

A Grammar of Pichi

Kofi Yakpo

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Kofi Yakpo


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To Yèni and Fodé

Contents

Acknowledgments	ix
Symbols and abbreviations	xi
1 Introduction	1
1.1 The language and its speakers	1
1.2 Contact with Spanish	2
1.3 Variation	4
1.4 Affiliation	6
1.5 Previous research on Pichi	11
1.6 Standardisation and orthography	11
1.7 Methods and data	12
1.8 Presentation of the data	17
2 Segmental phonology	19
2.1 Consonants	19
2.2 Consonant allophony and alternation	19
2.3 Vowels	23
2.4 Vowel allophony and alternation	23
2.5 Phonological processes	24
2.5.1 Lenition and fortition	24
2.5.2 Nasals and nasal place assimilation	25
2.5.3 Vowel assimilation	26
2.5.4 Insertion and deletion	27
2.6 Phonotactics	28
2.6.1 The word	28
2.6.2 The syllable	29
2.6.3 Cliticisation	35
3 Suprasegmental phonology	37
3.1 Characteristics of tone	37
3.1.1 Distinctive tones	40
3.1.2 Lexical and morphological tone	43
3.1.3 Tone classes	45
3.2 Tonal processes	46
3.2.1 Tone spreading	46
3.2.2 Floating	49

Contents

3.2.3	Downdrift and downstep	50
3.2.4	Deletion	52
3.2.5	Pitch range expansion	55
3.3	Tone-conditioned suppletive allomorphy	58
3.4	Intonation	61
3.4.1	Declarative intonation	62
3.4.2	Emphatic intonation	64
3.4.3	List intonation	67
3.4.4	Continuative intonation	69
3.4.5	Question intonation	72
4	Morphology	75
4.1	Word classes	75
4.1.1	Nominals	75
4.1.2	Verbs and adjectives	76
4.1.3	Other word classes	76
4.2	Inflection	77
4.3	Derivation	78
4.3.1	Affixation	78
4.3.2	Conversion	80
4.4	Compounding	82
4.4.1	General characteristics	82
4.4.2	Compound nouns	85
4.4.3	Compound verbs	91
4.5	Iteration	92
4.5.1	Reduplication	92
4.5.2	Repetition	96
4.5.3	Lexicalised iteration	100
5	The nominal system	103
5.1	Determination	103
5.1.1	Definiteness and specificity	104
5.1.2	Demonstratives	109
5.1.3	Number	112
5.1.4	Genericity	115
5.2	Noun phrase modification	117
5.2.1	Prenominal modification	117
5.2.2	Postnominal modification	118
5.2.3	Possessive constructions	118
5.3	Quantification	121
5.3.1	Numerals	121
5.3.2	Other quantifying expressions	123
5.4	Pronouns	127
5.4.1	Personal pronouns	127

5.4.2	Modification of personal pronouns	130
5.4.3	Indefinite pronouns	132
5.4.4	Pronominals	132
5.5	Coordination	133
6	The verbal system	135
6.1	Lexical aspect	135
6.2	The TMA system	139
6.3	Aspect	141
6.3.1	The unmarked verb	141
6.3.2	Perfective and imperfective aspect	145
6.3.3	Narrative perfective	145
6.3.4	Imperfective	148
6.3.5	Habitual	150
6.3.6	Iterative	151
6.4	Aspectual auxiliaries	151
6.4.1	Ingressive	152
6.4.2	Egressive	153
6.4.3	Completive	155
6.4.4	Continuative	155
6.4.5	Prospective	156
6.5	Tense	157
6.5.1	Relational tense	158
6.5.2	Past	159
6.5.3	Present	162
6.5.4	Future	162
6.6	Perfect	163
6.7	Modality	166
6.7.1	Modal elements	166
6.7.2	Dynamic modality	166
6.7.3	Deontic Modality	169
6.7.4	Epistemic modality	174
6.8	Tense, modality, and aspect in discourse	178
6.8.1	Sequencing and grounding	178
6.9	Comparison	186
6.9.1	Comparatives	188
6.9.2	Superlatives	192
6.9.3	Equatives	194
7	The clause	197
7.1	Clause structure	197
7.1.1	Verbal clauses	197
7.1.2	Copula clauses	200
7.1.3	Directive clauses	200

Contents

7.2	Negation	201
7.2.1	Verb negation	201
7.2.2	Negative concord	204
7.2.3	Negative indefinite pronouns and phrases	206
7.2.4	Constituent negation	210
7.3	Questions	211
7.3.1	Yes-no and alternative questions	211
7.3.2	Content questions	212
7.3.3	Answers	223
7.4	Focus	226
7.4.1	Suprasegmental focus	226
7.4.2	Particle focus	227
7.4.3	Cleft focus	233
7.4.4	Presentatives	241
7.4.5	Predicate cleft	243
7.4.6	Other means of expressing emphasis	245
7.5	Topic	246
7.5.1	Dislocation	246
7.5.2	Topic particle	247
7.6	BEING and HAVING	249
7.6.1	Core copulas	249
7.6.2	Copula verbs	256
7.6.3	Existentials	258
7.6.4	Possessives	261
7.6.5	Predicate adjectives	264
7.7	Adverbial modification	266
7.7.1	Adverbs	267
7.7.2	Modification of manner and circumstance	274
7.7.3	Modification of degree	276
8	Spatial and temporal relations	279
8.1	Spatial relations	279
8.1.1	Locative prepositions	279
8.1.2	Locative nouns	281
8.1.3	Locative verbs	287
8.1.4	Motion verbs	290
8.1.5	Expressing source and goal	294
8.2	Temporal relations	298
8.2.1	Standard time units	299
8.2.2	Temporal deixis	301
9	Grammatical relations	309
9.1	Expression of participants	309
9.1.1	Subjects	309

9.1.2	Objects	310
9.1.3	Prepositional phrases	311
9.1.4	Serial verb constructions	316
9.2	Verb classes	317
9.2.1	Intransitive verbs	317
9.2.2	Transitive verbs	322
9.2.3	Labile verbs	323
9.2.4	Expletive verbs	330
9.3	Valency	334
9.3.1	Light verb constructions	335
9.3.2	Associative objects	339
9.3.3	Cognate objects	344
9.3.4	Double-object constructions	345
9.3.5	Reflexivity	350
9.3.6	Reciprocity	351
9.3.7	Weather phenomena	352
9.3.8	Body states	354
9.4	Valency adjustments	357
9.4.1	Unexpressed subjects	357
9.4.2	Unexpressed objects	358
9.4.3	Unexpressed reflexive and reciprocal nominals	362
9.4.4	Causative constructions	365
9.4.5	Impersonal constructions	370
10	Clause linkage	373
10.1	Linking adverbs and anaphor	373
10.2	Clause linkers	375
10.3	Coordination	375
10.4	Quotation	377
10.5	Complementation	382
10.5.1	Finiteness	382
10.5.2	Complement-taking verbs and complementisers	384
10.5.3	<i>De</i> ‘IPFV’	384
10.5.4	<i>Fɔ</i> ‘PREP’	387
10.5.5	<i>Mék</i> ‘SBJV’	389
10.5.6	<i>Sé</i> ‘QUOT’	391
10.5.7	<i>Wé</i> ‘SUB’	393
10.5.8	Complements of nouns	394
10.6	Relativisation	394
10.6.1	General characteristics	395
10.6.2	Subjects and objects	398
10.6.3	Prepositional phrases	399
10.6.4	Possessors	401

Contents

10.6.5	Free relatives and indirect questions	402
10.7	Adverbial relations	403
10.7.1	Wé ‘SUB’	404
10.7.2	Sé ‘QUOT’	407
10.7.3	Time clauses	408
10.7.4	Manner clauses	410
10.7.5	Locative clauses	412
10.7.6	Purpose and result clauses	412
10.7.7	Cause clauses	415
10.7.8	Extent and result clauses	416
10.7.9	Limit clauses	417
10.7.10	Source clauses	417
10.7.11	Conditional clauses	418
10.7.12	Concessive clauses	421
10.8	Intonation	422
11	Multiverb constructions	423
11.1	General characteristics	423
11.2	Serial verb constructions	424
11.2.1	Motion-direction SVCs	425
11.2.2	Motion-action SVCs	427
11.2.3	Participant-introducing SVCs	429
11.2.4	Complementation SVCs	432
11.2.5	Adverbial SVCs	433
11.3	Secondary predication	434
11.3.1	Secondary predication vs. serial verb constructions	435
11.3.2	Depictives	436
11.3.3	Resultatives	438
11.4	Clause chaining	440
12	Pragmatic elements and routines	443
12.1	Ideophones	443
12.2	Interjections	448
12.2.1	Expressive	449
12.2.2	Phatic	452
12.2.3	Conative	454
12.2.4	Suck teeth	457
12.2.5	The particle ó ‘sp’	459
12.3	Terms of address	461
12.4	Greetings and other routines	464
13	Pichi and Spanish in contact	467
13.1	Patterns of contact	467

13.2	Specific constituents	469
13.2.1	Noun phrases	469
13.2.2	Verbs and adjectives	472
13.2.3	Functional elements	475
13.2.4	Other constituents	477
13.3	Specific semantic fields	479
13.3.1	Numerals, days, and dates	479
13.3.2	Colours	481
13.3.3	Other semantic fields	482
14	Typological summary of Pichi	487
15	Texts	489
15.1	Narrative and conversation: Miguel falls sick	489
15.2	Narrative and conversation: Annobón sorcery	505
15.3	Conversation: Dinner for four	513
15.4	Conversation: On sun glasses	535
15.5	Routine procedure: Preparing corn-porridge	539
15.6	Elicitation: Caused positions	547
16	Word lists	559
16.1	Pichi–English	560
16.2	English–Pichi	579
	References	601
	Index	613
	Name index	613
	Language index	615
	Subject index	617

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Kofi Yakpo
Hong Kong, December 2018

Symbols and abbreviations

-	morpheme boundary	DEF	definite article
=	clitic morpheme boundary	EMP	emphatic
!	directive clause; vocative	F	feminine gender
*	ungrammatical example	FN	first name
,	continuative intonation and pause	FOC	focus marker and identity copula
.	utterance-final: declarative intonation	H	high tone(d syllable)
.	word-medial: morpheme boundary in derived compound	HAB	habitual marker
(...)	untranscribed part of utterance	IDEO	ideophone
[]	explanation of translated elements	INDF	indefinite
/	speech interruption	INDP	independent/emphatic pronoun
?	final: question intonation	INTJ	interjection
?	initial: grammaticality dubious	INTR	intransitive
[á]	IPA transcription	IPFV	imperfective aspect marker
/a/	phoneme	L	low tone(d syllable)
<a>	grapheme	L.H	low-high tone sequence over two adjacent syllables
á	high tone diacritic	LH	rising contour tone over same syllable
à	low tone diacritic	LN	last name
%	boundary tone	LOC	locative preposition
1, 2, 3	first, second, third person	LT	lexical tone
ABL	abilitive mood marker	MVC	multiverb construction
ADV	adverbial(ising suffix)	n.a.	not applicable
BE	identity copula	NAME	personal name
BE.LOC	locative-existential copula	NEG	negative/negator
BT	boundary tone	NP	noun phrase
CPD	tone deletion in compounding	NSPC	non-specific
		OBJ	object (case)
		OBL	obligative mood marker
		PFV	narrative perfective marker
		PL	plural(iser)

Symbols and abbreviations

PLACE	place name	SBJ	subject (case)
POSS	possessive (case)	SBJV	subjunctive marker
POT	potential mood marker	SG	singular
PP	prepositional phrase	SKT	“suck teeth”
PREP	associative preposition	SP	sentence particle
PRF	perfect tense-aspect	SPEC	specific
PST	past tense marker	SUB	subordinator
Q	question particle	SVC	serial verb construction
QNT	quantifier	TMA	tense-mood-aspect
QUOT	quotative marker	TR	transitive
RED	reduplicant in reduplication	v1	initial verb in MVC
REP	repeated word in repetition	v2	second verb in MVC
		VP	verb phrase

1 Introduction

1.1 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. Figure 1.1). 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, p.c.), and it is spoken as a lingua franca throughout Bioko (cf. Figure 1.2 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, p.c.) “Broken English” (Zarco 1938), and “Pichinglis” (Lipski 1992). While older speakers sometimes 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 (Hammarström et al. 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. Figure 1.1).

1 Introduction

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'le 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 (Ley Núm. 5/2.007 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).

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.

1.2 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 2009b, Yakpo 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–

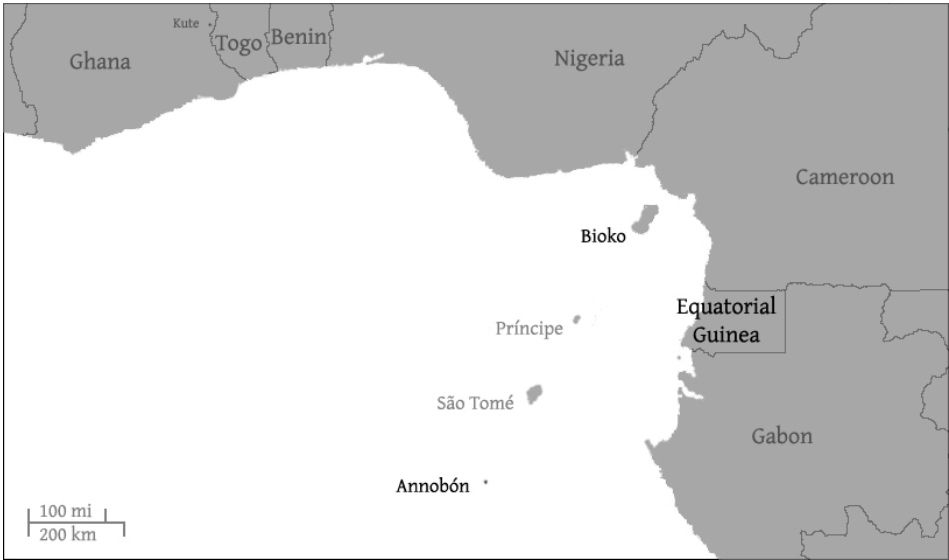


Figure 1.1 Map 1 Continental and insular Equatorial Guinea (in bold)

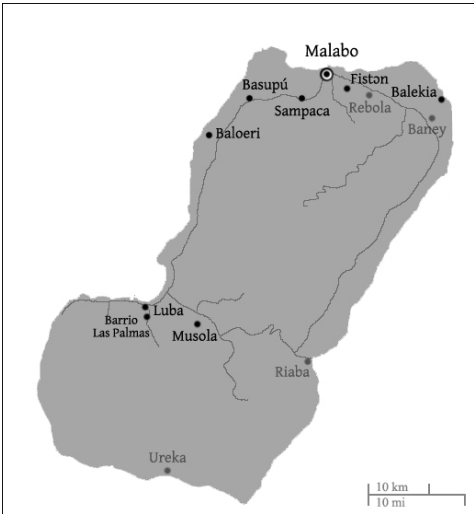


Figure 1.2 Map 2 Towns with Pichi-speaking communities in Bioko (in bold)

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 & Morgen-thaler 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. *Bón 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).

1.3 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, p.c.) who have been acculturated 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. *nóbà-néa* ‘NEG.PRF’, *tínáp-tánáp* ‘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’ [ʃó] ‘show’	[só] ‘sew, show, so’
(2) <i>finis</i>	[finiʃ] ‘finish’	[finis] ‘finish’
(3) <i>sóp</i>	[ʃóp] ‘shop’	[sjóp] ‘shop’
(4) <i>nésɔn</i>	[néʃɔn] ‘nation’	[nésjɔn] ‘nation’

Group 2 speakers tend to neutralise the phonemic distinction between close-mid and open-mid vowels (5–6):

	Group 1	Group 2
(5) <i>fɔ</i>	[fò ~ fɔ]	[fɔ] ‘PREP’
<i>mó</i>	[mó ~ mɔ]	[mɔ] ‘more’
(6) <i>mék</i>	[mék ~ mɛk]	[mék] ‘make, SBJV’
<i>lɛk</i>	[lèk ~ lɛk]	[lèk] ‘like (preposition)’

Group 2 speakers also tend to nasalise [i]-final words with an H.L tonal configuration (7) and to prenasalise [j]-initial words as in (8). This may lead to the formation of homophones like (9) and (10) for Group 2 speakers:

	Group 1	Group 2
(7) <i>lɔki</i>	[lɔkɪn]	[lɔki] ‘be lucky’
<i>tɔsti</i>	[tɔstin]	[tɔsti] ‘be thirsty’
(8) <i>yandá</i>	[njándá]	[jándá] ‘yonder’
(9) <i>yús</i>	[njús]	[jús] ‘use’
(10) <i>nyús</i>	[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 *néa* over *nóba*. 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 codemixed sentence, but are equally likely to use *mónde* ‘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.

1.4 Affiliation

Pichi belongs to the grouping of languages referred to in the literature by various appellations, 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 connotations 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 2016: 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 (11a), 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 Fyfe & Jones 1980):

(11)	Pichi	Krio	Gloss
a.	à	à	'I'
	pósin	pósin	'person'
	(s)tík	(s)tík	'tree'
	yáy	yáy	'eye'
	yés	yés	'ear'
	bóbí	bóbí	'breast'
	belé	belé	'belly, foetus'
	watá, wotá	watá, wotá	'water'
	dotí	dotí	'be dirty'
	fódón	fódóm	'fall'
	chóp	chóp, ít	'eat'
	hós	hós	'house'
	tití	tití	'girl'
	mákit	mákit, máket	'market'
	wówó	wówó	'be messed up, ugly'
	bókú	bókú	'be much'
	yangá	nyangá	'be ostentatious'
	dúya	dúya	'please'
b.	ógi	ógi	'corn porridge'
	kúshé	kúshé	'expression of empathy'
	—	órewá	'goodbye greeting'
c.	nyóní	nyóní	'red ant'
	blókós	blókós	'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; 2001b; 2015) and termed “Ingredient X, Y, and Z”. In (12), 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):

1 Introduction

(12)	Ingredient X, Y, Z	Gloss
a.	<i>sósó</i>	‘only’
	<i>pɔtɔpɔtɔ</i>	‘mud(dy) substance’
	<i>akará</i>	‘bean cake’
	<i>fufú</i>	‘fufu’
b.	<i>sabí</i>	‘know’
	<i>pikín</i>	‘child’
c.	<i>kéch</i>	‘catch’
	<i>yér(i)</i>	‘hear’
	<i>ɛf(ɛ)</i>	‘if’
	<i>bwél</i>	‘boil’
	<i>(s)pwél</i>	‘spoil, spend’
d.	<i>na</i>	‘FOC’
	<i>una, unu</i>	‘2PL’
	<i>mék</i>	‘imperative, SBJV’
	<i>de</i>	‘IPFV’
	<i>dé</i>	‘there’
	<i>dé</i>	‘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 (13a); 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.

(13)	Pichi		Krio		Gloss
a.	<i>sút</i>	[sút]	<i>shút</i>	[ʃút]	‘shoot’
b.	<i>fɔ</i>	[fɔ ~ fò]	<i>fɔ</i>	[fɔ]	‘PREP’
c.	<i>frɔn</i>	[frɔn ~ fròm]	<i>frɔm</i>	[fròm]	‘from’
d.	<i>smól</i>	[simó ~ sùmó]	<i>smól</i>	[smól]	‘be small’
e.	<i>bíg</i>	[bík]	<i>bíg</i>	[bíg]	‘be big’
f.	<i>(s)trón</i>	[(s)trɔn]	<i>(s)tróng</i>	[(s)trɔŋ]	‘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 (14a), 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:

(14)	Pichi	Krio	Gloss
a.	<i>profe(sor), tícha</i>	<i>tícha</i>	‘teacher’
	<i>Camerún</i>	<i>Cameroon</i>	‘Cameroon’
	<i>aeropuerto</i>	<i>épot</i>	‘airport’
b.	<i>diez</i>	<i>tén</i>	‘ten’
	<i>doce</i>	<i>twélf</i>	‘twelve’
	<i>las dos</i>	<i>tú oklók</i>	‘two o’clock’
c.	<i>bikɔs, porque</i>	<i>bikɔs</i>	‘because’
	<i>sube, gó ɔp</i>	<i>gó ɔp</i>	‘go up’
	<i>sigue</i>	<i>kɔntínyu</i>	‘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 (15) are largely coterminous:

(15)	Pichi	Krio	Gloss
	<i>de</i>	<i>de</i>	‘IPFV’
	<i>go</i>	<i>go</i>	‘POT’
	<i>bin</i>	<i>bin</i>	‘PST’
	<i>dón</i>	<i>dón</i>	‘PRF’
	<i>fɔ</i>	<i>fɔ</i>	‘PREP’
	<i>kin</i>	<i>kin</i>	‘HAB, ABL’

However, the distribution of the markers in (15) 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. Smith 2001a), 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):

1 Introduction

(16) KRIO

Olú blant gó London fɔ́ Krísmes.

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 (17). The construction is rejected by Pichi speakers (18):

(17) KRIO

Olú dé pan kám.

NAME BE.LOC on come

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

(18) * A *dé pan chóp.*

1SG.SBJ BE.LOC on eat

Intended: ‘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 *kómót* ‘go/come out’ (19) or, obviously, the continuative aspect construction featuring the Spanish-derived verb *sigue* ‘continue’ (20). Equally, an adverbial SVC involving the V1 *sté* ‘stay, be a long time’ appears to be unique to Pichi (21):

(19) *Wí kómót chóp náo só.*

1PL come.out eat now like that.

‘We just ate right now.’ [ge07fn 208]

(20) A *sigue plé ból sóté ívin tén.*

1SG.SBJ continue play ball until evening time

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

(21) A *sté chóp.*

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 (22) and a GIVE-type SVC in order to mark a recipient or beneficiary (23). Both types of construction are not attested in Pichi:

(22) KRIO

Di húman kúk rés sél.

DEF woman cook rice sell

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

- (23) KRIO
I báy klós gí in pikín.
 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 (22) above may only feature stative property items as secondary verbs. Such constructions in Pichi are best seen to involve secondary predication (24):

- (24) *Den dón bíl di hós strón.*
 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 (23), involving a dynamic V2. Note that unlike the Krio sentences above, the Pichi example in (25) exhibits resumptive subject marking, i.e. the subject is repeated with the second verb in the series:

- (25) *Yu ték di mǎní 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.

1.5 Previous research on Pichi

Yakpo 2009a (in English) and 2010 (in Spanish) are the first in-depth descriptions of the phonology and grammar of Pichi. 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 (Morgades Besari 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).

1.6 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 1981](#)). 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 codemixed 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=tén* {ús ‘Q’, *tén* ‘time’} ‘when’, *fáyɛn-wán* {*fáyɛn* ‘nice’, -*wán* ‘ADV’} ‘nicely’. Acute accents over Spanish words are orthographic, and hence not tone marks.

1.7 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 ([Boersma & Weenink 2008](#)). 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, Kombe, 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, 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 background and communicative approach during the research leading to this book. During my first stay in Malabo, I used Ghanaian Pidgin English and Spanish as 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 fluency in Ghanaian Pidgin English, competence in, and exposure to other Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles and West African languages, and a cultural and communicative *savoir faire* acquired during a childhood spent in Ghana. Fluency in French and Portuguese were also important resources in navigating the plurilingual landscape of Malabo and Bioko at various junctures during my research.

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 own 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	Djunaïs	M	20+	Pichi (h), Spanish (h), Bubi	Cook	Ela Nguema
eb	Ebongolo	M	20+	Kombe (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

Table 1.1 Language consultants

Code	Speaker	F/M	Age	Languages	Activity	Residence
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+	Kombe (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+	Kombe (h), Fang, Pichi, Spanish	Trade	Ela Nguema
kw	Kwame	M	40+	Twi (h), English, Pichi, Spanish	Security guard	Kolwatá
li	Lindo	M	30+	Kombe (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+	Kombe (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

Table 1.2 Corpus

Text code	Type	Contents	Speakers	Word count
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 elicitations. 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.

1.8 Presentation of the data

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. I do not provide category labels for Spanish grammatical morphemes where they occur, 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 Table 1.3 correspond approximately to the percentages given in the right column (Michaelis et al. 2013).

Table 1.3 Frequency of phenomena

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%

2 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).

2.1 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

	Bilabial		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 (near-)minimal pairs in Table 2.2 establish the phonemic status of the segments contained in Table 2.1.

2.2 Consonant allophony and alternation

/b/ and /v/:

The voiced labio-dental plosive /v/ is a phoneme in its own 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*

2 Segmental phonology

Table 2.2 Consonant phoneme minimal pairs

/p/ /b/	<i>plánt</i>	[plánt]	‘plant’	<i>blánt</i>	[blánt]	‘reside’
/t/ /d/	<i>tén</i>	[tén]	‘time’	<i>dén</i>	[dén]	‘3PL.INDP’
/k/ /g/	<i>kón</i>	[kón]	‘corn’	<i>gón</i>	[gón]	‘gun’
/tʃ/ /dʒ/	<i>chóch</i>	[tʃótʃ]	‘church’	<i>jóch</i>	[dʒótʃ]	‘(to) judge’
/f/ /p/	<i>fát</i>	[fát]	‘fat’	<i>pát</i>	[pát]	‘part’
/v/ /b/	<i>greví</i>	[grèví]	‘gravy’	<i>bebí</i>	[bèbí]	‘baby’
/s/ /t/	<i>són</i>	[són]	‘some’	<i>tón</i>	[tón]	‘town’
/r/ /l/	<i>rón</i>	[rón]	‘run’	<i>lón</i>	[lón]	‘be long’
/h/ ø	<i>hól</i>	[hól]	‘hole’	<i>ól</i>	[ól]	‘be old’
/m/ /n/	<i>motó</i>	[motó]	‘car’	<i>nóto</i>	[nótò]	‘NEG.FOC’
/ŋ/ /n/	<i>tón</i>	[tón]	‘town’	<i>tóng</i>	[tón]	‘tongue’
/ɲ/ /y/	<i>nyú</i>	[nú]	‘be new’	<i>yú</i>	[jú]	‘2SG.INDP’
/j/ /w/	<i>yés</i>	[jés]	‘ear’	<i>wés</i>	[wés]	‘buttocks’
/kp/ /gb/	<i>kpu</i>	[kpù]	‘IDEO’	<i>gbin</i>	[gbin]	‘IDEO’

[bádʒìn~vádʒìn] ‘virgin’, *ívin* [íbìn~ívìn] ‘evening’, *óva* [óbà~óvà] ‘over, be excessive’, *seven* [sébèn~sévèn] ‘seven’, and *ríva* [ribà~rívà] ‘river’. Free variation is also encountered in the Spanish-derived lexicon of most speakers, as in *abuela* [abwɛla~aʃwɛla~avwɛla] ‘grandmother’.

In a third group of words, we only find /b/, which therefore does not alternate with /v/. Hence, we find *fiba* [fíbà] ‘resemble’, *liba* [líbà] ‘liver’, *súb* [súb] ‘shove’, *híb* [híb] ‘throw’, *bába* [bábà] ‘cut hair’, and *débul* [débùl] ‘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/:

The voiceless postalveolar affricate tends to be unstable with many speakers and optionally alternates with the voiceless palatal plosive [c] and sometimes with the voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ], particularly in word-final position. Hence we find *tách* [tótʃ~tóc~tʃ] ‘touch’. A small number of speakers, all of which belong to Group 1 (cf. §1.3) exhibit 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. *jóch=an* [dʒódʒàn] ‘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. *chénc=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 *jóch* ‘judge’ (but not in others, e.g. *kéch* ‘catch’).

/s/:

The voiced alveolar fricative [z] is attested as a free variant of the voiceless alveolar fricative between two vowels in word-medial position, e.g. *ísi* [ízi~ísi] ‘be easy’ and *lési* [lézi~lési] ‘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: *kwésɔn* [kwésjɔn~kwésʃɔn] ‘question’, *nésɔn* [nésjɔn~néʃɔn] ‘nation(ality)’, *séb* [séb~féb] ‘share’, *sék* [sék~fék] ‘shake’, *sém* [sém~fém] ‘shame’, *sót* [sót~fót] ‘be short, shirt’, *sén* [sén~fén] ‘same’, and *sóp* [fóp] ‘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 *fəséka* [fəsékà] ‘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.

/nj/ 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* [jándá~njándá] ‘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* [ɲàngá] ‘put on airs’, *nyankwé* [ɲànkwé] ‘(the) nyankwé (dance)’, *nyóní* [ɲóní] ‘ant’, and *nyús* [ɲús] ‘news’. The phoneme /ɲ/ is also found in a word-medial, syllable on-set position in two words in the corpus, namely in the place name *Panyá* [pàɲá] ‘Spain’ and in the ideophone *ményéményé* [ménéméné] ‘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. *yés* [jés] ‘yes’, *yét* [jét] ‘yet’, *yéstadé* [jéstàdé] ‘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.

2 Segmental phonology

/j/:

This voiced palatal approximant is a phoneme in its own right in words like *yú* [jú] ‘2SG.INDP’, *yá* [já] ‘here’, *yés* [jés] ‘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* [gádin~gjádin], *gál* [gál~gjál] ‘girl’, *gél* [gél~gjél] ‘girl’, *káp* [káp~kjáp] ‘cap’, *kápinta* [kápintà~kjápintà] ‘carpenter’, and *kér* [kér~kjér] ‘carry’. In contrast, a /j/ is not normally inserted in other words of English origin like *gét* [gét] ‘get’, *kán* [kán~kám] ‘come’, and *káyn* [káj] ‘kind’, as well as a group of words of non-English origin with an L.H pitch pattern, amongst them *garí* [gàrì] ‘gari’, *kaká* [kàkà] ‘defecate’, *kasára* [kàsàrà] ‘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 pronunciation 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: *màred* [màxèd~màyèd~màrèd] ‘marry’, *dríng* [dʒíng~dýíng~dríng] ‘drink’, *kér* [kèʁ~kéɣ~kéɾ] ‘carry’, and *rés* [ʁés~ɣés~rés] ‘rice’. The orthography represents this segment as <r> and as [r] for phonemic and phonetic transcriptions.

/h/:

This voiced glottal 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* [hála] ‘shout’, *hós* [hós] ‘house’, and *héd* [héd] ‘head’. The group also includes two words with a word-medial /h/, namely *bihén* [bihén] ‘behind’ and *wahála* [wàhàlà] ‘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* [évi~ébi~hévi~hébi] ‘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’, *hélp* ‘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* [óvə] ‘be excessive, over’, *ónli* [ónli] ‘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’.

2.3 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

i	u
e	o
ɛ	ɔ
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

<i>mín</i>	[mín]	‘mean’
<i>mún</i>	[mún]	‘moon’
<i>mén</i>	[mén]	‘heal’
<i>mán</i>	[mán]	‘man’
<i>yés</i>	[jés]	‘ear’
<i>yés</i>	[jés]	‘yes’
<i>ól</i>	[ól]	‘all’
<i>ól</i>	[ól]	‘be old’
<i>kól</i>	[kól]	‘call’
<i>kól</i>	[kól]	‘be cold’

2.4 Vowel allophony and alternation

Pichi shows some lexically determined vowel alternation. Hence we find alternate forms like *kér~kéri~kári* ‘carry, take’, *lék~láyk* ‘(to) like’, *gél~gál* ‘girl’, *unu~una* ‘2PL’, *wónt~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 *yés* [jés] ‘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: *lék* [lék~lék] ‘like’, *chék* [tʃék~tʃék] ‘check’, *kér* [kér~kér] ‘carry’, and *nék* [nék~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. *kól* [kól] ‘call’ and *fɔ* [fɔ] ‘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* [fɔ~fò] ‘PREP’, the comparative adverb *mó* [mó~mó] ‘more’, the negator *nó* [nó~nó] ‘NEG’, the coordinator *ɔ* [ɔ~ò] ‘or’, the TMA marker *nóba* [nóbà~nóbà] ‘NEG.PRF’. The negative focus marker *cum* negative identity copula *nóto* ‘NEG.FOC’ is however routinely pronounced [nótò].

2.5 Phonological processes

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

2.5.1 Lenition and fortition

Lenition, the weakening of segments, may affect stops in intervocalic position as in *bigín* [bìyín] ‘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:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|---|----------|---------------------|
| (1) | <i>Big.dé</i> [bigdé] | → | <i>E</i> | <i>bíg.</i> [è bík] |
| | big.day | | 3SG.SBJ | be.big |
| | ‘Festivity’ | | | ‘It’s big.’ |

- (2) *Híb=an!* [híbàn] → *Híb!* [híp]
 throw=3SG.OBJ throw
 ‘Throw it!’ ‘Throw!’
- (3) *Bad-hát* [bàdhát] → *E* *bád.* [è bát]
 bad.CPD-heart 3SG.SBJ be.bad
 ‘Be mean’ ‘It’s bad.’

2.5.2 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* [grídi~grídin] ‘be greedy’, *hángri* [hángri~hángрін] ‘be hungry’, *hónti* [hónti~hóntin] ‘hunt’, *hóri* [hóri~hórin] ‘hurry’, *ísi* [ísi~ísin] ‘be easy’, *lési* [lési~lésin] ‘be lazy’, *lóki* [lóki~lókin] ‘be lucky’, *sóri* [sóri~sórin] ‘be sorry’, *wóri* [wóri~wórin] ‘worry’, and *tósti* [tósti~tóstin] ‘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 *fisin* [fisín] ‘(to) fish’, *ívin* [ívín] ‘evening’, *mónin* [mónín] ‘morning’, and *pikín* [pikín] ‘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 *redí* [rèdí] ‘be ready’, *greví* [grèví] ‘gravy’, and *dotí* [dòti] ‘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’, *den* ‘3PL’, and *dén* ‘3PL.INDP’, the preposition *frən* ‘from’, the locative noun *bətən* ‘under(side)’, the TMA marker and verb *kən* ‘PFV, come’, the determiner *sən* ‘some, a’, and the pronominal *sén* ‘same’. In these words, the final nasal is conditioned by the place of articulation of the following segment:

- (4) *Den bəkú.* [dè**m** bəkú]
 3PL be.much
 ‘They’re many.’
- (5) *Den gó dé.* [dè**ŋ** gó dé]
 3PL go there
 ‘They went there.’
- (6) *Pút=an dé!* [pútàn **dé**]
 put=3SG.OBJ there
 ‘Put it there!’

