘(Because) there were many cars there, I didn’t know that Pancho pretended to go up behind and then went down again.’

## Conversation: On sun glasses

The text below is the transcription of a brief conversation captured on video. It features the discourse participants Boyé (ye), Nenuko (ne), and Lage (ge). The style is informal and jovial. It involves peer-to-peer communication and is decidedly male in its orientation. The text opens with an anecdote by (ye) from his secondary school time (001)–(005). Having heard from a classmate that the President of Equatorial Guinea (Obiang Nguema) could supposedly see people naked through the pair of dark sunglasses that he wore in public (002), (ye) decides to ask his mother to get him such a pair on one of her trips abroad (003).

In what follows, (ne) and (ye) carry the idea further. Of course, the implicit idea is that it would allow them to see the opposite sex naked in the streets. The ensuing conversation is of particular interest because it contains a number of linguistic forms that serve to express emphatic, emotionally involved speech in Pichi. It involves the generous use of emphatic prosodic features such as extra-high pitch, indicated by double acute accents in the text (bla̋k ‘really dark’ (001); sli̋p ‘sleep’ (010), pe̋n ‘pain’ (015) and the entire sentence (012)), vowel lengthening (eyé ‘intj’ (008), ɔ́l ‘all’ (012)), and increased volume (sentences (009)–(010), (015), (017)–(018)).

At the segmental level, we find additional defining elements of emphatic speech like interjections (por Dios ‘by God’ (003), eyé ‘good gracious’ (008), the term of address and interjection cuñado ‘brother(-in-law)’ (010), the sentence particle ó ‘sp’ (010)). Further, the conversation features two cognate objects (swít ‘be tasty’ (006) and dáy ‘die’ (016)). The emphatic style of the text also transpires in the use of irrealis modality marking signalled by go ‘pot’ in (009), (011) and (015); de ‘ipfv’ in (010) and factative marking in (012) and (016)–(017). The hypothetical frame provides a backdrop to the boastful self-expression that characterises the conversation from (007) onwards.

The video recording also reveals specific kinetic events that are characteristic for emphatic and self-expressive peer-to-peer communication in Pichi speech culture. For example, (ye) accompanies his interjection in (008) by a movement of the head and torso away from the speaker (ne). Equally, (ne) underlines his comment in (009) by getting up, walking briefly past (ye), and returning to sit on his stool, while laughing intensely. Both motion events are variations of what I assume to be an areal West African kinetic figure employed in certain genres of informal, interactional communication. In this figure, a person abruptly turns aways from the group during a communicative peak (i.e. after the punch line of a joke or an anecdote), describes a circular movement away from the group and joins it again after a brief moment, usually accompanied by laughing.

ye07ga 001

A sé, wán mi kɔ́mpin nɔ́, e bin de

1sg.sbj quot one 1sg.poss friend neg 3sg.sbj pst ipfv

tɛ́l mí sé/ yu sí Obiang Nguema, dán tɛ́n

tell 1sg.indp quot 2sg see name that time

e de wɛ́r sɔn *gafas* dɛn wé dɛn bla̋k.

3sg.sbj ipfv wear some glasses pl sub 3pl be.black

‘I say one of my friends, right, he was telling me that/ you see Obiang Nguema, that time he was wearing some glasses that were really dark.’

ye07ga 002

E sé "dɛn bin tɛ́l mí sé, wé e kin dé

3sg.sbj quot 3pl pst tell 1sg.indp quot sub 3sg.sbj hab be.loc

na *estadio* só, yu dé na *estadio*, dɛn de mék

loc stadion like.that 2sg be.loc loc stadion 3pl ipfv make

*Copa de su Excelencia,* dɛn sé dán *gafa*, e

President’s.Cup 3pl quot that glasses 3sg.sbj

de sí ɔ́l mán nékɛd’.

ipfv see all man be.naked

‘He [my friend] said when he’s in the stadion like that, (when) you’re in the stadion (and) they’re doing the President’s Cup, they say (with) those glasses, he sees everybody naked.’

ye07ga 003

Na ín wán dé a bin tɛ́l wán *grand frère*

foc 3sg.indp one day 1sg.sbj pst tell one big brother

na, na mi *colegio* dé, a tɛ́l=an sé

loc loc 1sg.poss college there 1sg.sbj tell=3sg.obj quot

‘mi mamá de *viaja* bɔkú, a go tráy mék

1sg.poss mother ipfv travel much 1sg.sbj pot try sbjv

e báy mí dán káyn *gafas* *por Dios’.*

3sg.sbj buy 1sg.indp that kind glasses by God

‘That’s why one day, I told one of my seniors [in French: ‘big brother’] in, in my secondary school there, I told him “my mother travels a lot, I’ll try to have her buy that kind of glasses for me by God”.’

ye07ga 004

A wánt de sí ɔ́l mán nékɛd.

1sg.sbj want ipfv see all man be.naked

‘I want to be seeing everybody naked.’ [laughter]

ye07ga 005

A wánt dé lɛk Obiang Nguema.

1sg.sbj want be.loc like name

‘I want to be like Obiang Nguema.’

ye07ga 006

Dán torí bin de swít mí wán swít.

that story pst ipfv be.tasty 1sg.indp one be.tasty

‘I was really enjoying that story.’

ne07ga 007

A fít sé if yu *consigue gafas* wé, yu go

1sg.sbj can quot if 2sg obtain glasses sub 2sg pot

wɔ́k na ród.

walk loc road

‘I can tell you if you obtained glasses which, you would walk on the road.’

ye07ga 008

Eyé [éjé::].

intj

‘Good gracious.’

ne07ga 009

Dán *gafa* yu go sli̋̋p wet=an.

that glasses 2sg pot sleep with=3sg.obj

‘Those glasses, you would sleep with them.’

ye07ga 010

A de slíp wet=an *cuñado*.

1sg.sbj ipfv sleep with=3sg.obj brother-in-law

‘I would sleep with them brother.’ [laughter]

ye07ga 011

A go púl=an na mi yáy sé wétin?

1sg.sbj pot remove=3sg.obj loc 1sg.poss eye quot what

‘I would remove them from my eyes for what?’

ye07ga 012

A wa̋nt dé *flipado* ɔ̋l áwa, ɔ̋l [ɔ̋::l] áwa.

1sg.sbj want be.loc turned.on all hour all hour

‘I would want to be turned on all the time, all the time.’

ye07ga 013

Ɔ́l áwa.

all hour

‘All the time.’

ne07ga 014

A sé, na fɔ tɔ́k fɔ dán (…)

1sg.sbj quot foc prep talk prep that

‘I say, one has to talk about that (…)

ne07ga 015

Yu go lás sí sɔn nékɛd wé na ín go

2sg pot end.up seesome be.naked sub foc 3sg.indp pot

mék mék yu yáy pe̋n ó.

make sbjv 2sg eye pain sp

‘You’ll end up seeing some (kind of) nakedness that will really make your eyes pain.’

ne07ga 016

Ey, dán káyn spɛ́tikul a dáy dáy.

intj that kind glasses 1sg.sbj die death

‘That kind of glasses, I would really die.’

ne07ga 017

Wé yu tɛ́l húman, ‘lúk di wán, yu wánt tɔ́k wet

sub 2sg tell woman look def one 2sg want talk with

mí?’

1sg.indp

‘And you would say to a women, “look at this one, you (actually) want to talk to me [now that I have seen all of you]?”’

ye07ga 018

Yú, yú?

2sg.indp 2sg.indp

‘You, you?’ [laughter]

ne07ga 019

Kɔmɔ́t!

go.out

‘Get lost!’

ye07ga 020

Aa, kɔmɔ́t dé!

intj go.out be.loc

‘Just get lost there!’

ye07ga 021

*¡Fuera!*

outside

‘Out!’

la07ga 022

*Te van a matar.*

you they.will to kill

‘They [the women] will kill you.’

## Routine procedure: Preparing corn-porridge

Below follows a procedural text in which Djunais (dj) explains to me (ko) and Lage (ge) how to prepare ógi ‘corn porridge’. The text features the type of TMA marking characteristic for this narrative genre. Procedural texts may exhibit more than other genres the regular use of factative TMA marking (bare verbs) in order to describe routine procedures and when giving instructions (e.g. (001)–(005)). Likewise the text contains many instances of bare, non-initial verbs typical of clause chaining (e.g. trowé=an ‘pour=3sg.obj’ (040) bigín (043) and pút=an ‘put=3sg.obj’ (051).

A second way of expressing (hypothetical) routines appears in (018)–(020). Here the potential mood marker go ‘pot’ is used when (dj) briefly digresses to compare the preparation of ógi with that of rice porridge. The text also contains a few instances of unexpressed subjects (sifta ‘sift’ (007), fít ‘can’ (008)) as well as a brief conversation (021)–(034) after which (dj) quickly turns back to describing the cooking:

ko03do 001

Djunais a bɛ́g *explica* mí.

name 1sg.sbj ask.for explain 1sg.indp

‘Djunais, please explain to me [how to prepare maize porridge].’

dj03do 002

A *ralla* di, di, di *maíz.*

1sg.sbj grate def def def corn

‘I grate(d) the, the corn.

ge03do 003

Yu ték di *maíz* yu hól=an.

2sg take def corn 2sg hold=3sg.obj

‘You take the corn and hold it.’

dj03do 004

A *ralla* in wet *rallador*.

1sg.sbj grate 3sg.indp with grater

‘I grate it with a a grater.’

dj03do 005

Wé a *ralla* ín, a sifta ín.

sub 1sg.sbj grate 3sg.indp 1sg.sbj sift 3sg.indp

‘When I have grated it, I sift it.’

dj03do 006

Ɔ́l dán watá dɛn a nó de pút dɛ́n ínsay.

all that water pl 1sg.sbj neg ipfv put 3pl.indp inside

‘All that water, I don’t put it inside.’

dj03do 007

Sifta, wé a dɔ́n sifta ín, e de lɛ́f

sift sub 1sg.sbj prf sift 3sg.indp 3sg.sbj ipfv remain

wet di watá.

with def water

‘Sift (it), when I have sifted it, it remains with the water.’

dj03do 008

Fít sifta ín sóté tú tɛ́n mék mék dán

can sift 3sg.indp until two time make sbjv that

smɔ́l smɔ́l watá dɛn nó lɛ́f.

small rep water pl neg remain

‘(You) can sift it up to two times to make that little bit of water not remain.’

dj03do 009

Sɔn dé yet sɛ́f wé a nó mék, *entonces* dán

some be.loc yet foc sub 1sg.sbj neg make so that

wán wé lɛ́f, una fít kɛ́r=an gó *aunque* ínsay

one sub remain 2pl can carry=3sg.obj go like inside

wán bɔ́tul fɔ wán *mineral* una pút=an, na

one bottle prep one mineral 2pl put=3sg.obj loc

*congelador*.

fridge

‘Some still remains that I didn’t make, so that one that remains, you [pl] can put it inside a mineral (water) bottle and put it into the fridge.’

dj03do 010

Wé yu de mék=an na hós, jɔ́s ték=an

sub 2sg ipfv make=3sg.obj loc house just take=3sg.obj

pút=an na pɔ́t *aunque* wán *tasa* só.

put=3sg.obj loc pot like one cup like.that

‘When you make it at home, just take it and put it into a pot, approximately one cup or so.’

dj03do 011

If yu de mék=an só e go bɔkú *pero*

if 2sg ipfv make=3sg.obj like.that 3sg.sbj pot become.much but

na só e gɛ́fɔ dé.

foc like.that 3sg.sbj have.to be.loc

‘If you do it like that it will be(come) much but that’s how it has to be.’

dj03do 012

Wé a *ralla* ín, a mék=an, pút di pɔ́t

sub 1sg.sbj grate 3sg.indp 1sg.sbj make=3sg.obj put def pot

na fáya wet smɔ́l watá, a bigín de pút dán

loc fire with small water 1sg.sbj begin ipfv put that

*mezcla* dé sóté e dé só sénwe.

mixture there until 3sg.sbj be.loc like.that foc

‘When I grated it, I make it, (I) put the pot on the fire with a bit of water, I begin to put that mixture in there until it is just like this.’

dj03do 013

*Igual* sɛ́f wet di wán fɔ rɛ́s.

equal foc with def one prep rice

‘The same with the one (made) with rice.’

ko03do 014

So wán dé fɔ rɛ́s sɛ́f?

so one be.loc prep rice foc

‘So there’s one made with rice, too?’

ko03do 015

Na di sén fásin fɔ dú=an?

foc def same manner prep do=3sg.obj

‘Is it done the same way?’

dj03do 016

Yu/ rɛ́s, yu de bít=an.

2sg rice 2sg ipfv beat=3sg.obj

‘You/ as for rice, you beat it.’

dj03do 017

Bít=an yu mék=an só sɛ́f.

beat=3sg.obj 2sg make=3sg.obj like.that foc

‘(You) beat it (and) make just like this.’

ko03do 018

So yu go bít di rɛ́s?

so 2sg pot beat def rice

‘So you beat the rice?’

dj03do 019

Yu go *moja* di rɛ́s na watá, fɔ tidé, tú dé,

2sg pot soak def rice loc water prep today two day

lɛk háw yu wánt nɔ́, di dé yu de *calcula* sé

like how 2sg want neg def day 2sg ipfv calculate quot

yu wánt chɔ́p=an.

2sg want eat=3sg.obj

‘You soak it in water, for today [one day], two days, as you want, right, the (number of) days you calculate that you want to eat it.’

dj03do 020

Yu wánt chɔ́p=an tú dé áfta, yu go

2sg want eat=3sg.obj two day then 2sg pot

mék=an mék e dé na watá.

make=3sg.obj sbjv 3sg.sbj be.loc loc water

‘(If) you want to eat it two days afterwards, you make it be in the water [for that time].’

ko03do 021

Ús=say yu lán fɔ kúk?

q=side 2sg learn prep cook

‘Where did you learn to cook?’

dj03do 022

A gó skúl.

1sg.sbj go school

‘I went to school.’

dj03do 023

A gó skúl *pero* ɔ́l di smɔ́l tín dɛn

1sg.sbj go school but all def small thing pl

yá só na tín dɛn wé mí de mék=an na

here like.that loc thing pl sub 1sg.indp ipfv make=3sg.obj loc

hós.

house

‘I went to school but all the small things here are things that I make at home.’

dj03do 024

*Pero*, Sita bin dé nɔ́, mamá.

but name pst be.loc neg mother

‘But “sita” was (still) around [alive], right, mother.’

dj03do 025

*Porque* na mí mí de *prepara* ɔ́l tín.

because foc 1sg.indp 1sg.indp ipfv prepare all thing

‘Because it’s me, I prepare everything.’

ko03do 026

Yu húman go gládin.

2sg woman pot be.glad

‘Your wife will be happy.’

ko03do 027

Na Djunais go kúk fɔ in fámbul.

foc name pot cookass 3sg.poss family

‘It’s Djunais who’ll cook for his family.’

ko03do 028

Rubi gó Lubá?

name go place

‘Did Rubi go to Lubá?’

dj03do 029

Yɛ́stadé.

yesterday

‘Yesterday.’

ge03do 030

Údat, Rubi?

who name

‘Who, Rubi?’

ko03do 031

Ús=dé e go tɔ́n bák?

q=day 3sg.sbj pot turn back

‘When will he return?’

dj03do 032

E fít kán tumára.

3sg.sbj can come tomorrow

‘He might come tomorrow.’

ge03do 033

E gó wet in mamá?

3sg.sbj go with 3sg.poss mother

‘Did he go with his mother.’

dj03do 034

Wet in smɔ́l brɔ́da.

with 3sg.poss small brother

‘With his little brother.’

dj03do 035

A sé dís tín yá só, ɛf di kɔ́n bin bɔkú

1sg.sbj quot this thing here like.that if def corn pst be.much

lɛk, di watá náw só, di watá/

like def water now like that def water

‘I say this thing right here, if the corn was a lot like, the water now, the water/

ge03do 036

Dán tín na di *pasta*.

that thing foc def paste

‘That is the paste.’

dj03do 037

Di *pasta* yɛ́s.

def paste yes

‘The paste, yes.’

dj03do 038

Na di tín, na ín a níd fɔ mék di *pasta*

foc def thing foc 3sg.indp 1sg.sbj need prep make def paste

*porque* dɛn de sɛ́l=an *simple* só.

because 3pl ipfv sell=3sg.obj simple like.that

‘That’s it, that’s what I need to make the paste because it [the flour] is sold simple like that.’

dj03do 039

Yu fɔ trowé di watá yá só, na háw só di tín

2sg prep pour def water here like.that foc how like.that def thing

bin fɔ lɛ́f bɔtɔ́n.

pst cond remain bottom

‘You have to pour this water here away, that’s how the thing should have remained at the bottom.’

dj03do 040

Pero e bin fɔ lɛ́f bɔkú sé *de tal forma*

but 3sg.sbj pst cond remain much quot of so form

*que sí,* a fít ték di wɔtá a trowé=an,

that yes 1sg.sbj can take def water 1sg.sbj pour=3sg.obj

lɛ́f di pán na sán, e dráy e lɛ́f lɛkɛ

leave def pan loc sun 3sg.sbj be.dry 3sg.sbj remain like

garí náw.

gari now

‘But enough should have remained in such way that, yes, I can take the water and pour it away, leave the pan in the sun, (and then) it dries and remains like gari now.’

ko03do 041

Na só a sabí=an sɛ́f.

foc like.that 1sg.sbj know=3sg.obj foc

‘That’s how I know it, too.’

dj03do 042

Lɛk háw dɛn de mék=an yu de sí na

like how 3pl ipfv make=3sg.obj 2sg ipfv see loc

kɔsta nɔ́, wán kɔsta, sɔntɛ́n na só dɛn de mék

custard neg one custard perhaps foc so 3pl ipfv make

ɔ dɛn de pút dán *colorante* ínsay wé e de

or 3pl ipfv put that colourant inside sub 3sg.sbj ipfv

chénch.

change

‘The way it’s done, you see it’s a custard, a (kind of) custard, it may be done like that or that colourant that changes (the colour) is put inside.’

dj03do 043

E tɔ́n *arena*, dán *água* dé a fít ték wán

3sg.sbj turn sand that water be.loc 1sg.sbj can take one

spún, a bigín de mék=an *normal.*

spoon 1sg.sbj begin ipfv make=3sg.obj as.normal

‘(When) it turns into sand [farina], that water over there, I can take a spoon (of it) and begin to make normally.’

dj03do 044

*Pero como* di arena tú lílí-lí, kɔ́n tú smɔ́l

but because def sand too little-rep corn too be.small

náw, a *mezcla* ín ɔ́l.

now 1sg.sbj mix 3sg.indp all

‘But since the sand [farina] is too little, the corn is too little now, I mixed all of it [in making the porridge].’

dj03do 045

Wɛn a go kliár=an, sɔn, bɔtɔ́n mɔ́, e

sub 1sg.sbj pot clear=3sg.obj some bottom more 3sg.sbj

go kán gɛ́t dí tín.

pot come get this thing

‘When I clear it, some, at the bottom again, it will come to have this thing.’

dj03do 046

*Pero* dí watá, una nó trowé=an *lo que sí,* una

but this water 2pl neg pour=3sg.obj def that yes 2pl

sí sé e dɔ́n slíp e dɔ́n slíp fáyn, dí

see quot 3sg.sbj prf sleep 3sg.sbj prf lie fine this

watá dɔ́n *baja*.

water prf go.down

‘But the water, you [pl] don’t pour it away, rather, you [pl] see that it has settled, it has settled nicely, the water has gone down.’

dj03do 047

Dí tín dɔ́n *baja*, wé di watá una dɔ́n de

this thing prf go.down sub def water 2pl prf ipfv

sí=an ɔ́p lɛkɛ sé na watá *normal*.

see=3sg.obj up like quot foc water normal

‘The thing [farina] has gone down, and as for the water, you [pl] see it above as if it were normal water.’

dj03do 048

Ɛf yu ték dán watá dé, yu trowé=an, yu

if 2sg take that water there 2sg pour=3sg.obj 2sg

trowé=an *pero* mék e, yu fít ték dán watá

pour=3sg.obj but sbjv 3sg.sbj 2sg can take that water

yu trowé=an yu pút ɔ́da nyú wán ínsay, dán

2sg pour=3sg.obj 2sg put other new one inside that

wán sé mék e nó smɛ́l.

one quot sbjv 3sg.sbj neg smell

‘If you take that water, you pour it away, but let it, you can take that water and you pour it away and you put another new one [water] inside, that is in order for it not to smell.’

dj03do 049

*Porque* e de *sigue* wán bád smɛ́l.

because 3sg.sbj ipfv follow one bad smell

‘Because (otherwise) a bad smell follows.’

ge03do 050

Áfta háw fɔ mék di ógi?

then how prep make def corn.porridge

‘Then how do you make the corn porridge?’

dj03do 051

Yu fít ték náw, wán, wán smɔ́l kɔ́p nɔ́, yu

2sg can take now one one small cup neg 2sg

pút=an na fáya, ínsay di pɔ́t.

put=3sg.obj loc fire inside def pot

‘Now you can take, a, a small cup, right, you put it on the fire, inside the pot.’

dj03do 052

Dásɔl, wán smɔ́l, wán glas, yu fúlɔp=an.

only one small one glass 2sg fill=3sg.obj

‘Only, one small, one glass, you fill it up.’

ge03do 053

Wán glas watá.

one glass water

‘A glass of water.’

dj03do 054

Ɛhɛ́, wán glas watá *aparte*, yu pút=an ínsay,

exactly one glass water apart 2sg put=3sg.obj inside

dán wán dé yu fít ték *medio* fɔ dán sén glas,

that one there 2sg can take half prep that same glass

fɔ dí tín yá.

prep this thing here

‘Exactly, a glass of water apart, you put it inside, as for that one you can take half in that very glass, in this thing here.’

dj03do 055

Yu de tɔ́n=an, yu nó fít, yu nó *para así,*

2sg ipfv turn=3sg.obj 2sg neg can 2sg neg stop like.this

mék yu tɔ́n=an *porque* bɔtɔ́n go rós.

make 2sg turn=3sg.obj because bottom pot burn

‘You turn it, you can’t, you don’t stop like that, turn it because the bottom might burn.’

dj03do 056

E go rós e go lɛ́f lɛkɛ pan-kék.

3sg.sbj pot burn 3sg.sbj pot remain like pan.cpd-cake

‘It might burn and become like pancake.’

dj03do 057

Yu gɛ́fɔ de tɔ́n=an.

2sg have.to ipfv turn=3sg.obj

‘You have to be turning it.’

dj03do 058

Tɔ́n=an tɔ́n=an, mék yu nó *para* sóté mék

turn=3sg.obj turn=3sg.obj sbjv 2sg neg stop until sbjv

e tík lɛk háw e bin dé só.

3sg.sbj be.thick like how 3sg.sbj pst be.loc so

‘Turn it, turn it, don’t stop until it is thick, just the way it was (here).’

dj03do 059

*Pero* ɛf di tín kán bɔkú mɔ́ pás di watá,

but if def thing pfv be.much more pass def water

e go lɛ́f wán *pasta*, e go lɛ́f lɛkɛ,

3sg.sbj pot remain one paste 3sg.sbj pot remain like

pan-kék wán tín só, e go tú tík.

pan.cpd-cake one thing like.that 3sg.sbj pot too become.thick

‘But if the thing has become more than the water, a paste will remain, it will become like a kind of pancake, it will become too thick.’

## Elicitation: Caused positions

The text below results from the elicitation of “caused positions” with the help of the correspondent set of video clips that form part of the “Manual for the field season 2001” of the Language and Cognition Group of the Max-Planck-Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen. Like most elicitations in the corpus, this one was conducted with two (or more) speakers – Lindo (li) and Djunais (dj) – simultaneously. The elicitation shows in an exemplary way the use of the intransitive/inchoative-stative vs. transitive/dynamic variants of Pichi locative verbs. It features numerous other verbs with a spatial meaning component as well (e.g. pút ‘put’ and dé ‘be.loc’).

li07pe 001

E pút wán písis pantáp tébul.

3sg.sbj put one piece.of.cloth on table

‘She put a cloth on the table.’

li07pe 002

Na róp dat.

foc rope that

‘That’s a rope.’

li07pe 003

If a sé dɛn de híb sɔn tín na dán stík.

if 1sg.sbj quot 3pl ipfv throw some thing loc that tree

‘If I said they’re throwing something at that stick.’

li07pe 004

Pero údat de híb=an?

but who ipfv throw=3sg.obj

‘But who is throwing it?’

li07pe 005

Áfta di róp sɛ́f wi nó sí nó mán wé e

then def rope foc 1pl neg see neg man sub 3sg.sbj

híb=an.

throw=3sg.obj

‘Then, even the rope, we didn’t see anybody who threw it.’

li07pe 006

Wétin e hɛ́ng dé?

what 3sg.sbj hang there

‘What’s hanging there?’

li07pe 007

Na brís sék=an?

foc air shake=3sg.obj

‘Is it the air that shook it?’

dj07pe 008

Sí di róp ɔ́p dé?

see def rope up there

‘(Do you) see the rope up there?’

li07pe 009

Dɛn jɔ́s de híb=an, áfta e hɛ́ng.

3pl just ipfv throw=3sg.obj then 3sg.sbj hang

‘It’s just being thrown, then it hangs.’

li07pe 010

Nó nátin nó dé na di tébul.

neg nothing neg be.loc loc def table

‘Nothing is on the table.’

li07pe 011

Nó nátin nó dé pantáp=an.

neg nothing neg be.loc on=3sg.obj

‘Nothing is on it.’

li07pe 012

Náw sɔn tín dɔ́n dé pan di tébul wé na *ariko* dɛn.

now some thing prf be.loc on def table sub foc beans pl

‘Now something is on the table that’s beans [<French ‘haricots’].’

li07pe 013

Di húman, e bríng di tú bɔ́l dɛn pan di tébul.

def woman 3sg.sbj bring def two ball pl on def table

‘The woman, she brought the two balls onto the table.’

li07pe 014

E kán mék di sén tín nɔ́.

3sg.sbj come make def same thing neg

‘She did the same thing, right?’

dj07pe 015

Fɔ́s e fíba sé dɛn bin dɔ́n dɔ́n.

first 3sg.sbj resemble quot 3pl pst prf be.done

‘First, it seemed that they [the beans] were done [cooked].’

dj07pe 016

Náw só dɛn nó dɔ́n, yu sí?

now so 3pl neg be.done 2sg see

‘Right now they aren’t done, you see?’

dj07pe 017

Náw fɔ́s *ariko* dɛn bin dɔ́n kúk.

now first beans pl pst prf cook

‘Now first, the beans were cooked.’

li07pe 018

A nó tínk.

1sg.sbj neg think

‘I don’t think (so).’

li07pe 019

Na di sén tín.

foc def same thing

‘It’s the same thing [in both video clips].’

li07pe 020

E bríng *ariko* na hán, e lɛ́f dɛ́n pan di

3sg.sbj bring beans loc hand 3sg.sbj leave 3pl.indp on def

tébul.

table

‘She brought beans in her hand (and) she left them on the table.’

li07pe 021

Di róp dé pantáp di tébul.

def rope be.loc on def table

‘The rope is on the table.’

li07pe 022

Di róp nó fít slíp.

def rope neg can sleep

‘The rope can’t lie.’

li07pe 023

Na pɔ́sin de slíp.

foc person ipfv sleep

‘It’s a person that lies down.’

ko07pe 024

E lé pantáp di tébul?

3sg.sbj lie on def table

‘[So can I say] it’s lying on the table?’

li07pe 025

Nó, e dé pantáp di tébul.

neg 3sg.sbj be.loc on def table

‘No, it’s on the table.’

li07pe 026

Ɛf e lé na lɛk sé e de slíp.

if 3sg.sbj lie foc like quot 3sg.sbj ipfv lie

‘If it’s lying it’s like it’s lying.’

li07pe 027

Na pɔ́sin de lé.

foc person ipfv lie

‘It’s a person that lies.’

li07pe 028

Na kasára.

foc cassava

‘That’s cassava.’

li07pe 029

E bríng di kasára na in hán.

3sg.sbj bring def cassava loc 3sg.poss hand

‘She brought the cassava in her hand.’

li07pe 030

Di *cartón* dé pantáp di tébul.

def carton be.loc on def table

‘The carton is on the table.’

li07pe 031

E pút di kasára ínsay di *cartón* wé dé pantáp

3sg.sbj put def cassava inside def carton sub be.loc on

di tébul.

def table

‘She put the cassava into the carton that is on the table.’

li07pe 032

Yu nó=an ɛ́n?

2sg know=3sg.obj intj

‘You know her, right?’

li07pe 033

Yu nó nó?

2sg neg know

‘You don’t know (her)?’

li07pe 034

E hɛ́ng=an míndul tú stík dɛn.

3sg.sbj hang=3sg.obj middle two tree pl

‘He hung it up between two branches.’

li07pe 035

Hɛ́ng=an na *colgar*.

hang=3sg.obj foc hang

‘“Hɛ́ng=an” is “colgar” [in Spanish].’

li07pe 036

Ɛf e kwís=an, e go spwɛ́l.

if 3sg.sbj squeeze=3sg.obj 3sg.sbj pot spoil

‘If he squeezes it, it will spoil.’

li07pe 037

Na kandá fɔ kokonát.

foc skin prep coconut

‘That’s the shell of a coconut.’

dj07pe 038

Na só sénwe.

foc like.that foc

‘That’s exactly how it is.’

li07pe 039

E bríng tú bɔ́tul ɛ́nti.

3sg.sbj bring two bottle empty

‘He brought two bottles empty.’

li07pe 040

E pút dɛ́n pan di tébul.

3sg.sbj put 3pl.indp on def table

‘He put them on the table.’

dj07pe 041

Tú difrɛn bɔ́tul dɛn fɔ *vino.*

two different bottle pl prep wine

‘Two different bottles of wine.’

dj07pe 042

Di tú bɔ́tul dɛn fít slíp pantáp tébul sɛ́f.

def two bottle pl can lie on table foc

‘The two bottles can (actually) even lie on the table.’

li07pe 043

E fínis bɛ́n di písis fáyn.

3sg.sbj finish bend def piece.of.cloth fine

‘He has finished folding the piece of cloth nicely.’

li07pe 044

E pút wán smɔ́l stík nía di stík wé e *para.*

3sg.sbj put one small tree near def tree sub 3sg.sbj stand

‘She put a small stick next to the tree that’s standing.’

li07pe 045

E *apoya* wán háf stík fɔ wán stík.

3sg.sbj lean one half tree prep one tree

‘She leaned a branch on a tree.’

dj07pe 046

*Porque* dí wán na stík wé e *para.*

because thisone foc tree sub 3sg.sbj stand

‘Because this one is a tree that’s standing.’

dj07pe 047

Yu fít tɔ́k sé yu líng yu sɛ́f dé.

2sg can talk quot 2sg lean 2sg self there

‘You can say you’re abutting yourself there.’

dj07pe 048

Yu fít tɔ́k sé *chico,* a wánt líng mi sɛ́f

2sg can talk quot intj 1sg.sbj want lean 1sg.poss self

fɔ dís *butaca.*

prep this armchair

‘You can say, man, I want to lounge in this armchair.’

dj07pe 049

E líng wán háf stík nía wán bíg bíg stík.

3sg.sbj lean one half tree near one big rep tree

‘She leaned a branch against a tree.’

li07pe 050

E jám=an nía wán stík wé e

3sg.sbj make.contact=3sg.obj near one tree sub 3sg.sbj

*tínap.*

stand

‘She placed it [the branch] in contact with the tree that’s standing.’

li07pe 051

Yu fít ték wán stík wé e kɔ́t háf, yu *apoya*

2sg can take one tree sub 3sg.sbj cut half 2sg lean

ín.

3sg.indp

‘You can take a branch that’s cut in half (and) abut it.’

li07pe 052

Wán stík wé dɛn kɔ́t=an, bíg bíg wán.

one tree sub 3pl cut=3sg.obj big rep one

‘A branch that’s been cut, a really big one.’

li07pe 053

*Uf, Pichi es una basura*, ɛ́n.

intj Pichi it.is a rubbish intj

‘Phew, Pichi is real rubbish, right.’

li07pe 054

E líng di bɔ́tul nía di stík.

3sg.sbj lean def bottle near def tree

‘He leaned the bottle against the tree.’

li07pe 055

E de kwís di bɔ́l fɔ mék di bɔ́l fít hɛ́ng fáyn.