2 Segmental phonology

Anticipatory nasalisation of a vowel preceding the nasal consonant of these function words is also commonplace (7). The word-final nasal of these words may be deleted altogether, in which case a nasal trace is left behind with the preceding vowel (8):

- (7) *Den kán gí yú.* [dèŋ káŋ gí jú]
3PL PFV give 2SG.INDP
'(Then) they gave (it) to you.'
- (8) *Háw den de kól=an?* [háw dèn dè kólǎ]
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 (9) and (10), 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] (11):

- (9) *A sabí=an.* [à sàbíǎn]
1SG.SBJ know=3SG.OBJ
'I know her.'
- (10) *A gét sɔn den.* [à gét sɔn dènm]
1SG.SBJ get some PL
'I have some of them.'
- (11) *Kán!* [kám]
come
Come!

The orthographic choice of <n> for the word-final nasal with these grammatical words reflects these tendencies. Nevertheless, 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.

2.5.3 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 *den de kéch dén* → [den de kéch dén] 'they [IPFV] catch them'. Compare (12) and (13). Note that in (12), the speaker also collapses the phonemic contrast between /e/ and /ɛ/ in *mék* /mék/ 'make' (cf. §2.4):

- (12) *Dén dé mék=an só. [dèn dè mékàn só]*
 3PL IPFV make=3SG.OBJ like.that
 ‘They do it like that.’
- (13) *Dén de kéch dén dé. [dèn dè kéch dén dé]*
 3PL IPFV catch 3PL.INDP there
 ‘They habitually catch them there.’
- (14) *E dón drónɡo. [è dón drónɡò]*
 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.

2.5.4 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. 16–17). 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 *néa* ‘NEG.PRF’, is not pronounced as the fuller variant [névə-nébà] in natural speech in the corpus. The virtually complete sound change of this TMA marker is reflected in the orthographic choice of *néa* (15).

This contrasts with the pronunciation of the functionally equivalent word *nóba* [nóbà ~nòà] ‘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):

- (15) *Dén néa rích dé. [dèn néà 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-silíp] ‘lie down’, *smól* [smól-simól-sùmól] ‘be small’, and *snék* [snék-sinék] ‘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 *strón* [strón~trón] ‘be strong’. Next to the words listed above, four additional words occur with an initial /s/ only once in the corpus, namely *tínáp* [stínàp~tínàp] and its variant *tánáp* [stánàp~tánàp] ‘stand (up)’, *pínch* [spíntʃ~píntʃ] ‘pinch’, and *trím-bul* [strimbùl~trimbùl] ‘tremble’. 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 *hélp* [hélp~hélèp] ‘help’, *bélt* [bélt~bélèt], and *milk* [mílk~mílik] ‘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 (16) and (17) below.

- (16) A *de sí bíg bíg fâya*. [à dè sí **bí bí** fâjà]
 1SG.SBJ IPFV see big REP fire
 ‘I was seeing a huge fire.’
- (17) *If yu hól wán motó (...)* [if jù **hó** wă 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, §2.6.3 and §3.3. The latter section also treats the insertion of a linking /r/.

2.6 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).

2.6.1 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.

2.6.2 The syllable

The syllable template in Pichi is (C)(C)(C)(V)V(C)(C). A vowel constitutes 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.

2.6.2.1 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	l	w	j	kp	gb
IO	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
MO	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-
MC	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
FC	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-

Table 2.5 allows the conclusion that all twenty-two consonant phonemes save /ɲ/ occur as word-initial onsets. All consonants except /ɲ/, /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/ (*bihén* ‘behind’ and *wahála*

‘trouble’). Sixteen consonants occur in word-final codas. Examples of the distribution of consonants follow in Table 2.6.

Only roots are taken into account in Table 2.6, 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 *təch-təch* ‘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, and 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 *kér* [kér-kjér] ‘carry’, while the sequence /sj/ appears in variants like *sóp* [sóp-sjóp] ‘shop’ (cf. also §2.2).

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. *hélp* [hélèp] ‘help’). Possible cluster permutations in the coda are listed in Table 2.8.

2.6.2.2 Distribution of vowels and approximants

All Pichi vowels may occur in 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. *adónké* ‘even if’, *éf* ‘if’, and *áfta* ‘then’), locative nouns (e.g. *ínsay* ‘inside’ and *ontóp* ‘(on)top’), quantifiers (e.g. *śda* ‘other’, *éni* ‘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 *énta* ‘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’, *belé* ‘belly’, *fə* ‘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. *bi.ó* [L.H] ‘behold’, *klí.a* [H.L] ‘clear’ vs. **fə=an* [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 admissible vowel combinations, provided in Table 2.9.

Table 2.6 Examples of consonant distribution

	IO	MO		MC		FC
/p/	<i>pépa</i>	‘paper’	<i>kapú</i>	‘fight’	<i>baptáys</i>	‘baptise’
/b/	<i>bét</i>	‘bite’	<i>líba</i>	‘liver’	—	<i>tép</i> ‘tape’
/t/	<i>tách</i>	‘touch’	<i>nóto</i>	‘NEG.FOC’	—	<i>híb</i> ‘throw’
/d/	<i>dásol</i>	‘only’	<i>ódá</i>	‘other’	—	<i>pút</i> ‘put’
/k/	<i>kúk</i>	‘cook’	<i>bókú</i>	‘much’	<i>dókta</i>	‘doctor’
/g/	<i>gód</i>	‘God’	<i>bigín</i>	‘begin’	—	<i>blód</i> ‘blood’
/tʃ/	<i>chóp</i>	‘eat’	<i>máchis</i>	‘matches’	—	<i>lúk</i> ‘look’
/dʒ/	<i>júmp</i>	‘jump’	<i>vájin</i>	‘virgin’	—	<i>bég</i> ‘ask for’
/f/	<i>fút</i>	‘foot, leg’	<i>fufú</i>	‘fufu’	—	<i>wách</i> ‘watch’
/v/	<i>visít</i>	‘visit’	<i>greví</i>	‘grave’	<i>áfta</i>	—
/s/	<i>sté</i>	‘stay’	<i>pósin</i>	‘person’	—	<i>léf</i> ‘leave’
/r/	<i>rób</i>	‘rub’	<i>torí</i>	‘story’	<i>lístin</i>	—
/h/	<i>héd</i>	‘head’	<i>bihén</i>	‘behind’	<i>malérya</i>	<i>néks</i> ‘next’
/m/	<i>mék</i>	‘make’	<i>mamá</i>	‘mother’	—	<i>bér</i> ‘bury’
/n/	<i>nák</i>	‘hit’	<i>fínis</i>	‘finish’	<i>hambóg</i>	—
/ɲ/	<i>nyóní</i>	‘ant’	<i>Panyá</i>	‘Spain’	<i>wínda</i>	<i>ném</i> ‘name’
/ŋ/	—	—	—	—	—	<i>bin</i> ‘PST’
/l/	<i>lét</i>	‘be late’	<i>pála</i>	‘parlour’	<i>bangá</i>	—
/w/	<i>wín</i>	‘defeat’	<i>áwa</i>	‘hour’	<i>sólya</i>	<i>líng</i> ‘lean’
/j/	<i>yá</i>	‘here’	<i>fáya</i>	‘fire’	<i>páwda</i>	<i>púl</i> ‘remove’
/kp/	<i>kpu</i>	‘IDEO’	—	—	<i>dráya</i>	<i>háv</i> ‘how’
/gb/	<i>gbín</i>	‘IDEO’	—	—	—	<i>yáy</i> ‘eye’
						—
						—

Table 2.7 Onset consonant clusters

Structure	Composition	Example	Translation
CCV	Stop + fricative	<i>pré</i>	‘pray’
		<i>brók</i>	‘break’
		<i>trén</i>	‘train’
		<i>drím</i>	‘dream’
		<i>krés</i>	‘be crazy’
	Stop + liquid	<i>grí</i>	‘agree’
		<i>plé</i>	‘play’
		<i>bló</i>	‘relax’
		<i>glás</i>	‘glass’
		<i>klás</i>	‘class’
	Stop + approximant	<i>pyó</i>	‘be pure’
		<i>bwél</i>	‘boil’
		<i>eskyús</i>	‘excuse (me)’
		<i>tyúsde</i>	‘Tuesday’
		<i>gál</i> [gjal]	‘girl’
		<i>kér</i> [kjer]	‘carry, take’
		<i>kwáta</i>	‘quarter’
		<i>spétikul</i>	‘glasses’
		<i>stón</i>	‘stone’
		<i>skúl</i>	‘school’
	Fricative + stop	<i>smál</i>	‘small’
		<i>snék</i>	‘snake’
	Fricative + nasal	<i>sló</i>	‘be slow’
	Fricative + liquid	<i>konfyús</i>	‘confuse’
	Fricative + approximant	<i>fwífwífwí</i>	‘sound of wind blowing’
		<i>séb</i> [sjéb]	‘divide, share’
		<i>swét</i>	‘(to) sweat’
		<i>fráy</i>	‘fry’
		<i>jwén</i>	‘join’
	Nasal + approximant	<i>nyús</i>	‘news’
CCCV	Fricative + stop + fricative	<i>strét</i>	‘be straight’
		<i>skrách</i>	‘scratch’
	Fricative + stop + approximant	<i>spwél</i>	‘spoil, spend’
		<i>styú</i>	‘stew’
		<i>skwís</i>	‘squeeze’

Table 2.8 Coda consonant clusters

Structure	Composition	Example	Translation
VCC	Stop + fricative	<i>éks</i>	‘egg’
	Nasal + stop	<i>lámp</i>	‘lamp’
		<i>pént</i>	‘paint’
		<i>kónk</i>	‘snail’
	Nasal + affricate	<i>chénych</i>	‘change’
	Nasal + fricative	<i>séns</i>	‘brain’
	Liquid + stop	<i>hélp</i>	‘help’
		<i>bélt</i>	‘belt’
		<i>mílk</i>	‘milk’
	Liquid + affricate	<i>bélch</i>	‘belch’
	Approximant + stop	<i>wáyp</i>	‘wipe’
		<i>dráyv</i>	‘drive’
		<i>táyt</i>	‘be tight’
		<i>háyd</i>	‘hide’
		<i>láyk</i>	‘like’
		<i>stáwt</i>	‘be corpulent’
		<i>práwd</i>	‘be boastful’
	Approximant + fricative	<i>láyf</i>	‘life’
		<i>náys</i>	‘be nice’
	Approximant + nasal	<i>fáyn</i>	‘be fine’
		<i>ráwn</i>	‘surround’
	Approximant + liquid	<i>stáyl</i>	‘manner’

Table 2.9 Vowel sequences

	i	u	o	ε	a
i			ìó	îê	îà

2 Segmental phonology

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 (18):

- (18) *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 [áj]). 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 *dréb* ‘drive’ features the variants [dréb~dráj]. However this free alternation is not encountered with other words to which it could potentially apply. Hence on the one hand, we find *bét* [bét] and *fét* [fét] ‘fight’. On the other hand, words like *bráyt* [brájt] ‘be bright’, *táyt* [tájt] ‘be tight’, and *wáyp* [wájɔp] ‘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:

(19)	Group 1	<i>bóy</i>	[bɔ́j]	‘boy’
		<i>óyl</i>	[ɔ́jl]	‘oil’
	Group 2	<i>spwél</i>	[spwél~spɔ́jl]	‘spoil, spend’
		<i>bwél</i>	[bwél~bɔ́jl]	‘boil’
		<i>jwén</i>	[dʒwén~dʒɔ́jn]	‘join’
	Group 3	<i>swéla</i>	[swélà]	‘swallow’
		<i>kwénch</i>	[kwéntʃ]	‘die off’
		<i>kwésɔn</i>	[kwésjɔn]	‘question’
		<i>wél</i>	[wél]	‘be well’

Note that group 1 contrasts with group 2 in that [ɔj] in group 1 is either word-final (i.e. *bóy*) or word-initial and the nucleus of a syllable without an onset (i.e. *óyl*). In turn, words in group 3 are either bisyllabic (i.e. *kwésɔn* and *swéla*) and feature a consonant cluster in the coda (i.e. *kwénch*) or begin with the alternating feature (i.e. *wél*). Hence the characteristic environment for the [wɛ~ɔj] 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]).

2.6.3 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* [úkájɲ] ‘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~à~à]. Under certain conditions, the enclisis of *=an* triggers a tone-conditioned suppletive allomorphy, a (tonal) phonotactic phenomenon described in §3.2.5.

3 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 2009a,c), 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 2018), 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.

3.1 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.

3 Suprasegmental phonology

Consider the citation form of *tén* ‘time’ in Figure 3.1. Here the declarative L% (L boundary tone), which follows the lexical H tone over /é/, 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 *tók* ‘talk’ in Figure 3.2 cannot bear tone, so the utterance-final declarative L% is borne by the vowel alone.

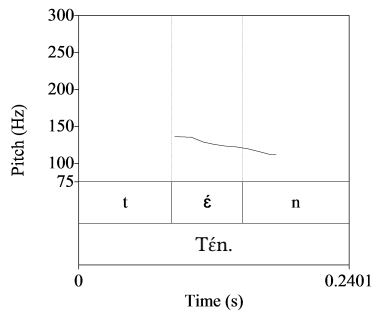


Figure 3.1 Citation form of *tén*

- (1) *Tén.*
HL%
‘Time.’

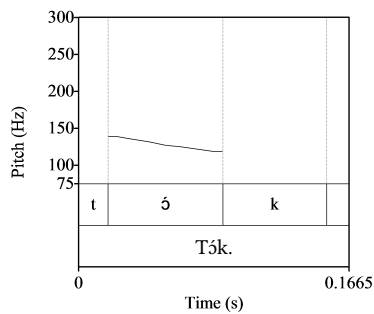
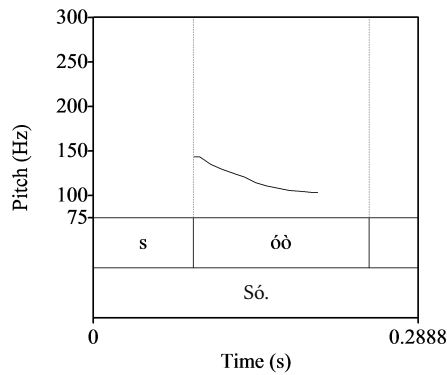


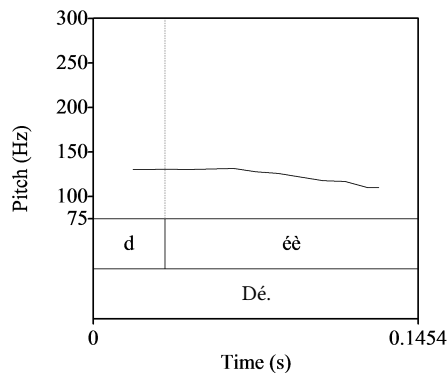
Figure 3.2 Citation form of *tók*

- (2) *Tók.*
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 *tʃk* ‘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 Figure 3.3 and Figure 3.4 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*

- (3) *Só.*
HL%
‘Like that.’

Figure 3.4 Citation form of *dé*

- (4) *Dé.*
 HL%
 ‘There.’

3.1.1 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 present the pitch trace and segmentation of the two words *hásis* /H.L/ ‘ashes’ and *dotí* /L.H/ ‘be dirty’ said in isolation. The two words *hásis* and *dotí*

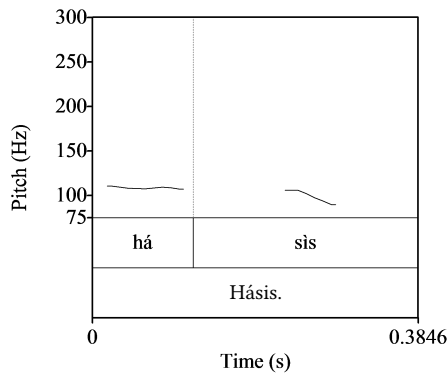


Figure 3.5 H.L pattern

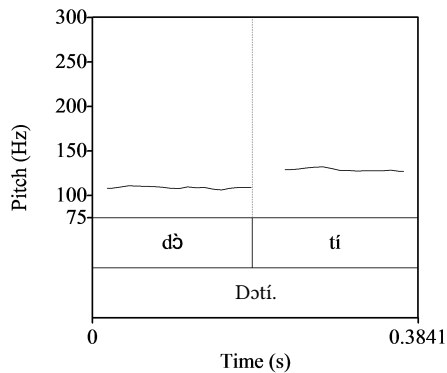


Figure 3.6 L.H pattern

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 *dɔ́tí* 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 *dɔ́tí*.

Table 3.1 Pitch values

Hertz	<i>dɔ́tí</i>	<i>hásis</i>
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	93.50

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 *dɔ́tí* 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 *nyóní* ‘ant’ and *Bata* ‘Fang’ in the collocations *lek nyóní* ‘like ants’ and *ták Bata* ‘speak Fang’ in Figure 3.7 and Figure 3.8.

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

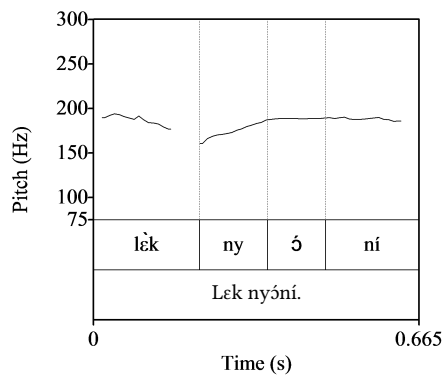


Figure 3.7 H.H pattern

3 Suprasegmental phonology

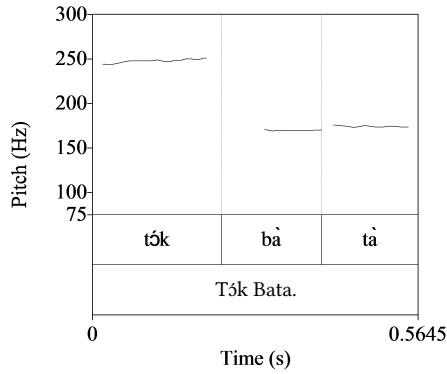


Figure 3.8 L.L. pattern

the tone languages of Equatorial Guinea (Lipski 2015; Bordal Steien & Yakpo 2018). Words codeswitched or borrowed from Equatoguinean Spanish are therefore specified for lexical tone just like Pichi words.

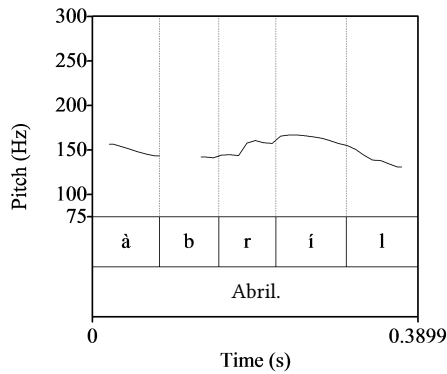


Figure 3.9 Pitch over Spanish *abril*

Figure 3.9 and Figure 3.10 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.

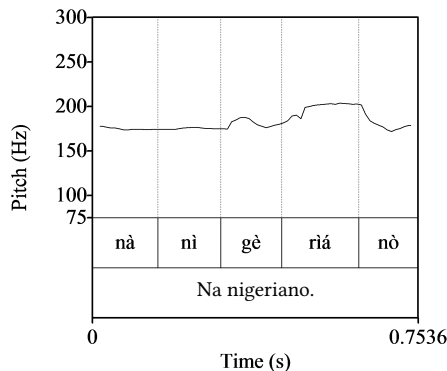


Figure 3.10 Pitch over Spanish *nigeriano*

3.1.2 Lexical and morphological tone

A small number of monosyllabic roots are distinguished from each other by pitch alone. The list in (5) 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.

(5) L tone		H tone	
<i>bay</i>	‘by’	<i>báy</i>	‘buy’
<i>bət</i>	‘but’	<i>bót</i>	‘hit with the head’
<i>de</i>	‘IPFV’	<i>dé</i>	‘day, there’
<i>di</i>	‘DEF’	<i>dí</i>	‘this’
<i>lek</i>	‘like’	<i>lék</i>	‘(to) like’
<i>so</i>	‘so’	<i>só</i>	‘like this, sew, show’
<i>wet</i>	‘with’	<i>wét</i>	‘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.

(6) Homophones			
<i>dé</i>	‘day, there, BE.LOC’	<i>líf</i>	‘leaf, live’
<i>an</i>	‘3SG.OBJ, and’	<i>lós</i>	‘loose, louse’
<i>día</i>	‘deer, expensive’	<i>na</i>	‘FOC, LOC’
<i>bia</i>	‘beer, bear’	<i>nó</i>	‘know, NEG’
<i>bló</i>	‘blow, relax’	<i>nyús</i>	‘news, use’
<i>fɛl</i>	‘fowl, to rain’	<i>pía</i>	‘avocado, pair’
<i>fɛs</i>	‘first, force’	<i>ráyt</i>	‘right, write’

3 Suprasegmental phonology

<i>fīl</i>	‘feel, field’	<i>rés</i>	‘rest, rice’
<i>hát</i>	‘heart, to hurt’	<i>rón</i>	‘run, be wrong’
<i>hía</i>	‘hear, here, year, hair’	<i>só</i>	‘sew, show’
<i>hól</i>	‘hole, hold, whole’	<i>sót</i>	‘shirt, short’
<i>(h)ót</i>	‘extinguish, hot’	<i>tón</i>	‘town, turn’
<i>klós</i>	‘clothing’	<i>tú</i>	‘too (much), two’
<i>kós</i>	‘cost, (to) insult’	<i>wé</i>	‘way, SUB’
<i>léf</i>	‘leave, left’	<i>wích</i>	‘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’, *den* ‘3PL’ – *dén* ‘3PL.INDP’). Pichi also features a morphological tonal process (cf. §3.2.4). In addition, there are three items that 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. *ef* ‘if’), or prepositions (e.g. *pan* ‘on’). Low-toned function words, except dependent personal pronouns, are listed in (7).

(7) Low-toned function words

<i>di</i>	‘DEF’	<i>lɛk(ɛ)</i>	‘like’
<i>sɔn</i>	‘some, a’	<i>na</i>	‘LOC, FOC’
<i>bin</i>	‘PST’	<i>pan</i>	‘on’
<i>de</i>	‘IPFV’	<i>to</i>	‘to’
<i>go</i>	‘POT’	<i>wet</i>	‘with’
<i>kin</i>	‘HAB’	<i>an</i>	‘and’
<i>mɔs</i>	‘OBL’	<i>ɔ</i>	‘or’
<i>bay</i>	‘by’	<i>ɛf(ɛ)</i>	‘if’
<i>fɔ</i>	‘PREP’	<i>bɔt</i>	‘but’
<i>fɾɔn</i>	‘from’	<i>so</i>	‘so’

There are, however, limits to this pattern of functional differentiation by tone. The monosyllabic roots *dɔn* ‘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).

3.1.3 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. *nyóní* ‘ant’ < Mende *yóní* ‘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. 7), 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 languages (e.g. Berry 1970; Cripser 1971; Cripser-Friedman 1990; Alleyne 1980; Gussenhoven & Udofot 2010; Bordial Steien 2015).

Table 3.2 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 numerous 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 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 codemixed 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.

Table 3.2 Distribution of tone classes over types

Tone classes	Examples	No. of items	% of total
Major			
H	<i>báy</i> ‘buy’, <i>áks</i> ‘ask’, <i>kér</i> ‘carry, take’	413	54.1
H.L	<i>dróngo</i> ‘be dead drunk’, <i>kómpin</i> ‘friend’	178	23.3
L.H	<i>bókú</i> ‘be much’, <i>sabí</i> ‘know’, <i>watá</i> ‘water’	107	14.0
Subtotal		717	91.5
Minor			
L	<i>de</i> ‘IPFV’, <i>go</i> ‘POT’, <i>son</i> ‘some, a’, <i>fo</i> ‘PREP’	19	2.5
L.H.L	<i>ospítul</i> ‘hospital’, <i>wahála</i> ‘trouble’	14	1.8
H.H	<i>nyóní</i> ‘ant’, <i>sóté</i> ‘until’, <i>sósó</i> ‘only’, <i>ápás</i> ‘after’	11	1.4
L.L.H	<i>ondastán</i> ‘understand’, <i>prəpatí</i> ‘property’	10	1.3
H.L.L	<i>kápinta</i> ‘carpenter’, <i>méresin</i> ‘medicine’	6	0.8
L.H.H	<i>okóbó</i> ‘impotent man’	3	0.4
L.L	<i>Bata</i> ‘PLACE’, <i>jomba</i> ‘lover’	2	0.3
Subtotal		46	8.5
Total		763	100.0

3.2 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 phonosyntactic 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.

3.2.1 Tone spreading

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

- (8) Yu bin *prómis* mí məní. → Yu bin ***prómis*** mí məní.
 L L H.L H L.H L L **H.H** H L.H
 2SG PST promise 1SG.INDP money
 ‘You promised me money.’

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

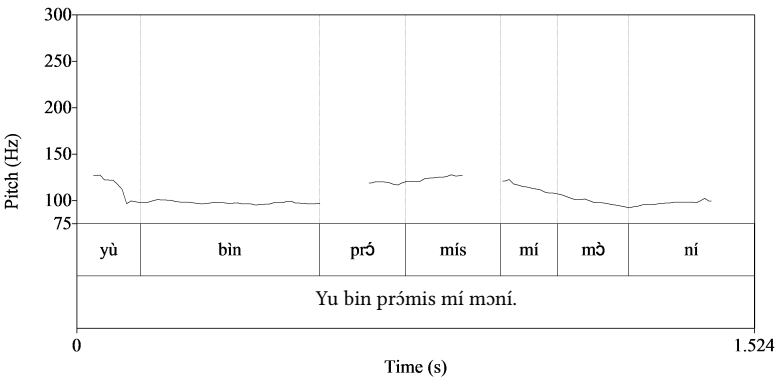


Figure 3.11 H tone spreading

3 Suprasegmental phonology

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 *vómit* ‘vomit’ and the following object *chóp* ‘food’.

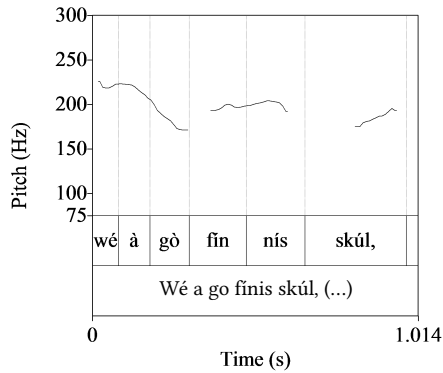


Figure 3.12 H tone spreading

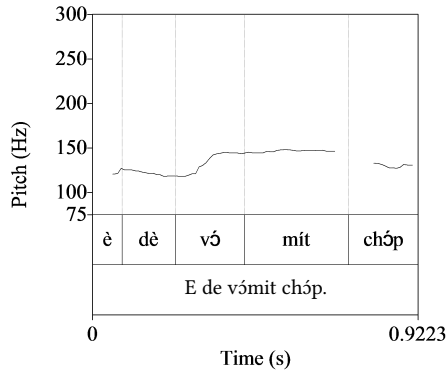


Figure 3.13 H tone spreading

- (9) *Wé a go fínis skúl, (...)* → *Wé a go **fínis** skúl, (...)*
 H L L H.L H H L L H.H H
 SUB 1SG.SBJ POT finish school
 ‘When I finish school, (...)’

- (10) *E de vómit chóp.* → *E de vómít chóp.*
 L L H.L H L L H.H H
 3SG.SBJ IPFV vomit food
 ‘He is vomiting (the) food.’

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 (16) 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’.

3.2.2 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.

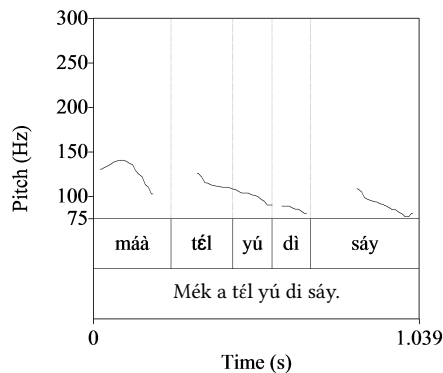


Figure 3.14 Vowel deletion sets tone afloat

3 Suprasegmental phonology

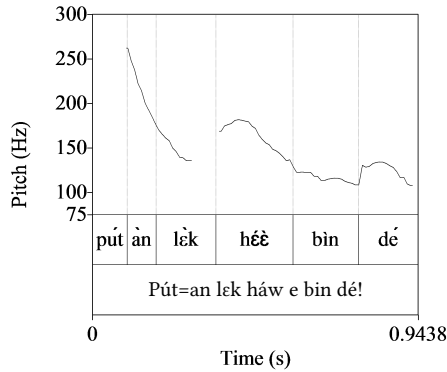


Figure 3.15 Vowel merger sets tone afloat

- (11) *Mék a tél yú di sáy.* → *Mâ tél yú di sáy.*
 H L H H L H HL H H L H
 SBJV 1SG.SBJ tell 2SG.INDP DEF side
 ‘Let me tell you the place.’
- (12) *Pút=an lek háw e bin dé!* → *Pút=an lek hế bin dé!*
 H=L L H L L H H=L L HL L H
 put=3SG.OBJ like how 3SG.SBJ PST BE.LOC
 ‘Put it like it was!’

3.2.3 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’.

- (13) *A mítp=an yéstadé 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 by the two successive homophones in Figure 3.17 and the iteration in Figure 3.18. We also find downdrift in both examples.

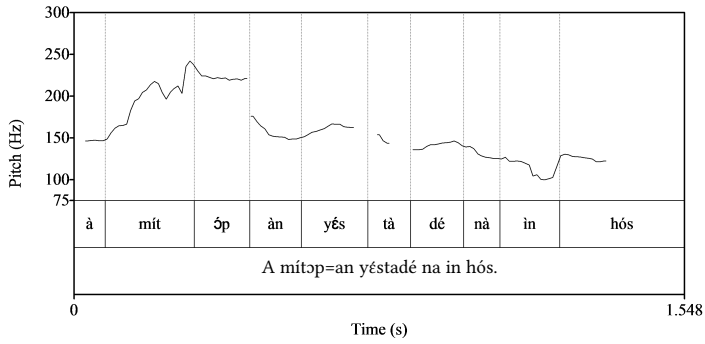


Figure 3.16 Downdrift

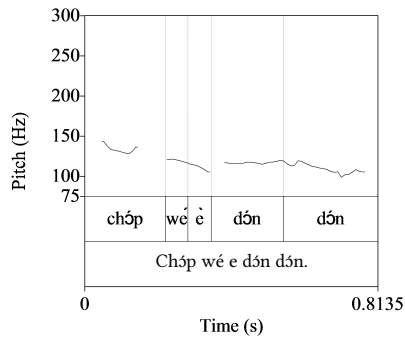


Figure 3.17 Downstep

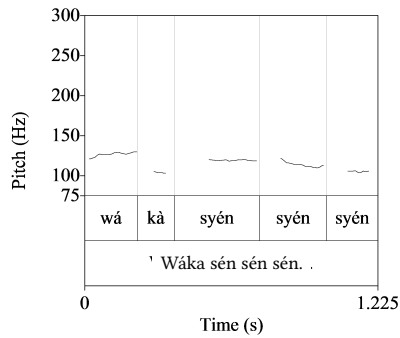


Figure 3.18 Downstep

3 Suprasegmental phonology

- (14) *Chóp wé e dón dón.*
 H -H L ↓H -H
 food SUB 3SG.SBJ PRF done
 ‘Food that is done.’

- (15) *Wáka sén sén sén.*
 H.L ↓H -H -H
 walk same REP REP
 ‘Walk exactly in one line.’

3.2.4 Deletion

Tone deletion occurs in two contexts. In compounds (including reduplications), the lexical H tone over the first component is deleted (also see [Yakpo 2012a](#)). 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).

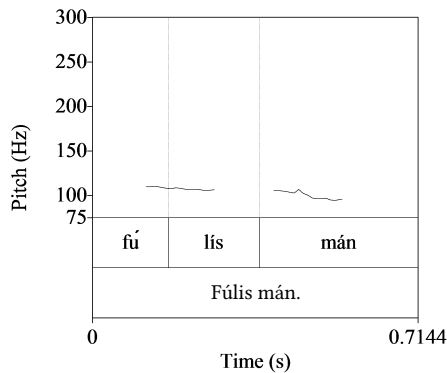


Figure 3.19 Simplex noun

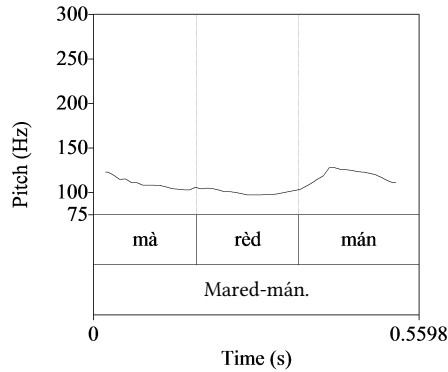


Figure 3.20 Compound noun

- (16) *Fúlis mán.*
 H.H H
 foolish man
 ‘Foolish man.’

- (17) ***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 show the same suprasegmental characteristics as compound nouns. The pitch trace of the reduplicated (and sentence-medial) monosyllabic *rón* ‘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.