3sg.sbj ipfv squeeze def ball prep sbjv def ball can hang fine

‘He’s squeezing the ball in order for the ball to be able to be suspended just right.’

dj07pe 056

E pút di bɔ́tul pantáp di tébul *pero* di mɔ́t

3sg.sbj put def bottle on def table but def mouth

dé dɔ́n.

be.loc down

‘He put the bottle on the table but with the mouth down.’

li07pe 057

E pút di bɔ́tul pan di tébul wet di mɔ́t dɔ́n

3sg.sbj put def bottle on def table with def mouth down

ɔ rɔn-say.

or wrong.cpd-side

‘He put the bottle on the table with the mouth down or upside-down.’

li07pe 058

Di písis hɛ́ng na di stík, bikɔs nó mán nó

def piece.of.cloth hang loc def tree because neg man neg

pút=an.

put=3sg.obj

‘The piece of cloth is hanging from the tree, because nobody has put it (there).’

li07pe 059

Wí de sí dásɔl sé di písis dɔ́n hɛ́ng.

1pl.indp ipfv see only quot def piece.of.cloth prf hang

‘We only see that the piece of cloth is now hanging.’

li07pe 060

E dɔ́n *cuelga* na di stík.

3sg.sbj prf hang loc def tree

‘It’s hanging from the tree.’

li07pe 061

Dís wán dé sé a mít wán bɔ́tul wé e dé

this one be.loc quot 1sg.sbj meet one bottle sub 3sg.sbj be.loc

míndul tú stík dɛn.

middle two tree pl

‘This one [still image] is like I’ve come across a bottle that’s between two trees.’

li07pe 062

E bríng di kasára e pút=an nía di stík.

3sg.sbj bring def cassava 3sg.sbj put=3sg.obj near def tree

‘She brought the cassava (and) she put it next to the tree.’

li07pe 063

E líng=an dé.

3sg.sbj lean=3sg.obj there

‘She abutted it there.’

li07pe 064

Dán húman lɔ́n bad.

that woman be.long extremely

‘That woman is really tall.’

li07pe 065

*Chico, Dios mío.*

intj my God

‘Wow, my God.’

dj07pe 066

E bríng *escalera,* e líng=an nía di stík.

3sg.sbj bring ladder 3sg.sbj lean=3sg.obj near def tree

‘She brought a ladder, she leaned it against the tree.’

dj07pe 067

E bríng trí kasára, e lé dɛ́n pantáp di tébul.

3sg.sbj bring three cassava 3sg.sbj lay 3pl.indp on def table

‘She brought three cassavas, she laid them on the table.’

dj07pe 068

E lé=an pantáp di tébul.

3sg.sbj lay=3sg.obj on def table

‘She laid them on the table.’

li07pe 069

E fíks dɛ́n fáyn.

3sg.sbj fix 3pl.indp fine

‘She arranged them nicely.’

li07pe 070

Dí *cartón,* e mít=an yá?

this carton 3sg.sbj meet=3sg.obj here

‘The carton, did she find it [lying] here?’

li07pe 071

E pút di róp ínsay di *cartón* wé e dé

3sg.sbj put def rope inside def carton sub 3sg.sbj be.loc

pantáp di tébul.

on def table

‘She put the rope inside the carton that’s on the table.’

li07pe 072

E slíp di bɔ́tul pantáp di tébul.

3sg.sbj lay def bottle on def table

‘She laid the bottle down on the table.’

li07pe 073

Di bɔ́tul lé náw pantáp di tébul.

def bottle lie now on def table

‘The bottle is now lying on the table.’

li07pe 074

E lé di bɔ́tul pantáp di tébul, e slíp di

3sg.sbj lay def bottle on def table 3sg.sbj lay def

bɔ́tul pantáp di tébul.

bottle on def table

‘She laid [*le*] the bottle on the table, she laid [*slíp*] the bottle on the table.’

li07pe 075

Di bɔ́tul slíp pantáp di tébul bikɔs di bɔ́tul lé dé.

def bottle lie on def table because def bottle lie there

‘The bottle is lying [*slíp*] on the table because the bottle is lying [*lé*] there.’

li07pe 076

Náw e ték róp, e hɛ́ng di róp na di stík

now 3sg.sbj take rope 3sg.sbj hang def rope loc def tree

wet kasára.

with cassava

‘Now he took a rope, he hung the rope from the tree with a cassava.’

li07pe 077

Nóto só, a tɔ́k=an bád, Djunais?

neg.foc so 1sg.sbj talk=3sg.obj bad name

‘Isn’t it so, did I say that wrong, Djunais?’

dj07pe 078

E táy di kasára wet róp áfta e hɛ́ng=an.

3sg.sbj tie def cassava with rope then 3sg.sbj hang=3sg.obj

‘He tied the cassava with a rope, then he hung it up.’

li07pe 079

Dís stík, e slíp pan di tébul.

this tree 3sg.sbj lie on def table

‘This stick, it’s lying on the table.’

dj07pe 080

Di kasára lé míndul tú stík.

def cassava lie middle two tree

‘The cassava is lying between two trees.’

li07pe 081

Di kasára tínap míndul tú stík.

def cassava stand middle two tree

‘The cassava is standing between two trees.’

li07pe 082

E tínap di kasára míndul tú stík.

3sg.sbj stand def cassava middle two tree

‘He stood up the cassava between two trees.’

li07pe 083

E tínap=an [di tú kasára] míndul tú stík.

3sg.sbj stand=3sg.obj def two cassava middle two tree

‘He stood up the cassavas between two sticks.’

dj07pe 084

Gó ték mí dán *teléfono* wé tánap pantáp di

go take 1sg.indp that telephone sub stand on def

tébul.

table

‘Go take that telephone for me that’s standing on the table.’

dj07pe 085

A go kán a go lúk, ɛf na dí wán dásɔl

1sg.sbj pot pfv 1sg.sbj pot look if foc this one only

dé a go tɔ́k sé a nó sí.

be.loc 1sg.sbj pot talk quot 1sg.sbj neg see

‘I would come (and) I would look, if it’s only this one that’s there, I would say I didn’t find (it).’

dj07pe 086

A go tɔ́k sé a nó sí *teléfono* wé e

1sg.sbj pot talk quot 1sg.sbj neg see telephone sub 3sg.sbj

slíp pantáp di tébul.

lie on def table

‘I would say I haven’t seen a telephone that’s lying on the table.’

li07pe 087

E nó kɔ́ba ín.

3sg.sbj neg cover 3sg.indp

‘She hasn’t covered it [the pot].’

li07pe 088

Di pɔ́t kán sin kɔ́ba.

def pot come without cover

‘The pot came without a cover.’

li07pe 089

Dɛn pút=an mɔ́t dɔ́n fɔ di tébul.

3pl put=3sg.obj mouth down prep def table

‘It was put mouth down [upside-down] on the table.’

li07pe 090

de kán fɔdɔ́n sóté yá.

3sg.sbj ipfv come fall until here

‘It’s coming and extending until here.’

li07pe 091

Áfta dí wán wé e dé yandá, e bíg.

then this one sub 3sg.sbj be.loc yonder 3sg.sbj be.big

‘Then, that one that’s over there, it’s big.’

dj07pe 092

E pín di stík na grɔ́n.

3sg.sbj stick def tree loc ground

‘She stuck the stick into the ground.’

dj07pe 093

Náw e tínap na grɔ́n.

now 3sg.sbj stand loc ground

‘Now it’s standing (upright) in the ground.’

dj07pe 094

Di pɔ́t náw só e slíp pan di tébul.

def pot now so 3sg.sbj lie on def table

‘Right now, the pot is lying on the table.’

dj07pe 095

E slíp di *escalera* na grɔ́n.

3sg.sbj lay def ladder loc ground

‘She laid the ladder on the ground.’

# Vocabulary

The following two sections contain a Pichi–English–Pichi word list. It includes all of the approximately one thousand Pichi roots contained in the corpus. The vocabulary also features words of Spanish, French, Bubi, and Fang origin that occur with a high frequency in the corpus. The English–Pichi section is useful for cross-reference to the Pichi–English section. The latter section contains additional information on variation, usage, morphological structure and the source language of the entry where applicable.

Property items with an entry like blák ‘(be) black’ occur as verbs and as attributive adjectives, i.e. blák motó ‘black car’. Property items with an entry like sík ‘be sick’ are normally only employed as verbs, i.e. e de sík ‘s/he is sick’ (?sík pɔ́sin ‘sick person’). Commonly employed Spanish-derived words are also included. Spanish-derived words are written following Spanish orthograpnic conventions and without tone-marking. The following abbreviations are used in addition to those listed on page xvii:

Abbreviations used in the Pichi-English-Pichi vocabulary sections

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| adj | adjective |
| adv | adverb |
| aff | affix |
| aux | auxiliary |
| det | determiner |
| ideo | ideophone |
| inter | interrogative word |
| intj | interjection |
| link | clause linker |
| loc | locative noun |
| morph | morphological structure of entry |
| n | noun |
| part | particle |
| pn | proper noun |
| prep | preposition |
| prom | pronominal |
| pron | personal pronoun |
| quant | quantifier |
| TMA | tense-mood-aspect particle |
| v | verb |

## Pichi–English

A - a

a pron. 1sg subject dependent pronoun.

àa1 intj. expression of insight.

àa2 intj. expression of impatience.

abuela n. grandmother; term of address. See: gran-má. From: Spanish.

abuelo n. grandfather; term of address. See: gran-pá. From: Spanish.

aburre v. be bored. From: Spanish.

accidente n. accident. From: Spanish.

adopta v. adopt, act as a guardian to a child. From: Spanish.

adɔnkɛ́ link. even if, no matter if.

adváys v. advise.

aeropuerto n. airport. From: Spanish.

affaire n. affair. From: French.

africana pn; adj. African f. From: Spanish.

africano pn; adj. African m. From: Spanish.

Áfrika n. Africa.

áfta adv. then; afterwards.

áftanun n. afternoon.

aguanta v. bear, persevere. From: Spanish.

ajáajá n. trickery.

áks1 n. axe. Variant: háks.

áks2 v. ask. Variant: háks.

almacén n. store. From: Spanish.

alquila v. rent (a taxi, house). From: Spanish.

altar n. altar. From: Spanish.

amatán n. harmattan.

ambiente v. party, live it up, have fun. Usage: informal. See: pachá. From: Spanish.

an1 link. and.

=an2 pron. 3sg enclitic object pronoun.

animal n. animal. From: Spanish.

Annobón pn. the island of Annobón. From: Spanish.

ánsa v. answer. Variant: hánsa.

antí n. aunt; term of address.

ápás prep. after (temporal).

apellido n. surname. From: Spanish.

aráta n. rat.

aráwn adv. around.

arena n. sand. See: sansán. From: Spanish.

ás link. as, because. See: como.

aunque link. even if, although.

— adv. approximately, like; even. From: Spanish.

avión n. plane. From: Spanish.

áwa n. hour, time.

áy intj. expression of pain or pleasure. From: Spanish.

áyɛn v. iron. Variant: háyɛn.

— n. iron.

B - b

bába v. have a hair cut, shave beard.

bád v. (be) bad.

— adj. ill, sick.

— adv. extremely.

badhát v. be mean. Morph: bád‑hát.

bádtɛn adv. unfortunately. Morph: bád‑tɛ́n.

bañera n. bathtub. From: Spanish.

báf v. bathe.

bág n. bag.

baja v. go down, take down. See: go dɔ́n. From: Spanish.

bák n. back (body part).

— v. give back.

bambáy adv. gradually.

bambú n. bamboo.

banána n. banana.

banco n. bank. From: Spanish.

banfá v. disfigure.

bangá n. palm tree, palm kernel.

baptáys v. baptise.

bat adv. but. See: bɛt; bɔt.

Bata1 pn. 1) capital of the continental part of Equatorial Guinea, second largest city of the country; the continental part of Equatorial Guinea. 2) a Fang person, the Fang language; any person or language from the continental part of Equatorial Guinea.

bata2 n. buttocks. From: Bube.

bautiza v. baptise. See: baptáys. From: Spanish.

báy v. buy.

bay prep. by. Usage: rare.

bebí n. 1) baby. 2) sweetheart, babe.

béd n. bed.

bɛ́g v. ask for, implore.

bɛ́lch v. belch.

bɛlɛ́ n. belly, womb; pregnancy.

— v. impregnate.

bɛlɛ-húman n. pregnant woman.

gɛ́t bɛlɛ́ be pregnant.

gí bɛlɛ́ impregnate.

púl bɛlɛ́ abort.

bɛlfúl v. be satiated, full.

bɛ́lps n. sweetheart, babe. Usage: informal.

bɛ́lt n. belt, strap.

bɛ́n v. bend (over); fold.

bɛ́r v. bury.

bɛ́rin n. burial.

bɛ́t1 v. bite.

bɛt2 adv. but.

bɛ́ta v. (be) very good, excellent. Variant: bɛ́tɛ.

bí v. identity copula.

bía1 n. beer.

bía2 v. bear.

bích n. beach.

bíf n. wild animal, meat.

bifó loc. (in) front (of), before.

— link. before (temporal).

bíg v. (be) big.

bigdé n. festivity, party; public holiday. Morph: big‑dé.

bigín v. begin.

— aux. ingressive aspect auxiliary.

bihɛ́n loc. rear, behind, after; after (also temporal).

bikɔs link. because. Variant: bikɔ́s.

bíl v. build.

bilíf v. believe.

bin TMA. past tense marker.

bió intj. expression of surprise.

bis v. repeat. From: Spanish.

bísin v. bother (about); be busy (with).

bísnɛs n. business.

bít v. beat.

bitáwt prep. without. Usage: rare. See: sin.

blák v. (be) black, of dark colour.

blánt v. reside.

bláy n. bag, basket.

bló1 v. blow (air).

bló2 v. relax, rest.

bló3 n. blow.

— v. give a blow.

bló wín (to) fart.

bloque n. brick. From: Spanish.

blɔ́d n. blood.

blɔkɔ́s n. male genitals.

blú v. (be) blue.

bocadillo n. bun. From: Spanish.

boîte n. discotheque. From: French.

bókit n. bucket.

bolí n. pen. From: Spanish.

bón n. bone.

bɔbí n. breast.

bɔ́di n; prom. body.

bɔ́ks n. box.

bɔkú v; quant. (be) much.

bɔ́l n. ball.

bɔ́n v. 1) give birth; be born.

bɔ́s v. burst (open).

bɔt1 adv. but.

bɔ́t2 v. hit with the head; (cause to) rebound.

bɔtɔ́n loc. bottom, under(neath).

bɔ́tul n. bottle.

bɔ́y n. boy.

bráket v. coincide, be on par with.

bráyt v. be bright, radiant.

brék v. dawn.

brɛ́d n. bread.

bríng v. bring.

brís n. air; wind.

brók v. break, be broken.

brɔ́da n. brother; term of address.

brɔdalɔ́ n. brother-in-law. Morph: brɔ́da-lɔ́. Variant: bralɔ́.

Bubɛ pn. Bube person, the Bube language.

bueno adv. alright. From: Spanish.

búk n. book.

bús n. forest.

butaca n. armchair. From: Spanish.

butú v. stoop over.

bwa ideo. sound of gushing water.

bwɛ́l v. boil.

bya ideo. sound of coughing.

byabyá n. beard.

C - c

cacao n. cocoa. From: Spanish.

café n. coffee. From: Spanish.

Camerún pn. Cameroon. From: Spanish.

camión n. lorry. From: Spanish.

camiseta n. singlet. From: Spanish.

cemento n. cement. From: Spanish.

cielo n. sky. From: Spanish.

clase n. class. From: Spanish.

cobra v. charge, receive.

cobra mɔní receive money, salary. From: Spanish.

colegio n. college. From: Spanish.

comisaría n. police station. From: Spanish.

como link. because, since. See: as. From: Spanish.

— adv. like.

congelador n. fridge. From: Spanish.

Corisco pn. island off the coast of mainland Equatorial Guinea.

cruz n. cross. From: Spanish.

cuñada n. sister-in-law; term of address.

cuaderno n. exercise book. From: Spanish.

cuñado n. brother-in-law, term of address. From: Spanish.

cuenta v. narrate. See: púl torí; tɛ́l. From: Spanish.

Ch - ch

chák v. be drunk.

chak-mán n. drunkard.

chakrá v. scatter, ruin, destroy; fall out with each other.

chakrá máred ruin a marriage.

chakrá hós demolish a house.

chám v. chew.

chám Panyá speak bad Spanish.

cháp v. chop, cut off.

chapa n. corrugated iron sheet employed for roofing. From: Spanish.

chapea v. weed. From: Spanish.

cháy intj. expression of exasperation. Variant: chɛ́.

chekó n. lower chest.

chénch v. change.

chɛ́k v. think; check (out).

chɛ́r v. tear.

chɛ́s n. chest.

chía n. chair.

chico n. boy.

— intj. expression of suprise, amazement, admiration. From: Spanish.

chíf n. chief, boss; term of address.

chík v. insult; provoke.

chikilís v. tickle.

'chip' intj. 'suck teeth', marker of negative affect.

chɔ́ch n. church.

chɔ́p v. eat.

— n. food.

chúk v. pierce, stab, sting.

chúk nɛ́f stab with a knife.

chukchúk n. thorn. Morph: chuk‑chúk.

chupete n. nipple. From: Spanish.

D - d

dák v. be dark.

dán det. that (distal demonstrative modifier). See: dat. Variant: dá.

dans v; n. dance.

dás v. give as a present, for free.

dásɔl adv. then.

— quant. only. See: ónli.

dát det; prom. that (distal demonstrative modifier and pronominal).

dáy v. die; death.

day-mán, day-pɔ́sin n. corpse.

dé1 adv. there.

dé2 v. locative-existential copula.

dé3 n. day; weather.

de TMA. imperfective aspect marker.

— link. complementiser-like function with a small number of main verbs.

desayuna v. have breakfast. From: Spanish.

dɛ́bul n. devil.

— v. be devilish.

dɛ́n pron. 3pl independent pronoun.

dɛn pron. 3pl dependent prounoun; postnominal plural marker.

dí det. this (proximal demonstrative modifier). Variant: dís.

di det. definite article.

día1 n. deer.

día2 v. be expensive.

dífrɛn v. (be) different.

díg v. dig.

dináy v. deny, refuse.

dios mio intj. my God. From: Spanish.

díp v. be deep.

dís det; prom. this (proximal demonstrative modifer and pronominal). Variant: dí.

discoteca n. discotheque. From: Spanish.

disfruta v. enjoy (oneself). From: Spanish.

dógo n. fool.

dominó n. domino.

domɔ́t n. door.

dote n. dowry. From: Spanish.

dɔ́g n. dog.

dɔ́kta n. doctor.

dɔ́n1 TMA. perfect tense-aspect marker.

dɔ́n2 loc. lowerside, down.

dɔ́n3 v. be done, finished.

dɔtalɔ́ n. daughter-in-law. Morph: dɔ́ta‑lɔ́.

dɔtí v. be dirty.

dráy v. be dry; be haggard, thin.

dráyva n. driver.

drɛ́b v. drive (a vehicle); chase away. Variant: dráyb.

dríng v. drink.

drɔ́, v. 1) draw, remove; be sticky (of an okro soup). 2) draw (a drawing).

drɔ́ngo v. be dead drunk.

dú v. do, make; be enough.

dúya intj. please.

E - e

é intj. expression of dismay, empathy.

e pron. 3sg dependent subject pronoun.

éch n. age, age group.

ékié intj. counterexpectation, amazement. From: Fang.

éks v. bounce.

Ela Nguema pn. popular quarter in the eastern part of Malabo.

espia v. spy on, tail somebody.

estrella n. star. From: Spanish.

ét quant. eight.

évi v. 1) be heavy. 2) be impressive. Variant: (h)ébi.

exactamente adv. exactly. From: Spanish.

extranjero n. foreigner. From: Spanish.

éy intj. attention getter. See: ɛ́.

Ɛ - ɛ

ɛ́ intj. attention getter. See: ey.

ɛf link. if, whether. See: if. Variant: ɛfɛ.

ɛhɛ́ intj. yes (strong agreement).

ɛ́ks n. egg.

gadinɛ́ks 'garden-eggs' = eggplant.

ɛ́n intj. channel check.

ɛ́ni quant. every.

ɛ́nta v. enter.

ɛ́nti v. be empty.

ɛskyús v. excuse.

ɛsplén v. explain.

F - f

fá v. be far.

fadalɔ́ n. father-in-law.

fála v. accompany, follow.

fám n. farm.

mék fám (to) farm.

fámbul n. (extended) family, family member.

Fang pn. Fang person, the Fang language.

fásin n. manner, habit.

bád fásin bad manners, habits.

gúd fásin good manners, habits.

fát1 v. (be) fat.

fát2 v. fart.

fáwe v. (be) far. See: fá.

fáya n. fire.

fáyf quant. five.

fáyn adj. (be) fine, beautiful.

fés n. face.

févɔ n. favour. Variant: fébɔ.

fɛ́da n. feather.

fɛ́n v. look for.

fɛ́t v. fight.

fía v. fear. Variant: fíɛ.

fíba1 v. resemble; seem.

fíba2 n. fever.

fija v. notice, remark, pay attention. From: Spanish.

fíks v. fix, arrange; repair.

fíl1 v. feel.

fíl hángri feel hungry.

fíl tɔ́sti feel thirsty.

fíl slíp feel sleepy.

fíl2 n. field.

fin dé semana n. weekend. From: Spanish.

fínga n. finger.

finga-nél n. finger nail, claw.

fínis v. finish.

— aux. completive aspect auxiliary.

fís n. fish. See: físin.

físin v. fish. See: fís.

fisin-mán fisherman.

Fistɔn Nɔmba-wán pn. Pichi-speaking village close to Malabo.

fít v. can, be able.

fìtyáy v. cheek, offend.

fláy 1) v. fly. 2) rush (to a place).

flíng v. fling, throw with force.

fó quant. four.

fotó n. photo.

fɔ prep. for; due to; by; in order to; at; in; to; from; general associative preposition (expresses Beneficiary, Cause, Manner, Purpose, Location, Source, Goal roles.

— link. non-finite complementiser, purpose clause introducer.

— TMA.

fɔdɔ́n v. fall.

fɔgɛ́t v. forget.

fɔ́k v. fuck. Usage: informal.

fɔ́l1 v. rain.

fɔ́l2 n. fowl.

mán fɔ́l n. cock.

húman fɔ́l n. hen.

fɔrɛ́va adv. (for) ever. Variant: fɔrɛ́ba.

fɔ́s1 quant; adv. first.

fɔ́s tɛ́n formerly.

fɔ́s2 v. force.

fɔséka link. due to. Variant: fɔséko.

frase n. sentence. From: Spanish.

fráy v. fry.

fray-rɛ́s n. fried rice.

fráyde n. friday.

frɛ́n n. friend. Usage: rare. See: kɔ́mpin.

frɛ́s v. (be) fresh.

frɛskól n. mucus. Morph: frɛ́s‑kól.

frí v; adj. be free.

fritámbo n. antilope.

frɔn prep. since.

frɔn bɔkú tɛ́n since long.

frɔn ‑ sóté prep. from ‑ until.

frút n. fruit.

fruta n. fruit. From: Spanish.

fufú n. fufu.

bìt-fufú n. pounded fufu.

fúl v. be foolish.

— n. fool.

fúlis v. (be) foolish.

fúlɔp v. fill, be full.

fút n. foot, leg.

kobofút n. bowlegs, bowlegged person.

fwífwífwí ideo. sound of wind blowing.

G - g

Gabón pn. Gabon. From: Spanish.

gádin n. garden, small farming plot.

gafas n. glasses. From: Spanish.

gál n. girl. See: gáls. Variant: gyal; gɛ́l, gyɛl.

gáls n. girl-pl. See: gál.

garí n. gari.

gasolina n. petrol. From: Spanish.

gɛ́l n. girl. See: gál.

gɛ́l frɛ́n n. girlfriend.

gɛ́t v. get, acquire, have, be in permanent possession; existential verb.

gí v. give. Variant: gív.

gitá n. guitar.

gládin v. be happy.

glás n. glass.

gó v. go, leave.

gó dɔ́n v. go down.

gó ɔ́p v. go up.

go TMA. potential mood marker.

gɔ́d n. God.

gɔ́n n. gun.

gɔ́vna n. governor; government. Variant: gɔ́bna.

graba v. record. From: Spanish.

gran- adj. grand (only used in compounds).

gran-má n. grandma.

gran-pá n. granpa.

gran-pikín n. grandchild.

gran-mɔ́da n. grandmother.

granát n. groundnut.

grand frère n. big brother. From: French.

gráp v. get up.

grás n. grass.

grén n. grain.

wan-grén pikín single child.

greví n. gravy.

grí v. agree, allow.

grídi v. be greedy, stingy. Variant: gridin.

grín v. (be) green.

grís n. fat.

gró v. grow.

grɔ́n n. ground; plot.

báy grɔ́n buy land.

bɛrin-grɔ́n n. burial-ground.

gúd v; adj. (be) good.

Guinea pn. Equatorial Guinea. Variant: Guinea Ecuatorial. From: Spanish.

guineana pn. Equatoguinean f.

guineano pn. Equatoguinean m.

Gb - gb

gbin ideo. sound of a hard and sudden blow.

gbogbogbo ideo. in haste.

H - h

hád v. be hard.

háf quant. half.

háf áwa half an hour.

hála v. shout.

háma v. hammer.

— n. hammer.

hambɔ́g v. bother.

hán n. hand, arm.

hángri v. be hungry. Variant: hangrin.

haricot n. beans. From: French.

hásis n. ashes.

hát1 n. heart.

háw inter. how.

háw mɔ́ch inter. how much.

háyd v. hide.

haydháyd adv. secretely.

hébul v. be capable, able.

héd n. head.

hés v. lift.

hɛ́ intj. expresses warning, rebuke.

hɛ́lp v. help. Variant: hɛ́p.

hɛ́ng v. hang (onto).

hía1 adv. here. See: yá. Variant: híɛ.

hía2 n. hair.

hía3 n. year. Variant: yia.

las-hía n. last year.

nɛ́ks hía next year.

hía4 v. hear, understand. Variant: híɛ, yɛ́r.

híb v. heave; throw.

híl n. mountain, hill.

hó intj. expression of mockery and ridicule.

hól1 v. hold; keep, be in temporary possession of.

hól2 n. hole.

hól3 quant. whole.

hóm n. home.

hóm trénin n. good upbringing.

hós n. house, building; home. See: hóm.

hospital n. hospital. From: Spanish.

hɔ́lidé n. holiday. Variant: hɔlidé.

hɔ́n n. horn.

hɔ́nti v. hunt. Variant: hɔ́ntin.

hɔnti-mán n. hunter.

hɔ́ri v. hurry, rush. Variant: hɔ́rin.

hɔ́t1 v. be hot, warm.

húk v. hook, hook arms.

— n. hook.

húman n. woman. Variant: wúman.

I - i

if link. if, whether. See: ɛf.

ín pron. 3sg independent and object pronoun.

in pron. 3sg possessive pronoun.

Ínglis pn. English(-speaking) person, the English language.

ínsay loc. inside, amongst; in (temporal).

intenta v. intend, try. From: Spanish.

ísi v. (be) easy. Variant: ísin.

isla n. island. From: Spanish.

ívin n. evening. Variant: íbin.

ívin tɛ́n n. evening.

J - j

jakató n. bitter tomato.

jám v. make contact, be in contact.

jél n. jail.

jɛ́lɔs v. envy, be jealous.

jɛ́ntri n. riches.

jɛntri-mán rich man, rich person.

jís aux; adv. just; egressive aspect auxiliary. Variant: jɔ́s.

jɔ́b n. job.

jɔ́ch v. judge.

jɔmba n. affair.

mék jɔmba have an affair.

júmp v. jump.

jwɛ́n v. join.

K - k

kágo n. goods.

kaká v. defecate.

— n. faeces.

kakara ideo. be restless.

kamúkamú ideo. countermovement of buttocks when walking.

kán v. 1) come. 2) narrative perfective aspect marker.

kandá n. skin, bark, outer layer.

káp n. cap. Variant: kyáp.

kápinta n. carpenter.

kapú v. fight over; seize.

kasára n. cassava.

katakátá ideo. (be) (hyper-) active, hectic.

katakátá man hyper-active, hectic man.

káyn prom. kind.

kéch v. catch.

kechɔ́p v. realise.

kék n. cake.

pan-kék n. pancake.

kenú n. canoe.

kés n. matter.

kɛ́r v. carry; take; last. Variant: kɛ́ri; kyɛr(i); kári.

kí n. key.

kíchin n. kitchen.

kík v. kick.

kíl v. kill.

kilo n. kilo. From: Spanish.

kin TMA. habitual aspect marker; abilitive mood marker (marginal).

kíp v. keep.

kip ideo. sound of a dull thud.

klém v. climb.

klɛ́va v. be clever.

klía v. be clear.

klín v. be clean.

klós n. clothing.

kokó n. cocoa yam.

kokonát n. coconut. Morph: koko‑nát.

kól v. be cold.

kóla n. kola nut.

Kómbe pn. Kombe person, the Kombe language.

kót n. coat.

kɔ́ba v. cover.

— n. cover.

kɔ́f v. cough.

kɔfí n. coffee.

kɔ́l v. call.

kɔ́la n. colour.

kɔ́lech n. college.

kɔmɔ́t v. 1) go out, come out. 2) turn out, become. Variant: kɔ́mɔ́t.

— aux. egressive aspect auxiliary.

kɔ́mpani (commercial) company.

kɔ́mpin n. friend.

kɔmplít v. be complete.

kɔ́n n. corn.

kɔ́na n. corner.

— prep. next to.

kɔnfyús v. confuse.

kɔ́ngkɔ́ngkɔ́ng ideo; intj. sound of knocking, employed to seek permission to enter.

kɔ́nk n. snail.

kɔ́nt v. count.

kɔ́ntri n. country, village, hometown.

kɔ́p n. cup.

kɔrɛ́t v. be correct; correct, discipline.

kɔ́s1 v. cost.

kɔ́s2 v. insult, offend.

kɔsín n. cousin.

kɔ́sta n. custard.

kɔ́stɔn v. be used to, be accustomed to.

kɔ́t v. cut; have sex.

— n. cut, gash, (open) wound.

kɔ́tlas n. cutlass.

krás v. crash.

kráy v. cry.

krés v. be crazy, mad.

kres-mán n. madman.

kres-húman n. mad woman.

Krió pn. Krio (Fernandino) person, the Krio language (i.e Pichi as spoken by Fernandinos).

Krió mamá, mamá Krió n. elderly woman of the Fernandino community.

krɔ́b v. scrub; have sex. Usage: informal.

krɔ́s v. cross.

— n. cross.

kúk v. cook.

kúsɛ́ intj. expresses encouragement and empathy to person working or for good work done.

kutuku ideo. sound of the heart beating.

kwáráng ideo. sound of round and hard object(s) falling into a receptacle.

kwári n. quarry.

kwáta n. quarter (of a town).

kwɛ́nch v. die (off).

kwɛ́sɔn n. question. Variant: kwɛ́syɔn.

kwík adv. quickly.

Kp - kp

kpu ideo. sound of impact on a soft matter.

L - l

láf v. laugh.

lámp n. lamp; electricity. lámp nó dé 'lámp neg be.loc' = 'there's a power-cut'

lán v. learn, teach.

lángwech n. language, one's native language.

lapá n. cloth.

lás v. be last; end up; endure.

— quant. last.

lata n. can. From: Spanish.

latrín n. latrine; any place of defecating.

láyf n. life.

dé láyf be alive.

layk adv. See: lɛk.

láyn n. line.

láyt v. 1) light, be lit. 2) be tipsy.

— n. light.

lé v. lie, lay.

lési v. be lazy. Variant: lésin.

lét v. be late; late (deceased).

lɛ́f1 v. 1) remain; leave (tr.), stop; resultative copula. 2) allow (causative-permissive verb).

lɛ́f2 n. left (side).

lɛ́f-hán n. left-hand (side).

lɛk adv. like, as (standard marker in equative constructions). Variant: lɛkɛ, layk.

lɛk háw link. as soon as; the way that.

lɛk sé as if.

lɛ́ta n. letter.

líba n. liver.

gɛ́t líba have guts.

líf n. leaf.

líf v. live; reside. See: láyf.

líka n. alcohol.

lílí v. (be) little, tiny.

lílíbit adv. a (little) bit. Morph: líli‑bit. See: lílí.

líng v. lean against, be reclined; lounge.

lónson v. be lonely, miss (a person).

lɔ́k v. close; lock.