3 Suprasegmental phonology

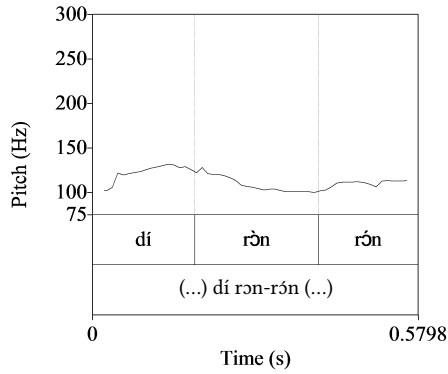


Figure 3.21 Monosyllabic reduplicated verb

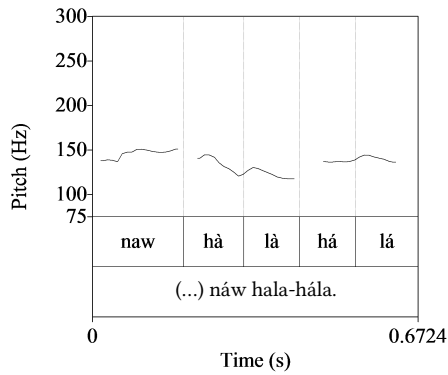


Figure 3.22 Bisyllabic reduplicated verb

- (18) (...) *dí* ***rɔn-rɔn*** (...)
 H L-H
 this RED.CPD-run
 ‘(...) this running around (...)’
- (19) (...) *naw* ***hala-hála***.
 H L.L-H.H
 now RED.CPD-shout
 ‘(...) now, (it was) constant shouting.’

3.2.5 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 *dróngo* ‘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 *dróngo* 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:

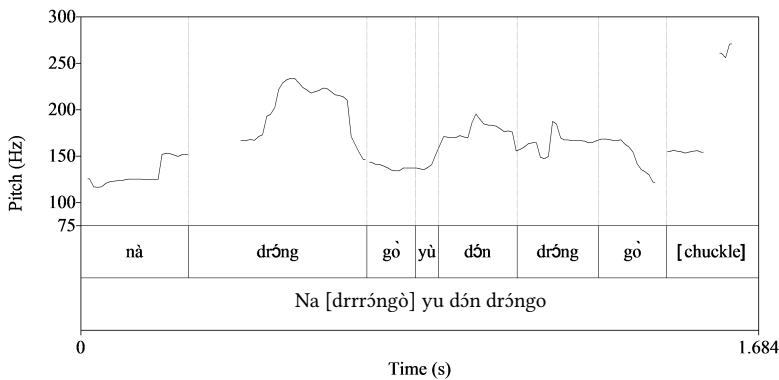


Figure 3.23 Predicate cleft and extra-high tone for emphasis

- (20) *Na [drrróngò] yu dón dróngo.*
 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*

3 Suprasegmental phonology

‘very big’, and the degree adverb *bád* ‘bad, extremely’. Both components of the repetition *bíg bíg* ‘be very big’ in Figure 3.24 carry an extra-high tone. There is no sign of downstep within the reduplicated sequence:

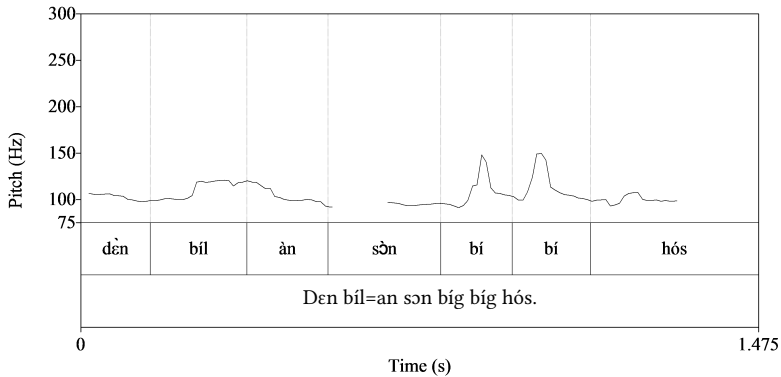


Figure 3.24 Extra-high tone

- (21) *Đen bíl=an sòn 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 (22).

- (22) *Yu húman de mék jomba wet mi mán.*
 L H.L L H L.L L L +HL%
 2SG woman IPFV make lover with 1SG.POSS man.
 ‘Your wife makes love 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

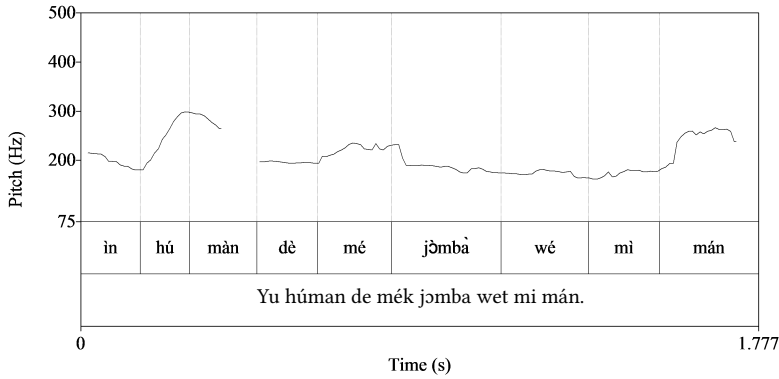


Figure 3.25 Utterance-final extra-high tone for emphasis

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 *dèn* at 145 Hz, until the pitch range gradually evens out towards the end of the utterance (23).

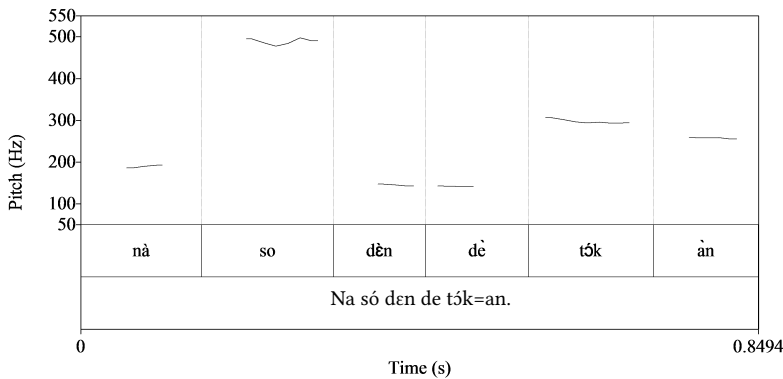


Figure 3.26 Pitch range expansion for emphasis

- (23) *Na só ðɛn de tʃk=an.*
 L +H +L +L +H=LH%
 FOC like.that 3PL IPFV talk=3SG.OBJ
 ‘That’s how they say it.’

3.3 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/___#	<i>=an</i>	[márèd= <i>àn</i>]
Ŵ/___#	<i>=an</i>	[tròwé= <i>àn</i>]
Ŵ/___#	<i>ín</i>	[fìbà <i>ín</i>]

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 (24).

- (24) *E go máred=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 *trówé* ‘throw, pour away’, since the vowel sequence across the morpheme boundary bears a polar [H.L] tone:

- (25) *A fít ték di wotá a trówé=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:

- (26) * *Yu fíba=an bókú.*
 2SG resemble=3SG.OBJ a.lot
 Intended: ‘You resemble him/her a lot.’
- (27) *Yu fíba ín bókú.*
 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 *firma* ‘sign’ (< Span. *firmar*) from the Spanish 1st conjugation class, and *sube* ‘go/bring up’ (< Span. *subir*) from the 3rd conjugation class:

- (28) *Den nó fírma ín yét.*
 3PL NEG sign 3SG.INDP yet
 ‘They haven’t signed it yet.’
- (29) *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:

- (30) *Yu fíba[r]=an bókú.*
 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 (24). Another example featuring epenthesis follows, involving the general associative preposition *fɔ* ‘PREP’. In (31), we find /r/ epenthesis, in (32), suppletive allomorphy:

- (31) *E tót=an fɔ[r]=an.*
 3SG.SBJ carry=3SG.OBJ PREP=3SG.OBJ
 ‘He carried it for her.’

3 Suprasegmental phonology

- (32) *Dán tín dé fɔ́ 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’, *dróngo[r]=an* ‘get him/her drunk’, and *fɔ́[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 verbs is 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. (33). 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.

- (33) * *Yu gét fɔ́ fírma[r]=an.*
 2SG get PREP sign=3SG.OBJ
 Intended: ‘You have to sign it.’

Pichi words with a word-final L-toned /i/, e.g. *wóri* ‘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 (34) and (35). Other verbs in this group are *sóri* ‘feel sorry’, *grídi* ‘be greedy’, *hángri* ‘be hungry’, *lési* ‘be lazy’, and *tósti* ‘be thirsty’.

- (34) * *Den wóri[r]=an bókú.*
 3PL worry=3SG.OBJ much
 Intended: ‘They worried him a lot.’
- (35) * *Den wóri ín bókú.*
 3PL worry 3SG.INDP much
 Intended: ‘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 (36):

- (36) *Di tín sórín=an bókú.*
 DEF thing make.sorry=3SG.OBJ much
 ‘This made her feel very sorry.’

Outside of the clitic environment, the wordfinal /i/ in these words may, but need not be pronounced as a nasalised vowel, as shown in the phonetic transcription in (37):

- (37) *A sóri [sóri] sé e kíl di dóg.*
 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 (37) 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 *sóri* (group 1) has been constructed by analogy with words like *fisin* ‘(to) fish’, *hóntin* ‘(to) hunt’, *mónin* ‘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.

3.4 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	—
Ø% (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 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. Ø%	Question LH%
L	<i>den</i> ‘3PL’ <i>Pichi</i> ‘Pichi’ L H.L	L (fall)	LH	L (level)	LH
H	<i>gó</i> ‘go’ <i>pikín</i> ‘child’ H L.H	HL	HLH	H	LH
H	<i>bóbí</i> ‘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.

3.4.1 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 *kóntri* ‘country’ in Figure 3.27.

- (38) A *bin wánt kómót na dís kóntri.*
 L L H L.H L H H.LL%
 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 *bóbí* ‘breast’ in Figure 3.28.

- (39) A *de gí=an bóbí.*
 L L H=L L.H
 1SG.SBJ IPFV give =3SG.OBJ
 ‘I’m breast-feeding her.’

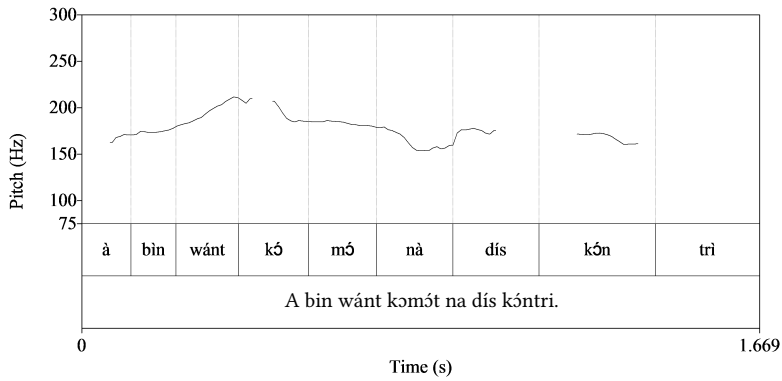


Figure 3.27 Declarative L% over H.L word

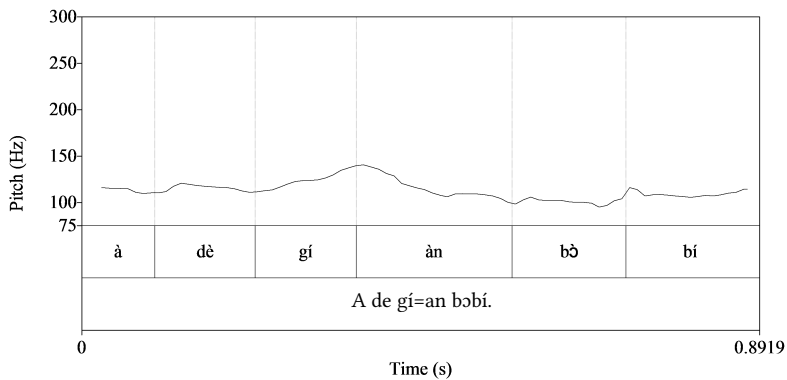


Figure 3.28 Unpronounced declarative L% over L.H word

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

- (40) *Wétin mék dán wán?*
 H.L H H HL%
 what make that one
 ‘What causes this?’

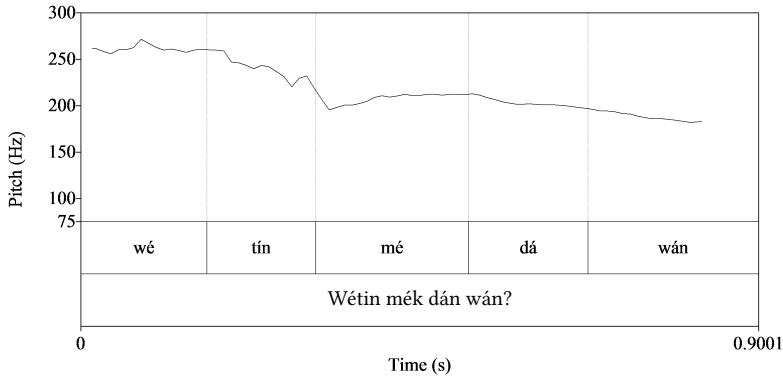


Figure 3.29 L% with content question

3.4.2 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’.

- (41) *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 Figure 3.31 and Figure 3.32.

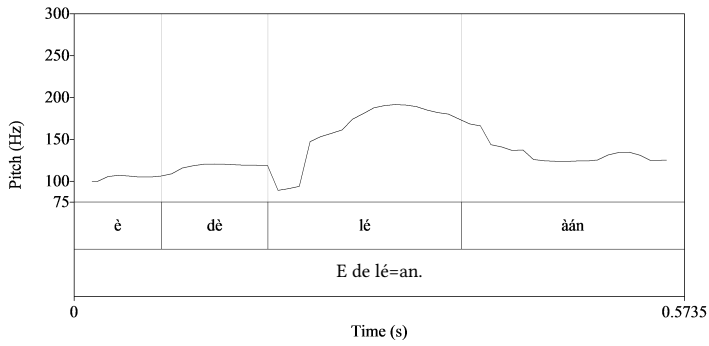


Figure 3.30 Emphatic LH% over L-final word

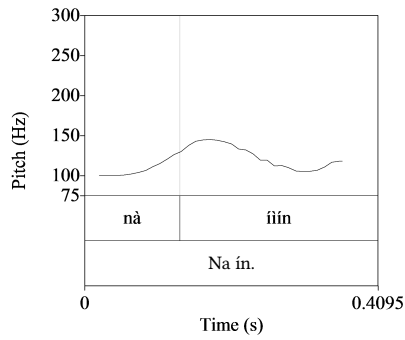


Figure 3.31 Emphatic LH% over H-final word

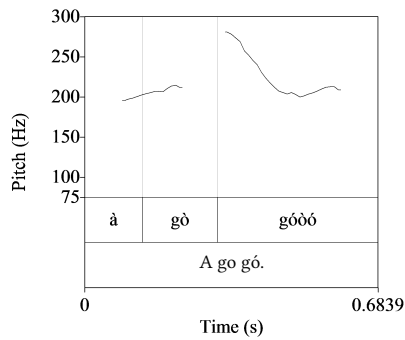


Figure 3.32 Emphatic LH% over H-final word

3 Suprasegmental phonology

(42) *Na ín.*

L HLH%

FOC 3SG.INDP

‘That’s it [you should know that].’

(43) *A go gó.*

L L HLH%

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 Figure 3.33 and Figure 3.34. The two words were pronounced with emphatic intonation during vocabulary elicitation because the speaker expected me to be familiar with them.

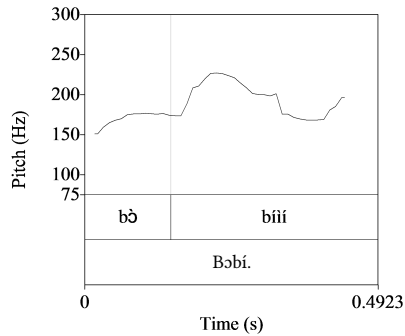


Figure 3.33 H% over vowel-final L.H word

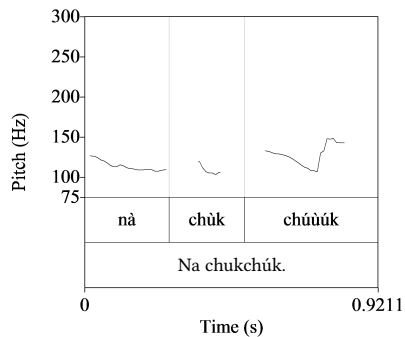


Figure 3.34 H% over obstruent-final L.H word

- (44) *Bóbí.*
 L.HLH%
 breast
 ‘Breast [that’s self-evident!].’
- (45) *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, European) Spanish together with the meanings associated with it. The LH% contour boundary tone is also employed for list intonation (cf. §3.4.3). Figure 3.35 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. Also compare the emphatic contour over the phonologically independent *sí* ‘yes’ with that of the high-toned *ín* ‘3SG.INDP’ in Figure 3.31.

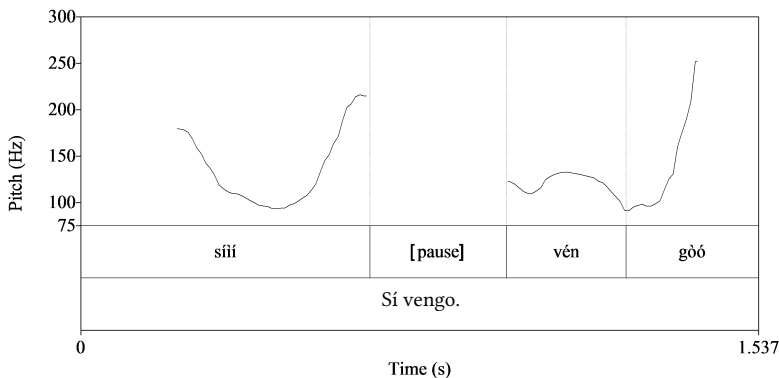


Figure 3.35 Emphatic intonation in European Spanish

- (46) *Sí vengo.*
 HLH% H.LH%
 yes I.come
 ‘Yes [you should know that!], I’ll come.’

3.4.3 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 cre-

3 Suprasegmental phonology

ates 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 European) 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 *den* ‘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 3.37. Compare this with the declarative L% over *dé* ‘there’, the closing sentence of the list in Figure 3.38.

- (47) A *de mék fínga den, manicura, (...)*
 L L H H.L LH% L.L.H.LH%
 1SG.SBJ IPFV make finger PL manicure
 ‘I was making fingers, manicure, (...)’
- (48) (...) *a de mék tapete den 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, (...)’
- (49) (...) *só a bin dé gét mí moní dé.*
 H L L L H L L.H HL%
 so 1SG.SBJ PST IPFV get 1SG.POSS money there
 ‘(...) so I was getting my money there.’

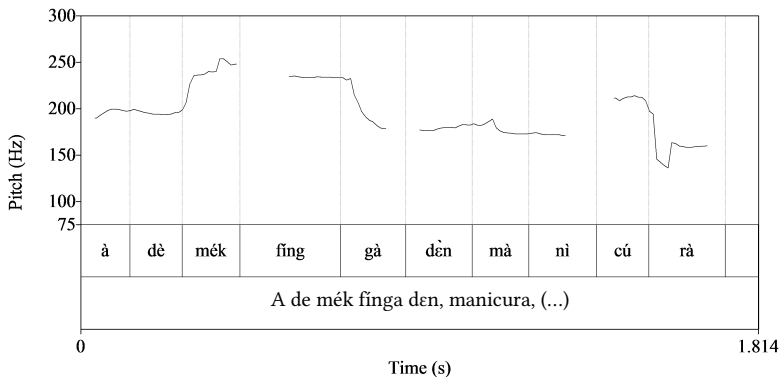


Figure 3.36 List intonation

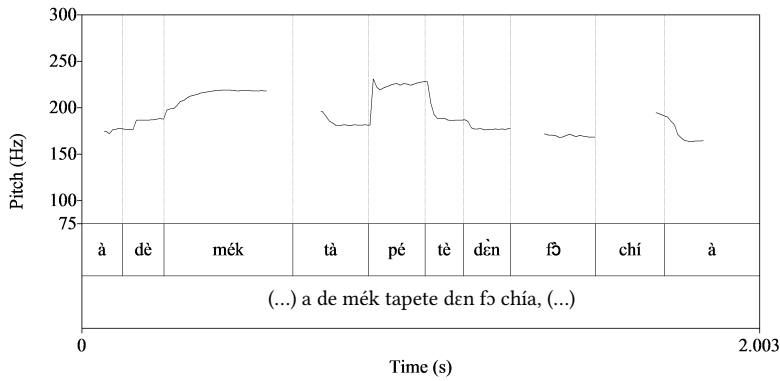


Figure 3.37 List intonation

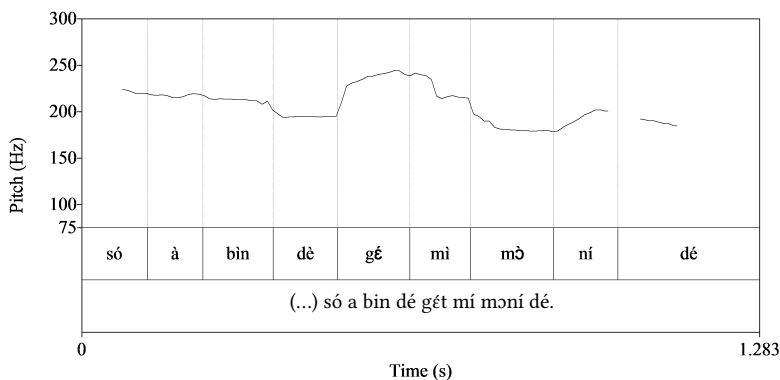


Figure 3.38 Declarative L% over final item in list

3.4.4 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

3 Suprasegmental phonology

utterance-final monosyllable *bád* ‘bad’, which features declarative intonation, signalled by L%. The symbol [p] indicates a pause. The pitch trace of the pronoun *e* ‘3SG.SBJ’ is slightly distorted due to creaky voice.

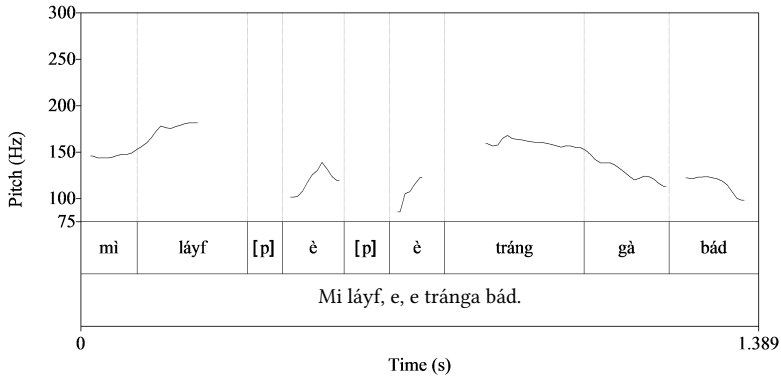


Figure 3.39 Continuitive intonation with topicalisation

- (50) *Mi láyf, e, e tráng bád.*
 L HØ% L L H.L HL%
 1SG.POSS life 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ be.strong bad
 ‘My life, it, it was really tough.’

Continuitive 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 *dí 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.

- (51) *Dí dé wé yu go wánt plánt=an, (...)*
 L H H L L H H=LØ%
 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 *dətals* ‘daughter-in-law’ and *sənils* ‘son-in-law’ in Figure 3.41.

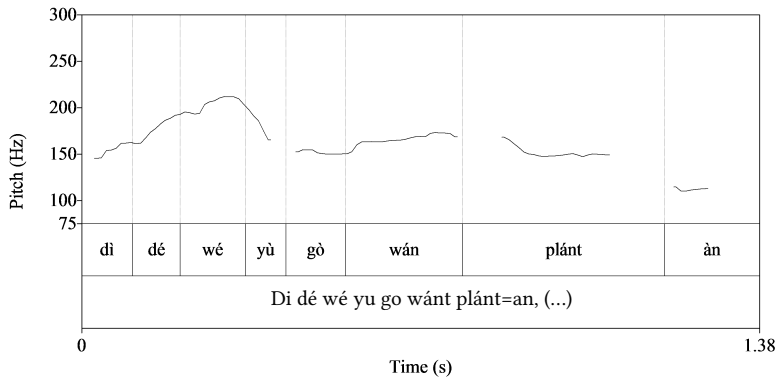


Figure 3.40 Continuitive intonation with clause linkage

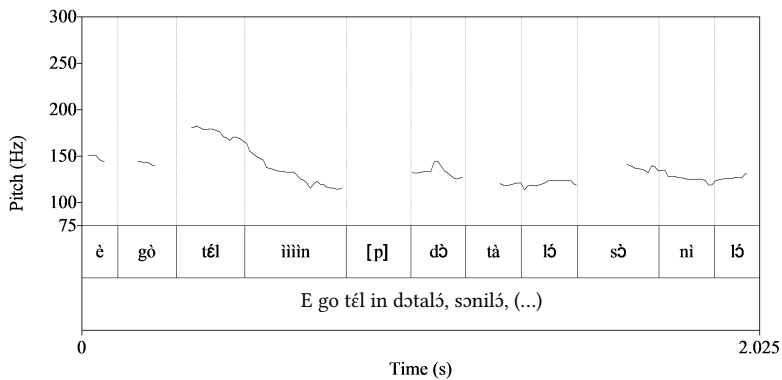


Figure 3.41 Continuitive intonation over non-final clause

- (52) E go tǎl in dǎtalǎ, sǎnilǎ, (...)
 L L H L L.L.HØ% L.L.HØ%
 3SG.SBJ POT tell 3SG.POSS daughter-in-law son-in-law
 'She would tell her daughter-in-law, son-in-law, (...)'

Continuitive 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'.

3 Suprasegmental phonology

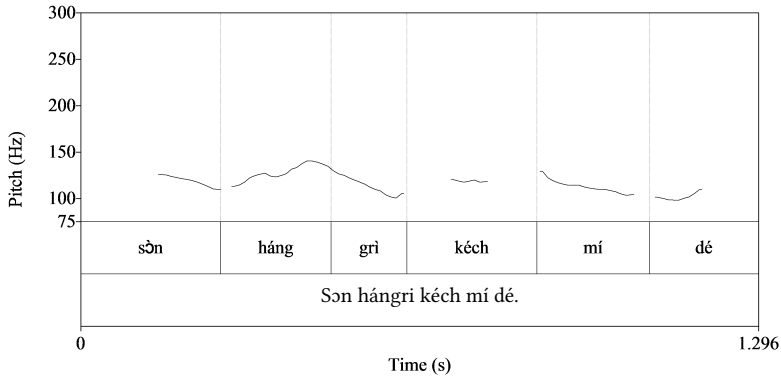


Figure 3.42 Continuative intonation for stylistic effect

- (53) *Sơn hàngri kéch mí dé.*
 L H.L H H HØ%
 some be.hungry catch 1SG.INDP there
 ‘I became really hungry there [you wouldn’t believe how much].’

3.4.5 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.

- (54) *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 *nó* as in the following example.

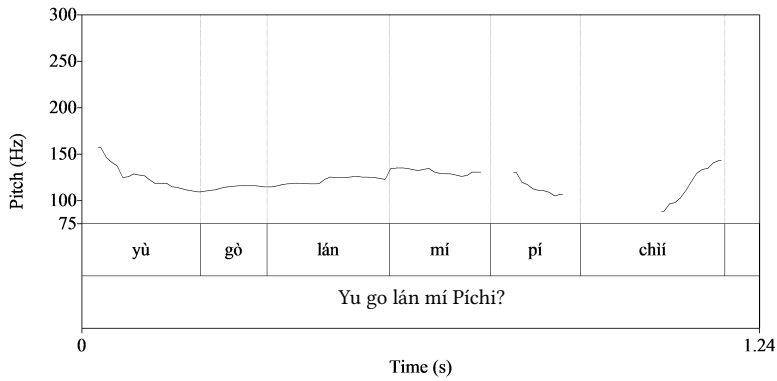


Figure 3.43 Non-emphatic yes-no question

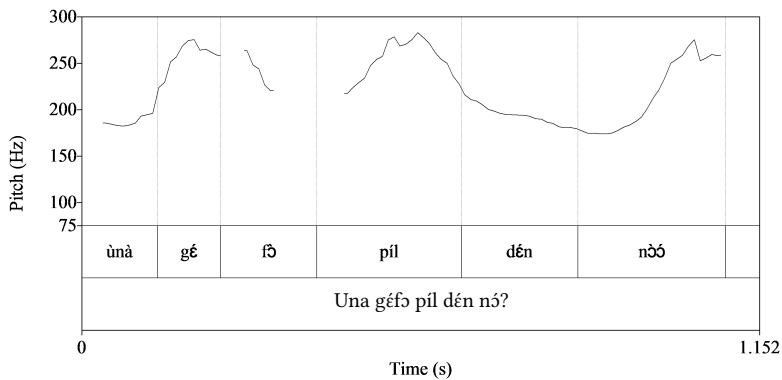


Figure 3.44 Emphatic yes-no question

- (55) *Una géfō píl dén nō?*
 L.L H.L H L L+H%
 2PL have.to peel 3PL.INDP INTJ
 ‘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.

4 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.

4.1 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.

4.1.1 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’, *séf* ‘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.

4.1.2 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 *gét* ‘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 alternates between uses as inchoative-stative verbs and as adjectives (cf. Table 7.11 in §7.6.5). The overwhelming majority of property concepts are lexicalised as inchoative-stative verbs in Pichi. The following “semantic types” (Dixon 2004: 3) are expressed through inchoative-stative verbs: Dimension (e.g. *bíg* ‘be big’, *smól* ‘be small’, and *lón* ‘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’, *wáy* ‘be white’, *réd* ‘be red’, and *yélo* ‘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’, *hót* ‘be hot’, *swít* ‘be tasty’).

Human propensities are divided between inchoative-stative (e.g. *gudhát* ‘be good-hearted’, *wikéd* ‘be wicked’, *badhát* ‘be mean’, *kléva* ‘be clever’) and dynamic verbs (e.g. *gládin* ‘be glad’, *jéls* ‘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’, *chér* ‘tear, be torn’, *lós* ‘lose, be lost’ and *wér* ‘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. 281–282) in combination with adverbials, or through locative verbs like *lé* ‘lie’ and *tínáp* ‘stand (up)’ (cf. §8.1.3).

4.1.3 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, pronominal 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.

4.2 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 *gél/gál* ‘girl’ and *bóy* ‘boy’ by an apparently marginal plural affix {-s}, hence *gél-s*, *bóy-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 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/jís* ‘just’ and *stíl* ‘still’ suggests a tighter-than-usual syntagmatic relation between the imperfective aspect marker and the verb it modifies:

- (1) *Náw den de jís de kán.*
 now 3PL IPFV just IPFV come
 ‘Now, they’re just coming.’ [ye07je 179]

4.3 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.

4.3.1 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	- <i>wán</i> ‘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 (2) featuring the modifier noun *kóntri* ‘country, home town’ and the modified noun *chóp* ‘food’. While *kóntri* loses the H tone over its first syllable, the head noun *chóp* retains its original H tone:

- (2) *Na in kóntri-chóp.*
 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 (3). 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):

- (3) *Kán tót belé, bigín de hala-hála nów, hala-hála.*
 PFV carry belly begin IPFV RED.CPD-shout now RED.CPD-shout
 ‘(Then she) became pregnant, (and) began lamenting and lamenting.’ [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 big 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’ (4) and *smól* ‘(be) small’ (5) 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:

- (4) *E mék=an fáyn-wán.*
 3SG.SBJ make=3SG.OBJ fine-ADV
 ‘She made it nicely.’ [ra07ve 017]
- (5) *E fáyn fɔ dríng smól-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 *smól* ‘be small’, *kól* ‘be cold’, *hót* ‘be hot’, *fáyn* ‘be fine’. In contrast, the formation of adverbials with many other property items was rejected by informants, amongst them *dóti* ‘be dirty’, *bád* ‘be bad’, *belfúl* ‘be satiated’, *nékəd* ‘be naked’, *táya* ‘be tired’, *lét* ‘be late’, *frés* ‘be fresh’, *rép* ‘be ripe’, and *sáful* ‘be slow, diligent’.

The generic noun *tén* occurs in a small number of more or less lexicalised expressions functioning as sentence and time adverbs. All of the expressions contained in the corpus are listed in (6). Like derived adverbs featuring the suffix *-wán* ‘ADV’, these bisyllabic expressions are not compounds, since 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 (6) is their behaviour during repetition for emphasis (cf. 55 further below). Even in the lexicalised expressions (e.g. *bádtén* ‘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).

(6)	Construction	Components	Gloss
	<i>lón téñ</i>	long time	‘long time ago’
	<i>(di) fós téñ</i>	(the) first time	‘(the) first time, formerly’
	<i>wán téñ</i>	one time	‘once’
	<i>wán.tén</i>	one.time	‘at once, suddenly’
	<i>bád.tén</i>	bad.time	‘unfortunately’
	<i>smól.tén</i>	small.time	‘shortly, nearly’
	<i>són téñ den</i>	some time PL	‘sometimes’
	<i>són.tén</i>	some.time	‘perhaps’

The largely unpredictable meanings of the adverbs in (6) are reason enough to consider them as lexicalised phrasal expressions, rather than analysing *tén* as a productive adverbialising suffix.

4.3.2 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.

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,

Table 4.3 Conversion

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

while an (inchoative-)stative verb used in such a way denotes the corresponding nominalised state.

In (7), the dynamic verb *hála* ‘shout’ is used as a dynamic noun or “action nominal”, (Comrie & Thompson 1985). In (8), 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:

- (7) *E sé frɔn dán hála dí pikín nó slíp mó.*
 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]
- (8) *Áfta ínsay dán gúd wé a trata yú na dé mi mán go*
 then inside that good SUB 1SG.SBJ treat 2SG.INDP FOC there 1SG.POSS man POT
chék sé mi rabia dón finis.
 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:

- (9) *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 *belé* ‘belly’ (10) may be used as a verb with the meaning ‘impregnate’ (11). 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.