— n. lock.

lɔ́k n. luck. See: lɔ́ki.

bad-lɔ́k bad luck.

lɔ́ki v. be lucky. Variant: lɔ́kin.

lɔ́n v. (be) long, tall.

lɔ́n tɛ́n long time ago, since long.

lɔ́s v. loose.

— n. louse.

Lubá pn. second largest town of Bioko. From: Bube.

Lubá ród the road to Luba.

lúk v. look.

M - m

má n. 1) mother; term of address. 2) madam; term of address. See: mamá, mamí, mɔ́mi.

mák v; n. mark.

pás mák pass the limit (expresses superlative degree).

mákit n. market.

Malábo pn. capital of Equatorial Guinea, largest town on Bioko island. From: Bube.

malanga n. malanga. From: Spanish.

malérya n. malaria.

sík malérya be sick with malaria.

mamá n. mother; term of address. See: mamí, mɔ́mi, ma.

— intj. expression of surprise or shock.

mamí n. mother; term of address. See: mamá, mɔ́mi, ma.

mán n. man; person, human-being.

— intj. expression of surprise or amazement.

mánech v. manage.

máred v. marry.

más v. mash; tread on.

mása n. boss, master; term of address.

másta n. boss, master; term of address. See: mása, chíf.

matapenso n. pestle. From: Spanish.

máyn v. mind, care for. Variant: mɛ́n.

mék1 v. make, do; causative verb.

mék2 link. subjunctive mood marker, modal complementiser; in order to.

mékes v. hurry.

mélk n. milk.

ményéményé ideo. whine; nag in a childlike fashion.

mɛ́mba v. remember, remind; think of, think about.

mɛ́n v. 1) care for, mind. 2) cure. Variant: máyn.

mɛ́rɛsin n. medicine; sorcery.

mí pron. 1sg independent and object pronoun

mi pron. 1sg possessive pronoun

mierda n; intj. shit. From: Spanish.

míks v. mix.

mín v. mean (to), intend.

miná n. penis.

míndul loc. (in the) middle (of), amongst. See: ínsay.

ministerio n. ministry. From: Spanish.

mísis n. Mrs; head of the household (f.), matron; term of address.

mít v. meet; find.

mítɔp v. meet.

Moka pn. village in the interior of Bioko. From: Bube.

mosquitero n. mosquito.net. From: Spanish.

mosquito n. mosquito. From: Spanish.

motó n. car, vehicle. Variant: moto.

móvil n. mobile phone. From: Spanish.

mɔ́ adv. more (comparative particle); again.

— v. be more.

mɔ́ch adv. much.

tú mɔ́ch adv. too much. See: tú.

mɔ́-ɛn-mɔ́ adv. more and more.

mɔ́mi n. mother; term of address. See: mamá, mɔ́mi, ma.

mɔ́nde n. monday.

mɔní n. money.

mɔ́nin n. morning.

gúd mɔ́nin good morning.

mɔ́nin tɛ́n n. morning.

mɔnkí n. monkey.

mɔs TMA. must (obligative mood marker).

mɔ́t n. mouth.

múf v. move.

mulata n. African European f. From: Spanish.

mulato n. African European m. From: Spanish.

mún n. moon, month.

N - n

na1 part. focus marker; identity copula (affirmative).

na2 prep. general locative preposition.

nadó loc. outside.

nák v. hit; make love to; gulp down a drink.

nátin prom. nothing.

náw adv. now.

náw so adv. right now.

nawá intj. expression of exasperation and (self) pity.

náyn quant. nine.

náys v. (be) nice.

nékɛd v. be naked.

nél n. nail.

ném n. name.

nésɔn n. nation(ality), (a) people. Variant: nésyɔn.

nétif v. (be) customary.

nɛ́a TMA. negative perfect tense-aspect marker. Morph: nɛ́va. Variant: nɛ́ba, nɔ́ba.

nɛ́f n. knife.

nɛ́k n. neck.

nɛ́ks quant. next.

nɛ́t n. night.

na nɛ́t at night, in the night.

ní1 n. knee.

ni2 link. neither.

— adv. even. From: Spanish.

nía loc. near, next to.

níd v. need.

nídul n. needle.

Nigeria pn. Nigeria. From: Spanish.

nít n. nit.

nó1 part. negative particle.

nó2 v. know.

normal adj. normal. From: Spanish.

nós n. nose.

nóto part. focus marker; identity copula (negative).

novia n. girlfriend. From: Spanish.

novio n. boyfriend. From: Spanish.

nɔ́ part. negative particle; question tag. See: nó.

nɔ́ba TMA. negative perfect tense-aspect marker. See: nɛ́a.

nɔ́mba n. number.

nɔ́ys n. noise.

nube n. cloud. From: Spanish.

nyangá v. put on airs, coquet.

nyɔ́ní n. ant.

nyú v. (be) new.

Nyúmbili pn. most populous and densely-populated quarter of Malabo.

nyús n. news.

O - o

o link. or. See: ɔ̀. From: Spanish.

ó intj. sentence particle.

ógi n. corn porridge.

ól v. (be) old.

ónli quant. only. See: dásɔl.

ónli intj. response to a call.

ópin v. be open. Variant: hópin.

opinyáy v. be enlightened, cultivated. Morph: ópin‑yáy.

opó n. vagina.

óva adv. over, excessively. Variant: óba.

— v. be over; be excessive.

ova-hɔ́t v. be overhot, overheat.

Ɔ - ɔ

ɔ̀ link. or.

ɔ́da quant. other.

ɔf prep. of. Usage: rare.

ɔ́fis n. office.

ɔ́l quant. all, every.

ɔndastán v. understand.

ɔnkúl n. uncle; term of address.

ɔntɔ́p loc. top, on.

ɔ́p loc. up(perside), above.

ɔráyt adv. alright.

ɔspítul n. hospital.

ɔ́t v. extinguish.

ɔ́yl n. oil.

P - p

pá n. father; term of address for man of one's father's generation. See: papá.

paciente n. patient. From: Spanish.

pachá v. party, live it up, have fun. Usage: informal. See: ambiente. From: Spanish.

Pagalú pn. Annobón island, person from Annobón, the language of Annobón.

pák v. pack; fill, be full.

pála n. parlour; sitting room.

paludismo n. malaria. From: Spanish.

pamáyn n. oil.

pambɔ́d n. bird.

pán n. pan.

dɔtí pán rubbish bin.

pan prep. on.

pantáp loc. top; on. Variant: pantɔ́p.

Panyá pn. Spain, Spaniard, the Spanish language.

papa n. potato. From: Spanish.

papá n. father; term of address. See: papí.

— intj. expression of surprise or shock.

papá gɔ́d n. father God.

— intj. expression of exasperation, self pity, address of God.

papí n. father; term of address. See: papá.

para *v.* stop. From: Spanish.

paraláys n. paralyse.

pareja n. couple. From: Spanish.

pás v. 1) pass (by); standard marker in comparative constructions. 2) happen.

pát n. part; place.

patata n. potato. From: Spanish.

páwa n. power, strength; potency.

páwda n. powder.

pé v. pay.

peluqueria n. hairdresser. From: Spanish.

pén v. pain.

pént v. paint.

pépa n. paper.

petróleo n. oil (crude ~). From: Spanish.

pɛ́pɛ n. pepper.

pía1 n. avocado.

pía2 n. pair.

pía sús n. pair of shoes.

Píchi pn. the Pichi language. Variant: Pichínglis.

pík v. pick (up).

pikín n. child; member of a specified group.

Guinea pikín n. person of Equatoguinean stock; typically Equatoguinean person.

píl v. peel.

pín v. stick in(to).

pínch v. pinch. Variant: spínch.

pipí v. urinate.

— n. urine.

pípul n. people.

písis n. piece of cloth, rag.

piso n. storey. From: Spanish.

písul n. pistol.

plába n. trouble, problem, matter.

plánt v. 1) plant. 2) plait (hair).

plantí n. plantain.

bwɛl-plantí n. boiled plantain.

fray-plantí n. fried plantain.

grin-plantí n. green, unripe plantain.

plástik n. plastic.

plataforma n. oil rig. From: Spanish.

plaza n. square. From: Spanish.

plé v. play.

— n. game.

plés n. place.

plét n. plate.

plɛ́nk n. board, plank.

plɛ́nte v; quant. (be) plenty, a lot.

plís intj. please.

pó v. (be) poor.

policía n. police. From: Spanish.

polís n. police.

por Dios intj. by God. From: Spanish.

porcería n. mess. From: Spanish.

porque link. because. See: bikɔs. From: Spanish.

pɔ́mp v; n. pump.

pɔ́nis v. punish.

pɔ́sin n. person, human-being. Variant: pɛsin.

pɔ́t n. pot.

pɔtɔpɔ́tɔ́ n; ideo. mud; any mushy substance.

práwd v. (be) boastful, proud.

prík n. penis. See: miná.

prima n. cousin f. From: Spanish.

primo n. cousin m. From: Spanish.

príng ideo. sound of ringing.

problema n. problem. From: Spanish.

profesor n. teacher. Variant: profe. From: Spanish.

prɔ́blɛm n. problem.

prɔ́mis v. promise.

prɔpatí n. property.

prúf v. prove; disclose.

pueblo n. village. From: Spanish.

puerto n. harbour. From: Spanish.

pues link. so. From: Spanish.

púl v. pull, remove.

púl bɛlɛ́ abort.

púl brís breathe, inhale.

púl fotó take a picture.

púl torí tell a story, converse.

pús v. push.

pút v. put.

pyɔ́ v. (be) pure.

R - r

rás n. arse. Usage: informal.

kaka-rás n. arse (also used as an insult).

ráwn v. surround.

ralla v. grate. From: Spanish.

rayt1 v. write.

rayt2 n.

gɛ́t ráyt be right. n.

ráyt-hán n. right hand (side).

Rebola pn. town on the east coast of Bioko. From: Bube.

refyús v. refuse.

relámpago n. lightning. From: Spanish.

rén n. rain.

restaurante n. restaurant. From: Spanish.

reunión n. meeting. From: Spanish.

rɛ́d v. (be) red, orange.

rɛdí v. prepare.

rɛ́p v. be ripe.

rɛ́s1 v. rest.

rɛ́s2 n. rice.

rɛspɛ́t v. respect, admire.

Riaba pn. town on the east coast of Bioko. From: Bube.

rích v. arrive; reach; (to) equal.

ríng n. ring.

ríva n. river. Variant: ríba.

ród n. road.

róp n. rope.

rós v. roast, burn.

rɔ́b v. rub.

rɔ́n1 v. (be) wrong.

rɔn-sáy n. reverse, upside down, inside out.

rɔ́n2 v. run.

rɔ́tin v. rot.

rubio adj. light. From: Spanish.

rúm n. room.

baf-rúm n. bath-room.

S - s

sá n. sir; term of address.

sabí v. know; know how to.

saco n. sack. From: Spanish.

sadín n. sardine.

sáf v. (be) soft.

sáful v. be careful; slow; smooth, cool.

sala n. hall. From: Spanish.

saldo n. units (mobile phone ~). From: Spanish.

gɛ́t saldo have units (on the mobile phone).

salút v. greet.

sán n. sun.

sán tɛ́n n. (after)noon.

sansán n. sand, soil.

sastre n. tailor. From: Spanish.

sátidé n. saturday.

sáwa v. shower.

sáy n. side; place.

sáyn v. sign.

sé v. say.

— link. quotative marker and clause linker with a large range of functions.

séb v. share, divide. Variant: syéb.

sék v. shake; dance. Variant: syék.

sém v. be ashamed; put to shame. Variant: syém.

sén prom. same. Variant: syén.

sénwe part. focus marker; also, too, even. Morph: sén‑wé. Variant: syénwe.

serie n. series, soap opera. From: Spanish.

sɛ́f prom. self.

— part. focus marker; even, too, also.

sɛkɔ́n quant. second. Variant: sɛ́kɔn.

sɛ́l v. sell.

sɛ́n v. send, throw with aim.

sɛ́ns n. brain, mind.

gɛ́t sɛ́ns be intelligent.

sɛ́nt n. scent.

sɛ́ven quant. seven. Variant: sɛ́ben.

sí v. see; find.

síd n. seed.

sidɔ́n v. sit (down); reside. Variant: sidɔ́n.

sifta v. sift.

— n. sieve.

sigá n. cigarette.

sigue v. continue, follow. From: Spanish.

— aux. continuative aspect auxiliary.

sík v. be sick.

— n. sickness.

síkrit n. secret.

síks quant. six.

sin prep. without. See: bitáwt. From: Spanish.

síng v. síng.

— n. song.

sinimá n. movie; cinema.

síns prep. since (temporal).

síryɔs v. (be) serious.

sísin n. season.

ren-sísin n. rainy season.

dray-sísin n. dry season.

sísɔs n. scissors.

sísta n. sister; term of address.

sistalɔ́ n. sister-in-law. Morph: sísta‑lɔ́. Variant: sistɛlɔ́.

skía v. be scared, scare.

skín n. body.

smɔlskín v. be thin, emaciated. Morph: smɔ́l‑skín.

skrách v. scratch. Variant: krách.

skúl n. school.

gí skúl give classes.

go skúl go to school.

skwís v. squeeze. Variant: kwís.

slák v. be loose, loosen.

sláp v. slap.

slím v. (be) slim.

slíp v. lie, lay; sleep; have sex.

slipás n. slipper.

sló adj. (be) slow.

smát v. (be) fast.

smɛ́l v. smell.

— n. smell.

smók v; n. smoke.

smɔ́l v. (be) small.

— quant. a bit, few.

smɔ́ltɛn adv. shortly after; nearly. Morph: smɔ́l‑tɛ́n.

snék n. snake.

só1 v. show.

só2 v. sew.

só3 adv. like that, like this.

so4 adv. so, thus, hence.

sobrina n. niece. From: Spanish.

sobrino n. nephew. From: Spanish.

sók v. be wet.

soldado n. soldier. From: Spanish.

solwatá n. the sea, saltwater. Morph: sɔ́l‑watá.

sólya n. soldier.

sonido n. sound. From: Spanish.

sosáyti n. association, confraternity.

sósó quant. only; abundant.

sóté prep. until (temporal, locative).

— adv. for a long time; even, extremely.

sɔ́fa v. suffer.

sɔfút n. wound, injury. Morph: sɔ‑fút.

sɔ́l n. salt.

sɔn quant. some; indefinite determiner.

sɔ́nde n. sunday.

sɔnilɔ́ n. son-in-law.

sɔntɛ́n adv. perhaps, maybe. Morph: sɔn‑tɛ́n.

sɔ́p n. shop. Variant: syɔp.

sɔ́ri v. feel sorry. Variant: sɔ́rin.

sɔ́t1 v. (be) short. Variant: syɔ́t.

sɔ́t2 n. shirt. Variant: syɔ́t.

spɛ́n v. spend.

spɛ́tikul n. glasses.

spírit n. spirit.

spít v. spit.

— n. spit.

spót v. be stylish, dressed up; exhibit the self-confident demeanor of a well-dressed person.

spotinbɔ́y n. well dressed, stylish guy.

spún n. spoon.

spwɛ́l v. spoil; use up.

stá n. star. Usage: rare. See: estrella.

stát v. start.

stáwt v. (be) corpulent.

stáyl n. style, manner.

ús=stáyl inter. how.

sté v. stay; last (a long time).

stík n. tree, branch, stick, wood. Variant: tík.

stíl adv. still.

— aux. continuative aspect auxiliary.

stíma n. ship.

stón n. 1) stone. 2) testicle.

— v. throw stones at. Variant: tón.

stɔ́p v. stop.

strét v. (be) straight; respectable; sincere. Variant: trét.

strít n. street. Variant: trít.

strɔ́n v. (be) strong; (be) hard; (be) difficult; (be) profound. See: tránga. Variant: trɔ́n.

styú n. stew.

súb v. shove, push.

sube v. go up, take up. See: gó ɔ́p. From: Spanish.

súga n. sugar.

súkútúpampa ideo. in a cheap and mean fashion.

súp n. soup.

bangá súp n. palm nut soup.

granát súp n. groundnut súp.

sús n. shoe.

sút v. shoot.

swɛ́la v. swallow.

swɛ́t v. sweat.

— n. sweat.

swín v. swim.

swít v. 1) (be) tasty. 2) be sweet.