- (10) *Tidé pikín, yu go gét belé yu púl=an yu go dáy wet belé.*
 today child 2SG POT get belly 2SG remove=3SG.OBJ 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]
- (11) *A fia sé den go belé 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 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.

4.4 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.

4.4.1 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:

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

Table 4.4 Characteristics of compounding

Features	Compounds	Associative constructions	<i>F</i> -construction
Morphosyntax	Tonal derivation	Syntactic concatenation	Syntactic concatenation
Productivity	Medium	Medium	High
Lexicalisation	High	Medium	Low

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-sísín* ‘rain(y) season’) and language-internal formations (e.g. *kɔntri-chóp* ‘local food’). The meanings of both groups may be more compositional or more idiosyncratic, and both undergo the same tonal derivation characteristic of compounding:

(12)	Compound	Components	Gloss
	<i>kɔntri-chóp</i>	country-food	‘local food’
	<i>kichín-písín</i>	kitchen-cloth	‘kitchen rag’
	<i>waka-stík</i>	walk-stick	‘walking stick’
	<i>ren-sísín</i>	rain-season	‘rainy season’
	<i>pan-kék</i>	pan-cake	‘pancake’

Some semantically opaque compounds also exist, in which one component has no independent meaning (13a) 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 (*bérín* ‘burial’) is the action nominal to a verb (*bér* ‘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:

(13)	Compound	Components	Gloss
a.	<i>spotin.bóy</i>	<i>*spotin.boy</i>	‘stylish guy’
	<i>lukin.glás</i>	<i>*lukin.glass</i>	‘mirror’
	<i>kobo.fút</i>	<i>*kobo.foot</i>	‘bowlegs’
b.	<i>faya-wúd</i>	fire-?wúd	‘firewood’
c.	<i>berin-grón</i>	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. (14–16). In the compounds in (14), both components before and after the dot retain their original pitch

4 Morphology

configurations. In collocations involving the generic noun *dé* ‘day’ as a modified noun, the “modifier” has no meaning of its own:

(14)	Compound	Components	Gloss
	<i>hóli.dé</i>	* <i>hóli</i> .day	‘holiday’
	<i>yésta.dé</i>	* <i>yésta</i> .day	‘yesterday’
	<i>sáti.dé</i>	* <i>sáti</i> .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 (15a), which can, in turn, be preceded by the prenominal modifier *grét* ‘great’ (b):

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

The second set of kinship-denoting compounds contains the segmentable root *lɔ* ‘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 (16a). 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):

(16)	Compound	Components	Gloss
a.	<i>mɔda-lɔ</i>	mother-law	‘mother-in-law’
	<i>fada-lɔ</i>	father-law	‘father-in-law’
	<i>brɔda-lɔ</i>	brother-law	‘brother-in-law’
	<i>sista-lɔ</i>	sister-law	‘sister-in-law’
b.	<i>mɔde-lɔ</i>	* <i>mɔde</i> .law	‘mother-in-law’
	<i>siste-lɔ</i>	* <i>siste</i> .law	‘sister-in-law’
c.	<i>dɔta.lɔ</i>	* <i>dɔta</i> .law	‘daughter-in-law’
	<i>sɔni.lɔ</i>	* <i>sɔni</i> .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 (17). 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 analysis of these collocations as Pichi-style compounds featuring the tonal derivation that other compounds have:

(17)	Compound	Transcription	Components	Translation
	<i>video-club</i>	[vidjò klúb]	video-club	‘video rental shop’
	<i>busca-blanco</i>	[bùskà-blánkò]	search-white.male	‘female sex worker specialised to white men’
	<i>tres mil</i>	[très míl]	three thousand	‘three thousand’
	<i>cuarenta y siete</i>	[kwàrènta ì sjètè]	forty and seven	‘forty-seven’
	<i>cruza-cruza</i>	[krùsà-krùsà]	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 (18), although conventionalised, are expressed as associative constructions, syntactic phrases consisting of prosodically independent components:

(18)	Ass. construction	Components	Gloss
	<i>bangá súp</i>	palm-nut soup	‘palm-nut soup’
	<i>dotí pán</i>	dirt pan	‘dustbin’
	<i>plantí fufú</i>	plantain fufu	‘fufu made from plantain’

The tonal derivation characteristic of compounding also distinguishes lexicalised compound verbs (19a) from verb-object phrases (b) (cf. also §4.4.3):

(19)	Construction	Components	Gloss
a.	<i>e opin.yáy</i>	3SG.OBJ open.eye	‘s/he is enlightened, cultivated’
b.	<i>e ópin yáy</i>	3SG.SBJ open eye	‘s/he opened (her) eye(s)’

4.4.2 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

4 Morphology

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 (20), which serve other important functions in the language as well (cf. *Faraclas 1996*: 252):

(20)	Type	Generic noun	Gloss
	Human	<i>mán</i>	‘man, person’
		<i>húman</i>	‘woman’
		<i>bóy</i>	‘boy’
		<i>gél</i>	‘girl’
		<i>pikín</i>	‘child, member of group’
		<i>pósin</i>	‘person’
	Place	<i>pípul</i>	‘people’
		<i>sáy</i>	‘side, place’
		<i>pát</i>	‘part, place’
		<i>plés</i>	‘place’
	Manner	<i>stáyl</i>	‘style’
		<i>fásin</i>	‘manner’
	Time	<i>tén</i>	‘time’
		<i>áwa</i>	‘hour, time’
	Entity	<i>tín</i>	‘thing’
		<i>wán</i>	‘one’
		<i>káyn</i>	‘kind’

The tendencies of nominal compounding are summarised in Table 4.5. 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 (×) 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.

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 *bóy* ‘boy’ and *gál* ‘girl’ in the modifier position.

Table 4.5 Tendencies of nominal compounding

Modifier/modified	Compound	Associative construction	<i>F</i> ɔ-construction
Group/member of		×	×
Gender of/creature		×	
Measure/entity		×	
Kind of/entity	×	×	×
Activity/agent	×		

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 bicomponential food items and dishes (21a) 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 *bɛlé* ‘belly’ when used in the modifier position of a compound, cf. 27). Compounds are also employed to form highly conventionalised quantifier compounds which express ordinal numerals (d) as well as dual and *ɔl* ‘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:

4 Morphology

(21)	Compound	Components	Gloss
a.	<i>pepe-súp</i>	pepper-soup	‘pepper soup’
	<i>bwel-plantí</i>	boil-plantain	‘boiled plantain’
	<i>bit-fufú</i>	beat-fufu	‘pounded fufu’
b.	<i>finga-nél</i>	finger-nail	‘finger nail’
	<i>kaka-rás</i>	faeces-arse	‘arse’
c.	<i>hət-watá</i>	hot-water	‘hot water’
	<i>kol-watá</i>	cold-water	‘cool water’
d.	<i>nɔmba-tú</i>	number-two	‘second’
	<i>nɔmba-trí</i>	number-three	‘third’
	<i>las-nét</i>	last-night	‘last night’
	<i>las-mán</i>	last-man	‘last person’
e.	<i>wi-ɔl-tú</i>	1PL-all-two	‘the two of us’
	<i>den-ɔl</i>	3PL-all	‘they all’

Certain “kind of/entity” relations follow in (22) 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 (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 (22):

(22)	Compound	Components	Gloss
a.	<i>granát pamáyn</i>	groundnut oil	‘groundnut oil’
	<i>Lubá topé</i>	PLACE palmwine	‘Palmwine from Luba’
b.	<i>dotí pán</i>	dirt pan	‘dustbin’
	<i>plantí fufú</i>	plantain fufu	‘fufu made from plantain’
c.	<i>kápinta wók</i>	carpenter work	‘work of a carpenter’
	<i>wahála húman</i>	trouble woman	‘female trouble maker’
	<i>aráta hól</i>	rat hole	‘rat hole’
	<i>dominó stón</i>	domino stone	‘domino stone’
d.	<i>Ghána mɔní</i>	PLACE money	‘Ghanaian money’
	<i>Píchi wód</i>	Pichi word	‘Pichi word’
	<i>skúl plába</i>	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 *tén* ‘time’ is only recorded as a modified noun in the associative constructions listed in (23), even though these structures are lexicalised and occur very frequently. Note, however, that other, lexicalised collocations involving *tén* are not expressed as compounds either (cf. 6 above):

(23)	Compound	Components	Gloss
	<i>mónin tén</i>	morning time	‘morning’
	<i>sán tén</i>	sun time	‘(after)noon’
	<i>ívin tén</i>	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 (24a). Other equally conventionalised collocations involving *sáy* are expressed through associative constructions (b) or via *fɔ*-prepositional constructions (c):

(24)	Compound	Components	Gloss
a.	<i>wok-sáy</i>	work-side	‘work-place’
	<i>rɔn-sáy</i>	wrong-side	‘inside out, upside-down, reverse’
	<i>gud-sáy</i>	good-side	‘the right way round’
b.	<i>ɔp sáy</i>	up side	‘(at the) upper part, up (there)’
	<i>bihén sáy</i>	behind side	‘(at the) rear’
	<i>dón sáy</i>	down side	‘(at the) lower part, down (there)’
c.	<i>sáy fɔ chóp</i>	place PREP eat	‘eating place, restaurant’
	<i>sáy fɔ wás</i>	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 (25b). 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 et al. 1991: 91–97). For example, the construction *Guinea pikín* is best translated as ‘person of Equatoguinean stock, typically Equatoguinean person’:

(25)	Compound	Components	Gloss
a.	<i>tidé pikín</i>	today child	‘child(ren) of today’
	<i>gód pikín</i>	God child	‘child of God’
b.	<i>Guinea pikín</i>	PLACE child	‘person of Equatoguinean stock’
	<i>gál pikín</i>	girl child	‘girl’ (but cf. also 26 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:

(26)	Compound	Components	Gloss
	<i>bóy pikín</i>	boy child	‘male child, son’
	<i>gál pikín</i>	girl child	‘female child, daughter’
	<i>húman fɔl</i>	woman fowl	‘hen’
	<i>mán dóg</i>	man dog	‘male dog’
	<i>mamá Krió</i>	mother Krio	‘(elderly) Fernandino woman’

4 Morphology

The human-denoting nouns *mán* ‘man, person’, *húman* ‘woman’, *pípul* ‘people’, and *pósin* ‘person’ usually appear as modified nouns in compounds only (27). The list also contains two compounds featuring *belé* ‘belly’ as a modifier noun. *Belé* 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 *belé* has been deleted:

(27)	Compound	Components	Gloss
a.	<i>kontri-mán</i>	country-man	‘person from the same place of origin’
	<i>layf-mán</i>	life-man	‘bon vivant’
	<i>bele-mán</i>	belly-man	‘pot-bellied man’
b.	<i>bele-húman</i>	belly-woman	‘pregnant woman’
	<i>makit-húman</i>	market-woman	‘market-woman’
c.	<i>yun-gél</i>	young-girl	‘(female) youngster’
	<i>yun-bóy</i>	young-boy	‘(male) youngster’
d.	<i>jentri-pípul</i>	riches-people	‘rich people’
	<i>ya-pípul</i>	here-people	‘people of this place’
	<i>Ghana-pípul</i>	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 (28):

(28)	Compound	Components	Gloss
	<i>fisin-mán</i>	fish-man	‘fisher’
	<i>honti-mán</i>	hunt-man	‘hunter’
	<i>tif-mán</i>	steal-man	‘thief’
	<i>chak-mán</i>	get.drunk-man	‘drunkard’

Certain compounds involving *mán* ‘man’ are neutral in their gender reference (29a) and equivalent to the far less common *pósin* ‘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 *makit-húman* ‘market woman’ in 27 above). The generic noun *mán* ‘man’ therefore falls short of functioning as an agentive suffix, in spite of its general, gender-neutral meaning in some contexts:

(29)	Compound	Components	Gloss
a.	<i>day-mán</i>	die-man	‘dead person, corpse’
b.	<i>day-pósin</i>	die-person	‘dead person, corpse’
c.	<i>day-húman</i>	die-woman	‘dead woman’

4.4.3 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’ (30), or verbs whose meaning contains an implicit gradation, such as *dríng* ‘drink (alcohol)’ (31).

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-hót* ‘overheat, be too hot’, *ova-klín* ‘clean excessively, be excessively clean’, and *ova-fáyn* ‘be excessively beautiful’:

- (30) *Dí gél pikín ova-dráy ó.*
 this girl child over.CPD-be.dry SP
 ‘This girl is really too lean.’ [dj07ae 207]

- (31) *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 (32) is provided in (33):

- (32) * *A dón ova-blánt na Panyá.*
 1SG.SBJ PRF over.CPD-reside LOC Spain
 Intended: ‘I have lived in Spain for too long.’ [au07ec 052]

- (33) *A dón tú móch 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 *bókú* ‘be much’ (34). Instead, *óva* may be employed as a degree verb on its own (35):

- (34) * *Di chóp ova-bókú.*
 DEF food over.CPD-much
 Intended: ‘The food is too much.’ [au07ec 041]

- (35) *Di chóp 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 idiosyncratic and unpredictable in their meanings. Most property compounds are therefore exocentric. Consider *bad-hát* ‘bad.CPD-heart’ = ‘be mean’ in (36):

- (36) *Den nó lék p̄sin, den 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 *tr̄n-yés* ‘strong.CPD-ear’ = ‘be disobedient’, *tr̄n-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. 19 above).

There are also some semantically transparent endocentric compounds in the corpus involving dynamic verbs that nevertheless denote properties. Compare the nominalised compound verb *ch̄p-m̄n̄í* ‘eat.CPD-money’ = ‘expensive’ in (37):

- (37) *Dán sáy, na ch̄p-m̄n̄í.*
 that side FOC eat.CPD-money
 ‘That place, it’s expensive.’ [ro07fn 203]

4.5 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 meanings (Yakpo 2012a).

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. Table 4.6 summarises relevant features of the two types of iteration in Pichi.

4.5.1 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.

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

§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 (38), a reduplicated *wáka* ‘walk’ appears as a V2 in an SVC. Sentence (39) features a reduplicated *rón* ‘run’ as a nominalised verb preceded by the demonstrative *dí* ‘this’:

- (38) *Yéstadé wi kán gó waka-wáka mǎ.*
 yesterday 1PL PFV go RED.CPD-walk more
 ‘Yesterday we went walking around again.’ [ye 07fn 044]
- (39) *Pero dí rón-rón 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:

- (40) *Kán tót belé, bigín de hala-hála, nǎw hala-hála.*
 PFV carry belly begin IPFV RED.CPD-shout now RED.CPD-shout
 ‘(Then she) became pregnant, (and) began lamenting and 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 *rób* ‘rub’ in (41). 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:

- (41) *Na ús=káyn tín mék yu de rób-rób yu séf nía mí bifō*
 FOC Q=kind thing make 2SG IPFV RED.CPD-rub 2SG self near 1SG.INDP before
mi fāmbul?
 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. 45):

- (42) *A nó wánt nó nātín 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 (43) features the reduplicated nominalised verb *jwén* ‘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 *jwén* ‘join’:

- (43) *Mí wet Rubi wi mék jwen-jwén, wi báy píá, wi báy sadín, wi*
 1SG.INDP with NAME 1PL make RED.CPD-join 1PL buy avocado 1PL buy sardine 1PL
báy tomates, wi desayuna.
 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 *nómba den* ‘numbers’ in the following sentence renders an iterative and distributive reading of the reduplicated verb *chénch* ‘change’

- (44) *Wétin yu de chénch-chénch nómba den 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 (45). We have seen that a single form, the pronominal *séf* ‘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 (45) 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 *kótlas* ‘cutlass’ collude to induce a reciprocal rather than a reflexive meaning of the clause:

- (45) *Den kin de chap-cháp den séf kótlas 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 (46), the intransitive use of the reduplicated verb *tón* ‘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 *rób* ‘rub’ in (41) above, and of *táyt* ‘tighten’ in (48) below. All these examples may also be seen to involve a nuance of lack of control by the subject:

- (46) *E sé e wánt kán tón-tón 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’, *rón* ‘run’) and other verbs denoting body movement (*tón* ‘turn, move around’, *rób* ‘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 (*chéneh nómbe* ‘change one’s telephone number’) or verbs followed by quantifier phrases like *ól 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:

- (47) *Den de lók-lók ól 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 frequent in intransitive clauses. In the following sentence, the reduplicated Spanish origin verb *pica* ‘snip, cut up’ appears without a patient object:

- (48) *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]

4.5.2 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’ (49), the locative noun *dón* ‘down’ (50), the common noun *fambul* ‘family’, and the attributively used property item *bókú* ‘(be) much’ (51):

- (49) *A de komót na tón náw náw.*
 1SG.SBJ IPFV come.out LOC town now REP
 ‘I coming from town right now.’ [ro05ee 076]

- (50) *Bət ín sidón dón dón dón yandá.*
 but 3SG.INDP stay down REP REP yonder
 ‘But he stays far down over there.’ [ma03ni 026]
- (51) *Fə mi fámbul fámbul fámbul a nó sabí bókú bókú pósín dən.*
 PREP 1SG.POSS family REP REP 1SG.SBJ NEG know much REP person PL
 ‘Within my immediate family I don’t know that many 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 *dén* ‘3PL.INDP’:

- (52) *Yu fit kər dən 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 (53) 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:

- (53) *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 *bókú* in (51) above, distributive numerals used as depictive modifiers like *tú* ‘two’ in (52) above, and time expressions like *náw* ‘now’ in (49) 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’ (49) above or a temporal noun like *mónin* ‘morning’ in the following sentence renders an intensive meaning ‘early in the morning, at dawn’:

- (54) *Áfta a de mít=an nía di klós dən di mónin mónin tén.*
 then 1SG.SBJ IPFV meet=3SG.OBJ near DEF clothing PL 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 *lón* ‘(be) long’ in the collocation *lón tén* ‘long time ago’ is very often repeated in order to indicate a larger degree of time-depth:

- (55) *E bin dón pás lón tén, nóto lón lón tén.*
 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 *tén* ‘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 tén* ‘once’. The same holds for *lón tén* ‘long ago’ in the preceding example:

- (56) *Na wán wán tén dásɔl.*
 FOC one REP time only
 ‘It’s just once in a while.’ [fr03ft 053]

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

- (57) *Na wán mán wé de abraza tú húman wánten wánten 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 *mónin* (*tén*) ‘morning (time)’ is not encountered in the data. Expressions like *ívin tén* ‘evening’ or *sán tén* ‘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 (54) above is, since this is when people usually get up. Hence, for example, there is no instance of *?sán sán tén* 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 *smól* ‘(be) small’ are two of the most commonly encountered repeated property items in the corpus. Compare the following two examples:

- (58) *A de sí bíg bíg fáya.*
 1SG.SBJ IPFV see big REP fire
 ‘I was seeing a huge fire.’ [ab03ay 067]
- (59) *E de sél e de pút smól smól wán fɔ kóna.*
 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 *kót* ‘cut’ may imply a series of cyclic repetitions, particularly in the context of cooking as in (60). The resulting meaning of the repetition is very close to that of iterative reduplication in an example like (48) above. Note that this verb is repeated together with its clitic object pronoun *=an* ‘3SG.OBJ’:

- (60) *Di dé yu bwél jakató yu kót=an kót=an kót=an yu báy wán*
 DEF day 2SG boil bitter.tomato 2SG cut=3SG.OBJ REP REP 2SG buy one
sardina
 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 (61), reduplication and the simultaneous use of repetition of the reduplicated sequence build up to an emphatic iterative sense with a cyclical meaning:

- (61) *Sóntén e bin de jump-júmp jump-júmp, pero e strét náy.*
 perhaps 3SG.SBJ PST IPFV RED.CPD-jump REP 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 *wówó* ‘(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 segmental structure. Sentence (62) 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:

- (62) *Pero como di harina tú lílí-lí, kón tú smól náy, a mezcla*
 but since DEF flour too little-REP corn too be.small now 1SG.SBJ mix
ín ál.
 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]

4 Morphology

Now compare the fully (63) and partially iterated (64) alternatives for *wɔwɔ* ‘(be) ugly, messed up’. In both examples, the property item *wɔwɔ* is employed as a prenominal modifier. Note that a monosyllabic root **wɔ* does not exist in Pichi:

- (63) *Na Afrika e gét wɔwɔ wɔwɔ tɪn den wé a nó sabí.*
 LOC PLACE 3SG.SBJ get ugly REP thing PL SUB 1SG.SBJ NEG know
 ‘In Africa there are really messy things [happening] that I don’t know [how to explain].’ [ed03sb 187]
- (64) *Aa, guineano tú dé sɔn ?wɔ-wɔwɔ stáyɪ.*
 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 *wɔwɔ* in (64) above are of interest. In the example, the original lexical H tone over the first syllable of the *wɔ-wɔwɔ* 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 (58) and (59) above, *bíg* and *smɔl* 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 (65) conveys a repetitive and emphatic meaning in very much the same way as the verb-object phrase *kɔt=an* ‘cut=3SG.OBJ’ in (60):

- (65) *Nó, in estómago in estómago in estómago.*
 INTJ 3SG.POSS stomach REP REP
 ‘[She would repeatedly say] No, (it’s) her stomach, her stomach, her stomach [rather than a pregnancy].’ [ab03ay 122]

4.5.3 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 *wuruwúru* ‘confusion’. The (lexicalised) iteration of ideophones is covered in section §12.1.

- (66) *Den de mék wuruwúru.*
 3PL IPFV make confusion
 ‘They’re causing confusion.’ [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 (67a) 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 (67) also includes nouns:

- (67)
- | | | |
|----|------------------|---|
| a. | <i>bya.byá</i> | ‘beard’ |
| | <i>san.sán</i> | ‘sand, soil’ |
| | <i>was.wás</i> | ‘wasp’ |
| | <i>wɔ.wó</i> | ‘be ugly, messed up’ |
| b. | <i>ka.ká</i> | ‘defecate, faeces’ |
| | <i>ma.má</i> | ‘mother’ |
| | <i>pi.pí</i> | ‘urinate, urine’ |
| | <i>pa.pá</i> | ‘father’ |
| c. | <i>chuk.chúk</i> | ‘thorn’ (< <i>chúk</i> ‘pierce, sting’) |
| | <i>hayd.háyd</i> | ‘secretely’ (< <i>háyd</i> ‘hide’) |

5 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.

QNT	DEF/DEM	PRON	CARD	ORD	MOD	N	PL	ADV	POSS	QNT	FOC	TOP	RELC
<i>ɔ́l</i>	<i>dí</i>	<i>mí</i>	<i>tú</i>	<i>lás</i>	<i>fǎyn</i>	<i>torí</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>yá</i>	<i>fɔ́ tǐdé</i>	(<i>ɔ́l</i>)	<i>sé́f</i>	<i>náw</i>	<i>wé</i>
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 (...)'													

Figure 5.1 Structure of the noun phrase

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 slot DEF/DEM indicates that the definite article *dí* (DEF) and the proximal and distal demonstratives *dí* and *dán* (DEM) do not cooccur. 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 cooccur.

There are two quantifier slots. The quantifiers *ɔ́l* ‘all’ and *dásɔ́l* ‘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-písís* ‘big black kitchen rag’). The possessor in a *fɔ́*-prepositional construction follows the head, but its exact position in the postnominal slot may depend on pragmatic factors, e.g. either before or after *sé́f* or *náw* depending on the scope of FOC or TOP. Relative clauses (RELC) invariably follow the head noun.

5.1 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.

5.1.1 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 *son* ‘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

	<i>di</i> ‘DEF’	<i>wán</i> ‘one, a’	<i>son</i> ‘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. 5 below), the numeral *wán* ‘one’ in its function as a pronominal (1), or any element functioning as a noun, such as the deverbal noun *dú* in (2):

- (1) *Di láyffós tén 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]
- (2) *Mék e bít yú, mék e dú yú di dú e wánt, mék e hála, (...)*
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ beat 2SG.INDP SBJV 3SG.SBJ do 2SG.INDP DEF do 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 (3), but may appear with it if required (4):

- (3) *Porque a bin pás na Camerún fós.*
 because 1SG.SBJ PST pass LOC PLACE first
 ‘Because I passed through Cameroon first.’ [fr03ft 98]
- (4) *Na di sén Jorge wé a sabí nót?*
 FOC DEF same NAME SUB 1SG.SBJ know INTJ
 ‘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’) (5), or through situational inference (e.g. *mónin* *mónin tén* ‘early in the morning’) (6):

- (5) *Yu ték di maíz yu hól=an.*
 2SG take DEF maize 2SG hold=3SG.OBJ
 ‘You take the maize and hold it.’ [fr03do 003]
- (6) *Áfta a de mít=an nía di klós den di mónin mónin tén.*
 then 1SG.SBJ IPFV meet=3SG.OBJ near DEF clothing PL 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 (7). The referent *leche* ‘milk’ has been established earlier on in discourse. The Spanish noun *animal* ‘animal’ is therefore definite by association with the antecedent *leche*:

- (7) *Es que, e fáyn wé yu nó sabí sé e kómót fɔ di*
 it.is that 3SG.SBJ be.fine SUB 2SG NEG know QUOT 3SG.SBJ come.out PREP DEF
animal.
 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 (8a) by the speaker abbreviated as (hi) (cf. Table 1.1 in §1.7) 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):

- (8) a. *Den kin fiɛ den 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 fiɛ di mán mék e nó bít yú ɔ mék e nó*
 2SG IPFV fear DEF man SBJV 3SG.SBJ NEG beat 2SG.INDP or SBJV 3SG.SBJ NEG
dréb yú fɔ haws ó.
 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 (9):

5 The nominal system

- (9) *Yu nó fít, porque yu mamá nó go hébul pé ál di wók wé dán*
 2SG NEG can because 2SG mother NEG POT be.capable pay all DEF work SUB that
mán dón dú fɔ yú
 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’ (10), or with the quantifier *sən* ‘some, a’ (cf. 11 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. 1).

- (10) *A gét wán big sista 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 *sən*. 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 *fěbɔ* ‘favour’ appears with *sən* ‘some, a’ in (11) and *wán* ‘one, a’ in a specific and emphatic setting in (12):

- (11) *A wánt mék yu dú mí sən fěbɔ, mék yu wás mi sən*
 1SG.SBJ want SBJV 2SG do 1SG.INDP some favour SBJV 2SG wash 1SG.INDP some
klós den.
 clothing PL
 ‘I want you to do me a favour (and) wash some clothes for me.’ [ru03wt 030]
- (12) *Na sé, na layk sé di mán de mék yú wán fěbɔ.*
 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 *sən*, is used to express that singular number is a significant feature of the referent as in *wán motó* ‘one car’ (13). Here an interpretation of *wán* as a numeral would appear awkward, since the speaker does not have more than one car in mind:

- (13) *Yu sabí sé wán motó fɔ wán mún na cincuenta dólar, ɛf yu hól wán*
 2SG know QUOT one car PREP one month FOC fifty dollar if 2SG hold one
motó fɔ wán mún.
 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 *sən* is also common in emphatic contexts. The data does not contain a single sentence in which a noun is preceded by *sən* in an equative clause of the type in (14), 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 (15) (cf. also §7.4.4):

- (14) *Na wán ɔnkúl directo, fɔ mi mamá in papá in fambul*
 FOC one uncle direct PREP 1SG.POSS mother 3SG.POSS father 3SG.POSS family
pát.
 part
 ‘(He) is a direct uncle on my mother’s father’s family’s side.’ [fr03ft 051]
- (15) *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 (16). 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):

- (16) *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 *sən* alone (17) or the absence of a definiteness expression altogether (cf. §5.1.4). Mass nouns may only be modified by *sən* for indefiniteness, or they occur devoid of any determiner (18):

- (17) *Wi gét sən fambul 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 your, it’s your female cousin.’ [ge07ga 048]
- (18) *Bléd de kɔmót na in nós, e de kɔmót na in*
 blood IPFV come.out LOC 3SG.POSS nose 3SG.SBJ IPFV come.out LOC 3SG.POSS
mót.
 mouth
 ‘Blood was coming out of her nose, it was coming out of her mouth.’ [ab03ay 125]

Furthermore, *wán*, but not *sən*, may occur with NPs that are within the scope of negation, even if only with an emphatic meaning (19). In the absence of emphasis, NPs do not usually appear with a marker of indefiniteness in negative clauses (20) (cf. §7.2.2 for details):

- (19) *Sóté a nó tók nó wán wód.*
 until 1SG.SBJ NEG talk NEG one word
 ‘Until I didn’t say a single word (anymore).’ [ab03ay 088]
- (20) *Yu sabí sé yu nó gét pikín?*
 2SG know QUOT 2SG NEG get child
 ‘Do you (really) know that you don’t have a child?’ [fr03wt 181]

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

In both (21) and (22), *wán* and *sən* refer to a preceding NP *televisión* ‘TV set’. When referring to a plural noun, *sən* may optionally be followed by the pluraliser *den* ‘PL’ (23):

- (21) *Yés, a gét wán.*
 yes 1SG.SBJ get one
 ‘Yes, I have one [a TV set].’ [dj05ae 078]
- (22) *Na só mi yón séf, a jós báy sən.*
 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]
- (23) *A gét sən den.*
 1SG.SBJ get some PL
 ‘I have some (PL).’ [ro05fe 002]

Sən and *wán* may also be used with a partitive reading when followed by a definite possessed noun. Once more the nominal referent preceded by *sən* tends to receive a less specific reading than the one featuring *wán*. The same meaning may alternatively be expressed if *sən* or *wán* are followed by a definite *fə*-prepositional phrase (cf. e.g. 83):

- (24) *Sən in sísta (...)*
 some 3SG.POSS sister
 ‘A sister of hers (...)’ [ab03ay 058]
- (25) *A sé, wán mi kómpin nó, (...)*
 1SG.SBJ QUOT one 1SG.POSS friend INTJ
 ‘I say one of my friends, right, (...)’ [ye07ga 001]

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

- (26) *Sən áwa a nó kin hébul mǎ, mi sísta den kin sén*
 some hour 1SG.SBJ NEG HAB be.capable more 1SG.POSS sister PL HAB send
mi mǎní.
 1SG.INDP money
 ‘Sometimes I wouldn’t cope any more, (so) my sisters would send me money.’
 [ed03sp 087]
- (27) *Wán dé sən pǎsin bin kán sé, e de tók sé yu dón gí wán*
 one day some person PST come QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV talk QUOT 2SG PRF give one
golpe sən sáy.
 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]

5.1.2 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 *den* ‘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	<i>dí/dís</i>	<i>dí/dís wán; dís</i>	<i>dís</i>	<i>yá</i>
Distal	<i>dá/dán</i> <i>den</i>	<i>dá/dán wán; dat</i> —	<i>dat</i> —	<i>dé</i> 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 differentiation 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 unstressed, while *dí* ‘this’ received a lexical H because *this* is usually stressed in English.

Demonstratives may be used attributively as pronominal modifiers. The forms *dí* and *dís* are equivalent in function, although *dí* is more common as a proximal demonstrative (28):

- (28) *Djunais tók sé, nó Rubi dí gél lék yú.*
 NAME talk QUOT INTJ 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 (29). 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 *den* (29):

- (29) *ól dán pikín den 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* (30), as well as *dá* and *dán* (cf. e.g. 38) may combine with the numeral and pronominal *wán* ‘one’, in order to form singular (30) and plural (31) demonstrative pronominals:

- (30) *A tók sé dí wán na wán problema fɔ Afrika, én.*
 1SG.SBJ think QUOT this one FOC one problem PREP PLACE SP
 ‘I think that this is a problem in Africa.’ [fr03ft 105]
- (31) *Na dé dís wán den mamá den de mék éni 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*:

- (32) *Dís nó Manolete.*
 this NEG.FOC NAME
 ‘This is not Manolete (oil).’ [ab03ab 029]
- (33) *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 (34) and (35), where the demonstratives are anaphoric to an antecedent focused NP (cf. §7.4.4):

- (34) *Sé na ín dís, na yu húman dís, yu wánt ɔ yu nó wánt, na*
 QUOT FOC 3SG.INDP this FOC 2SG woman this 2SG want or 2SG NEG want FOC
in dís.
 3SG.POSS this
 ‘(She said) this is her, this is your wife, you like it or not, this is her.’ [ed03sp 009]

- (35) *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 (36) and possessive pronouns (37):

- (36) *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.
 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]
- (37) *Cuñado, mí géfɔ fén dán mi prima ó, Cristina.*
 brother-in-law 1SG.INDP have.to look.for that 1SG.POSS 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’ (38):

- (38) *Ehé, wán glás watá aparte, yu pút=an insay, dán wán dé, yu fit*
 INTJ one glass water separate 2SG put=3SG.OBJ inside that one there 2SG can
ték medio fɔ dán sɛn glas (...)
 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 an inanimate noun. Example (39) shows that this expression has been lexicalised to an extent which allows the occurrence of the demonstrative *dán* ‘that’ with its full referential meaning:

- (39) *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 *den* occasionally occurs in the determiner position at the very left of the NP. In this position, *den* simultaneously functions as a plural definite article and a demonstrative with a largely discourse deictic function. Prenominal *den* usually also has emphatic force. This use of *den* however is marginal in the corpus. Note the additional presence of *den* as a pluraliser after the noun *fronteras* ‘borders’ (40):

- (40) *Wet ál den fronteras den wé den 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 (41):

- (41) *Wi de gó dón, wi de gó léf=an di sáy dán motó dé.*
 1PL IPFV go down 1PL IPFV go leave=3SG.OBJ DEF side 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 (38) above in (42) below in context. In the excerpt, speaker (dj) explains how to cook corn porridge. The interjection *éhé* ‘exactly’ confirms the interruptive question posed in (42a). 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 in (38) an additional means of referent tracking via the use of the focus and emphasis marker *sén* ‘same, very’:

- (42) a. *Wán glás watá?*
 one glass water
 ‘One glass of water?’ [fr03do 053]
 b. *Éhé, wán glas watá aparte, yu pút=an ínsay, dán wán dé yu*
 exactly one glass water separate 2SG put=3SG.OBJ inside that one there 2SG
fit ték medio fɔ dán sén glas (...)
 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]

5.1.3 Number

Pichi marks plural number via the postposed pluraliser *den* 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 (43), but it may also follow collective nouns like *pípul* ‘people’ (44):

- (43) *Yu nó fit jós trowé di tín den 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]
 (44) *Fɔ pípul den, pípul den kin dé na ród, plénte.*
 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’ (45) or *leche* ‘milk’ in (46):

- (45) *Fít sifita ín sóté tú tén mék mék dán smól smól watá den nó léf.*
 can sieve 3SG.INDP until two time make SBJV 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]
- (46) *A bin de vómit dán leche den fós fós tén den.*
 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 (47), although in the majority of instances, speakers prefer not to use the pluraliser together with a numeral (48):

- (47) *E gét tú pikín den na Panyá séf.*
 3SG.SBJ get two child PL LOC Spain EMP
 ‘She even has two children in Spain.’ [fr03ft 140]
- (48) *E bríng trí kasára, e lé dén 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 *ól* ‘all’ (49), and *bókú* ‘many, much’ (50), although the absence of plural marking is equally common (51):

- (49) *Yu wánt báy cuaderno, bolí ól dán tín den na wet dólar.*
 2SG want buy exercise.book pen all that thing PL FOC with dollar
 ‘You want to buy an exercise book, pen and all those things, it’s with dollars.’ [ed03sp 096]
- (50) *Bókú motó den dé yá só, (...)*
 much car PL BE.LOC here like.that
 ‘(Since) there were many cars around, (...)’ [ye03cd 178]
- (51) *Mí, lek háw yu de sí mí, a dón sí plénte tín.*
 1SG.INDP like how 2SG IPFV see 1SG.INDP 1SG.SBJ PRF 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} (52). The same is true of the few instances in the corpus, in which the nouns *bóy* ‘boy’ and *gál* ‘girl’ are marked for plural with the marginal Pichi plural morpheme {-s} as in (53):

5 The nominal system

- (52) *Áfta dén na mi sobrinos dén.*
 then 3PL.INDP FOC 1SG.POSS nephew.PL PL
 ‘So, they are my nephews.’ [fr03ft 060]
- (53) *Ól Ghána býy-s dén, wé dén 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 (54). The resulting meaning is ‘X and those associated with her/him habitually or at the time of reference’:

- (54) *A dón explica Boyé dén, sé na só mi de mémba, ól*
 1SG.SBJ PRF explain NAME PL QUOT FOC like.that 1SG.INDP IPFV remember all
tín.
 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:

- (55) *Di húman wé dén fáyn mós na América Latina húman dén.*
 DEF woman SUB 3PL fine more LOC PLACE 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 (31) in (56) below. As is generally the case in dislocated possessive constructions, a personal pronoun coreferential with the possessor (*dén* ‘3PL’) links the plural possessor (*dís wán dén* ‘these ones’) and the possessed noun (*mamá* ‘mother’). I interpret the linker *dén* 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:

- (56) *Na dé dís wán dén mamá dén de mék éni 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 (57), we encounter a similar overlap of PL and 3PL. Here, *dén* 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 *den* in these contexts indicate the significant functional overlap of NP and verbal number marking in Pichi:

- (57) *Estudiante fɔ Guinea den de sɔfa plente.*
 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 *den* ‘PL’. The relevant singular-plural pairs are *gál-gáls* ‘girl-girls’ and *bóy-bóys* ‘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 (53) above shows, these forms may also be followed by the pluraliser *den*.

5.1.4 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 consist of only 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:

- (58) *Na mán in suerte.*
 FOC man 3SG.POSS luck
 ‘That’s the fortune of men.’ [fr03ft 194]
- (59) *Dóg kin bét.*
 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 *chóp* ‘food’ and *pamáyn* ‘oil’, while definite (and specific by default) mass nouns are preceded by the definite article *di* ‘DEF’ like count nouns:

- (60) *Chóp dé na hós, pamáyn dé (...)*
 food BE.LOC LOC house oil BE.LOC
 ‘There’s food in the house, there’s oil (...)’ [ro05rt 050]
- (61) *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]

5 The nominal system

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:

- (62) *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 (63):

- (63) *Mán den nó de bísín fɔ mék fám mó.*
 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:

- (64) *Pero di gabonés wé de ták Bata wet di guineano wé de ták Bata,*
 but DEF Gabonese SUB IPFV talk Fang with DEF Guinean SUB IPFV talk Fang
di sonido nó dé di sén.
 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 (65) 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*:

- (65) *Tidé pikín yu go gét belé, yu púl=an yu go dáy wet belé.*
 today child 2SG POT get belly 2SG remove=3SG.OBJ 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’, *gét belé* ‘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 (66):

- (66) *A ralla ín wet rallador.*
 1SG.SBJ grate 3SG.INDP with grater
 ‘I grated it with a grater.’ [dj03do 004]

5.2 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).

5.2.1 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 (67), the nouns *mán* ‘man’ and *húman* ‘woman’ are modified by the preposed property item *bíg* ‘(be) big’.

- (67) *Bət wé di mán na bíg mán, di húman séf na bíg húman, porque ɔl tén*
 but SUB DEF man FOC big man DEF woman EMP FOC big woman because all time
na húman dé bə́tɔ́n mán.
 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 (68):

- (68) *Yu pút ɔ́da nyú wán insay, dán wán sé mék e nó smél.*
 2SG put other new one inside that one QUOT 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. *néks* ‘next’, *plénte* ‘(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 (67) and *smɔ́l* ‘(be) small), age (e.g. *ól* ‘(be) old’, cf. 68), value (e.g. *bád* ‘(be) bad’, *béta* ‘(be) very good’, *fáyɔ́n* ‘(be) fine, beautiful’, *trú* ‘(be) true’, and (s)*trɔ́n* ‘be strong, profound (cf. 69), colour (e.g. *blák* ‘(be) black’, *wáyɔ́t* ‘(be) white’, and *réd* ‘(be) red’):

- (69) *E gét wán trɔ́n stáyl fɔ́ tók=an.*
 3SG.SBJ get one strong style PREP talk=3SG.OBJ
 ‘There’s a profound way of saying it.’ [ye07je 020]
- (70) *Dán wáyɔ́t 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’, *jéls* ‘(be) envious’) or inchoative-stative verbs (e.g. *wíkéd* ‘(be) wicked’). Further, the corpus contains no instance of a prenominal, modifying use of labile change-of-state verbs like *brók* ‘(be) broken, break’, *lós* ‘(be) lost, lose’, *lók* ‘close, (be) closed’, and locative verbs like *sidón* ‘sit, seat’.

Instead, members of the semantic classes listed above preferably occur in other kinds of modifying structures, such as relative constructions (71) and compounds (72):

- (71) *Na wán mán wé e lós.*
 FOC one man SUB 3SG.SBJ lose.
 ‘He’s a lost man [a hopeless case].’ [be07fn 217]
- (72) *Wán dé wán dé dís húman go tón 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).

5.2.2 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. 93–94), *ól* ‘all’ (cf. 96), and *dásól* ‘only’ (cf. 106).

5.2.3 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 *fə*. 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:

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.

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	<i>in</i> ‘3SG.POSS’, <i>den</i> ‘3PL’	Possessed
<i>fɔ</i> -prepositional	Possessed	<i>fɔ</i> ‘PREP’	Possessor

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 is if the possessor is not a multi-constituent NP is a “measure/entity” relation (73). In such constructions, the modifier noun is the measure (*glás* ‘glass’) and the modified noun the entity measured (*watá* ‘water’):

- (73) *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 *den*:

- (74) *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]
- (75) (...) *wáyt pípul den 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 (76), which involves a 2SG person possessor, is ungrammatical:

- (76) * *Na yú in hós.*
 FOC 2SG.INDP 3SG.POSS house
 Intended: ‘It’s your house.’ [ne07fn 231]

Recursive possessive relations can be expressed by the juxtaposition of possessive constructions, as in (77):

- (77) *Na dé a kán sabí mi mamá in papá in fámbul.*
 FOC there 1SG.SBJ PFV know 1SG.POSS mother 3SG.POSS father 3SG.POSS family
 ‘It is there that I got to know my mother’s father’s family.’ [fr03ft 044]

In the *fə*-prepositional construction, the possessed noun is followed by a prepositional phrase that contains a full noun functioning as a possessor (78) or modifier (79):

- (78) *Áfta Miguel Ángel wé na di lás pikín fə 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]
- (79) *Áfta den de gét fisionomía fə Afrika den.*
 then 3PL IPFV get physiognomy PREP PLACE PL
 ‘Then, they have African physiognomies.’ [ed03sp 031]

Unlike the dislocated possessive construction, the “possessor” in the *fə*-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 (80) and material (81) (cf. §9.1.3 for a complete description of the semantic roles covered by *fə* ‘PREP’):

- (80) *Yu nó go gét hambóg fə pípul den.*
 2SG NEG POT get irritation PREP people PL
 ‘You won’t get any irritation from people.’ [ma03ni 009]
- (81) *Dán casa verde, dán casa fə madera (...)*
 that house green that house PREP wood
 ‘That green house, that wooden house (...)’ [hi03cb 037]

The *fə*-construction is also used to express part-whole relations in the idiomatic expression *pát fə* ‘part of’ (82) or in a partitive construction involving the determiner *sən* ‘some’ (83):

- (82) *Góbna de gí yu pát fə di məní.*
 government IPFV give 2SG part PREP DEF money
 ‘Government gives you part of the money.’ [hi03cb 064]
- (83) *Sən fə 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’:

- (84) *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]

Another 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:

- (85) *Na wán prensa internacional wán ministro fɔ Gabón kán tók sé dân*
 LOC one press international one minister PREP PLACE PFV talk QUOT that
isla na Gabón.
 island FOC PLACE
 ‘In an international press [newspaper] a secretary of state of Gabon said that that island is [belongs to] Gabon.’ [fr03ft 111]

5.3 Quantification

Quantification is expressed through numerals, as well as a variety of relative, absolute, and negative quantifying expressions.

5.3.1 Numerals

Pichi has a decimal numeral system. Cardinal numerals up to ten are listed in Table 5.4.

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 (86) and may be used independently as pronominals (87). The repetition of cardinal numerals renders a distributive sense (88):

- (86) *So a dón gét trí nacionalidad na dís wól.*
 so 1SG.SBJ PRF get three nationality LOC this world
 ‘So I have three nationalities in this world.’ [fr03ft 102]
- (87) *Ɛf yu de ték trí, treinta mil.*
 if 2SG IPFV take three thirty thousand
 ‘If you take three, (it is) thirty thousand.’ [f103fp 016]

Table 5.4 Cardinal numerals

Numeral	Cardinal	Ordinal
1	<i>wán</i>	<i>fɔs</i>
2	<i>tú</i>	<i>sekón, sékɔn; nɔmba-tú</i>
3	<i>trí</i>	<i>nɔmba-trí</i>
4	<i>fɔ</i>	<i>nɔmba-fɔ</i>
5	<i>fáyf</i>	<i>nɔmba-fáyf</i>
6	<i>síks</i>	<i>nɔmba-síks</i>
7	<i>séven</i>	<i>nɔmba-séven</i>
8	<i>ét</i>	<i>nɔmba-ét</i>
9	<i>náyyn</i>	<i>nɔmba-náyyn</i>
10	<i>tén</i>	<i>nɔmba-tén</i>

- (88) *Yu fít kér dén 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 *fɔs* ‘first’ (89), *sekón/sékɔn* ‘second’ (90), and *lás* ‘last’ (91). The first two occur as attributive pronominal modifiers like other property items, while *lás* ‘last’ preferably occurs in quantifier compounds :

- (89) *Na di fɔs tín (...)*
 FOC DEF first thing
 ‘It’s the first thing (...)’ [ab0310ay 010]
- (90) *E gó blánt wet di sekón papá.*
 3SG.SBJ go reside with DEF second father
 ‘She went to stay with the second father [stepfather].’ [hi07fn 225]
- (91) *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 *nɔmba* ‘number’ and a cardinal numeral as the head. Most people also use this construction to express ‘second’ (92):

- (92) *Di nɔmba-tú pikín, e kán tél 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 determiner and a pronominal or nominal substitute (cf. 30–31). 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 (93). When used in this way, *wán* may modify a head noun post-nominally like a postnominal modifier, such as the focus particle *séf* ‘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 (94) (cf. also 125–126):

- (93) *Den tél=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]
- (94) *Mi bráda ín wán mên di pikín.*
 1SG.POSS brother 3SG.INDP one raise DEF child
 ‘My brother raised the [his] child single-handedly.’ [he07fn 444]

5.3.2 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 *sən* ‘some, a’. Some are only employed attributively with nouns (e.g. *hól* ‘whole’). Yet others are only used as pronominals (e.g. *nátin* ‘nothing’).

The quantifier *ál* ‘all’ occurs with count and mass nouns alike. *ál* is encountered in a pre- (95), and postnominal position (96), yet without any effect on its quantificational properties:

- (95) (...) *yu de bák ál di móní* (...)
 2SG IPFV give.back all DEF money
 ‘(...) you return all the money (...)’ [hi03cb 184]
- (96) *Di pikín ál sé na mi yón bikəs a dón pé móní.*
 DEF child all QUOT FOC 1SG.POSS own because 1SG.SBJ PFV pay money
 ‘(...) all the children are mine, because I have paid money [the dowry].’ [hi03cb 196]

When *ál* appears immediately before the noun, it is most often found to modify generic nouns like *tín* ‘thing’, *tén* ‘time’, *pósin* ‘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):

- (97) *Ál mán kin lúk=an, yu go sí wi nó go mít nó bódi na hós.*
 all man HAB look=3SG.OBJ 2SG POT see 1PL NEG POT meet NEG body LOC house
 ‘Everybody watches it, you’ll see, we won’t run into anybody in the house.’
 [ma03ni 038]

Table 5.5 Non-numeral quantifiers

Type		Quantifier	Pronominal use
Relational	<i>ál</i>	‘all’	Yes
	<i>éni</i>	‘every’	No
	<i>óda</i>	‘other, next’	No
	<i>néks</i>	‘next’	No
	<i>hól</i>	‘whole’	No
	<i>háf</i>	‘half’	Yes
	<i>ónli</i>	‘only’	No
	<i>dásól</i>	‘only’	No
	<i>sósó</i>	‘only, abundant(ly)’	No
	<i>grén</i>	‘only, exactly’	No
Absolute	<i>són</i>	‘some, a’	Yes
	<i>bokú</i>	‘much, many’	Yes
	<i>plénte</i>	‘plenty’	Yes
	<i>smól</i>	‘a bit, few’	Yes
	<i>móch</i>	‘much’	No
Negative	<i>nó</i>	‘no’	No
	<i>nátin</i>	‘nothing’	Yes

- (98) *Porque na mí mí de prepara ál 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 *ál mán* ‘everybody’ and *ál tín* ‘everything’ above as belonging to a word class termed “indefinite pronouns”, they are best seen as ordinary NPs involving a quantifier 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 (99) 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):

- (99) *Mí séf, ál pósín den kin áks mí sé yu dón bón?*
 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]

Ól ‘all’ may quantify over temporal (100) and locative (101) expressions. This function may also be fulfilled by the attributive quantifier hól ‘whole’ (102). In general, the use of hól is, however, rare:

- (100) “Ól *tidé e bin de kól mí*”, *e kól mí wán tén dásol*.
all today 3SG.SBJ PST IPFV call 1SG.INDP 3SG.SBJ call 1SG.INDP one time only
‘All of today he was calling me [so he says]’, he [actually] called me only once.’
[fr03cd 022]
- (101) Ól *hía pák polvo*.
all here pack dust
‘All this place is full of dust.’ [ge07fn 127]
- (102) (...) *adonké 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 (103) and sósó (104) in the following two sentence pairs:

- (103) a. Di *ónli lángwech wé den de tók fáyn fáyn*, (...)
DEF only language SUB 3PL IPFV talk fine REP
‘The only language that they speak really well (...)’ [au07se 265]
b. Ónli *den wánt hía Panyá*.
only 3PL want hear Spanish
‘They only want to hear Spanish.’ [au07se 211]
- (104) 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 dásol ‘only’ behaves like the universal relational quantifier íl ‘all’. Hence, dásol may appear to the very left of the reference noun (105) or occur after the reference noun (106). Aside from that, dásol is used as a sentence adverb and clause linker (cf. §10.7.9):

- (105) *Dásol wán smól, 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]

- (106) *Pero di fíba bin kér wán dé dásəl.*
 but DEF fever PST carry one day only
 ‘But the fever lasted only one day.’ [ru03wt 062]

The quantifier *éni* ‘every’ quantifies over sets. It therefore has a distributive meaning and can only occur with singular count nouns (107):

- (107) *Éni dé den de chóp rés, éni 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 *éni* ‘every’, *grén* therefore quantifies over sets. The resulting quantifier compound functions as an attributive quantifier to the following noun *pikín*:

- (108) *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 *sən* ‘some’, *bókú* ‘much’, *plénte* ‘plenty’, and *smól* ‘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, like *smól* ‘few, a bit’ in (109) and *sən* ‘some’ in (110):

- (109) *A kin wánt kóf den de trowé smól mélk, leche tibia na*
 1SG.SBJ HAB want cough 3PL IPFV pour small milk milk lukewarm LOC
mi trót.
 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]

- (110) *Sən fés den dé wé a sabí nś.*
 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 *bókú* ‘much, many’ in (111) which precedes the standard *mi kəntri-mán den* ‘my countrymen’:

- (111) *Bikəs a gét bókú mi kəntri-mán den wé den húman kin*
 because 1SG.SBJ get much 1SG.POSS country.CPD-man PL SUB 3PL woman HAB
dé fə Annobón.
 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:

- (112) *Nó nátin 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 *ól* ‘all’ in (113) (cf. Table 5.5 for a complete overview). However, a quantifier phrase featuring a generic noun (e.g. *ól tín* ‘all thing’ = ‘everything’) is usually preferred:

- (113) *Ól di tín wé yú an dân mán bin gét, ól de léf fɔ dân mán.*
 all DEF thing SUB 2SG.INDP and that man PST get all IPFV remain PREP that man
 ‘All the things that you and that man had, all remains for that man.’ [hi03cb 191]

5.4 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.

5.4.1 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. None of the forms in the “subject” and “possessive” columns are simultaneously employed as object pronouns.

In addition, there is an overlap in forms for the expression of object case. The “object & emphatic” columns are employed as object pronouns and emphatic pronouns at the same time. However, the 3SG pronouns *=an* and *in* 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).

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 ad-

Table 5.6 Personal pronouns

Person & Number	Dependent pronouns			Independent pronouns
	Subject	Possessive	Object	Object & emphatic
1SG	<i>a</i>	<i>mi</i>		<i>mí</i>
2SG	<i>yu</i>			<i>yú</i>
3SG	<i>e</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>=an</i>	<i>ín</i>
1PL	<i>wi</i>			<i>wí</i>
2PL	<i>una, unu</i>			<i>una, unu</i>
3PL	<i>dén</i>			<i>dén</i>

verbs. Only independent personal pronouns may be focused (114), topicalised, modified by postposed elements, and conjoined by the coordinators *an* ‘and’ or *ɔ* ‘or’ (115):

- (114) *Mí gét tú bróda.*
 1SG.INDP get two brother
 ‘I [EMP] have two brothers.’ [ro07fn 501]
- (115) *Bɔt di gél nó kán grí mék e gí in bóy frén ɔ di pikín ɔ*
 but DEF girl NEG PFV agree SBJV 3SG.SBJ give 3SG.POSS boy friend or DEF child or
ín sɛnwɛ, e kán rón.
 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 (116). This alternative is not very common in the data:

- (116) *Mí a nó gét.*
 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’ (117), and *nóto* ‘NEG.FOC’. The example also shows the use of independent pronouns (i.e. *dén* ‘3PL.INDP’) as regular object pronouns (save the clitic *=an* for 3SG.OBJ):

- (117) *E wás dí klós déɛ, e dráy déɛ, nó na mí dráy*
 3SG.SBJ wash this clothing PL 3SG.SBJ dry 3PL.INDP INTJ FOC 1SG.INDP dry
dén.
 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 (118) or is employed as a vocative (119):

- (118) *Læk nâw só, mí [wé a nó máred, éfa bón pikín]?*
 like now like.that 1SG.INDP SUB 1SG.SBJ NEG marry if 1SG.SBJ give.birth child
 ‘Like right now, me who is not married, if I had a child?’ [ab03ab 193]
- (119) *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 (120) 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:

- (120) *Den tíf mí ordenador.*
 3PL steal 1SG.INDP computer
 ‘They stole a computer from me.’ [ge07fn 169]

Conversely, (121) is a single object construction. The low-toned pronoun *mi* is a possessive pronoun to the noun *ordenador* ‘computer’ which functions as a patient NP to the verb *tíf* ‘steal’:

- (121) *Den 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 (122), *=an* is coreferential with the plural-referring pronominal *ál*:

- (122) *Mí sénwe a mén=an ál.*
 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 (123):

- (123) *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’ (124):

- (124) *E sé a gó mén pikín dásol ef a dón sí **yu** **yón**.*

3SG.SBJ QUOT 1SG.SBJ go care.for child only if 1SG.SBJ PRF see 2SG own

‘She said I will only care for a child when I have seen yours.’ [fr03ft 159]

5.4.2 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 (125), the pronoun *yú* ‘2SG.INDP’ is modified by *wán* ‘one, alone’. *Wán* is semantically compatible with plural referents (126). In (127), the pronoun *ín* ‘3SG.INDP’ is modified by *dásol* ‘only’. Note the obligatory use of independent (emphatic) pronouns with these quantifiers:

- (125) *Ef yu bin dé **yú** **wán** yu nó bin fɔ tók 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]

- (126) *Na **dén** **wán** de disfruta ó.*

FOC 3PL one IPFV enjoy SP

‘It is them alone who are enjoying [it].’ [ed07fn 280]

- (127) *Na **ín** **dásol** dán húman dón 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 (128) 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 *dén* ‘PL’:

- (128) *A sé bikɔs **una** **Camerún** una gét (...)*

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 *ál* ‘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 (125–127) 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 (129) below is L-toned, although the quantifier *ɛl* ‘all’ is in the same syntactic position as *wán* and *dásɔl* in (125–127) above.

The collocation *den-ɛl* ‘PL-all’ may be employed in order to signal inclusivity of all referents. The use of a resumptive simplex dependent pronoun as in (129) is optional but very common:

- (129) *Den-ɛl den de salút den séf.*
 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 (130). Such dual compound pronouns are most frequently formed by additionally incorporating the quantifier *ɛl* ‘all’ into the compound (131). The data contains no trial compound pronouns formed with the numeral *trí* ‘three’:

- (130) *Den go reúne, den-tú den go kɔl di bóy (...)*
 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]
- (131) *Yu sí, den-ɔl-tú júmp fɔ bóɛ di bóɛ.*
 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 (132):

- (132) *Lék sé den de hía wi-ɔl-tú wi de tɔk 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 (130) and (132) also show that dual pronouns are anaphorically referred to (i.e. through the resumptive pronouns *den* ‘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	<i>wi-(ɔl)-tú</i>	<i>wi</i>
2 dual	<i>una-(ɔl)-tú</i>	<i>una</i>
3 dual	<i>dɛn-(ɔl)-tú</i>	<i>dɛn</i>
1 universal	<i>wi-ɔl</i>	<i>wi</i>
2 universal	<i>una-ɔl</i>	<i>una</i>
3 universal	<i>dɛn-ɔl</i>	<i>dɛn</i>

5.4.3 Indefinite pronouns

In Pichi, the functional equivalents of indefinite pronouns are phrases involving generic nouns preceded by the quantifier and indefinite determiner *sən* ‘some, a’ as well as the quantifiers *ɔl* ‘all’, *ɛni* ‘every’, and *nó* ‘NEG’. Table 5.8 provides an overview of ‘some’ and ‘every’ indefinites involving the generic nouns *pósin* ‘person’, *mán* ‘man, person’, *tín* ‘thing’, *sáy* ‘side, place’, (*káyn*) *stáyl* ‘(kind of) style’, *tén* ‘time’, and *áwa* ‘hour, time’. Some examples for their use are provided in (26–27) above as well as (97–99) above.

An extensive treatment of ‘no’ and ‘any’ forms, hence negative phrases with the functions of negative indefinites, is provided in §7.2.3.

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 idiosyncracies in the formation of indefinites: while *sən pósin* ‘somebody’ is more common than *sən mán*, *ɔl mán* ‘everybody’ is favoured over *ɔl pósin*; “manner” is equally often expressed as *sən stáyl* as it is involving the modifier substitute *káyn* ‘kind’. Finally, note that ‘sometimes’ is expressed as *sən tén dɛn*, hence a plural NP while *sən.tén* is a lexicalised collocation functioning as an adverb with the meaning ‘perhaps’. Also note that *tén* ‘time’ is a count noun, hence quantification with *ɛni* ‘every’ renders the distributive meaning ‘every time’.

5.4.4 Pronominals

The pronominals *séf* ‘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 *séf* ‘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,

Table 5.8 Indefinite pronouns

	‘Some’		‘Every’	
person	<i>sən pòsin</i> <i>sən mán</i>	‘somebody’	<i>ól pòsin,</i> <i>ól mán</i>	‘everybody’
thing	<i>sən tín</i>	‘something’	<i>ól tín,</i> <i>éni tín</i>	‘everything’
place	<i>sən sáy</i>	‘somewhere’	<i>ól sáy,</i> <i>éni sáy</i>	‘everywhere’
manner	<i>sən (káy) stáyl</i>	‘somehow’	<i>ól (káy) stáyl,</i> <i>éni (káy) stáyl</i>	‘(in) every way’
time	<i>sən tén den</i> <i>sən áwa (den)</i>	‘sometimes’	<i>ól tén</i> <i>ól áwa</i> <i>éni tén</i>	‘always’ ‘every time’
kind	<i>sən káy</i>	‘some kind of’	<i>ól káy</i> <i>éni káy</i>	‘every kind of’

to generic nouns like *mán* ‘man, person’, *sáy* ‘place’, *stáyl* ‘manner’, and *tén* ‘time’, which behave like other common nouns but fulfil important functions in the grammatical system of Pichi. For example, *káy* ‘kind’ and *wán* ‘one’ may co-occur with a determiner or a prenominal modifier. *Káy* 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 káy 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 óda wán* ‘DEF other one’ = ‘the other one’).

5.5 Coordination

The most commonly employed form for signalling coordination between two noun phrases is the comitative preposition *wet* ‘with’ (133). The form *an* ‘and’ is also used to coordinate noun phrases (134) next to being employed as a sentential coordinator (cf. §10.3). However, most speakers have a clear preference for *wet* rather than *an*:

- (133) *Lydia wet Junior, na dén a sabí.*
 NAME with NAME FOC 3PL.INDP 1SG.SBJ know
 ‘Lydia and Junior, it’s them I know.’ [fr03ft 134]

5 The nominal system

- (134) *Ól di tín wé yú an dân mán bin gét (...)*
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 *ɔ* 'or', which alternates in pronunciation between [ɔ̃] and [ò]. This variation in form is likely to be reinforced by the existence of the equivalent Spanish coordinator *o* 'or':

- (135) (...) *wé a tínk sé na judías blancas ɔ rés.*
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]

6 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.

6.1 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 inverse 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 chóp* ‘1PL eat’ = ‘we ate’) (Sasse 1991b).

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 1991b: 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	<i>fit</i>	‘can’
	<i>hébul</i>	‘be capable’
	<i>lék</i>	‘like’
	<i>mín</i>	‘mean (to)’
	<i>níd</i>	‘need’
	<i>wánt</i>	‘want’
Existence	<i>bí</i>	‘BE’
	<i>dé</i>	‘BE.LOC’
	<i>blánt</i>	‘reside’
	<i>fíba</i>	‘resemble, seem’
Cognition	<i>tínk</i>	‘think’

Stative verbs do not co-occur 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:

- (1) * *A bigín (de) hébul dú=an.*
 1SG.SBJ begin IPFV be.capable do=3SG.OBJ
 Intended: ‘I began to be capable of doing it.’ [to07fn 226]

The two modal verbs *lék* ‘like’ and *wánt* ‘want’ are ambivalent in their lexical aspect. I suggest that *wánt* is ambivalent between a dynamic and a stative sense, while *lék* vacillates between a stative and an inchoative-stative sense. Most of the time, these two verbs do not co-occur with *de* ‘IPFV’ in imperfective situations. They sometimes do, however, and they are also attested in phasal constructions involving *bigín* ‘begin’:

- (2) *Na ín a bigín de lék=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; Property items; Locative verbs	Labile verbs	
Possession	<i>gét</i> <i>hól</i>	‘get, have’ ‘seize, keep’
Cognition	<i>sabí</i> <i>nó</i>	‘(get to) know’ ‘(get to) know’
Perception	<i>sí</i>	‘see, catch sight of’
Existence	<i>kɔmɔt</i>	‘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’ (3) 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 (4):

- (3) *Dís báy, éni dé e de fáyn mɔ-ɛn-mɔ.*
this boy every day 3SG.SBJ IPFV be.fine more-and-more
‘This boy is getting more and more handsome every day.’ [ro05ee 046]
- (4) *Wi bigín de nó wi séf.*
1PL begin IPFV know 1PL self
‘We began to get to know each other.’ [ye07fn 019]

The inchoative-stative posture verbs *sidón* ‘sit (down)’, *slíp* ‘lie down, sleep’ and *tínáp* ‘stand (up)’ may co-occur 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 (5) and as a dynamic verb in (6):

- (5) *Yu de respira, yu séns de lós, e dé lek sé yu slíp.*
 2SG IPFV breathe 2SG mind IPFV lose 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC like QUOT 2SG sleep
 ‘You’re breathing, your mind is slipping away, it is as if you’re sleeping.’ [ed03sb 120]
- (6) *Di dóg de slíp bótón di tébul.*
 DEF dog IPFV slíp under DEF table
 ‘The dog is sleeping/lying under the table.’ [ro05ee 072]

The verb *tínáp* ‘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:

- (7) *E tínáp bihén di hós.*
 3SG.SBJ stand.up behind DEF house
 ‘He’s standing behind the house.’ [ye0502e2 181]
- (8) *E de tínáp, smól pikín wé e de tráy fɔ́ tínáp yet.*
 3SG.SBJ IPFV stand.up small child SUB 3SG.SBJ IPFV try 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 *kómót*. 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 (9) and (10), respectively:

- (9) *Wi kómót dé, wi kán gó fɔ́, fɔ́ Akebeville.*
 1PL go.out there 1PL PFV go PREP PREP PLACE
 ‘(When) we left there, we went to, to Akebeville.’ [ma03hm 039]
- (10) *Ús=sáy yu kómót?*
 Q=side 2SG come.from
 ‘Where do you come from?’ or ‘Where did you exit [e.g. the market]?’ [dj050e3 167]

A comparison of (10) and (11) shows that ambiguity does not arise once *kómót* is marked for imperfective aspect:

- (11) *Yu de kɔmɔ́t ús=sáy?*
 2SG IPFV come.out Q=side
 ‘Where are you coming from?’ [dj05ce 170]
- (12) *Mí gét dân problema wet báy den wé den kɔmɔ́t Bata nɔ́, sé ‘no*
 1SG.INDP get that problem with boy PL SUB 3PL come.out Bata INTJ QUOT no
Pichi es un dialecto.
 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’ (13) and in ingressive auxiliary constructions featuring the aspectual/phasal verb *bigín* ‘begin’ (14). 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):

- (13) *Den de sláp den séf.*
 3PL IPFV slap 3PL self
 ‘They’re slapping each other.’ [dj07re 020]
- (14) *A bigín gó skúl.*
 1SG.SBJ begin go school
 ‘I began going to school.’ [fr03ft 018]

6.2 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 Figure 6.1. 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:

Mood	Pronoun	Negation	Tense	Mood	Aspect	Aspect	Stem	Root
<i>mék</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>nó</i>	<i>bin</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>dón</i>	<i>de</i>	RED-	verb
SBJV	2SG	NEG	PST	POT	PRF	IPFV		
				<i>fɔ</i>	<i>néa</i>	<i>kán</i>		
				OBL/COND	NEG.PR	PFV		
				<i>mɔs</i>	<i>kin</i>			
				OBL	HAB/ABL			

Figure 6.1 Ordering of TMA markers

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
	<i>bin</i> ‘PST’	Past
Mood	— (factative TMA)	Realis
	<i>go</i> ‘POT’	Potential
	<i>mék</i> ‘SBJV’	Subjunctive; complementiser
	<i>fɔ</i> ‘PREP, COND’	Obligative, complementiser; conditional
	<i>mɔs</i> ‘OBL’	Obligative
Aspect	— (factative TMA)	Perfective
	<i>kán</i> ‘PFV’	Narrative perfective
	<i>de</i> ‘IPFV’	Imperfective
	<i>dón</i> ‘PRF’	Perfect
	<i>kin</i> ‘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. Crossreferences to examples featuring uses of composite categories are provided in the first column.

In the corpus, the maximal number of TMA markers encountered in one clause is three (e.g. 103). 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 *néa* ‘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’.

6.3 Aspect

Sections §6.3.1 to §6.4.4 cover aspect marking by means of TMA markers and auxiliary verbs.

6.3.1 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.