T - t

taksí n. taxi.

tal adv. so. From: Spanish.

tamátis n. tomato.

tan adv. as. From: Spanish.

tánap v. stand (up). See: tínap. Variant: stánap.

tarjeta n. card. From: Spanish.

táwɛl n. towel.

táy v. tie.

táya v. be tired.

táyt v. be tight, tighten.

tébul n. table.

ték v. take. See: kyɛ́r.

teléfono n. telephone. From: Spanish.

televisión n. television. From: Spanish.

tɛ́l v. tell, narrate.

tɛ́n n. time.

tɛ́nki intj. thanks.

tia n. aunt; term of address. See: antí. From: Spanish.

tích v. teach.

tícha n. teacher.

tidé n. today. Variant: tudé.

tíf v. steal.

tif-mán n. thief.

tifoidea n. typhoid fever. From: Spanish.

sík tifoidea be sick with typhoid fever.

tík v. (be) thick.

tík ideo. cracking sound.

tín n. thing.

tinada n. thunderstorm.

tínap v. stand (up), put into an upright position. See: tánap. Variant: stínap.

tínk v. think.

tio n. uncle; term of address. See: ɔnkúl. From: Spanish.

tít n. tooth.

tití n. girl.

to prep. to (locative preposition and complementiser). Usage: rare.

tomate n. tomato. From: Spanish.

topé n. palm-wine.

torí n. story.

tót v. carry.

totó n. vagina. See: opó.

tɔ́ch v. touch.

tɔ́k v. talk.

— n. word, speech, language.

kɔntri-tɔ́k n. the language of one's home town, native language.

tɔ́n1 n. town.

tɔ́n2 v. 1) turn. 2) become.

tɔ́n bák v. return, come back.

tɔ́ng n. tongue; language.

Bata tɔ́ng n. any language of Bata or the entire continental part of Equatorial Guinea.

tɔ́p n. top.

tɔ́sti v. be thirsty. Variant: tɔ́stin.

tradicional adj. traditional. From: Spanish.

tránga v. (be) strong; (be) hard; (be) difficult. See: strɔ́n.

transporte n. transport. From: Spanish.

trávul v. travel.

tráy v. try; make an effort.

trén v. train; educate, bring up. See: trénin.

trénin n. training; upbringing. See: trén.

trí quant. three.

trímbul v. tremble. Variant: strimbul.

tripas n. intestines. From: Spanish.

trót n. throat.

trowé v. 1) throw (away). 2) pour.

trɔ́bul n. trouble, hardship.

trɔsís n. trousers.

trú v. (be) true.

tú1 quant. two.

tú2 adv. too (much).

tudé n. See: tidé.

tumára n. tomorrow, the next day. Variant: tumɔ́ro.

tumbú n. worm.

tumɔ́ro n. See: tumára.

tún v. 1) tune. 2) persuade, chat up.

tyúsde n. tuesday.

U - u

údat inter. who.

una pron. 2pl pronoun (emphatic and non-emphatic). Variant: unu.

ús= inter. which; clitic interrogative particle in wh- question words.

ús=áwa inter. what time, when.

ús=káyn inter. which (kind of).

ús=pɔ́sin inter. who.

ús=say inter. where.

ús=stáyl inter. how.

ús=tɛ́n inter. when.

ús=tín inter. what.

V - v

vájin n. virgin(ity). Variant: bájin.

vecina n. neighbour f. From: Spanish.

vecino n. neighbour m. From: Spanish.

verdura n. vegetables. From: Spanish.

vɛ́ks v. be angry.

viaja v. travel. From: Spanish.

vílech n. village.

vino n. wine. From: Spanish.

visít v. visit.

vɔ́mit v. vomit.

vuelta n. round. From: Spanish.

gí wán vuelta take a walk.

W - w

wách v. watch.

wahála n. trouble; problem.wáka v. walk. Variant: wɔ́k.

wán quant. 1) one; a (indefinite determiner). 2) only, alone, single-handedly. 3) approximately.

— prom. one (noun substitute).

-wán aff. adverbialising suffix.

wánda v. wonder. Variant: wɔ́nda.

wán-ɛn-háf quant. one and a half.

wáns link. once.

wánt v. want.

— aux. prospective aspect auxiliary. Variant: wɔ́nt.

wántɛn adv. suddenly; at once.

wás v. wash.

watá n. water. Variant: wɔtá.

hɔt-watá n. hot, warm water.

kol-watá n. cold, cool water.

wáyf n. wife.

wayó n. cunning.

— v. be cunning, trick.

wáyp v. wipe.

wáyt v. (be) white, light, clear.

wé1 link. introduces relative clauses; coordinate clauses; time clauses; complement clauses (marginal). Variant: wɛn.

wé2 n. way.

wék v. wake (up).

wékɔp v. wake (up).

wés n. buttocks, genital area; bottom part of an entity.

wét v. wait.

wet prep. with (expresses comitative, instrument, cause, manner, circumstance roles); and.

wétin inter. what.

wéwé ideo. sound of crying and wailing.

wɛ́l v. be well.

wɛ́lkɔm intj. welcome.

wɛ́nsde n. wednesday.

wɛ́r v. wear; dress up.

wí pron. 1pl independent pronoun.

wi pron. 1pl dependent pronoun.

wích1 inter. which.

wích2 v. bewitch.

— n. witch, sorcerer; sorcery.

wík n. week.

wíkɛd v. (be) wicked.

wín v. wín; defeat.

wínda n. window. Variant: wíndo.

wók v; n. work.

wós v. be very bad, worse

wówó ideo. of crying.

wɔ́d n. word.

wɔ́k v. walk. Usage: rare. See: wáka.

wɔ́l n. world.

wɔ́ri v. worry. Variant: wɔ́rin.

wɔtá n. water. Variant: watá.

wɔwɔ́ ideo; v. (be) ugly; (be) messy, in disorder.

wúd n. wood.

faya-wúd n. fire wood.

wuruwúrú ideo; n. disorderliness; deceit.

Y - y

yá adv. here.

yá só adv. right here.

yabás n. onion.

yandá adv. yonder, over there. Variant: nyandá.

yáy n. eye.

yé intj. response to a call.

yés n. ear.

yét adv. yet, still.

yɛ́r v. hear, understand. See: hía.

yɛ́s intj. yes. Variant: yɛ́.

yɛ́stadé n. yesterday.

yón prom. own, noun substitute.

yú pron. 2sg independent pronoun.

yu pron. 2sg dependent pronoun.

yún v. (be) young. Variant: nyún.

yús v. use. Variant: nyús.

## English–Pichi

A ‑ a

a quant. sɔn;

quant. wán (1).

abilitive mood marker TMA. kin.

able v. fít.

abort — púl bɛlɛ́, see: púl.

above loc. ɔ́p.

abundant quant. sósó.

accident n. accidente.

accompany v. fála.

acquire v. gɛ́t.

active (hyper~) ideo. katakátá.

admire v. rɛspɛ́t.

adopt v. adopta.

advise v. adváys.

affair n. affaire;

n. jɔmba.

affix (adverbialising) aff. -wán.

Africa n. Áfrika.

African European f. n. mulata.

African European m. n. mulato.

African f. pn; adj. africana.

African m. pn; adj. africano.

after loc. bihɛ́n;

prep. ápás.

afternoon n. áftanun;

n. sán tɛ́n, see: sán.

afterwards adv. áfta.

again adv. mɔ́.

age n. éch.

agree v. grí.

air n. brís.

airport n. aeropuerto.

airs (put on ~) v. nyangá.

alcohol n. líka.

alive (be ~) — dé láyf, see: láyf.

all quant. ɔ́l.

allow v. grí;

v. lɛ́f1 (1).

alone quant. wán (2).

alright adv. bueno;

adv. ɔráyt.

also part. sɛ́f.

altar n. altar.

although link. aunque.

amongst loc. ínsay;

loc. míndul.

and link. an1;

link. wé1;

prep. wet.

angry v. vɛ́ks.

animal n. animal.

animal (wild ~) n. bíf.

answer v. ánsa.

ant n. nyɔ́ní.

antilope n. fritámbo.

approximately adv. aunque;

quant. wán (3).

arm n. hán.

around adv. aráwn.

arrange v. fíks.

arrive v. rích.

arrogant v. práwd.

arse n. rás;

n. kaka-rás, see: rás.

as adv. lɛk;

link. as.

as if — lɛk sé, see: lɛk.

as (much) adv. tan.

as soon as link. lɛk háw, see: lɛk.

ashamed v. sém.

ashes n. hásis.

ask v. áks2.

ask for v. bɛ́g.

association n. sosáyti.

at prep. fɔ;

prep. na2.

at night — na nɛ́t, see: nɛ́t.

at once adv. wántɛn.

aunt n. antí;

n. tia.

auxiliary (completive aspect ~) aux. fínis.

auxiliary (continuative aspect ~) aux. sigue;

aux. stíl.

auxiliary (egressive aspect ~) aux. kɔmɔ́t;

aux; adv. jís.

auxiliary (ingressive aspect ~) aux. bigín.

auxiliary (prospective aspect ~) aux. wánt.

avocado n. pía1.

axe n. áks1.

B ‑ b

babe n. bebí (2);

n. bɛ́lps.

baby n. bebí (1).

back (body part) n. bák.

bad v. bád.

bad (very ~) v. wós.

bag n. bág;

n. bláy.

ball n. bɔ́l.

bamboo n. bambú.

banana n. banána.

bank n. banco.

baptise v. baptáys;

v. bautiza.

bark n. kandá.

basket n. bláy.

bathe v. báf.

bathtub n. bañera.

be part. na1;

part. nóto;

v. bí.

be at v. dé2.

beach n. bích.

beans n. haricot.

bear v. aguanta;

v. bía2.

beard n. byabyá.

beat v. bít.

beautiful adj. fáyn;

v. bráyt;

v. frɛ́s.

because link. ás;

link. bikɔs;

link. como;

link. porque.

become v. kɔmɔ́t (2);

v. tɔ́n2 (1).

bed n. béd.

beer n. bía1.

before (temporal) link. bifó.

begin v. bigín.

behind loc. bihɛ́n.

belch v. bɛ́lch.

believe v. bilíf.

belly n. bɛlɛ́.

belt n. bɛ́lt.

bend (over) v. bɛ́n.

between loc. míndul.

bewitch v. wích2.

big v. bíg.

bird n. pambɔ́d.

bit (a ~) adv. lílíbit;

quant. smɔ́l.

bite v. bɛ́t1.

bitter tomato n. jakató.

black v. blák.

blood n. blɔ́d.

blow n. bló3.

blow (air) v. bló1.

blue v. blú.

board n. plɛ́nk.

boastful v. práwd.

body n. skín;

n; prom. bɔ́di.

boil v. bwɛ́l.

bone n. bón.

book n. búk.

bored v. aburre.

born, be ~ v. bɔ́n (1).

boss n. chíf;

n. mása;

n. másta.

bother v. hambɔ́g.

bother (about) v. bísin.

bottle n. bɔ́tul.

bottom loc. bɔtɔ́n.

bottom part n. wés.

bounce v. éks.

bowlegs n. kobofút, see: fút.

box n. bɔ́ks.

boy n. bɔ́y;

n. chico.

boyfriend n. novio.

brain n. sɛ́ns.

branch n. stík.

bread n. brɛ́d.

break v. brók.

breakfast v. desayuna.

breast n. bɔbí.

breathe — púl brís, see: púl.

brick n. bloque.

bright v. bráyt.

bring v. bríng.

bring up v. trén.

brother n. brɔ́da.

brother, big ~ n. grand frère.

brother‑in‑law n. brɔdalɔ́;

n. cuñado.

Bube pn. Bubɛ.

bucket n. bókit.

build v. bíl.

building n. hós.

bun n. bocadillo.

burial n. bɛ́rin.

burial‑ground n. bɛrin-grɔ́n, see: grɔ́n.

burn v. rós.

burst (open) v. bɔ́s.

bury v. bɛ́r.

business n. bísnɛs.

busy (with) v. bísin.

but adv. bat;

adv. bɛt2;

adv. bɔt1.

buttocks n. bata2;

n. wés.

buy v. báy.

by prep. bay;

prep. fɔ;

prep. na2;

prep. wet.

C ‑ c

cake n. kék.

call v. kɔ́l.

can n. lata;

v. fít.

canoe n. kenú.

cap n. káp.

capable v. hébul.

car n. motó.

card n. tarjeta.

care for v. máyn;

v. mɛ́n (1).

careful (be ~) v. sáful.

carpenter n. kápinta.

carry v. kɛ́r;

v. tót.

cassava n. kasára.

catch v. kéch.

cement n. cemento.

chair n. chía.

chair, (arm~) n. butaca.

change v. chénch.

charge v. cobra.

chase away v. drɛ́b.

chat up v. tún (2).

check v. chɛ́k.

cheek v. fìtyáy.

chest n. chɛ́s.

chew v. chám.

chief n. chíf.

child n. pikín.

chop v. cháp.

church n. chɔ́ch.

cigarette n. sigá.

cinema n. sinimá.

class n. clase.

claw n. finga-nél, see: fínga.

clean v. klín.

clear v. klía.

clever v. klɛ́va.

climb v. klém.

close v. lɔ́k.

cloth n. lapá.

cloth (piece of ~) n. písis.

clothing n. klós.

cloud n. nube.

coat n. kót.

cock n. mán fɔ́l, see: fɔ́l2.

cocoa n. cacao.

cocoa yam n. kokó.

coconut n. kokonát.

coffee n. café;

n. kɔfí.

cold v. kól.

college n. kɔ́lech.

colour n. kɔ́la.

come v. kán (1).

come across v. mít.

come back v. tɔ́n bák, see: tɔ́n2.

come out v. kɔmɔ́t (1).

company (commercial ~) — kɔ́mpani.

comparative particle adv. mɔ́.

complementiser link. de;

link. fɔ;

link. mék2;

link. sé;

link. ẃe1.

complete v. kɔmplít.

completive aspect auxiliary aux. fínis.

conditional mood marker TMA. fɔ.

confuse v. kɔnfyús.

contact (make, be in ~) v. jám.

continuative aspect auxiliary aux. sigue;

aux. stíl.

continue v. sigue.

converse — púl torí, see: púl.

cook v. kúk.

copula (affirmative identity ~) part. na1.

copula (existential ~) v. dé2.

copula (identity ~) v. bí.

copula (locative ~) v. de2.

copula (negative identity ~) part. nóto.

copula (resultative ~) v. lɛ́f1 (1).

coquet v. nyangá.

corn n. kɔ́n.

corn porridge n. ógi.

corner n. kɔ́na.

corpse n. day-mán, day-pɔ́sin, see: dáy.

corpulent v. stáwt.

correct v. kɔrɛ́t.

cost v. kɔ́s1.

cough v. kɔ́f.

count v. kɔ́nt.

country n. kɔ́ntri.

couple n. pareja.

cousin n. kɔsín.

cousin f. n. prima.

cousin m. n. primo.

cover n. kɔ́ba;

v. kɔ́ba.

crash v. krás.

crazy v. krés.

cross n. cruz;

n. krɔ́s;

v. krɔ́s.

cry v. kráy.

cunning n. wayó.

cunning (be~) v. wayó.

cup n. kɔ́p.

custard n. kɔ́sta.

customary v. nétif.

cut n. kɔ́t;

v. kɔ́t.

cut (hair, beard) v. bába.

cutlass n. kɔ́tlas.

D ‑ d

dance v. sék;

v; n. dáns.

dark v. blák;

v. dák.

daughter‑in‑law n. dɔtalɔ́.

dawn v. brék.

day n. dé3.

deceased v. lét.

deceit ideo; n. wuruwúrú.

deep loc. dɔ́n2;

v. díp.

deer n. día1.

defeat v. wín.

defecate v. kaká.

demonstrative modifier det. dán;

det. dí;

det; prom. dát;

det; prom. dís.

demonstrative pronominal det; prom. dát;

det; prom. dís.

deny v. dináy.

destroy v. chakrá.

determiner det. dán;

det. dí;

det; prom. dís.

determiner (definite) det. di.

determiner (indefinite) quant. sɔn;

quant. wán (1).

devil n. dɛ́bul.

devilish (be~) v. dɛ́bul.

die; death v. dáy.

die (off) v. kwɛ́nch.

different v. dífrɛn.

dig v. díg.

dirty v. dɔtí.

discipline v. kɔrɛ́t.

disclose v. prúf.

discotheque n. boîte;

n. discoteca.

disfigure v. **banfá**

do v. dú;

v. mék1.

doctor n. dɔ́kta.

dog n. dɔ́g.

domino n. dominó.

done v. dɔ́n3.

door n. domɔ́t.

down loc. dɔ́n2.

dowry n. dote.

draw v. drɔ́ (1).

dress up v. wɛ́r.

drink v. dríng.

drive (a vehicle) v. drɛ́b.

driver n. dráyva.

drunk (be, get ~) v. drɔ́ngo.

v. chák.

dry v. dráy.

dry season n. dráy-sísin, see: sísin.

due to link. fɔséka;

prep. fɔ;

prep. wet.