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

Ex.	SBJV	PST	POT	COND	PRF	HAB	IPFV	PFV	RED	Function
(128)	<i>mék</i>						<i>de</i>			Subjunctive imperfective
(175)		<i>bin</i>		<i>fɔ</i>						Counterfactual
(97)		<i>bin</i>		<i>fɔ</i>	<i>dɔn</i>					Counterfactual perfect
(151) (a)		<i>bin</i>						<i>kán</i>		Past perfective
(102)		<i>bin</i>			<i>dɔn</i>					Past perfect
(157) (e)		<i>bin</i>					<i>de</i>			Past imperfective
(103)		<i>bin</i>			<i>dɔn</i>		<i>de</i>			Past perfect imperfective
(230)					<i>dɔn</i>		<i>de</i>			Perfect imperfective
(98)			<i>go</i>		<i>dɔn</i>					Potential/future perfect
(92)			<i>go</i>				<i>de</i>			Potential/future imperfective
(42)			<i>go</i>						RED	Iterative potential/future
(41)							<i>de</i>		RED	Iterative imperfective
(45)						<i>kin</i>	<i>de</i>		RED	Iterative habitual
(44)						<i>kin</i>	<i>de</i>			Habitual

Figure 6.2 Composite TMA categories

Table 6.4 Default readings of factative TMA according to lexical aspect class

Lexical aspect	Tense	Aspect	Modality	Example
Stative	Present	Imperfective	Realis	<i>A hébul</i> 'I am capable'
Inchoative-stative	Present, past	Imperfective, perfective	Realis	<i>A chák</i> 'I am drunk, I got drunk'
Dynamic	Past	Perfective	Realis	<i>A gó</i> 'I went'

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 (15):

- (15) *A pás di domót bihén sáy a gó fén 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 (16). 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:

- (16) *Éni sáy wé pòsin wánt sidón, den de sidón.*
 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 (17) 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 (18). 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:

- (17) *A sabí sòn kápinta den.*
 1SG.SBJ know some carpenter PL
 'I know some carpenters.' or 'I got to know some carpenters.' [ro05fe 001]

- (18) *Bifó wi rích fə 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:

- (19) *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 (20), 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 *sidón* ‘sit (down)’:

- (20) *A ték di trí chía den, dán butaca óp sáy, mí sidón dé,*
 1SG.SBJ take DEF three chair PL that elbow.chair up side 1SG.INDP sit.down there
e sidón dís pát.
 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 (21) and stative verbs alike (22):

- (21) *E go dé fáyn efe kán.*
 3SG.SBJ POT BE.LOC fine if 3SG.SBJ come
 ‘It will be nice, if he comes.’ [dj05ae 205]
- (22) *If yu wánt, a fit sél 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 (23), speaker (ge) asks speaker (dj) to explain how *ógi* ‘corn porridge’ is prepared. In the response in (23b), the dynamic verb *pút* ‘put’ acquires a habitual sense but remains bare.

- (23) a. *Áfta háw fə mék di ógi?*
 then how PREP make DEF corn.porridge
 ‘Then how do you make the corn porridge?’ [ge03do 050]

- b. *Yu fít ték nán, wán, wán smól kóp nó, yu pút=an na fâya, ínsay*
 2SG can take now one one small cup INTJ 2SG put=3SG.OBJ LOC fire inside
di pót.
 DEF pot
 ‘Now you can take, a, a small cup, right, you put it on the fire, inside the pot.’
 [dj03do 051]

6.3.2 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 1991a,b). 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 *dón* and its negative counterpart *néa*, as well as ingressive, egressive and completive aspect auxiliaries also express various perfective readings. Table 6.5 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):

6.3.3 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 per-

Table 6.5 Perfective and imperfective readings according to lexical aspect class

	Stative verbs	Inchoative-stative verbs	Dynamic verbs
Factive	Stative (PRS)	Stative (PRS), inchoative (PST)	Bounded (PST)
<i>kán</i> ‘PFV’	Inchoative (PST)	Inchoative (PST)	Bounded (PST)
<i>de</i> ‘IPFV’	—	Inchoative (PRS)	Progressive (PRS), continuative (PRS), habitual (PRS), future, hypothetical, non-finiteness

fective 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’ (24) or *kán* ‘come’ (25):

- (24) *Dán mán e bin kán gó na jél lón tén.*
 that man 3SG.SBJ PST PFV go LOC jail long time
 ‘That man went to jail a long time ago.’ [ma03sh 015]
- (25) *E gí di papá di pikín, kómót, e kán kán na Malábo.*
 3SG.SBJ give DEF father DEF child go.out 3SG.SBJ PFV 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 (26a) 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):

- (26) a. *A kán gó na mi onkúl in papá in lét bróda.*
 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 bróda, 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. 26 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 26b above) and inchoative-stative verbs (cf. 27 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 *lék* ‘like, love’ is marked for perfective aspect and for factative aspect respectively, is shown by comparison of (28) and (36) further below.

- (27) *Pero ef di tín kán bokú mós pás di watá, e go léf wán pasta.*
 but if DEF thing PFV much more pass DEF water 3SG.SBJ POT leave one paste
 ‘But if the thing has become more than the water, a paste will remain.’ [dj03do 059]
- (28) *E kán lék óda 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 (29), *kán* appears in the IF-clause of a past conditional (cf. also 21). Maybe this usage reflects a tendency for *kán* to extend its function even further to that of a generalised perfective marker:

- (29) *Ef yu bin kán bigín lás semana, yu bin fò dón finis 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]

6.3.4 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 *smél* ‘smell’ and *kúk* ‘cook’ in (30):

- (30) *A de smél di sént fɔ lek 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 (31), the habitual reading of *chóp* ‘eat’ is signalled through the presence of the time adverbial *éni dé* ‘every day’:

- (31) *Éni dé den de chóp rɛs, éni 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:

- (32) *Yu de krés.*
 2SG IPFV be.crazy
 ‘You are crazy.’ [ro05ee 038]
- (33) *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 (34) and (35) the inchoative-stative verb *gét* ‘get, have’ and the stative verb *lék* ‘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:

- (34) *Áfta den de gét fisionomía fɔ, fɔ Áfrika den.*
 then 3PL IPFV get physiognomy PREP PREP Africa PL
 ‘Then they have the physiognomy of, of Africans.’ [ed03sp 031]
- (35) *A nó, a nó de lék=an mɔ, 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 (36) the stative verb *lék* ‘like’ remains unmarked, hence is imperfective by default:

- (36) *Den nó lék pósin, den 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 (72) below:

- (37) *In móní de bókú.*
 3SG.POSS money IPFV be.much
 ‘Her money is getting more.’ [ro05ee 047]
- (38) *In móní de smól.*
 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 (39). It can also express conditional modality in THEN-clauses and hypothetical statements contingent upon inferred conditions (40):

- (39) *A de léf na Lubá sóté di néks wík.*
 1SG.SBJ IPFV remain LOC PLACE until DEF next week
 ‘I’m staying in Luba until next week.’ [dj05ce 014]
- (40) *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 *géfo* ‘have to’ (41) and *wánt* ‘want’ (42):

- (41) *Yu géfo de tón=an.*
 2SG have.to IPFV turn=3SG.OBJ
 ‘You need to be stirring it.’ [dj03do 057]
- (42) *Yu wánt de gó?*
 2SG want IPFV go
 ‘Do you want to go?’ [nn07fn 227]

6.3.5 Habitual

The central function of the marker *kin* ‘HAB’ is to express an 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. 112). The marker either appears alone in preverbal position (43) or is optionally followed by the imperfective marker *de* if the reference verb is dynamic (44). 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:

- (43) *E tél mí sé “wi kin mítap 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]
- (44) *Nit na in éks den 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’ (45) and the inchoative-stative verb *nó* ‘(get to) know’ (46):

- (45) *Sé ús=tín kin dé ínsay dé?*
 QUOT Q=thing HAB BE.LOC inside there
 ‘(She) said “what is usually in there?”’ [ed03sb 052]
- (46) *Den nó kin nó séf.*
 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:

- (47) *Dóg kin bét.*
 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 (46) above is translated as past habitual, because the time frame of the corresponding discourse context suggests so.

6.3.6 Iterative

The reduplication of dynamic verbs yields an 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 (48) 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 *nómba den* ‘numbers’:

- (48) *Wétin yu de chench-chénch nómba den 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 (49) narrates how she repeatedly felt the temperature of her sick grandchild:

- (49) a. *Wé a kin mék só, a nó de fíl hót.*
 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 tóch in fút, in hán dé, na só*
 but SUB 1SG.SBJ HAB touch 3SG.POSS foot 3SG.POSS hand there FOC like.that
den [kó::l].
 3PL be.cold.EMP
 ‘When I would touch his leg, his hand there, that’s how terribly cold they were.’ [ab03ab 066]

6.4 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), *kómót* ‘go out’ (egressive), *finis* ‘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 *jós/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. Table 6.6 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	<i>bigín (de)</i>	‘begin’
Egressive	<i>(jís/jós) kómót</i> <i>jís/jós</i>	‘just have’ ‘just’
Completive	<i>fínis</i>	‘finish’
Continuative	<i>(stíl) sigue</i> <i>stíl (de)</i>	‘continue’ ‘still’
Prospective	<i>wánt (de)</i>	‘be about to’

Not included in Table 6.6 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.

6.4.1 Ingressive

The aspectual verb *bigín* ‘begin’ expresses ingressive aspect. The function of *bigín* as a transitive dynamic verb is exemplified in (50), where it is followed by the object NP *di wók* ‘DEF work’ = ‘the work’:

- (50) A *bigín di wók wé yu dón 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 (51). When employed as an aspectual auxiliary, *bigín* may be immediately followed by a lexical verb (51) or optionally followed by the imperfective marker *de* (52), which stresses the continuous or extended nature of the transition to the situation denoted by the lexical verb:

- (51) A *bigín gó skúl.*
 1SG.SBJ begin go school
 ‘I began going to school.’ [fr03ft 018]
- (52) A *bigín de lás, a de kóstən.*
 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 (53), *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 (54):

- (53) *Den kán bigín kól mí Francisca.*
 3PL PFV begin call 1SG.INDP NAME
 ‘They began to call me Francisca.’ [fr03ft 095]
- (54) *Wi bigín de nó wi séf.*
 1PL begin IPFV know 1PL self
 ‘We began to get to know each other.’ [ye07fn 019]

6.4.2 Egressive

The verb *kómót* 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 *kómót* may optionally be preceded by the preverbal adverb *jís/jós* ‘just’ and is immediately followed by the complement verb.

- (55) *E tél mí sé dán papá wé e jós kómót cobra in*
 3SG.SBJ tell 1SG.INDP QUOT that father SUB 3SG.SBJ just come.out receive 3SG.POSS
móní fɔ cacao, salút=an!
 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 *kómót* 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, *kómót* is used with its presumably focal spatial meaning of ‘go/come out’:

- (56) *Di géf kán kómót dé.*
 DEF girl PFV go.out there
 ‘The girl left there [that place].’ [ed03sb 030]

In other instances, the meaning of *kómót* is intermediary between a spatial and a more grammatical sense. In (57), it is the presence of the locative question word *ús=sáy* ‘where’ that creates ambiguity between the literal and the egressive senses of *kómót*. In sentence (58), 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 *kómót*. With the latter translation *wók* is a complement verb:

- (57) *Ůs=sáy yu kəmót chák só?*
 Q=side 2SG come.out get.drunk like.that
 ‘Where do you come from drunk like this?’ [ye07fn 126]

The verb *kəmót* 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 (58):

- (58) *Wé e kin kəmót wók, a kin mék=an so, lek háw*
 SUB 3SG.SBJ HAB come.out work 1SG.SBJ HAB make=3SG.OBJ like.that like how
mún finis.
 month finish
 ‘When he comes from work/ when he has just 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 *jós* can express an egressive notion by themselves when they appear in the preverbal adverb position (59), and thereby be functionally equivalent to egressive *kəmót*. The adverb *jís/jós* 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 (60) (cf. also (1):

- (59) *A jós báy sən.*
 1SG.SBJ just buy some
 ‘I just bought some.’ [ma03hm 072]
- (60) *Náv den de jís de kán.*
 now 3PL IPFV just IPFV come
 ‘Now they’re just coming.’ [ye07je 179]

I analyse *jís/jós* 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 (61). The adverb *jís/jós* is also used with no temporal meaning at all (62):

- (61) *Jós e kəmót na Baney (...)*
 just 3SG.SBJ come.out LOC PLACE
 ‘She had just left Baney (...)’ [ab03ay 079]
- (62) *Yu nó géfɔ pút=an fɔ plástik yu jós gó na bús yu*
 2SG NEG have.to put=3SG.OBJ PREP plastic 2SG just go LOC forest 2SG
throwé=an.
 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]

6.4.3 Completive

The verb *finis* ‘finish’ expresses completive aspect. The use of *finis* as a lexical verb with the meaning ‘finish’ is exemplified in (63):

- (63) *Bɔt dɑ mɔní de finis 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 (64):

- (64) *E finis bén di pisis 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 (65). This is particularly so when *finis* co-occurs with the perfect marker *dón* or with the perfect imperfective *dón de* ‘PRF IPFV’:

- (65) *Náw a dón de finis sém fɔ wér dán sú, ɛfa bin nó*
 now 1SG.SBJ PRF IPFV finish be.ashamed PREP wear that shoe if 1SG.SBJ PST know
a fɔ kér óda sú.
 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 *finis* ‘finish’ also co-occurs with the narrative perfective marker *kán*:

- (66) *Di prɔblem den dón tú mɔch, kán finis tél= àn sé “léf”.*
 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]

6.4.4 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):

- (67) *A sigue plé ból sóté ívin tén.*
 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 (68):

- (68) *Mi gran-má wet mi gran-pá wé den stíl dé láyf, den-ól*
 1SG.POSS grand-ma with 1SG.POSS grand-pa SUB 3PL still BE.LOC life 3PL.CPD-all
den dé na Panyá.
 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 (69):

- (69) *Éf 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 discontinuous negation involving the degree and temporal adverb *mó* ‘again, more’ as in (70):

- (70) *E nó dé mó.*
 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 (71):

- (71) *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 *mó-en-mó* ‘more and more’ (72):

- (72) *Dís bóy, éni dé e de fáyn mó-en-mó.*
 this boy every day 3SG.SBJ IPFV be.fine more-and-more
 ‘This boy, everyday he is getting more handsome.’ [ro05ee 046]

6.4.5 Prospective

The lexical verb *wánt/wónt* ‘want’ participates in an auxiliary construction that expresses “prospective aspect” (Comrie 1976: 64–65), also referred to as “proximative” (Heine 1994: 36). The prospective aspect denotes imminence of a situation:

- (73) *Layk háw den wánt kér yu na hospital yu dón dáy.*
 like how 3PL want carry 2SG LOC hospital 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, (74) 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 *lón* ‘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 *lón* ‘be long, tall’:

- (74) *E wánt lón leke in papá.*
 3SG.SBJ want be.long like 3SG.POSS father
 ‘She’s about to become as tall as her father.’ [ma03fn 003]

6.5 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):

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.

Table 6.7 Overt and default tense marking

Class/Tense	Past-before-past	Past	Present	Future
Stative	<i>bin</i> ‘PST’	<i>bin</i> ‘PST’, <i>kán</i> ‘PFV’, <i>dón</i> ‘PRF’	<i>kin</i> ‘HAB’, factative	<i>go</i> ‘POT’
Inchoative- stative	<i>bin</i> ‘PST’	<i>bin</i> ‘PST’, <i>kán</i> ‘PFV’, <i>dón</i> ‘PRF’, factative	<i>kin</i> ‘HAB’, <i>de</i> ‘IPFV’, factative	<i>go</i> ‘POT’, <i>de</i> ‘IPFV’
Dynamic	<i>bin</i> ‘PST’	<i>bin</i> ‘PST’, <i>kán</i> ‘PFV’, <i>dón</i> ‘PRF’, factative	<i>de</i> ‘IPFV’, <i>kin</i> ‘HAB’	<i>go</i> ‘POT’, <i>de</i> ‘IPFV’

6.5.1 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 (75), 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’:

- (75) *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 (76), 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:

- (76) *A bin chék sé rén go fól.*
 1SG.SBJ PST check QUOT rain POT fall
 ‘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 (77). Here, *yéstadé náyt* ‘yesterday night’ anchors time reference in the past. Consequently, the imperfective marked verb *kól* ‘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):

- (77) *Yéstadé náyt wé a de kól yú, yéstadé náyt, nó dís mónin*
 yesterday night SUB 1SG.SBJ IPFV call 2SG.INDP yesterday night NEG this morning
náw.
 now
 ‘Yesterday night, when I was calling you, yesterday night, not this morning.’
 [hi03cb 083]

In (78), past tense reference is established through the adverbial *wán ívin tén* ‘one evening’ and the factative marked, perfective, hence past tense dynamic verbs *kómót* ‘go out’ and *gó* ‘go’. The imperfective marked verb *rich* ‘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:

- (78) *Wán ívin tén a kómót mó, a gó wáka, wé a de rich*
 one evening time 1SG.SBJ go.out more 1SG.SBJ go walk SUB 1SG.SBJ IPFV reach
na hós, hía Djunais (...)
 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]

6.5.2 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. 15) and the use of the narrative perfective marker *kán* ‘PFV’ (cf. 24–25). With (inchoative-)stative verbs, factative TMA gives rise to present tense reference by default. This is illustrated in (79) with the stative verb *fíba* ‘resemble’ and the inchoative-stative verbs *lék* ‘like’ and *sabí* ‘(get to) know’ in (79).

- (79) *Mí nó sabí, e fíba sé e nó lék tín den fɔ súp.*
 1SG.INDP NEG know 3SG.SBJ seem QUOT 3SG.SBJ NEG like 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*:

- (80) *E ték di háma, e nák ɔntóp di tébul, di plét brók.*
 3SG.SBJ take DEF hammer 3SG.SBJ hit on DEF table 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 (81), the time adverbial *dán tén* ‘that time’ anchors time reference in the past, so the stative copula *dé* is interpreted as simultaneous to this tense anchor:

- (81) *Dán tén 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 (82):

- (82) *Mí bin dé dé, a bin ¹mék dásol, dís, a de ²mék fínga*
 1SG.INDP PST BE.LOC there 1SG.SBJ PST make only this 1SG.SBJ IPFV make finger
den, manicura.
 PL manicure
 ‘(As for) me, (when) I was there, I only made, this, I used to make fingers,
 manicure.’ [ma03hm 055]

Sentence (82) 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*mék* ‘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 ²*mék* in 82).

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 ²*mek*, 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 (83), *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 (84):

- (83) *Mí dú=an fɔ́séko sé a bin wánt hélp=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]
- (84) *A kán kómót 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 (85a), perfect marking with the dynamic verb *dáy* ‘die’ anchors time reference in the past. The subsequent clause (85b) 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.

- (85) a. *Náw e dón dáy séf.*
 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 (86). 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:

- (86) 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).

6.5.3 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. 16) and in the appropriate context inchoative-stative verbs (17) 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. 37) and with both lexical aspect classes by the use of the habitual marker *kin* (cf. 45–46). Dynamic verbs are assigned present tense by default when they appear with the imperfective marker *de* (cf. 30) and the habitual aspect marker *kin* (cf. 43).

6.5.4 Future

Future tense may be expressed explicitly by means of the potential mood marker *go* ‘POT’. The marker can be used indiscriminately with stative (87), inchoative-stative (cf. *máred* ‘marry, be married’ in 91 below) and dynamic verbs (88):

- (87) *Mí go bí dókta.*
1SG.INDP POT BE doctor
‘I’ll be doctor.’ [ro05ee 025]
- (88) *Ín go chóp=an, e nó gét 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. *tumóro* ‘tomorrow’ in 89) or where an intention of the speaker may be deduced from context (90):

- (89) *E go púl yú=an tumóro.*
1SG.SBJ POT pull 2SG.INDP=3SG.OBJ tomorrow
‘He’ll tell it [the story] to you tomorrow.’ [ye07de 018]
- (90) *Léf=an, a go chóp, 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 (91), 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:

- (91) *A bin de chék 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 (92) below, and with *dón* 'PRF' to form a future perfect (cf. e.g. 101). *Go* may also precede any of the aspectual auxiliaries covered in section §6.4.

- (92) *Den tél mí sé éfa pút=an, a go de kéch Panya.*
 3PL tell 1SG.INDP QUOT if 1SG.SBJ put=3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ POT IPFV catch Spain
 'They 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. 39) and the prospective auxiliary *wánt* (cf. e.g. 74).

6.6 Perfect

The marker *dón* expresses the affirmative perfect, while the synonyms *néa* and *nóba* express negative perfect. The Pichi perfect is a hybrid category that expresses aspectual and temporal notions simultaneously. The perfect expresses the aspectual notion of complete 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 (93):

- (93) *Di aráta dón komót insay 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 (94).

- (94) *É, dán báy dón kót 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 (95), this sense is reinforced through the presence of the degree adverb *bád* 'extremely':

- (95) *Dán gál, e dón lék=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 *dón* ‘PRF’ may not appear next to the negator *nó* ‘NEG’. The negative affirmative marker is therefore in complementary distribution with the forms *néa* and *nóba*, which both function as negative perfect markers. Negative perfect marking often yields the meaning ‘not yet’:

- (96) *E de fǝǵét sé Rubi nóba chóp.*
 3SG.SBJ IPFV forget QUOT NAME NEG.PRF eat
 ‘He forgets that Rubi has not yet eaten.’ [dj03cd 148]

The negative restriction on *dón* ‘PRF’ 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’ (97) and *go* ‘POT’ (98):

- (97) *Ɛfe bin kán listin wí, e nó bin fǝ dón dáy nów só.*
 if 3SG.SBJ PST PFV listen 1PL.INDP 3SG.SBJ NEG PST PREP PRF die now like.that
 ‘If he had listened to us, he would not be dead now.’ [dj05ae 058]
- (98) *Mék yu nó kán a las cinco, dán tén a nó go dón finis.*
 SBJV 2SG NEG come at the.PL five that time 1SG.SBJ NEG 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 (99). A negated factative marked verb in conjunction with *yét* (99) can by itself be functionally very similar to the negative perfect expressed by *néa/nóba*:

- (99) *Yu sísta e néa máred yét?*
 2SG sister 3SG.SBJ NEG.PRF marry yet
 ‘Your sister isn’t married yet?’ [dj05ce 066]
- (100) *E nó máred yét?*
 3SG.SBJ NEG marry yet
 ‘She isn’t married yet?’ [dj05ce 064]

The perfect marker *dón* may be combined with other TMA markers. Compare the future perfect in (101) and the past perfect in (102):

- (101) *Las cuatro wi go dón dé dé, mí séf a wánt, a*
 the.PL four 1PL POT PRF BE.LOC there 1SG.INDP EMP 1SG.SBJ want 1SG.SBJ
gǝfǝ gó na hós.
 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]

- (102) *Di tín wé a bin dón fós sí wé a bin dón tráý=an.*
 DEF thing SUB 1SG.SBJ PST PRF first see SUB 1SG.SBJ PST PRF try=3SG.OBJ
 ‘The thing that I had first seen when I had tried it.’ [ed03sb 188]

With dynamic verbs, the combination of *dón* ‘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 *dón de* ‘PRF IPFV’ renders an emphatic imperfective with dynamic verbs. It signals that the situation designated by the verb is (already) in full course (103) or on the brink of unfolding (104). Note that the situation in (103) is set in the past, hence the sequence of the three TMA markers *bin dón de* in (103):

- (103) *Wé e bin dón de gó, e tél mí sé di tín wé e*
 SUB 3SG.SBJ PST PRF IPFV go 3SG.SBJ tell 1SG.INDP QUOT DEF thing SUB 3SG.SBJ
fít gí mi, e wánt léf mi sɔn ríng.
 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]

- (104) *Di bóy dé dé e dón de dáý.*
 DEF boy BE.LOC there 3SG.SBJ PST 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 *dón de* before the completive auxiliary verb *finis* ‘finish’:

- (105) *Náw a dón de finis sém fɔ wér dán sú, ɛfa bin*
 now 1SG.SBJ PST IPFV finish be.ashamed PREP wear that shoe if 1SG.SBJ PST
nó a fɔ kér óda sú.
 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 *dón* appears in backgrounded, scene-setting and out-of-sequence discourse sections. Sentence (106) 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:

- (106) *Wé a dón jóch dén, a sé tumóro sénwe a de gó*
 SUB 1SG.SBJ PST judge 3PL.INDP 1SG.SBJ QUOT tomorrow EMP 1SG.SBJ IPFV go
mít in mán.
 meet 3SG.POSS man
 ‘When I had judged [scolded] them, I said tomorrow [EMP] I’m going to meet her husband. [ro05rt 023]

6.7 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.

6.7.1 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 *séf* ‘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.

6.7.2 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: 76). In the following, the dynamic modality categories of ability, desire and intention are covered. These categories are primarily expressed through modal auxiliary verbs.

6.7.2.1 Ability

Pichi has a three-way distinction of ability. The modal verb *fit* ‘can’ expresses ability in a general sense, but it does not normally cover mental ability (107):

Table 6.8 Modal categories and elements

	Modal category/element	Verbs	TMA markers	Clause linkers	Sentential
Dynamic	Physical ability	<i>fit</i> 'can' <i>hébul</i> 'be capable' <i>mánech</i> 'manage'	<i>kin</i> 'ABL'		
	Root possibility	<i>fit</i> 'can'			
	Mental ability	<i>sabi</i> 'know'			
	desire	<i>wánt</i> 'want'			
	intention	<i>wánt</i> 'want' <i>min</i> 'mean to'			
Deontic	Obligation	<i>géfo</i> 'have to'	<i>fo</i> 'PREP' <i>mɔs</i> 'OBL'		
	Strong obligation				
	Necessity	<i>géfo</i> 'have to'	<i>fo</i> 'PREP'		
	Permission	<i>níd</i> 'need to' <i>fit</i> 'can' <i>gri</i> 'agree, allow' <i>léf</i> 'allow'			
	Directives			<i>mék</i> 'SBJV'	
Epistemic	Possibility	<i>fit</i> (bi) 'can (be)' <i>fiba</i> 'seem'	<i>go</i> 'POT', <i>go dán</i> 'POT PRF', <i>dán</i> 'PRF'		<i>sontén</i> 'perhaps', <i>mébi</i> 'maybe'
	Certainty Assertion	<i>géfo</i> 'have to'			<i>ó</i> 'SP', <i>séf</i> 'EMP'
Conditional	Real			<i>éf</i> 'if', <i>lék</i> (sé) 'if' <i>adónké</i> 'even if'	
	Potential Counterfactual		<i>go</i> 'POT', <i>de</i> 'IPFV', <i>bin</i> 'PST', <i>fo</i> 'COND'	<i>éf</i> 'if', <i>éf</i> 'if'	

- (107) A *nó bin fít tók, bikəs a nó fít tók, a kán a de*
 1SG.SBJ NEG PST can talk because 1SG.SBJ NEG can talk 1SG.SBJ come 1SG.SBJ IPFV
lúk yú.
 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’ (108) and *mánech* ‘be capable, manage’ (109) are usually employed to express capacity rather than ability:

- (108) *Yu mamá nó go hébul pé íl dán wók wé di mán dón dú fə*
 2SG mother NEG POT be.capable pay all that work SUB DEF man PRF do PREP
yú.
 2SG.INDP
 ‘Your mother won’t be able to pay all that work that the man has done for you.’
 [ab03ay 021]
- (109) 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:

- (110) *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 (111). Compare the uses of the modal auxiliaries *fít* and *sabí* with the reference verb *tók* ‘talk’ in (107) above and (111):

- (111) *Di mán e nó sabí tók 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 (112). 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.

- (112) *Bifó a kin gráp, a de sí bíg bíg fāya.*
 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]

6.7.2.2 Desire and intention

The modal verb *wánt* ‘want’ expresses the often indistinguishable notions of desire and intention (113). The verb *mín* ‘mean’ may also express intention (114). Note the exceptional modal use of the imperfective aspect in (114), in a complement clause introduced by *sé* ‘QUOT’ where one would usually find a subjunctive clause introduced by *mék* ‘SBJV’:

- (113) *A wánt tók dán smál tók dé.*
 1SG.SBJ want talk that small talk there
 ‘I want to say that particular small word.’ [dj05ae 037]
- (114) *Den géfó mín sé e de hambóg wí.*
 3PL have.to mean QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV bother 1PL.INDP
 ‘They must mean for it [the dog] to bother us.’ [ma03hm 002]

6.7.3 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 *məs* ‘OBL’, obligation and necessity by *géfó* ‘have to’ or the multifunctional element *fó* ‘PREP’ alone. Permission is expressed through the verb *fit* ‘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’.

6.7.3.1 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).

6.7.3.2 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 *géfó* ‘have to’ (115).

Negative obligation is formed by standard negation of *géfɔ* and yields a prohibitive meaning (116):

- (115) *Ɛf yu géfɔ baja diez veces yu géfɔ calcula dán mɔní.*
 if 2SG have.to go.down ten time.PL 2SG have.to calculate that money
 ‘If you have to go down ten times, you have to calculate that (amount of) money.’ [f103fp 006]
- (116) *E nó géfɔ 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 *géfɔ* (<*gét 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 is also likely to have been reinforced by Spanish *tener que* ‘have to’. The verb has the distribution of a monomorphemic 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’ (117) and *mɔs* ‘OBL’ (cf. 122 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 (117):

- (117) *Ɛf dán pikín bin tók trú, den fɔ púl dán pikín, dán pikín e nó*
 if that child PST talk true 3PL COND remove that child that child 3SG.SBJ NEG
bin fɔ dáy.
 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 (118) are likely to be one point of departure for the occurrence of *fɔ* as a mood marker in finite clauses like (119). 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):

- (118) *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]
- (119) *Áfta yu fɔ pé dén.*
 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 (120) and indirect (121) questions featuring the question word *háw* ‘how’:

- (120) *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]
- (121) *Yu fít hélp 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. 117 above), it is not encountered with any other TMA marker – unlike modal verbs. Hence, we have *e go géfɔ pé* {3SG.SBJ POT have.to 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 (122). 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 (123):

- (122) *A mɔs gó Alemania wán dé.*
 1SG.SBJ OBL go PLACE one day
 ‘I absolutely have to go to Germany one day.’ [to07fn 197]
- (123) **A bin mɔs gó dé.*
 1SG.SBJ PST OBL go there
 Intended: ‘I had to go there.’ [ne 07fn 196]

Prohibitive clauses featuring *mɔs* ‘OBL’ are formed like regular negative imperatives without a 2SG personal pronoun (124):

- (124) *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 (125) and negative (126) clauses. This modal auxiliary can be employed with same and different subject complement clauses in accordance with the pattern outlined in examples (38–40):

- (125) A **níd fə** *mék* *yu* *gó dé*.
 1SG.SBJ need PREP SBJV 2SG go there
 ‘I need you to go there.’ [to07fn 200]

- (126) *Fə* *tʃk* *Píchi* *yu* **nó níd fə** *gó skúl*.
 PREP talk Píchi 2SG NEG need PREP go school
 ‘In order to talk Píchi you don’t need to go to school.’ [au07se 267]

Permission is expressed by way of *fít* ‘can’, a causative/permisive construction involving *léf* ‘leave, allow’ (cf. 294 for details) or the main verb *grí* ‘agree, allow’ and a complement clause (128) (cf. also 35). Note the presence of the imperfective marker *de* in the subjunctive clause in the second example:

- (127) A *bég*, *yu* *go* *eskyús mí* *pero* *yu* **nó fít ték=an** *sóté*
 1SG.SBJ beg 2SG POT excuse 1SG.INDP but 2SG NEG can take=3SG.OBJ until
e *gét* *quince años*.
 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]

- (128) *So na* *dán tín* *mék*, *e* *de* **grí sé mék a** *de* *gí=an*
 so FOC that thing make 3SG.SBJ IPFV agree QUOT SBJV 1SG.SBJ IPFV give=3SG.OBJ
smól tín *ól tén*.
 small thing all time
 ‘So that’s why she allows me to give her a small amount all the time.’ [ma03hm 061]

6.7.3.3 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) (129) and jussive (1st and 3rd person directives) (130–131). The addition of the sentence final particle *ó* gives directives an admonitive tinct (129):

- (129) **Mék** *yu* *mén=an* **ó!**
 SBJV 2SG care.for=3SG.OBJ SP
 ‘Make sure to take care of her!’ [ab03ay 082]
- (130) **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) (139) and optatives (1st, 2nd, 3rd person wishes):

- (131) *tín fɔ fɔs tén mék e dé, bikɔs pípul de kán fɔ kán*
 thing PREP first time make 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC because people IPFV come PREP come
sí=an.
 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 (132). Conversely, 2PL imperatives take the corresponding personal pronoun (133):

- (132) *Údat tíf? Tél mí di ném!*
 Who steal tell 1SG.INDP DEF NAME
 ‘Who stole (something)? Tell me the name!’ [fr03cd 049]
- (133) *Una mék chénch!*
 2PL make change
 ‘Swap [plural]!’ [ro05rt 025]

Negative imperatives (prohibitives) are formed by placing the negator *nó* before the verb (134) or by employing a negative subjunctive clause (135):

- (134) *Nó láf!*
 NEG laugh
 ‘Don’t laugh!’ [ru03wt 022]
- (135) *Mék yu nó pút di watá mék e fɔdón fuera fɔ di glas.*
 SBJV 2SG NEG put DEF water sbjv 3SG.SBJ fall 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 (136):

- (136) *Mék e fɔdón insay di glás, mék e nó fɔdón na grón!*
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ fall inside DEF glass SBJV 3SG.SBJ 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:

- (137) *Tón=an tón=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’ (138) may be employed in a way that parallels the use of the subjunctive marker in syntactic position and function (139). However, this usage is restricted to cohortatives:

- (138) *Ehé, kán wi sigue!*
 INTJ come 1PL continue
 ‘Let’s continue!’ [ye05ce 101]
- (139) *Mék wi sí!*
 SBJV 1PL see
 ‘Let’s see!’ [ma03ni 002]

The force of imperatives can be attenuated. An example follows in (140) of a weakened imperative involving the idiom *a bég* ‘please’ and the adverbial *smól* ‘a bit’:

- (140) *A bég, kán yá smól!*
 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. 36 or *plís* ‘please’ it may be couched in a question featuring the modal verb *fít* ‘can’ (141), or be formed through circumlocution featuring the verb *tráy* ‘try’ (142):

- (141) *Yu fít pás yá?*
 2SG can pass here
 ‘Can you pass here?’ [ma03ni 001]
- (142) *Tráy reduce ín!*
 tráy reduce 3SG.INDP
 ‘Try to reduce it [please reduce it]!’ [ru03wt 043]

6.7.4 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.

6.7.4.1 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 *fia* ‘fear’. Rather, the verb *belé* ‘impregnate’ is marked by *go* ‘POT’ in order to express an epistemic possibility:

- (143) *A fia sé den go belé 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:

- (144) (...) *mék yu tón=an, porque botón 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 *sɔntén* ‘perhaps’ and *mebi* ‘maybe’ in order to indicate a future (145) or a present possibility (146):

- (145) *Pero bambáy bambáy sɔntén yu go sí di wán wé go mared yú.*
 but gradually REP perhaps 2SG POT see DEF one SUB POT marry 2SG.INDP
 ‘But very gradually perhaps you will find the one who will marry you.’ [ab03ab 204]
- (146) *Porque mébi a go wánt fén 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 dɔn* ‘POT PRF’ can indicate a future perfect (cf. 101) or a potential perfect. The latter use of potential mood produces a reading of inferred certainty (cf. also §6.7.4.3).

- (147) *E go dɔn drɔngo, e go dɔn 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 (148a), which is repeatedly marked by *go* in (a), (c) and (e). Note the presence of other modal elements, such as *fit* ‘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):

- (148) a. *A fit sé if yu consigue gafa we/ yu go wók na ród.*
 1SG.SBJ can QUOT if 2SG obtain glasses SUB 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 ál áwa, ál 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 (149) and in procedural discourse. Note the presence of the generic phrase *di dé wén* ‘(on) the day that’ in (149), which tallies with the non-specific meaning of the habitual sense of *go* in this example:

- (149) *Di dé wén mi mamá go gét sɔn faya-wúd wé den*
 DEF day SUB 1SG.POSS mother POT get some fire.CPD-wood SUB 3PL
brók=an na fám, e go tél dén, den go gó tót=an
 break=3SG.OBJ LOC farm 3SG.SBJ POT tell 3PL.INDP 3PL POT go carry=3SG.OBJ

fɔr=an.

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]

6.7.4.2 Possibility

The epistemic notion of possibility may be expressed through the use of the potential mood and the epistemic adverbs *səntén* ‘perhaps’ (cf. 145 above) and *mebi* ‘maybe’ (cf. 146 above). Besides that, possibility can be signalled when the verb *fít* ‘be able, be possible’ functions as a modal auxiliary verb (150) or with an expletive subject and a fuller complement clause (151):

- (150) *E fít kán tumára.*
3SG.SBJ can come tomorrow
‘He might come tomorrow.’ [dj03do 032]

- (151) *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’ (152) or the adverb *səntén* ‘perhaps’ with or without potential mood marking (153):

- (152) *E fíba sé Boyé gét məní.*
3SG.SBJ seem QUOT NAME get money
‘It seems that Boyé has money.’ [dj07ae 255]
- (153) (...) *səntén di báy nó gét páwa, səntén di gál gét sən defecto.*
perhaps DEF boy NEG get power perhaps DEF girl get some defect.
‘(...) the boy might have no power [is impotent], (or) the girl might have a defect.’ [ab03ay 044]

6.7.4.3 Certainty

Inferred certainty, the firmest degree of assertion, can be expressed by way of inferral from obligation with *géfɔ* ‘have to’ as in (154). The potential mood marker *go* is also employed in this function, in particular in combination with *dən* ‘PRF’ (cf. 147 above):

- (154) *Dən bin géfɔ 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]
- (155) *Iris géfɔ gét, a tɪnk sé diez años.*
NAME have.to get 1SG.SBJ think QUOT ten years
‘Iris should be, I think, ten years old.’ [fr03ft 121]

6.7.4.4 Assertion

The emphatic and focus particle *séf* ‘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:

- (156) *Den bón 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’, *chék* ‘think, check (out)’, *tínk* ‘think’, *mémba* ‘think, remember’, and perception verbs (e.g. *sí* ‘see’, *hía* ‘hear’) by themselves also signal different degrees of certainty.

6.8 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 *dón* ‘PFV’, and a hypothetical contingency for *go* ‘POT’ in habitual discourse.

6.8.1 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

[+deixis]	[+foreground]		[-foreground]
	[+high]	[-high]	
	<i>kán</i> 'PFV'	Factative TMA with dynamic and inchoative-stative verbs	<i>go</i> 'POT' (=habitual) <i>dón</i> 'PRF' <i>bin</i> 'PST'
[-deixis]			<i>de</i> 'IPFV' Factative TMA with (inchoative)- stative verbs <i>kin</i> 'HAB'
	[+sequence]		[-sequence]

Figure 6.3 Functions of TMA markers in narrative discourse

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: 398) for Sranan and Pollard (1989: 63) Jamaican Creole. The marker *bin* 'PST' fulfills this dual function in the orientation section (157b–e) of the excerpt of a personal narrative below. The backgrounding function of *bin* 'PST' correlates with its default aspectual interpretation.

Sentences (157a–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:

- (157) a. *Dé, éni káyn tín na mɔní, yu fít mék éni káyn tín, yu go*
 there every kind thing FOC money 2SG can make every kind thing 2SG POT
sí mɔní.
 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, dís, a de mék*
 1SG.INDP PST BE.LOC there 1SG.SBJ PST make only this 1SG.SBJ IPFV make
fínga den, manicura.
 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 den fɔ chíá, a bin gét mi mɔní.*
 1SG.SBJ IPFV make table.cloth PL PREP chair 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 mɔ a bin wók dís sɛn wók wé a de dú, a de*
 then more 1SG.SBJ PST work this same work SUB 1SG.SBJ IPFV do 1SG.SBJ IPFV
dú=an dé séf.
 do=3SG.ob 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** *gét mi mɔní dé pero yá al contrario*
 so 1SG.SBJ PST IPFV get 1SG.POSS money there but here at.the contrary
nada.
 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. 160–162 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 (158) below. The temporal interpretation of factative marked inchoative-stative verbs hinges on grounding. The inchoative-stative bare verb *slíp* ‘lie down’ (158)(c) receives an inchoative, dynamic reading as it is foregrounded and forced into sequence in the narrative main line:

- (158) a. E **gó, e wás di klós den.**
 3SG.SBJ go 3SG.SBJ wash DEF clothing PL
 ‘She went off, she washed the clothes.’ [ru03wt 033]
- b. E **wás dí klós den, e dráy dén, nó na mi**
 3SG.SBJ wash this clothing PL 3SG.SBJ dry 3PL.INDP NEG FOC 1SG.INDP
dráy dén.
 dry 3PL.INDP
 ‘She washed the clothes, she dried them, no, I dried them.’ [ru03wt 034]
- c. Pero di klós den **slíp** na dón ó.
 but DEF clothing PL lie.down LOC down SP
 ‘But the clothes came to lie on the ground.’ [ru03wt 035]

- d. *Mónin tén wé a kán lúk, a de sí sɔn klós den,*
 morning time SUB 1SG.SBJ come look 1SG.SBJ IPFV see some clothing PL
a nó de sí mi yón den.
 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 (159) 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 *sidɔn* ‘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 *sidɔn* in favour of the latter:

- (159) *Mí bin dé na bích wé a bin sidɔn wet mi papá,*
 1SG.INDP PST BE.LOC LOC beach SUB 1SG.SBJ PST sit.down with 1SG.POSS father
mi bin dé na bích mónin tén a gó latrin a gó
 1SG.INDP PST BE.LOC LOC beach morning time 1SG.SBJ go latrine 1SG.SBJ go
kaká (...)
 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 activated. 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 (160a–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:

- (160) a. *Bueno, mi mamá, mi gran-má wet mi mamá, nó, den*
 good 1SG.POSS mother 1SG.POSS grand-ma with 1SG.POSS mother INTJ 3PL
kɔmɔt na wán pueblo wé in ném na
 hail.from LOC one village SUB 3SG.POSS NAME FOC
Basakato dé la Sagrada Familia
 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. *Son tén den wi kin de gó dé séf fə gó, bueno, fə gó visít nɔ́,*
 some time PL 1PL HAB IPFV go there EMP PREP go good PREP go visit INTJ
fə pás vacaciones den.
 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 in papá in*
 FOC there 1SG.SBJ PFV know 1SG.POSS mother 3SG.POSS father 3SG.POSS
fámbul.
 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 (161a–d) are marked for perfective aspect due to the novel information they contain. Meanwhile, (161) (e) reiterates information already contained in (161) (c) and (d), therefore dispenses with perfective marking and is characterised by the presence of stative, narratively downshifted verbs:

- (161) a. *A kán recupera smól.*
 1SG.SBJ PFV recover small
 ‘(Then) I recovered a bit.’ [ab03ay 096]
- b. *A kán kəmɔ́t 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 in lét bróda.*
 1SG.SBJ PFV go LOC 1SG.POSS uncle 3SG.POSS father 3SG.POSS late brother
 ‘Then I went to my uncle’s father’s late brother.’ [ab03ay 098]
- d. *Mi lét papá in bróda, 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 stay at his house.’ [ab03ay 099]
- e. *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 is there that I was for one year, I couldn’t do anything.’ [ab03ay 100]

The use of *kán* ‘PFV’ in (162) 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 *sén* ‘send’ in 162b), which incidentally coincides with a backgrounding passive construction, another downshifting device (i.e. *den sén 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’:

- (162) a. *E kán gó na hós e kán léf mí sɔn dirección fɔ*
 3SG.SBJ PFV go LOC house 3SG.SBJ PFV leave 1SG.INDP some address PREP
Chicago, a kán ráyt.
 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 mí, a sɛn mɔní, dɛn sɛn mí sɔn*
 3SG.SBJ IPFV answer 1SG.INDP 1SG.SBJ send money 3PL send 1SG.INDP some
portamonedas bɔt e kán lɔs.
 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. 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:

- (163) a. *Porque if yu mék, yu sí dán polvo e de pút=an ínsay,*
 because if 2SG make 2SG see that powder 3SG.SBJ IPFV put=3SG.OBJ inside
yu kán yu dríng, dɛn go gó na hós.
 2SG come 2SG drink 3PL POT go 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 kɛr yú na hospital yu dɔn 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 dɔn de rɔ́tin, fɔ mék dɛn*
 like how 3PL POT put 2SG.INDP LOC table 2SG PRF IPFV rot PREP SBJV 3PL
gó bér yú kwík.
 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 bér yú, dɛn sɛnwe go gó na dán bérin.*
 if 3PL POT go bury 2SG.INDP 3PL.INDP EMP POT go LOC that burial
 ‘If they go to bury you, they themselves will go to that burial.’ [ed03sb 102]

- e. *Na nét a las doce den go kán den púl yú yu nśba*
 LOC night at the.PL twelve 3PL POT come 3PL remove 2SG.INDP 2SG NEG.PRF
dáy.
 die

‘In the night, at twelve o’clock they’ll come and remove you (and) you haven’t died.’ [ed03sb 103]

- f. *Den go redí yú den go mék lek háw den de mék fə*
 3PL POT prepare 2SG.INDP 3PL POT make like how 3PL IPFV make PREP
wích, den ték yú den pút yú na avión den sén yú
 sorcery 3PL take 2SG.INDP 3PL put 2SG.INDP LOC plane 3PL send 2SG.INDP
fə śda kóntri yu gó wók moní.
 PREP other country 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 (163a) (*yu kán yu dríng*), (e) (*den púl yú*), and (f) (beginning with *den 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 (164) below. Extracts (163–164) 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 (163) is interlaced with elements characteristic of irrealis modality. The extract begins in (163a) 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 (164) 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 (163) is underlined by the closure in (g) *a dśn sí, yés* {1SG.SBJ PRF see yes} = ‘I have seen (this before), yes’.

- (164) a. *Den go púl dán mán, a sé e kán bí sé den/ pípul*
 3PL POT remove that man 1SG.SBJ QUOT 3SG.SBJ PFV BE QUOT 3PL people

- den kér=an, den léf di cadáver den rón.*
 PL 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 t́nk sɔn fámbul den wé den kin sí sé dí mi fámbul*
 1SG.SBJ think some family PL SUB 3PL HAB see QUOT this 1SG.POSS family
dé lek háw e dáy e nó kórét.
 there like how 3SG.SBJ die 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. *Den kin gó na berin-grón wet gón.*
 3PL HAB go LOC burial.CPD-ground with gun
 ‘They go to the cemetery with a gun.’ [ed03sb 109]
- d. *A hía sé Bata den kin sút yú.*
 1SG.SBJ hear QUOT PLACE PL HAB shoot 2SG.INDP
 ‘I heard that the mainlanders (even) shoot you.’ [kw03sb 110]
- e. *Den kin sút.*
 3PL HAB shoot
 ‘They shoot (you).’ [ed03sb 111]
- f. *Wé den sút di ṕsin, di ṕsin kin sék.*
 SUB 3PL shoot DEF person DEF person HAB shake
 ‘When they’ve shot the person, the person shakes.’ [ed03sb 112]
- g. *A dón sí, yés.*
 1SG.SBJ PRF see yes
 ‘I have experienced (this), yes.’ [ed03sb 113]

The perfect tense-aspect marker *dón* ‘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 et al. 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 (165), 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*) *ýng* ‘be young’, *dé fŕesh* ‘be fresh’, *seventín* ‘seventeen’, *etín* ‘eighteen’, *twénti* ‘twenty’, and *ýes* ‘years’):

- (165) a. *Yu yóng, yu jós/ sɔntén yu gét seventín, etín yíes ɔ twénti,*
 2SG be.young 2SG just perhaps 2SG get seventeen eighteen years or twenty
yu dé yóng yu dé frésh, yu dón kómót, yu dón bón fò
 2SG BE.LOC young 2SG BE.LOC fresh 2SG PRF go.out 2SG PRF give.birth four
pikín, yu dón bón fáyf, yu dón bón tén.
 child 2SG PRF give.birth five 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 dón de gó yu dón/*
 now SUB 2SG PRF IPFV go 2SG PRF
 ‘Now that you’re about to leave [the man], you’ve/ [hi03cb 188]
- c. *Den tél yú sé mék yu bák dán mɔní wé yu dón, dán mán*
 3PL tell 2SG.INDP QUOT SBJV 2SG return that money SUB 2SG PRF that man
dón pé fò yu héd.
 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 (166), where it appears together with *dón* ‘PRF’:

- (166) *Kip, den dón finis remata ín dé, Boyé dón kán e púl*
 IDEO 3PL PRF finish finish.off 3SG.INDP there NAME PRF come 3SG.SBJ remove
wí torí torí.
 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]

6.9 Comparison

Pichi employs particles and verbs for expressing comparative, superlative, and equative degree. Sentence (167) exemplifies one of the most common ways of expressing comparative degree. It features the comparee *di tín* ‘the thing’, the parameter verb *bókú* ‘be much’, the comparative particle *mó*, 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:

- (167) *Pero ef di tín kán bókú mós pás di watá, e go léf wán*
 but if DEF thing PFV be.much more pass DEF water 3SG.SBJ POT remain one
pasta, (...)
 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 *rich* ‘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’, *lek* ‘like’, *lón* ‘be long, tall’, *mán* ‘man, person’, *mí* ‘1SG.INDP’, *mós* ‘more’, *ɔl* ‘all’, *pás* ‘(sur)pass’, *rich* ‘arrive, equal’, *séns* ‘intelligence’ and *wáka* ‘walk’.

Table 6.9 Comparison

Type	Subtype	Primary Example	Subtype	Secondary Example
Comparative	(1) Particle + Exceed-1	<i>e mós lón pás mí;</i> <i>e lón mós pás mí</i>	Exceed-2	<i>e pás mí fɔ séns</i>
	(2) Exceed-1 SVC	<i>e lón pás mí</i>		
Superlative	(1) Particle + Exceed-1	<i>e mós lón pás ɔl</i> <i>mán</i>	Exceed-2	<i>e pás ɔl mán fɔ séns</i>
	(2) Exceed-1 SVC	<i>e lón pás ɔl mán</i>		
Equative	Particle	<i>e lón lek mí</i>	Equal	<i>e rich mí fɔ séns</i>
Similative	Particle	<i>e kin wáka lek mí</i>	—	

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.

6.9.1 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:

- (168) *Dán gél, a tél yú sé e chapea lek wán sáy wé e*
 that girl 1SG.SBJ tell 2SG.INDP QUOT 3SG.SBJ weed like one side SUB 3SG.SBJ
bíg pás dí wán.
 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:

- (169) *Porque a bin pás na Camerún fós.*
 because 1SG.SBJ PST pass LOC PLACE first
 ‘Because I passed through Cameroon first.’ [fr03ft 098]
- (170) *Tú dé wé e pás bihén, 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]
- (171) *Yu sí di stík e de pás ɔntɔp 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 (168) on its own. However, the adverb of degree *mó* ‘more’ is equally often employed in addition to *pás* to form a “mixed comparative” (Stassen 1985). The adverb *mó* ‘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 (172) or before (173) the parameter verb:

- (172) *Dán wán wé e lón mó, na ín de salút dân óda tú*
 that one SUB 3SG.SBJ be.long more FOC 3SG.INDP IPFV greet that other two
húman den.
 woman PL
 ‘The one who is taller, it’s her that’s greeting the other two women.’ [dj07re 039]
- (173) *Náw náw mí de chék sé Libreville wet yá, yá mó díá*
 now REP 1SG.INDP IPFV check QUOT PLACE with here here more be.expensive
pás dé.
 pass there
 ‘Right now, I [EMP] think that Libreville and here, here is more expensive than there.’ [ma03hm 052]

I assume that preverbal *mó* ‘more’ is being reinforced by the Spanish comparative construction featuring the adverb *más* ‘more’. The comparative constructions of both languages exhibit the same linear structure. Compare (174) in colloquial Spanish with (173) above:

- (174) *Aquí es más caro que allá.*
 here is more expensive than there
 ‘Here [it] is more expensive than there.’

In the absolute comparative in (175) below, *mó* ‘more’ occurs as a prenominal modifier to the Spanish noun *énfasis* ‘emphasis’. The categorial flexibility of *mó* ‘more’ is exploited by insertion in a Spanish adjective position in a codemixed collocation. This Pichi-Spanish verb-noun combination is creatively used to render the meaning ‘be emphatic’:

- (175) *Mék e gét mó énfasis.*
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ get more emphasis
 ‘Let it be more emphatic [than usual].’ [dj05ce 126]

The corpus also contains an example in which *mó* ‘more’ is employed both in pre- and post-verbal position in order to signal an emphatic absolute comparative:

- (176) *E púl mó plénte mó.*
 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 *mó* ‘more’ with such verbs automatically results in a quantity gradation, and *mó* can only occur after the parameter in order to modify the predicate in its entirety (177):

- (177) *Porque óda sáy fit dé wé, a go wók só, a go wín*
 because other side can BE.LOC SUB 1SG.SBJ POT work like.that 1SG.SBJ POT earn
mó pás dé.
 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, *mó* ‘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 (178) and the object *Bube* ‘Bube’ in (179):

- (178) *Dí wán dón de tók, dí wán de tók fáyn pás in sísta*
 this one PRF IPFV talk this one IPFV talk fine pass 3SG.POSS sister
 ‘This one talks, this one talks [the Bube language] better than her sister.’
 [ab03ab 010]

- (179) *Lage de tók Bube 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 (180). 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 (181):

- (180) *A de gó fawe pás di sáy wé Paquita sidón.*
 1SG.SBJ IPFV go far pass DEF side SUB Paquita stay
 ‘I’m going farther than the place where Paquita lives.’ [ro05ee 082]
- (181) *A báy pás di sáy wé di moní rích.*
 1SG.SBJ buy pass DEF side SUB DEF money arrive
 ‘I bought more than the money was sufficient for.’ [rofn05 001]

The collocation *lek háw* ‘the way (that), as soon as’ may also introduce the standard of complex comparatives like (182), in which the standard is an entire adverbial clause. Note the presence of the standard marker *pás* ‘(sur)pass’:

- (182) *Na lek sé yu wánt tél wán pòsin sé yu dú sòn tín pás lek háw*
 FOC like QUOT 2SG want tell one person QUOT 2SG do some thing pass like how
yu bin géfɔ dú=an.
 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 (183) is also introduced by *lek 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:

- (183) *Bət yu nó fīt tók sé a chóp trí spún pantáp lek háw a*
 but 2SG NEG can talk QUOT 1SG.SBJ eat three spoon on like how 1SG.SBJ
kin chóp.
 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 *séns* ‘intelligence’ in (184) than with property-denoting verbs. Compare (185), where the property *gét sén* ‘have brain’ = ‘be intelligent’ is graded in an “Exceed-1” comparative:

- (184) *Di pikín pás yú fə sén.*
 DEF child pass 2SG.INDP PREP brain
 ‘The child is more intelligent than you.’ [ro05de 038]
- (185) *E gét sén 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 (186):

- (186) *In sén 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 *mó* ‘more’ as a degree adverbial (187) is the most common option.

- (187) *Dí wán na di hós wé fáyn mó.*
 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 (188) is not accepted by the majority of speakers who were tested:

- (188) *?Dí wán na di bóy 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’ (189):

- (189) *E dón 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, *mó* ‘more’ may not be used as a lexical verb meaning ‘surpass’, unlike the verb *moro* ‘surpass’ in Sranan Tongo (cf. Blanker & Dubbeldam 2010:139).

6.9.2 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 *ól* ‘all’ or *éni* ‘every’ and the relevant group of referents. The standard NP often consists of the generic nouns *pósin* ‘person’, *mán* ‘man, person’, *húman* ‘woman’, and *pípul* ‘people’ if the comparee is human:

- (190) *Boyé stáwt pás ól 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 *mó* ‘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:

- (191) *Di tín wé bin dé difícil mó na dí hós, fə 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 (191), 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 smól* ‘NEG small’ = ‘not in the least’:

- (192) *Di smól wán dón de tók pás mák.*
 DEF small one PRF IPFV talk pass mark
 ‘The small one already talks unbelievably well.’ [lo07fn185]
- (193) *E nó fúl nó smól.*
 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 (194) and an adverbial (195).

- (194) *Di chóp óva.*
 DEF food be.excessive
 ‘The food is too much.’ [au07ec 042]

- (195) *Wén den dón dríng óva, nó?*
 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):

- (196) *Di hós ova-dótí.*
 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’ (197), *tú (móch)* ‘too much’ (198), or *sóté* ‘until, extremely’:

- (197) *Dán húman lón bád.*
 that woman be.long bad
 ‘This woman is excessively long.’ [li07pe 064]
- (198) *Di chóp e tú bókú.*
 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 *béta* ‘be very good’, *wos* ‘be very bad’, *tú móch* ‘be very/too much’, as well as *bókú* ‘be (very) much’ alone may signal an exceptionally high degree of a quality or quantity:

- (199) *E wós.*
 3SG.SBJ be.very.bad
 ‘It’s very bad.’ or ‘It’s worse.’ [ra07fn 036]
- (200) *Di próblem den dón tú móch (...)*
 DEF problem 3PL PRF too be.much
 ‘The problems became too much (...)’ [ma03ni 029]
- (201) *Di chóp bókú, di chóp e tú bókú.*
 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 *mó* ‘more’ for additional intensity and emphasis as in the following examples. Note the characteristic syntactic flexibility of *mó* in these sentences:

- (202) *E mós wós.*
 3SG.SBJ more be.very.bad
 ‘It’s much worse.’ [ra07fn 035]
- (203) *Panyá, na ín wós mós.*
 Spain FOC 3SG.INDP be.very.bad more
 ‘As for Spain, that’s really bad [as a place to live in].’ [ra07fn 040]
- (204) *E béta mós.*
 3SG.SBJ be.very good more
 ‘It’s much better.’ [ge07fn 038]
- (205) *E mós béta.*
 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.

6.9.3 Equatives

Equate 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:

- (206) *Nó chóp 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]
- (207) *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 *bókú lɛk nyóní* ‘be many like ants’ in (208):

- (208) *Yu fit tók sé ‘mi bróda den bókú lɛk nyóní’.*
 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 *lɛk* (209–210). The second example below features a codemixed 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:

- (209) (...) *mék yu nó para sóté mék e tík lek háw e bin dé*
 SBJV 2SG NEG stop until SBJV 3SG.SBJ be.thick like how 3SG.SBJ PST BE.LOC
só.
 like.that
 ‘(...) don’t stop until it’s (as) thick as it was.’ [dj03do 058]
- (210) *Mí nóto tan débul lek háw yu de chék 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 *rich* ‘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 (184) above, the verb *rich* is employed as an inchoative-stative verb in these instances:

- (211) *E nó rich mí fɔ fáyn.*
 3SG.SBJ NEG arrive 1SG.INDP PREP fine
 ‘He doesn’t equal me in beauty.’ [ye07fn 134]

Other than that, verb *rich* is employed as an allative motion verb ‘reach, arrive (at)’. In addition to its literal sense, *rich* also occurs with the meaning ‘equal, be sufficient’ (212). *Rich* may also be found as a minor verb in the V2 position of a motion-direction SVC (213):

- (212) *E dón rich.*
 3SG.SBJ PRF arrive
 ‘It’s enough.’ or ‘S/he has arrived.’ [dj07ae 356]
- (213) *A wánt fláy rich na tón náw náw.*
 1SG.SBJ want fly arrive LOC town now REP
 ‘I want to hurry to town right now.’ [dj07ae 362]

7 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.

7.1 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.

7.1.1 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).

INTJ	ADV	SBJ NP/ PRO	NEG	TMA	ADV	VERB	OBJ NP	ADV	OBJ NP	INTJ
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Figure 7.1 Constituent order in verbal clauses

Pichi has a subject-verb word order in intransitive clauses (cf. 3 below), and a subject-verb-object order in transitive clauses (1):

- (1) *E sén di ból.*
 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:

- (2) *A sé “nó gí=an leche, gí=an wotá”.*
 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 (3) features both alternatives:

- (3) *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 (4), the full NP *dán mán* ‘that man’ and in (5) the emphatic 3PL pronoun *dén* are set off from the rest of the clause by an intonation break and resumed by object pronouns:

- (4) *Dán mán, a dón sí=an séf.*
 that man 1SG.SBJ PRF see=3SG.OBJ EMP
 ‘That man, I have even seen him.’ [ch07fn 236]
- (5) *Dén, a nó de pút dén 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 (6). This sentence features the independent, emphatic personal pronoun *dén* at the beginning of the clause, followed by a coreferential dependent pronoun:

- (6) *Dén, dén bin de, den bin dón sabí (...)*
 3PL.INDP 3PL PST IPFV 3PL PST PRF know
 ‘As for them, they were, they had already found out (...)’ [ma03hm 037]

Constructions like (6), 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 (4) and (5). 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):

- (7) *Mí dón sófa.*
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:

- (8) *A dón de gládin sé a dón 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* (*móch*) 'too (much)', *só* 'so (much)', as well as the temporal adverbs *jís/jós* 'just' and *stíl* 'still' are the only elements that may appear between a subject pronoun or NP and the verb.

In (9), *tú* 'too (much)' occurs before the stative verb *évi* 'be heavy'. In (10), *tú* appears before the locative-existential copula *dé*:

- (9) *Di bóks e tú évi.*
DEF box 3SG.SBJ too be.heavy
'The box (it) is too heavy.' [dj05ae 143]
- (10) *Di strít tú dé wówó.*
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 *smól* 'a bit' (< '(be) small') in (11):

- (11) *Djunais dón dríng smól.*
NAME PRF drink a.bit
'Djunais has drunk a bit [of alcohol].' [fr03wt 182]

7.1.2 Copula clauses

Two types of copula clauses should be distinguished. Equative clauses feature the 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 (12), and more often than not, the 3SG and 3PL pronouns remain unexpressed (13) because *na* and *nóto* incorporate 3SG reference by default:

- (12) *Mí na di chíf nś.*
 1SG.INDP FOC DEF chief INTJ
 ‘I’m the boss, right.’ [dj05ce 176]
- (13) *Nóto mecánico.*
 NEG.FOC mechanic
 ‘(He’s) not a mechanic.’ [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’ (14). Unlike other property items, these adjectives may therefore appear in the same syntactic position as adverbials in this type of copula clause (15):

- (14) *Tidé di húman dé fáyn.*
 today DEF woman BE.LOC fine
 ‘Today the woman is fine.’ [dj05ae 153]
- (15) *E dé na grón.*
 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC LOC ground
 ‘He is [lying] on the ground.’ [ab03ab 063]

7.1.3 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 (16). However, a 2PL subject must be overtly expressed (17):

- (16) *Nó láf!*
 NEG laugh
 ‘Don’t laugh!’ [ru03wt 022]
- (17) *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’ (18):

- (18) *Mék a púl wán smól 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 (18) with the sequential clause introduced by *wé* ‘SUB’ in (19):

- (19) *Wé e bin dáy só.*
 SUB 3SG.SBJ PST die like.that
 ‘And he died just like that.’ [ed03sb 126]

7.2 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: 72). It relies on the use of morphologically distinct elements that incorporate negative polarity as well as the relevant grammatical category.

7.2.1 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 entry 1a 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), see entry 1b in Table 7.1. 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, see entry 1c in Table 7.1). Further, Pichi makes use of bipolar adverbs to express negative quantification and emphasis, see entry 2 in Table 7.1. 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	<i>nó</i> + TMA	General negator
	b. <i>dón</i> ‘PFV’	<i>néa/nóba; nó – yét</i>	Negative perfect; ‘not yet’
	c. Imperative	<i>mék – nó</i>	Negative subjunctive
2. Verb + adverb	<i>yét</i> ‘yet, still’	<i>nó – yét</i>	‘not yet’
	<i>mó</i> ‘more’	<i>nó – mó</i>	‘no more, not again’
	<i>séf</i> ‘even’	<i>nó – séf</i>	‘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 (20) is negated in (21). A negative existential clause is presented in (22). Note the appearance of negative concord in the latter example:

- (20) *Den de gí dën skúl fɔ training centre.*
 3PL IPFV give 3PL.INDP school PREP training centre
 ‘They give them classes at a training centre.’ [to03gm 010]
- (21) *Den nó de gí nó nátín.*
 3PL NEG IPFV give NEG nothing
 ‘They don’t give anything.’ [ed03sp 075]
- (22) *Láyf nó dé náy, wól nó dé.*
 life NEG BE.LOC now world NEG BE.LOC
 ‘[Nowadays] there is no life, there is no (proper) world.’ [ab03ay 130]

Sentence (23) 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 (24–25).

- (23) *Ho, dán mán go dú vómit 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]

- (24) *E bin dé na jél.*
 3SG.SBJ PST BE.LOC LOC jail
 ‘He was in jail.’ [ma03sh 017]
- (25) *A nó bin fít ték motó.*
 1SG.SBJ NEG PST can take car
 ‘I wasn’t able to take a car.’ [ed03sp 077]

Imperatives (26) are negated either with a symmetrical structure (27) or with an asymmetrical structure involving a negative subjunctive clause (28):

- (26) *Pás na mákit mól!*
 pass LOC market again
 ‘Pass by the market again!’ [dj05ce 071]
- (27) *Nó, wi de conversa, nó véks Djunais!*
 NEG 1PL IPFV converse NEG be.angry NAME
 ‘No, we’re (just) conversing, don’t be angry Djunais!’ [ye03cd 094]
- (28) *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 *dón* ‘PRF’ (29), the negative perfect is formed with a suppletive allomorph, i.e. either of the free variants *néa* and *nóba* ‘NEG.PR’ (30):

- (29) *Yu dón bón fo pikín, (...)*
 2SG PRF give.birth four child
 ‘You have given birth to four children, (...)’ [hi03cb 187]
- (30) *E néa bón pikín.*
 3SG.SBJ NEG.PR 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 (31). However, the combination *nó – yét* ‘not yet’ can also express this nuance of the perfect by itself and thereby function as a *de facto* negative perfect marker (32). In an affirmative clause, the adverbial *yét* means ‘yet, still’, as in (83) in §5.2.3.

- (31) *Yu sísta e nóba mared yét?*
 2SG sister 3SG.SBJ NEG.PR marry yet
 ‘Your sister isn’t married yet?’

- (32) *E nó mared 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 – mós* ‘no more, not again’ and *nó – séf* ‘not even’. Compare the affirmative use of *mós* ‘more’ in (26) with (33) below.