E ‑ e

ear n. yés.

easy v. ísi.

eat v. chɔ́p.

egg n. ɛ́ks.

eggplant — gadinɛ́ks, see: ɛ́ks**.**

egressive aspect auxiliary aux. kɔmɔ́t;

aux; adv. jís.

eight quant. et.

electricity n. lámp.

empty v. ɛ́nti.

end up v. lás.

endure v. lás.

English pn. Ínglis.

enjoy (oneself) v. disfruta.

enlightened (be ~) v. opinyáy.

enough (be ~) v. dú;

v. rích.

enter v. ɛ́nta.

envy v. jɛ́lɔs.

equal (to ~) v. rích.

Equatoguinean f. pn. guineana, see: Guinea.

Equatoguinean m. pn. guineano, see: Guinea.

even adv. aunque;

adv. ni2;

adv. sóté;

part. sénwe;

part. sɛ́f.

even if link. adɔnkɛ́;

link. aunque.

evening n. ívin;

n. ívin tɛ́n, see: ívin.

every quant. ɛ́ni;

quant. ɔ́l.

exactly adv. exactamente.

excessive (be ~) v. óva.

excessively — pás mák, see: mák;

adv. óva.

excuse v. ɛskyús.

exercise book n. cuaderno.

expensive v. día2.

explain v. ɛsplén.

extinguish v. ɔ́t.

extremely adv. bad;

adv. sóté.

eye n. yáy.

F ‑ f

face n. fés.

faeces n. kaká.

fall v. fɔdɔ́n.

family n. fámbul.

family member n. fámbul.

Fang pn. Fang.

Fang (person, language) pn. Bata1 (2).

far v. fá;

v. fawe.

farm n. fám.

fart — bló wín, see: bló3;

v. fat2.

fast v. smát.

fat n. grís;

v. fát1.

father n. pá;

n. papá;

n. papí.

father‑in‑law n. fadalɔ́.

favour n. févɔ.

fear v. fía.

feather n. fɛ́da.

feel v. fíl1.

festivity n. bigdé.

fever n. fíba2.

fever (typhoid ~) n. tifoidea.

few quant. smɔ́l.

field n. fíl2.

fight v. fɛ́t.

fight over v. kapú.

fill v. fúlɔp;

v. pák.

find v. mít;

v. sí.

fine adj. fáyn.

finger n. fínga.

finger nail n. finga-nél, see: fínga.

finish v. fínis.

finished v. dɔ́n3.

fire n. fáya.

fire wood n. faya-wúd, see: wúd.

first quant; adv. fɔ́s1.

first time (the ~) — fɔ́s tɛ́n, see: fɔ́s1.

fish n. fís;

v. físin.

fisherman — fisin-mán, see: físin.

five quant. fáyf.

fix v. fíks.

fling v. flíng.

fly v. fláy.

focus marker part. na1;

part. nóto;

part. sénwe;

part. sɛ́f.

fold v. bɛ́n.

follow v. fála;

v. sigue.

food n. chɔ́p.

fool n. dógo;

n. fúl.

foolish v. fúlis.

foolish (be~) v. fúl.

foot n. fút.

for prep. fɔ.

(for) ever adv. fɔrɛ́va.

force v. fɔ́s2.

foreigner n. extranjero.

forest n. bús.

forget v. fɔgɛ́t.

formerly — fɔ́s tɛ́n, see: fɔ́s1.

four quant. fo.

fowl n. fɔ́l2.

free v; adj. frí.

fresh v. frɛ́s.

friday n. fráyde.

fridge n. congelador.

friend n. frɛ́n;

n. kɔ́mpin.

from prep. fɔ;

prep. frɔn.

from ‑ until prep. frɔn ‑ sóté, see: frɔn.

front loc. bifó.

fruit n. frút;

n. fruta.

fry v. fráy.

fuck v. fɔ́k.

fufu n. fufú.

full v. bɛlfúl;

v. fúlɔp;

v. pák.

G ‑ g

Gabon pn. Gabón.

game n. plé.

garden n. gádin.

gari n. garí.

gash n. kɔ́t.

genital area n. wés.

genitals (male ~) n. blɔkɔ́s.

get v. gɛ́t.

get up v. gráp.

girl n. gál;

n. gɛ́l;

n. tití.

girlfriend n. gɛ́l frɛ́n;

n. novia.

girls n. gáls.

give v. gí.

give a blow v. bló3.

give as a present v. dás.

give back v. bák.

give birth v. bɔ́n (1).

give classes — gí skúl, see: skúl.

glad v. gládin.

glass n. glás.

glasses n. gafas;

n. spɛ́tikul.

go v. gó.

go down v. baja;

v. go dɔ́n, see: go.

go out v. kɔmɔ́t (1).

go smoothly v. sáful.

go to school — go skúl, see: skúl.

go up v. go ɔ́p, see: gó;

v. sube.

God n. gɔ́d.

God (father ~) n. papá gɔ́d.

God (my ~) intj. dios mio.

good v; adj. gúd.

good evening — gúd ívin, see: ívin.

good morning — gúd mɔ́nin, see: mɔ́nin.

good (very ~) v. bɛ́ta.

goods n. kágo.

government n. gɔ́bna.

gradually adv. bambáy.

grain n. grén.

grand adj. gran‑.

grandchild n. gran-pikín, see: gran‑.

grandfather n. abuelo;

n. gran-pá, see: gran‑.

n. gran-papá.

grandmother n. abuela;

n. gran-má, see: gran‑;

n. gran-mɔ́da, see: gran‑.

grass n. grás.

grate v. ralla.

gravy n. greví.

greedy v. grídi.

green v. grín.

greet v. salút.

ground n. grɔ́n.

groundnut n. granát.

groundnut soup n. granát súp, see: súp.

grow v. gró.

guitar n. gitá.

gulp down v. nák.

gun n. gɔ́n.

guts (have ~) — gɛ́t líba, see: líba.

H ‑ h

habit n. fásin.

habitual aspect marker TMA. kin.

haggard v. dráy.

hair n. hía2.

hairdresser n. peluqueria.

half quant. háf.

half an hour — háf áwa, see: háf.

half (one and a ~) quant. wán‑ɛn‑háf.

hall n. sala.

hammer n. háma;

v. háma.

hand n. hán.

hang v. hɛ́ng.

happen v. pás (2).

happy v. gládin.

harbour n. puerto.

hard v. hád;

v. strɔ́n;

v. tránga.

hardship n. trɔ́bul.

harmattan n. amatán.

have v. gɛ́t;

v. hól1.

have sex v. fɔ́k;

v. kɔ́t;

v. krɔ́b;

v. nák;

v. slíp.

have units — gɛ́t saldo, see: saldo.

he pron. e;

*pron.* **ín**.

head n. héd.

hear v. hía4;

v. yɛ́r.

heart n. hat1.

heave v. híb.

heavy v. évi (1).

hectic ideo. katakátá.

help v. hɛ́lp.

hen n. húman fɔ́l, see: fɔ́l2.

her pron. =an2;

pron. ín;

pron. in.

here adv. hía1;

adv. yá.

here (right ~) adv. yá só, see: yá.

hide v. háyd.

hill n. híl.

him pron. =an2;

pron. ín.

his pron. in.

hit v. nák.

hit with the head v. bɔ́t2.

hold v. hól1.

hole n. hól2.

holiday n. hɔ́lìdé.

home n. hóm.

hometown n. kɔ́ntri.

hook n. húk;

v. húk.

horn n. hɔ́n.

hospital n. hospital;

n. ɔspítul.

hot v. hɔ́t1.

hour n. áwa.

house n. hós.

how inter. háw;

inter. ús=stáyl, see: stáyl;

inter. ús=stáyl, see: ús=.

how much inter. háw mɔ́ch, see: háw.

human‑being n. mán;

n. pɔ́sin.

hungry v. hángri.

hunt v. hɔ́nti.

hunter n. hɔnti-mán, see: hɔ́nti.

hurry v. hɔ́ri;

v. mekés.

hurt v. pén.

I ‑ i

I pron. à.

ideophone ideo. bwa;

ideo. bya;

ideo. fwífwífwí;

ideo. gbin;

ideo. gbogbogbo;

ideo. kakara;

ideo. kamúkamú;

ideo. katakátá;

ideo. kìp;

ideo. kutuku;

ideo. kwáráng;

ideo. kpu;

ideo. ményéményé;

ideo. príng;

ideo. súkútúpampa;

ideo. tík;

ideo. wéwé;

ideo. wówó;

ideo; intj. kɔ́ngkɔ́ngkɔ́ng;

ideo; n. wuruwúrú;

ideo; v. wɔwɔ́;

n; ideo. pɔtɔpɔ́tɔ́.

if link. ɛf;

link. if.

ill adj. bád.

imperfective aspect marker TMA. de.

implore v. bɛ́g.

impregnate v. bɛlɛ́.

impressive v. évi (2).

in prep. fɔ;

prep. na2.

in front of loc. bifó.

in order to link. mék2;

prep. fɔ.

in (temporal) loc. ínsay.

ingressive aspect auxiliary aux. bigín.

injury n. sɔfút.

inside loc. ínsay.

inside out n. rɔn-say, see: rɔn1.

insult v. chík;

v. kɔ́s2.

intelligent — gɛ́t sɛ́ns, see: sɛ́ns.

intend v. intenta;

v. min.

interjection ideo; intj. kɔ́ngkɔ́ngkɔ́ng;

intj. àa1;

intj. àa2;

intj. áy2;

intj. bió;

intj. cháy;

intj. chico;

intj. 'chip';

intj. dios mio;

intj. dúya;

intj. é;

intj. ékié;

intj. éy;

intj. ɛ́;

intj. ɛhɛ́;

intj. ɛ́n;

intj. hɛ́;

intj. hó;

intj. kúsɛ́;

intj. mamá;

intj. mán;

intj. nawá;

intj. ó;

intj. ónli;

intj. papá;

intj. papá gɔ́d;

intj. plís;

intj. por Dios;

intj. yé;

n; intj. mierda.

interrogative particle inter. ús=.

intestines n. tripas.

iron n. áyɛn;

v. áyɛn.

iron, corrugated n. chapa.

island n. isla.

it pron. =an2;

pron. e;

pron. in.

iterative aspect marker TMA. kin.

its pron. in.

J ‑ j

jail n. jél.

jealous v. jɛ́lɔs.

job n. jɔ́b.

join v. jwɛ́n.

judge v. jɔ́ch.

jump v. júmp.

just aux; adv. jís.

K ‑ k

keep v. kíp.

key n. kí.

kick v. kík.

kill v. kíl.

kilo n. kilo.

kind prom. káyn.

kitchen n. kíchin.

knee n. ní1.

knife n. nɛ́f.

know v. no2;

v. sabí.

know how to v. sabí.

kola nut n. kóla.

Kombe pn. Kómbe.

Krio pn. Krió.

L ‑ l

lámp n. lámp.

language n. lángwech;

n. tɔ́k;

n. tɔ́ng.

language (native ~) n. lángwech;

n. kɔntri-tɔ́k, see: tɔ́k.

last quant. lás;

v. kɛ́r;

v. lás;

v. sté.

late v. lét.

latrine n. latrín.

laugh v. láf.

lay v. lé;

v. slíp.

lazy v. lési.

leaf n. líf.

lean against v. líng.

learn v. lán.

leave v. gó;

v. lɛ́f1 (1).

left n. lɛ́f2;

n. lɛ́f-hán, see: lɛf2.

leg n. fút.

letter n. lɛ́ta.

lie v. láy;

v. lé;

v. slíp.

life n. láyf.

lift v. hés.

light n. láyt;

v. láyt (1).

light (in colour) adj. rubio;

v. wáyt.

lightning n. relámpago.

like adv. como;

adv. lɛk.

like that adv. só2.

line n. láyn.

little v. lílí.

live v. líf.

live it up v. ambiente;

v. pachá.

liver n. líba.

locative noun loc. bifó;

loc. bihɛ́n;

loc. bɔtɔ́n;

loc. dɔ́n2;

loc. ínsay;

loc. míndul;

loc. nadó;

loc. nía;

loc. ɔntɔ́p;

loc. ɔ́p;

loc. pantáp.

lock n. lɔ́k;

v. lɔ́k.

lonely v. lónson.

long v. lɔ́n.

long (temporal) adv. sóté.

long time ago — lɔ́n tɛ́n, see: lɔ́n.

look v. lúk.

look for v. fɛ́n.

loose v. lɔ́s.

loose(n) v. slák.

lorry n. camión.

lounge v. líng.

louse n. lɔ́s.

low loc. dɔ́n2.

lower chest n. chekó.

luck n. lɔ́k.

lucky v. lɔ́ki.

M ‑ m

madam n. má (2).

madman n. kres-mán, see: krés.

make v. dú;

v. mek1.

make an effort v. tráy.

malanga n. malanga.

malaria n. malérya;

n. paludismo.

man n. mán.

manage v. mánech.

manner n. fásin;

n. stáyl.

mark v; n. mák.

market n. mákit.

marry v. máred.

mash v. más.

master n. mása;

n. másta.

matron n. mísis.

matter n. kés;

n. plába.

maybe adv. sɔntɛ́n.

me pron. mí.

mean v. badhát.

mean (to) v. min.

meat n. bíf.

medicine n. mɛ́rɛsin.

meet v. mít;

v. mítɔp.

meeting n. reunión.

mess n. porcería.

messy ideo; v. wɔwɔ́.

middle loc. míndul.

milk n. mélk.

mind n. sɛ́ns;

v. máyn;

v. mɛ́n (1).

ministry n. ministerio.

miss (a person) v. lónson.

mix v. miks.

monday n. mɔ́nde.

money n. mɔní.

monkey n. mɔnkí.

month n. mún.

moon n. mún.

more adv. mɔ́.

more and more adv. mɔ́‑ɛn‑mɔ́.

more (be ~) v. mɔ́.

morning n. mɔ́nin.

mosquito n. mosquito.

mosquito.net n. mosquitero.

mother n. má (1);

n. mamá;

n. mamí;

n. mɔ́mi.

mountain n. hil.

mouth n. mɔ́t.

move v. múf.

movie n. sinimá.

much adv. mɔ́ch;

v; quant. bɔkú;

v; quant. plɛ́nte.

mucus n. frɛskól.

mud n; ideo. pɔtɔpɔ́tɔ́.

must TMA. mɔs.

my pron. mi.

N ‑ n

nail n. nél.

naked v. nékɛd.

name n. ném.

narrate v. cuenta.

nation n. nésɔn.

near loc. nía;

prep. kɔ́na.

nearly adv. smɔ́ltɛn.

neck n. nɛ́k.

need v. níd.

needle n. nidul.

negative particle part. no1;

part. nɔ́.

neighbour f. n. vecina.

neighbour m. n. vecino.

neither link. ni2.

nephew n. sobrino.

new v. nyú.

news n. nyús.

next quant. nɛ́ks.

next to loc. nía;

prep. kɔ́na.

nice v. náys.

niece n. sobrina.

night n. nɛ́t.

nine quant. náyn.

nipple n. chupete.

nit n. nít.

no part. nó1;

part. nɔ́.

noise n. nɔ́ys.

noon n. sán tɛ́n, see: sán.

normal adj. normal.

nose n. nós.

nothing prom. nátin.

notice v. fija.

now adv. náw.

now (right ~) adv. náw so, see: náw.

number n. nɔ́mba.

O ‑ o

obligative mood marker TMA. mɔs.

of prep. ɔf;

prep. wet.

offend v. fìtyáy;

v. kɔs2.

office n. ɔ́fis.

oil n. ɔyl;

n. pamáyn.

oil (crude ~) n. petróleo.

oil rig n. plataforma.

old v. ól.

on loc. ɔntɔ́p;

loc. pantáp;

prep. na2;

prep. pan.

on par (be ~) v. braket.

once link. wáns.

once (at~) adv. wán tɛ́n, see: wán.

one prom. wán;

quant. wán (1).

one and a half quant. wán‑ɛn‑háf.

onion n. yabás.

only quant. dásɔl;

quant. ónli;

quant. sósó;

quant. wán (2).

open v. ópin.

or link. o;

link. ɔ̀.

orange v. rɛ́d.

other quant. ɔ́da.

outer layer n. kandá.

outside loc. nadó.

over adv. óva.

over (be~) v. óva.

overheat v. ova-hɔ́t, see: óva.

own prom. yón.

P ‑ p

pack v. pák.

pain v. pén.

paint v. pént.

pair n. pía2.

pair of shoes n. pía sús, see: pía2.

palm kernel n. bangá.

palm nut soup n. bangá súp, see: súp.

palm tree n. bangá.

palm‑wine n. topé.

pan n. pán.

pancake n. pan-kék, see: kek.

paper n. pépa.

paralyse n. paraláys.

parlour n. pála.

part n. pát.

party n. bigdé;

v. ambiente;

v. pachá.

pass v. pás (1).

past tense marker TMA. bin.

patient n. paciente.

pay v. pé.

peel v. pil.

pen n. bolí.

penis n. miná;

n. prík.

people n. nésɔn;

n. pípul.

pepper n. pɛ́pɛ.

perfect tense‑aspect marker TMA. dɔn1.

perfect tense‑aspect marker (negative ~) TMA. nɛ́a;

TMA. nɔ́ba.

perfective aspect marker (narrative ~) v. kán (2).

perhaps adv. sɔntɛ́n.

persevere v. aguanta.

person n. mán;

n. pɔ́sin.

persuade v. tún (2).

pestle n. matapenso.

petrol n. gasolina.

photo n. fotó.

Pichi pn. Pichi.

pick (up) v. pík.

pierce v. chúk.

pinch v. pínch.

pistol n. pisul.

place n. pát;

n. plés;

n. say;

pn. Guinea.

plait v. plánt (2).

plane n. avión.

plank n. plɛ́nk.

plant v. plánt (1).

plantain n. plantí.

plastic n. plástík.

plate n. plét.

play v. plé.

please intj. dúya;

intj. plís.

plenty v; quant. plɛ́nte.

plot n. grɔ́n.

plural marker pron. dɛn.

police n. policía;

n. polís.

police station n. comisaría.

poor v. pó.

pot n. pɔ́t.

potato n. papa;

n. patata.

potency n. páwa.

potential mood marker TMA. go.

pour v. trowé (2).

powder n. páwda.

power n. páwa.

pregnancy n. bɛlɛ́.

pregnant — gɛ́t bɛlɛ́, see: bɛlɛ́.

pregnant woman n. bɛlɛ-húman, see: bɛlɛ́.

prepare v. rɛdí.

preposition prep. ápás;

prep. bay;

prep. fɔ;

prep. frɔn;

prep. kɔ́na;

prep. na2;

prep. ɔf;

prep. pan;

prep. sin;

prep. síns;

prep. sóté;

prep. to;

prep. wet;

prep. bitáwt.

problem n. plába;

n. problema;

n. prɔ́blɛm.

profound v. strɔ́n.

promise v. prɔ́mis.

pronoun pron. à;

pron. =an2;

pron. dɛ́n;

pron. dɛn;

pron. e;

pron. in;

pron. in;

pron. mí;

pron. mi;

pron. una;

pron. wí;

pron. wì;

pron. yú;

pron. yu.

property n. prɔpatí.

prospective aspect auxiliary aux. want.

proud v. práwd.

prove v. prúf.

provoke v. chik.

public holiday n. bigdé.

pull v. púl.

pump v; n. pɔ́mp.

punish v. pɔ́nis.

pure v. pyɔ́.

purpose clause introducer link. fɔ;

link. mek2.

push v. pús;

v. súb.

put v. pút.

Q ‑ q

quarrel v. chakrá.

quarry n. kwári.

quarter (of a town) n. kwáta.

question n. kwɛ́sɔn.

quickly adv. kwík.

quotative marker link. sé.

R ‑ r

radiant v. bráyt.

rag n. písis.

rain n. rén;

v. fɔ́l1.

rainy season n. ren-sísin, see: sísin.

rat n. aráta.

reach v. rích.

realise v. kechɔ́p.

rear loc. bihɛ́n.

rebound v. bɔ́t2.

receive v. cobra.

record v. graba.

red v. rɛ́d.

refuse v. dináy;

v. refyús.

relax v. blo2.

remain v. lɛf1 (1).

remember v. mɛ́mba.

remind v. mɛ́mba.

remove v. drɔ́ (1);

v. púl.

rent v. alquila.

repair v. fíks.

repeat v. bis.

resemble v. fiba1.

reside v. blánt;

v. líf;

v. sidɔ́n.

respect v. rɛspɛ́t.

respectable v. strét.

rest v. blo2;

v. rɛs1.

restaurant n. restaurante.

restless (be~) ideo. kakara.

reverse n. rɔn-sáy, see: rɔ́n1.

rice n. rɛ́s2.

rich person — jɛntri-mán, see: jɛ́ntri.

riches n. jɛ́ntri.

right n. ráyt2.

right (be~) — gɛ́t ráyt, see: ráyt2.

right (side) n. ráyt-hán, see: ráyt2.

ring n. ríng.

ripe v. rɛ́p.

river n. ríva.

road n. ród.

roast v. rós.

room n. rúm.

rope n. róp.

rot v. rɔ́tin.

round n. vuelta.

rub v. rɔ́b.

run v. rɔn2.

rush v. hɔ́ri.

rush (to a place) v. fláy (2).

S ‑ s

sack n. saco.

salt n. sɔ́l.

saltwater n. solwatá.

same prom. sén.

sand n. arena;

n. sansán.

sardine n. sadín.

satiated v. bɛlfúl.

saturday n. sátide.

say v. sé.

scared v. skía.

scent n. sɛ́nt.

school n. skúl.

school (secondary ~) n. colegio.

scissors n. sísɔs.

scratch v. skrách.

scrub v. krɔb.

sea n. solwatá.

season n. sísin.

second quant. sɛkɔ́n.

secret n. síkrit.

secretely adv. haydháyd, see: háyd.

see v. sí.

seed n. síd.

seem v. fíba1.

seize v. kapú.

self prom. sɛ́f.

sell v. sɛ́l.

send v. sɛ́n.

sentence n. frase.

series n. serie.

serious v. síryɔs.

seven quant. sɛ́ven.

sew v. só3.

shake v. sék.

share v. séb.

she pron. e.

ship n. stíma.

shirt n. sɔ́t2.

shit n; intj. mierda.

shoe n. sús.

shoot v. sút.

shop n. sɔ́p.

short v. sɔ́t1.

shortly after adv. smɔ́ltɛn.

shout v. hála.

shove v. súb.

show v. só1.

shower v. sáwa.

sick adj. bád.

sick (be ~) v. sík.

sickness n. sík.

side n. say.

sieve n. sifta.

sift v. sifta.

sign v. sáyn.

since prep. frɔn.

since long — frɔn bɔkú tɛ́n, see: frɔn;

— lɔ́n tɛ́n, see: lɔ́n.

since (temporal) prep. síns.

sincere v. strét.

síng v. síng.

singlet n. camiseta.

sir n. sá.

sister n. sísta.

sister‑in‑law n. cuñada;

n. sistalɔ́.

sit v. sidɔ́n.

six quant. síks.

skin n. kandá.

sky n. cielo.

slap v. sláp.

sleep v. slíp.

sleepy — fíl slíp, see: fíl1.

slim v. slím.

slipper n. slipás.

slow adj. sló.

slow (be ~) v. sáful.

small v. smɔ́l.

smell n. smɛ́l;

v. smɛ́l.

smoke v; n. smók.

snail n. kɔ́nk.

snake n. snék.

so adv. so;

adv. tal;

link. pues.

soap opera n. serie.

soft v. sáf.

soil n. sansán.

soldier n. soldado;

n. sólya.

some quant. sɔn.

song n. síng.

son‑in‑law n. sɔnilɔ́.

sorcerer n. wích2.

sorcery n. mɛ́rɛsin;

n. wích2.

sorry v. sɔ́ri.

sound n. sonido.

soup n. súp.

Spain pn. Panyá.

Spaniard pn. Panyá.

Spanish pn. Panyá.

spend v. spɛ́n.

spirit n. spírit.

spit n. spít;

v. spít.

spoil v. spwɛ́l.

spoil (a child) v. banfá.

spoon n. spún.

spy on v. **e**spia.

square n. plaza.

squeeze v. skwís.

stab v. chúk.

stand (up) v. tánap;

v. tínap.

standard marker v. pás (1).

star n. estrella;

n. stá.

start v. stát.

stay v. sté.

steal v. tíf.

stew n. styú.

stick n. stík.

stick in(to) v. pín.

sticky (of an okro soup) v. drɔ́ (1).

still adv. stíl;

adv. yét.

sting v. chúk.

stingy v. grídi.

stone n. stón (1).

stoop (over) v. butú.

stop v. lɛ́f1 (1);

v. **para;**

v. stɔ́p.

store n. almacén.

storey n. piso.

story n. torí.

straight v. strét.

strap n. bɛ́lt.

street n. strít.

strength n. páwa.

strong v. strɔ́n;

v. tránga.

style n. stáyl.

stylish (be ~) v. spót.

subjunctive mood marker link. mék2.

subordinator link. wé1.

suddenly adv. wántɛn.

suffer v. sɔ́fa.

sugar n. súga.

sun n. sán.

sunday n. sɔ́nde.

surname n. apellido.

surpass v. pás (1).

surround v. ráwn.

swallow v. swɛ́la.

sweat n. swɛ́t;

v. swɛ́t.

sweet v. swít (2).

sweetheart n. bebí (2);

n. bɛ́lps.

swim v. swín.

T ‑ t

table n. tébul.

tailor n. sastre.

take v. kɛ́r;

v. ték.

take a picture — púl fotó, see: púl.

take down v. baja.

take up v. sube.

talk v. tɔ́k.

tall v. lɔ́n.

tasty v. swít (1).

taxi n. taksí.

teach v. lán;

v. tích.

teacher n. profesor;

n. tícha.

tear v. chɛ́r.

telephone n. teléfono.

telephone (mobile ~) n. móvil.

television n. televisión.

tell v. tɛ́l.

tell a story — púl torí, see: púl.

term of address n. antí;

n. brɔ́da;

n. cuñada;

n. cuñado;

n. chíf;

n. gran-má, see: gran‑;

n. gran-pá, see: gran‑;

n. grand frère;

n. má (1);

n. má (2);

n. mamá;

n. mamí;

n. mása;

n. másta;

n. mísis;

n. mɔ́mi;

n. ɔnkúl;

n. pá;

n. papá;

n. papí;

n. sá;

n. sísta;

n. tia;

n. tio.

testicle n. stón (2).

thanks intj. tɛ́nki.

that det. dán;

det; prom. dat;

link. sé;

link. wé1.

the det. di.

them pron. dɛ́n.

then adv. áfta;

adv. dásɔl.

there adv. dé1.

there (over ~) adv. yandá.

they pron. dɛ́n;

pron. dɛn.

thick v. tík.

thief n. tif-mán, see: tíf.

thin v. dráy;

v. smɔlskín, see: skín;

v. slím.

thing n. tín.

think v. chɛ́k;

v. tínk.

think of v. mɛ́mba.

thirsty v. tɔ́sti.

this det. dí;

det; prom. dís.

thorn n. chukchúk.

three quant. trí.

throat n. trót.

through prep. wet.

throw v. flíng;

v. híb;

v. sɛ́n;

v. stón;

v. trowé (1).

throw away v. trowé (1).

throw stones at v. stón.

thunderstorm n. tinada.

tickle v. chikilís.

tie v. táy.

tight(en) v. táyt.

time n. áwa;

n. tɛ́n.

tiny v. lílí.

tipsy v. láyt (2).

tired v. táya.

TMA marker link. mék2;

TMA. bin;

TMA. de;

TMA. dɔ́n1;

TMA. fɔ;

TMA. go;

TMA. kin;

TMA. mɔs;

TMA. nɛ́a;

TMA. nɔ́ba;

v. kán (2).

to prep. fɔ;

prep. to.

today n. tidé.

tomato n. tamátis;

n. tomate.

tomorrow n. tumára.

tongue n. tɔ́ng.

too part. sénwe;

part. sɛ́f.

too much adv. tú mɔ́ch, see: mɔ́ch;

adv. tú2.

tooth n. tít.

top loc. ɔntɔ́p;

loc. pantáp;

n. tɔ́p.

touch v. tɔ́ch.

towel n. táwɛl.

town n. tɔ́n1.

traditional adj. tradicional;

v. nétif.

train v. trén.

training n. trénin.

transport n. transporte.

travel v. trávul;

v. viaja.

tree n. stík.

tremble v. trímbul.

trick v. wayó.

trickery n. ajáajá.

trouble n. plába;

n. trɔ́bul.

trousers n. trɔsís.

true v. trú.

try v. intenta;

v. tráy.

tuesday n. tyúsde.

tune v. tún (1).

turn v. tɔ́n2 (1).

turn out v. kɔmɔ́t (2).

two quant. tú1.

U ‑ u

ugly ideo; v. wɔwɔ́.

uncle n. ɔnkúl;

n. tio.

under loc. bɔtɔ́n.

understand v. hía4;

v. ɔndastán;

v. yɛ́r.

unfortunately adv. bádtɛn.

units (mobile phone ~) n. saldo.

until prep. sóté.

up loc. ɔ́p.

upbringing n. trénin.

upside down n. rɔn-sáy, see: rɔ́n1.

urinate v. pipí.

urine n. pipí.

us pron. wí.

use v. yús.

use up v. spwɛ́l.

used to (be~) v. kɔ́stɔn.

V ‑ v

vagina n. opó;

n. totó.

vegetables n. verdura.

vehicle n. motó.

village n. kɔ́ntri;

n. pueblo;

n. vílech.

virgin(ity) n. vájin.

visit v. visít.

vomit v. vɔ́mit.

W ‑ w

wait v. wét.

wake (up) v. wék;

v. wékɔp.

walk v. wáka;

v. wɔ́k.

want v. wánt.

warm v. hɔ́t1.

wash v. wás.

watch v. wách.

water n. watá;

n. wɔtá.

water (cold, cool ~) n. kol-watá, see: watá.

water (hot, warm ~) n. hɔt-watá, see: watá.

way n. we2.

way (the ~ that) link. lɛk háw, see: lɛk.

we pron. wí;

pron. wì.

wear v. wɛ́r.

weather n. dé3.

wednesday n. wɛ́nsde.

weed v. chapea.

week n. wík.

weekend n. fin dé semana.

welcome intj. wɛ́lkɔm.

well v. wɛ́l.

well‑dressed v. spót.

wet v. sók.

what inter. ús=tin, see: ús=;

inter. wétin.

when inter. ús=áwa, see: ús=;

inter. ús=tɛ́n, see: ús=;

link. wé1.

where inter. ús=sáy, see: ús=.

whether link. ɛf;

link. if.

which inter. ús=;

inter. wích1.

which (kind of) inter. ús=káyn, see: ús=.

while link. wé1.

whine ideo. ményéményé.

white v. wáyt.

who inter. údat;

inter. ús=pɔ́sin, see: ús=.

whole quant. hól3.

wicked v. wíkɛd.

wife n. wáyf.

win v. wín.

wind *n.* **brís**.

window n. wínda.

wine n. vino.

wipe v. wáyp.

witch n. wích2.

with prep. wet.

without prep. sin;

prep. bitáwt.

woman n. húman.

womb n. bɛlɛ́.

wonder v. wánda.

wood n. stík;

n. wúd.

word n. tɔ́k;

n. wɔ́d.

work v; n. wók.

world n. wɔ́l.

worm n. tumbú.

worry v. wɔ́ri.

wound n. kɔ́t;

n. sɔfút.

write v. ráyt1.

wrong v. rɔ́n1.

Y ‑ y

year n. hía3.

yes intj. yɛ́s.

yes (strong) intj. ɛhɛ́.

yesterday n. yɛ́stadé.

yet adv. yét.

you (pl) pron. una.

*pron.* **unu**.

you (sg) pron. yú;

pron. yu.

young v. yún.

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