- (33) *Den nó go fláy na Bata mós.*
 3PL NEG POT fly LOC PLACE more
 ‘They’re not going to fly to Bata anymore/again.’ [eb07fn 237]

Examples (34) and (35) present the use of *séf* ‘self, EMP’ in an affirmative and a negative clause, respectively. The negated clause acquires an emphatic negative meaning:

- (34) *Náw e dón dáy séf.*
 now 3SG.SBJ PRF die EMP
 ‘Now he is even dead.’ [ma03sh 016]
- (35) *Én, den nó nó séf.*
 INTJ 3PL NEG know EMP
 ‘Yes, they don’t even know (at all).’ [hi03cb 119]

7.2.2 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, 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:

- (36) *Fíba nó sube ín.*
 fever NEG go.up 3SG.INDP
 ‘(The) fever hasn’t risen on him.’ [eb07fn 171]

In (37), the plural subject *mán den* ‘people’ and the singular subject *chóp* ‘food’ are both not preceded by *nó* ‘NEG’. The noun *chóp* is the subject of a negative existential clause. Such clauses usually only feature negative concord when extra emphasis is desired (39):

- (37) *Mán den nó de bísín fð mék fám mós, yu gó fð mákit, **chóp nó***
 man PL NEG IPFV be.busy PREP make farm more 2SG go PREP market food NEG
dé.
 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 *dókta* ‘doctor’ in (38) and *motó* ‘car’ in (39):

- (38) *E sé bueno ás **nó dókta 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]
- (39) ***Nó motó nó** dé wé e smát lek 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 (40) with (41). The use of negative concord in (41) gives an emphatic meaning to the object *problema* ‘problem’. Also note the presence of the independent emphatic pronoun *ín* ‘3SG.INDP’ (41):

- (40) *A **nó** gét pamáyn.*
 1SG.SBJ NEG get oil
 ‘I don’t have (any) oil.’ [ab03ay 015]
- (41) *Ín go **chóp=an**, e **nó** gét **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 (42) with the object *wórd* ‘word’:

- (42) *Sóté a **nó tók nó wán** wórd.*
 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 *ní – nì*, which is borrowed from Spanish (43). Spanish employs no negative concord in this particular construction (44):

- (43) *Ní ín ní in bróda den nó lán.*
 NEG 3SG.INDP NEG 3SG.POSS brother 3PL NEG learn
 ‘Neither he nor his brothers (have) studied.’ [ro05ee 145]
- (44) *Ní él ní su hermano han estudiado.*
 NEG he NEG his brother have studied
 ‘Neither he nor his brother has studied.’

7.2.3 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 bódi* (< ‘NEG body’) ‘nobody’ is partly opaque and may therefore be seen as intermediate between negative indefinite pronoun and negative indefinite phrase: Although *nó bódi* is segmentable, the noun *bódi* is not used as a generic noun with the meaning ‘person’. The noun *bódi* also only seldom occurs with the meaning ‘body’, the regular term for ‘body’ being *skin*.

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. *son tín* ‘something’, *son pòsin* ‘somebody’, see §5.4.3. Table 7.2 lists Pichi negative indefinite pronouns and negative indefinite phrases:

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 *son tín* ‘something’ (45) with the subject and object negative indefinite pronoun *nátin* ‘nothing’ in (46) and (47) respectively:

- (45) *Mí wánt aks yú son tín.*
 1SG.INDP want ask 2SG.INDP some thing
 ‘I want to ask you something.’ [fr03ab 191]
- (46) * *(Nó) nátin nó dé dé.*
 NEG nothing NEG BE.LOC there
 Intended: ‘Nothing is there.’

Table 7.2 Negative indefinite pronouns and negative indefinite phrases

Type	Pronoun/phrase	Gloss	Translation
Thing	<i>nátin</i>	nothing	‘nothing’
Person	<i>nó bóði</i>	NEG body	‘nobody’
	<i>nó mán</i>	NEG man	
	<i>nó pósin</i>	NEG person	
Place	<i>nó sáy</i>	NEG side	‘no where’
	<i>nó plés</i>	NEG place	
	<i>nó pát</i>	NEG part	
Manner	<i>nó (káy) stáyl</i>	NEG (kind) manner	‘no way’
	<i>nó wé</i>	NEG way	
Time	<i>nó wán dé</i>	NEG one day	‘never’
Kind	<i>nó káyn</i>	NEG kind	‘no kind’
Pronominal	<i>nó wán</i>	NEG one	‘none, any’

- (47) *Mí nó go tél=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.

- (48) *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 bóði* ‘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.

- (49) *Dís sónde *(nó) bóði *(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 bóði* ‘nobody’ (49–50). The third logical alternative, *nó pósin* ‘NEG person’ = ‘nobody’, is rare in the data:

- (50) *Nó mán nó blánt yá mós séf.*
 NEG man NEG reside here more EMP
 ‘Nobody even lives here anymore.’ [ra07fn 064]

The affirmative counterparts of the negative indefinite phrases in (49–50) are indefinite (quantifier) phrases involving *pósin* ‘person’ and *mán* ‘man’, which function as indefinite pronouns:

- (51) *Pósin go entiende bot 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]
- (52) *Ól mán kin lúk=an, yu go sí wí nó go mít nó bódi na hós.*
 all man HAB look=3SG.OBJ 2SG POT see 1PL NEG POT 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’:

- (53) *Éni sáy wé pósin wánt sidón, den de sidón.*
 every side SUB person want stay 3PL IPFV stay
 ‘Everywhere/anywhere people want to stay, they stay.’ [ma03hm 042]
- (54) *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:

- (55) *Sáy nó dé.*
 side NEG BE.LOC
 ‘There is no space [to sit].’ [ra07fn 029]
- (56) *Sáy nó dé fə 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’ (58). Example (57) features the equivalent affirmative phrase *ól tén* ‘all time’ = ‘always’:

- (57) *Di húman ól tén e dé fáyn.*
 DEF woman all time 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC fine
 ‘The woman is always looking fine.’ [dj05ae 155]

- (58) *E sé nó wán dé e nó go dú=an mǎ.*
 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 *sǎn* ‘some, a’, which may refer to count and mass nouns alike. The affirmative clause in (59) features *sǎn* used as pronominal (cf. also 22–23). The negative counterpart of (59) may simply be a negative clause (60):

- (59) *Dǎn banána, a gí=an sǎn.*
 that banana 1SG.SBJ give=3SG.OBJ some
 ‘That banana, I gave him one.’ [ab03ab 096]
- (60) *A nó gét sǎn.*
 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 (61):

- (61) *Nó wán nó léf 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 (62) and (63). 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. 15):

- (62) *A go tél=an sé a nó de sél nó teléfono, nó wán.*
 1SG.SBJ POT tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV sell NEG telephone NEG one
 ‘I’ll tell her that I’m not going to sell any telephone, none (at all).’ [lo07he 049]
- (63) *Nó tǎk nó wán wǎd!*
 NEG talk NEG one word
 ‘Don’t say a single word!’ [ro05ee 142]

The fixed expression *nó wán dé* ‘never’ in (58) above is also such an emphatic negative phrase, even if lexicalised.

7.2.4 Constituent negation

Sections §7.2.2 and §7.2.3 have shown that one means of negating nominal constituents is by placing the negator *nó* ‘NEG’ before them. However, this kind of constituent negation 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 Table 7.3.

Table 7.3 Constituent negation

Type	Negator	Gloss	Translation
Negative concord	<i>nó</i>	NEG	‘no’
Constituent negation	<i>nóto</i>	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 (64), where the subject NP *ál húman* ‘all women’ is singled out for constituent negation:

- (64) *Nóto ál húman fit 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 (65) features the negated time adverbial *tidé* ‘today’, (66) the reason adverbial *fɔ dán tín*:

- (65) *Én, na tidé mí hie.*
 INTJ FOC today 1SG.INDP hear
 ‘Yes, it’s today that I [EMP] heard (it).’ [bo03cb 084]
- (66) *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 (67), the speaker abbreviated as (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:

- (67) *Éhé, 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 (68) and (69) 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:

- (68) *Éf nóto yu bay, dán húman go bít yú sóté yu go gó*
 if NEG.FOC 2SG buy that woman POT beat 2SG.INDP until 2SG POT go
léf=an.
 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]
- (69) *Nóto sé na hás den fɔ fɔs tén wé den strón, e fɔ dón*
 NEG.FOC QUOT FOC house PL PREP first time SUB 3PL be.strong 3SG.SBJ PREP PRF
fɔdón.
 fall
 ‘(If) it wasn’t the case that they were houses of the past that are strong, it would have already collapsed.’ [hi03cb 045]

7.3 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.

7.3.1 Yes-no and alternative questions

Yes-no questions have 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):

- (70) *Yu wánt de gó?*
 2SG want IPFV go
 ‘Do you want to go?’ [eb07fn 202]

However, speakers often employ the interjections *én* and *nó* sentence-finally in biased questions in order to channel-check:

- (71) *Yu nó=an én?*
 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:

- (72) *Yu sísta stíl máred ɔ e nó máred mɔ?*
 2SG sister still marry or 3SG.SBJ NEG marry more
 ‘Is your sister still married or is she no more married?’ [ro05ee 050]

7.3.2 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 elements (x = questioned noun)

Concept	Monomorphemic	Bimorphemic	Question phrase
WHO	<i>údat</i>	<i>ús=pósin; ús=mán</i>	
WHAT	<i>wétin</i>	<i>ús=tín</i>	<i>ús=káyn tín</i>
WHICH L	<i>ús=x; wích x</i>		<i>ús=káyn x</i>
WHICH ONE		<i>ús=wán</i>	
WHEN		<i>ús=tén</i>	<i>fɔ ús=tén</i>
WHERE		<i>ús=sáy; ús=pát</i>	<i>fɔ ús=sáy</i>
WHY	<i>fɔséka; háw; wétin</i>	<i>ús=tín</i>	<i>fɔ wétin; fɔ ús=tín fɔséka wétin; fɔséka ús=tín wétin mék; ús=tín mék; wet ús=tín</i>
HOW	<i>háw</i>	<i>ús=stáyl</i>	<i>ús=káyn stáyl</i>
HOW MUCH/MANY		<i>háw móch</i>	
HOW MUCH/MANY X			<i>háw móch x</i>

The question word system of Pichi involves three types of both “transparent” and “opaque question elements” (Muysken & Smith 1990): (1) Monomorphemic elements function as question elements or words in their own right. Amongst these, we find the clitic *ús*= ‘Q’, which forms (2) bimorphemic question words with generic nouns in order to render basic concepts like WHO, WHAT, and WHEN.

Question phrases (3) 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 pósin* ‘Q=kind person’ = ‘WHO’, *ús=káyn motó* ‘Q=kind car’ = ‘WHICH car’).

In Table 7.4, x stands for any noun. WHICH x and HOW MUCH x 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’).

7.3.2.1 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=pósin* ‘WHO’ may optionally take the pluraliser *den* (i.e. **ús=tín den* ‘what PL’):

- (73) *Yu sí údat den?*
2SG see who PL
‘Who [plural] did you see?’ [sa07fn 267]

- (74) *Yu sí ús=pósin den?*
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:

- (75) *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:

- (76) *Na údat in búk díś?*
FOC who 3SG.POSS book this
‘Whose book (is) this?’ [ro05de 055]

Multiple core (77) and adverbial (78) 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:

- (77) *Údat wet wétin de hambóg yú?*
 who with what IPFV bother 2SG.INDP
 ‘Who and what is bothering you?’ [ge07fn 299]

- (78) *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 (77). They may also optionally be focused in cleft constructions (79):

- (79) *Na údat hambóg dén?*
 FOC who bother 3PL.INDP
 ‘Who bothered them?’ [ro05de 041]

Objects can be questioned in situ (e.g. *údat dén* and *ús=pósin dén* in 73 and 74 above) or be fronted (80). Fronted objects may also optionally be cleft-focused (81):

- (80) *Ús=tín yu tók mós séf?*
 Q=thing 2SG talk again EMP
 ‘What did you say again?’ [dj07ae 344]
- (81) *Na ús=káyn tín dén ték mék dí, digamos dí bótul?*
 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’ (82), *wet* ‘with’ (83), and *pan* ‘on’ (84):

- (82) *Wétin yu wánt sabí fɔ?*
 what 2SG want know PREP
 ‘What do you want to know for?’ [ro05de 045]
- (83) *Ús=mán yu bin de tók wet yéstadé?*
 Q=man 2SG PST IPFV talk with yesterday
 ‘Who were you talking with yesterday?’ [ro07fn 215]
- (84) *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 (85) or be fronted (86):

- (85) *Yu tók 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]

- (86) *Ús=tín yu tók 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 (87). Here a cause clause is questioned by means of the phrase *sé wétin* ‘QUOT what’ = ‘because of what’:

- (87) *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]

7.3.2.2 Questioning subjects and objects

Questioned subjects naturally occur at the beginning of the question clause, as in (79) above. Questioned objects appear at the beginning of the sentence (88), or in their original position (89). These two examples feature the question word *wétin* ‘WHAT’, which is used for questioning inanimate entities:

- (88) *Wétin yu wánt nó?*
 what 2SG want know
 ‘What do you want to know?’ [dj05ce 086]
- (89) *Yu wánt nó wétin?*
 2SG want know what
 ‘You want to know what?’ [dj05ce 087]

Example (90) 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 *gét* ‘get, have’ (91).

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=pósin* ‘Q=person’ (cf. 74 above) and *ús=mán* ‘Q=man’ (cf. 83 above) in all relevant syntactic positions:

- (90) *Na údat in motó Pancho de yús?*
 FOC who 3SG.POSS car NAME IPFV use
 ‘It’s whose car Pancho is using?’ [dj05ce 118]

- (91) *Na údat gét 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 (92). *Ús=wán* is also employed in an idiomatic question clause in order to ask for a person’s name (93). 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?’:

- (92) *Éhé, dán wán mín 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]

- (93) *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 (94) and the object of *kér* ‘carry, take’ in the motion-direction SVC in (95) may be found in the original syntactic position:

- (94) *E big pás údat?*
 3SG.SBJ big pass who
 ‘He is bigger than who?’ [ye05ce 119]
- (95) *Den kér 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:

- (96) *Na údat dí báy big pás?*
 FOC who this boy big pass
 ‘Who is this boy bigger than?’ [lo07he 016]

- (97) *Ús=sáy yu de kér 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 idiosyncrasies. 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 (98):

- (98) *Ús=káyn plénk den 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 (99), 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 **den ték wet plénk bíl di hós* ‘3PL take with board build DEF house’ = ‘*they took with board to build the house’ (cf. also 32–33):

- (99) *Na wet ús=tín den 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 (100). Patients are usually questioned in situ in their original syntactic position following the major verb (101):

- (100) **Ús=káyn hós den ték plénk bíl?*
 Q=kind house 3PL take board build
 Intended: ‘Which (kind of) house did they take board to build?’ [dj07ae 482]
- (101) *Den ték stón bíl ús=káyn hós?*
 3PL take stone build Q=kind house
 ‘Which house did they build of stone?’

7.3.2.3 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 móch* ‘how much’ (cf. 124–126 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’:

- (102) *Wích mán den bin kíl na kwáta?*
 which man 3PL PST kill LOC quarter
 ‘Which man was killed in (our) quarter?’ [ro05de 047]
- (103) *Ús=mán den 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. *pósin* ‘person’, *mán* ‘man, person’, *tín* ‘thing’, *sáy* ‘side, place’, *tén* ‘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:

- (104) *Ús=nómba yu gét fɔ dán móvil?*
 which=number 2SG get PREP that mobile
 ‘Which number do you have in that mobile phone?’ [ye03cd.129]
- (105) *Ús=nésɔn?*
 which=nation
 ‘Which people [does he belong to]?’ [eb07fn 090]

However, questions like (104) and (105) are equally often formed by employing the question word *ús=káyɔn* ‘Q=kind’ instead of *ús=* alone. The meaning of *ús=káyɔn* therefore also vacillates between a more literal sense, in which the pronominal and generic noun *káyɔn* ‘kind’ retains its lexical meaning of ‘kind’, and a more functional one, in which the entire question word *ús=káyɔn* is equivalent to *ús=*, ‘Q, WHICH’. This ambiguity in the meaning of *káyɔn* ‘kind’ is reflected in the translations of the following two examples:

- (106) a. *E kin kúk súp.*
 3SG.SBJ HAB cook soup
 ‘He usually cooks soup.’ [dj03cd 086]
- b. *Ús=káyɔn súp?*
 Q=kind soup
 ‘Which (kind of) soup?’ [fr03cd 087]
- (107) *Sé papá gód ús=káyɔn tróbul díɔ?*
 QUOT father God Q=kind trouble this
 ‘(I said) God, what (kind of) trouble (is) this?’ [ab03ab 082]

The more functional use of *ús=káyɔn* is more obvious when it precedes a generic noun as in the following two examples. Here, the phrase *ús=káyɔn tín* ‘Q=kind thing’ has the

same meanings as *wétin* or *ús=tín* ‘WHAT’. Note that (108) is a free relative clause and sentence (109) an indirect question. The long forms featuring *káyn* ‘kind’ are equally common in this position as are the shorter forms *wétin* and *ús=tín*:

- (108) *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]
- (109) *Yu nó wet ús=káyn tín den 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. 117–118 below). However, *ús=káyn* is not found in conjunction with human-denoting generic nouns like *mán* ‘man’ or *pósin* ‘person’ with the meaning of ‘WHO’.

7.3.2.4 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=tén* ‘Q=time’. This question word is general in its meaning and may question any time unit:

- (110) *Ús=tén 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:

- (111) *Ús=dé yu kán yá?*
 Q=day 2SG come here
 ‘When [on which day] did you come here?’ [ro05ee 009]
- (112) *Ús=mún yu de gó?*
 Q=month 2SG IPFV go
 ‘When [in which month] are you going?’ [ro05ee 010]
- (113) *Ús=hía yu bón?*
 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’ (114), which may refer to units of the clock as well as periods of the day (e.g. *mónin tén* ‘morning’, *sán tén* ‘noon’, *nét* ‘night’):

- (114) *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 (115) and (116):

- (115) *Ús=sáy yu kəmət?*
 Q=side 2SG come.out
 ‘Where do you come from?’ [dj05ce 167]
- (116) *Ús=pát yu kəmət?*
 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 (117–118). Note the subtle difference in meaning between *ús=káyn stáyl* ‘by which means’ in the following examples and *háw* ‘how’ further below:

- (117) *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]
- (118) *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 (119) involves a main clause, example (120) a main and a subordinate clause:

- (119) *Háw e bin só, háw e bigín, háw e salút yú?*
 how 3SG.SBJ PST show how 3SG.SBJ begin how 3SG.SBJ greet 2SG.INDP
 ‘How did he show [respect], how did he begin, how did he greet you?’ [au07se 134]

- (120) *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 *móch* ‘much’ and form an independent question word in order to question a quantity (121) as well as the degree to which the property denoted by the property item applies (122–123):

- (121) *Háw móch díś sôt kós?*
 how much this shirt cost
 ‘How much did this shirt cost?’ [ro05de 061]
- (122) *Háw móch lón?*
 how much be.long
 ‘How long?’ [ye 07fn 066]
- (123) *Háw móch dí tín évi?*
 how much this thing be.heavy
 ‘How heavy is this thing?’ [lo07he 047]

The collocation *háw móch* is also used to question quantifiers of count and mass nouns alike. Compare (124) in which a time quantity (hence duration) is questioned, (125) in which a mass nouns is questioned, and (126) in which the count noun *pikín* ‘child’ is questioned:

- (124) *Yu bin sté háw móch dé?*
 2SG PST stay how much day
 ‘How many days did you stay?’ [kw03sp 066]
- (125) *Háw móch wotá yu wánt?*
 how much water 2SG want
 ‘How much water do you want?’ [lo07he 046]
- (126) *Háw móch 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’ (127). The use of these two question words may colour the question with reproach if the subject of the clause is human:

- (127) *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:

- (128) *Háw mosquito nó go bét=an?*
 how mosquito NEG POT bite=3SG.OBJ
 ‘Why wouldn’t mosquitos bite him [since you have removed the mosquito net]?’ [ab03ab 141]
- (129) *Háw yu go dé yu nó gét 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]

Wétin and *ús=tín* ‘what’ also occur in question phrases as the objects of prepositions that may mark NPs for a cause semantic role (cf. §9.1.3 for details). In (130), *wétin* is the object of *fɔ* ‘PREP’, in (131), *wet* ‘with’ is followed by *ús=tín*, and in (132), 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:

- (130) *Fɔ wétin yu nó de wók tidé?*
 PREP what 2SG NEG IPFV work today
 ‘Why aren’t you working today?’ [dj05ce 172]
- (131) *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]
- (132) *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 (133):

- (133) *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’ (134). *Mék* also occurs with the meaning ‘(to) cause’ as a full verb in questions such as (135):

- (134) **Wétin mék** *yu nó de wók tidé?*
 what make 2SG NEG IPFV work today
 ‘How come you aren’t working today?’ [ro05ee 016]
- (135) **Wétin mék** *dá wán, én?*
 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 (134) 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 (136) is indicative of a more “verb” status of *mék* than in (134). 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:

- (136) **Wétin mék sé** *yu nó wók tidé?*
 what make QUOT 2SG NEG work today
 ‘How come you didn’t work today?’ [dj05ce 174]

Sentence (137) 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’:

- (137) **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]

7.3.3 Answers

In Pichi, *yé(s)* ‘yes’ is the central agreement interjection. Both *yé* and *yés* are employed in formal and informal registers alike. Compare the answer in (138b):

- (138) a. **Náw** *yu fít dríng=an nó?*
 now 2SG can drink=3SG.OBJ INTJ
 ‘Now, you’re able to drink it, right?’ [kw03sp 115]
- b. **Náw so,** *yés, 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 *ehé* 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 *nó* 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 (139) evokes the use of the agreement marker *yés*:

- (139) a. *So yu nó go chóp?*
 so 2SG NEG POT eat
 ‘So you won’t eat?’ [chfn05 001]
 b. *Yés.*
 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:

- (140) a. *Yu go chóp?*
 2SG POT eat
 ‘Will you eat?’
 b. *Nó.*
 NEG
 ‘No (I won’t eat).’ [lifn05 005]

However, *yés* and *nó* are also used to agree or disagree with the proposition of the utterance, possibly through Spanish influence:

- (141) 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, *nó* functions as a question-tag, i.e. a conative interjection. In this function, *nó* 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 (142):

- (142) *Yu de fil hót nó?*
 2SG IPFV feel hot INTJ
 ‘You’re feeling hot, aren’t you?’ [ma03hm 007]

Aside from that, *nó* also serves as a phatic interjection in order to solicit attention (cf. §12.2.3). For example, the clause in (143) underlines the speaker's commitment to the truth of a story that he has just narrated:

- (143) *Nó, nó tók én!*
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 (144a) is underlined by sentence (b):

- (144) a. *Den tél=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. *Tél 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' (145b) and *nó wé* 'no way' (146b). The following two sentence pairs illustrate their use in signalling disagreement in response to a question:

- (145) a. *Na yú chóp 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]
- (146) 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 (147b). The imperative clause *kómát dé* 'get lost' can be employed to express strong and abusive disagreement (148b):

- (147) a. *Den dón gí yu di məní?*
3PL PRF give 2SG DEF money
'Have they given you the money?' [pa07fn 478]

- b. *Ús=sáy?*
 Q=side
 ‘Where? [not at all]’ [ye07fn 479]
- (148) 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. *Kómót 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 (149b):

- (149) 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]

7.4 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: 35). Focus is realised through three distinct strategies: suprasegmental focus, particle focus, and cleft focus. 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). The syntactic operation of clefting renders elements under cleft focus pragmatically salient. But it is difficult to determine the semantic differences between cleft focus and other types of focus on the basis of the available data.

7.4.1 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.

7.4.2 Particle focus

Particle focus involves the elements *séf* ‘self, EMP’, *sénwe* ‘EMP’ and the sentence particles/interjections *én* ‘INTJ’ and *ó* ‘SP’ (cf. §12.2.4 for a detailed treatment of these elements). These elements may signal focus of constituents of varying complexity including entire clauses and sentences. Table 7.5 provides an overview.

Table 7.5 Focus particles

Form	Translations	Focus type	Scope	Other uses
<i>séf</i>	‘-self, too, even, actually, really’	Presentational; contrastive	Sentence; constituent	Reflexive anaphor
<i>sénwe</i>	‘-self, too, exactly’	Presentational; contrastive	constituent	—
<i>ó</i>	‘really, actually, even, at all’	Presentational; contrastive	Sentence; constituent	Vocative; assertion; encouragement
<i>én</i>	‘really’	Presentational	Sentence; constituent	Channel check

7.4.2.1 Forms and functions

The reflexive anaphor and emphatic particle *séf* ‘self, EMP’ is the most frequently used form in particle focus. The following sentence presents the use of *séf* as a reflexive anaphor (cf. §9.3.5 for a detailed treatment):

- (150) *Dán gál e kin fiks in séf, pént in séf.*
 that girl 3SG.SBJ HAB fix 3SG.POSS self paint 3SG.POSS self
 ‘That girl, she usually does herself up, paints herself [puts on make-up].’ [dj07ae 114]

The two successively uttered sentences (151a) and (151b) exemplify the use of *séf* ‘self, EMP’ in signalling presentational focus. In (151a), 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:

- (151) a. *Dán mán e bin kán gó na jél lón tén.*
 that man 3SG.SBJ PST PFV go LOC jail long time
 ‘That man, he went to jail long ago.’ [ma03sh 015]

- b. *Náw e dón dáy séf.*
 now 3SG.SBJ PRF die EMP
 ‘Now he is even dead.’ [ma03sh 016]

The corpus contains a single occurrence of *séf* ‘self, EMP’ preceded by a 3SG.POSS pronoun which is coreferential with the head noun of the focused NP (152). This structure is a dislocated possessive construction in which *séf* functions as a nominal in the possessed noun position. In the construction, the low-toned 3SG possessive pronoun and *séf* together signal emphasis or focus of the preceding noun *di bóy* ‘the boy’:

- (152) *Wé di bóy in séf, wé e sí mí, estaba contento.*
 SUB DEF boy 3SG.POSS self SUB 3SG.SBJ see 1SG.INDP he.was content
 ‘And the boy himself, when he saw me, he was content.’ [ab03ay 046]

The construction in (152) is, however, marginal. Note the difference between (152) and the following (153). In the latter example, *séf* ‘self, EMP’ is used as a regular focus particle, postposed to the high-toned 3SG emphatic personal pronoun:

- (153) *Ín séf gó na baf-rúm e wás.*
 3SG.INDP EMP go LOC bath-room 3SG.SBJ wash
 ‘He (by) himself went to the bathroom (and) washed.’ [ab03ab 148]

Contrastive use of *séf* ‘self, EMP’ is illustrated in (154). In its function as a focus marker, *séf* often assumes a reading of inclusive or exhaustive listing; hence the translation of *séf* as ‘too, also, even’ and ‘alone, without help’. In fact, a postposed *séf* most appropriately renders the notion ‘too, also’ in a sentence like (155).

The following two examples also show that *séf* has the most flexible scope of all particles. It may signal focus of sentences (154) as well as smaller constituents, such as a personal pronoun (155):

- (154) *Yu nó séf, yu jós 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]
- (155) *Mí séf dón 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 *séf* in order to signal presentational and contrastive focus (156). The use of *sénwe* as a clausal focus particle is not attested. In general, *sénwe* occurs less frequently than *séf* 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’:

- (156) *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 (158) below. The particle is a sentence-final element which has scope over all preceding material, which may be a predicate-less sentence (157) or a clause (158). 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):

- (157) *Bata tóng ó.*
 PLACE tongue SP
 ‘That’s the Fang language for you [see how peculiar it is].’ [to03gm 014]
- (158) *A bin dón, a bin dón 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 *én* ‘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 *én* may function very much like other sentential focus particles (159).

- (159) *Djunais, yu badhát én.*
 NAME 2SG be.mean INTJ
 ‘Djunais you’re really mean.’ [fr03wt 032]

Beyond that, *én* may also occur in mid-sentence followed by a pause, in order to focus a single constituent. In (160), the Spanish depictive adjective *fresco* ‘fresh’ is fronted and singled out for focus by *én*:

- (160) *Fresco én, den de gí wí.*
 fresh INTJ 3PL IPFV give 1PL.INDP
 ‘Fresh, (that’s how) they would give (it) to us.’ [ed03sp 103]

7.4.2.2 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 (161) features a prepositional phrase with a single noun under focus, and (162) the complex prepositional phrase and reflexive construction *na yu skín* ‘on you(r body)’:

- (161) *Na Trinidad séf nś?*
 LOC PLACE EMP INTJ
 ‘Even in Trinidad, right?’ [au07se 226]
- (162) *Èfe de gó yu se supone que e de fáyn na yu skin séf.*
 if 3SG.SBJ IPFV go 2SG REFL assume that 3SG.SBJ IPFV fine 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 (163a) speaker (hi) emphasises the lack of responsibility of certain mothers by utilising focus with *séf* ‘self, EMP’. Her statement is confirmed by speaker (bo) in (b):

- (163) a. *Bət dán káyn mamá den séf.*
 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 *tumóro* ‘tomorrow’ in (164):

- (164) *Wé a dón jóch dén, a sé “tumóro sénwe a de gó*
 SUB 1SG.SBJ PRF judge 3PL.INDP 1SG.SBJ QUOT tomorrow EMP 1SG.SBJ IPFV go
mít in mán”.
 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 (165) is under the scope of the particle *séf* ‘self, EMP’. In (166), the clause introduced by *sé* ‘QUOT’ is under focus by means of the sentence-final particle *ó*:

- (165) *E lúk di análisis, tiene paludismo de una cruz wé kin kíl pikín séf.*
 3SG.SBJ look DEF analysis he.has malaria of one cross SUB HAB kill child EMP
 ‘She [the doctor] looked at the analysis “he has malaria of one cross which even kills children”.’ [ab03ab 120]

- (166) *Bikəs den tók 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 (167), and there is no restriction save intelligibility on the number of elements that can be focused in one sentence. Compare (167) which features constituent focus by means of the particle *séf* and clausal focus by means of a sentence-final *ó*:

- (167) *Tú pípul séf wet wán pikín dón kán ó.*
 two people EMP with one child PRF come SP
 ‘Even two people and one child have come.’

Example (168) presents clausal focus (or alternatively focus of the object NP *dán* ‘con-
 venge’ *dé*) through *séf*, as well as focus of the ensuing adverbial phrase *na Pichi* by means
 of *sénwe*:

- (168) *A bin wánt tók dán “convenge” dé séf na Pichi sénwe, a nó*
 1SG.SBJ PST want talk that convince there EMP LOC Pichi EMP 1SG.SBJ NEG
de mémba.
 IPFV remember
 ‘I had actually wanted to say that “convenge” 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’:

- (169) *Nó mán nó blánt yá mó séf.*
 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 *séf* or *sénwe* (cf. 155–156 above). Compare subject focus in the rhetorical question in (170):

- (170) *Mí wánt dán mán?*
 1SG.INDP want that man
 ‘Do I [EMP] want that man?’ [ro05rt 026]

Clausal focus by means of *séf* is also regularly made use of in combination with the conditional clause linker *ef/if* in order to render concessive meaning (cf. §10.7.12).

7.4.2.3 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 (171), the subject NP *in papá* ‘her father’ is highlighted via presentational focus only by means of the post-posed emphatic particle *séf*:

- (171) *Áfta in papá séf 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 (172):

- (172) *Áfta e nóto, e nó fáyn fɔ di pikín séf.*
 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 (173) the particle *séf* ‘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:

- (173) *Mí nó sabí us mán den kíl, a nóba hía dán torí séf.*
 1SG.INDP NEG know which man 3PL kill 1SG.SBJ NEG.PRF 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 focused by exploiting their syntactic flexibility and placing them at the head of the sentence in combination with a focus particle (174). The corpus contains no instance of an object that has been fronted for focus. We only find focused, sentence-initial non-subjects occurring in cleft constructions (cf. e.g. 190):

- (174) *Lagos séf, e gét di sáy wé na di húman den de máred di mán.*
 PLACE EMP 3SG.SBJ get DEF side SUB FOC DEF woman PL 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 overlaying 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 (175) features the dislocated and topical object NP *di róp* ‘the rope’, followed by the focus particle *séf*. 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:

- (175) *Áfta di róp séf, wi nó sí nó mán wé e hīb=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 (176) 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 *séf*:

- (176) *Mi séf, ɔl pɔsin den kin áks mi sé ‘yu dón bón?’*
 1SG.INDP EMP all person 3PL HAB ask 1SG.INDP QUOT 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 (177) 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’:

- (177) *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]

7.4.3 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 characteristics of these three elements are given in Table 7.6.

7.4.3.1 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 \emptyset):

- (178) *Áfta na dán tén ∅ 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]

Table 7.6 Cleft focus particles

Form	Gloss	Focus type	Scope	Other uses
<i>na</i>	‘it’s (that)’	Presentational; contrastive	Sentence; constituent	Identity copula
<i>nóto</i>	‘it’s not (that)’	Contrastive	Sentence; constituent	Negative identity copula
<i>es que</i>	‘it’s that’	Presentational; contrastive	Sentence	Borrowed from Spanish

The negative focus marker *nóto* is employed instead of *na* to signal negative, contrastive focus. In example (179), *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:

- (179) *Sé pero mán mi bráda dát, ús=tín e de dú na yá, nóto*
 QUOT but man 1SG.POSS brother that Q=thing 3SG.SBJ IPFV do LOC here NEG.FOC
ín wi bér=an?
 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 (180):

- (180) *Es que e fáyn wé yu nó sabí sé e kómót fɔ di*
 it.is that 3SG.SBJ fine SUB 2SG NEG know QUOT 3SG.SBJ come.out PREP DEF
animal.
 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 (181a–b), new information is introduced by presentational focus in (c):

- (181) a. *Dɛn táy=an.*
 3PL tie=3SG.OBJ
 ‘They’ve tied it [that’s why it’s barking].’ [ma03hm 001]

- b. *Den géfð mín sé e de hambóg wí.*
 3PL have.to mean QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV irritate 1PL.INDP
 ‘They must mean to make it irritate us.’ [ma03hm 002]
- c. *Na fð mék nó gó na dón.*
 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 (182a), 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):

- (182) a. *Nó mete mí ínsay dí tók a bég!*
 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 (183b), 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 (184), where we find nominal constituents on both sides of the copula:

- (183) 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.’
- (184) *Di húman na strón 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 (183b) 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 (185a) and the corresponding focus construction (b), in which the relativiser *wé* is absent (indicated by ∅):

- (185) a. *Den sén di ból.*
 3PL send DEF ball
 ‘The ball was thrown.’ [au07se 169]
- b. *Na pòsin Ø sén di ból.*
 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 (186a), 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:

- (186) a. *Haw yu kin kól=an wé pòsin 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 pòsin wé de fil sé.*
 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*:

- (187) (*Ín*) *na wán mán wé de plé wet di ból.*
 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 personal pronoun is ungrammatical in the focus construction in (188), 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):

- (188) (**Ín*) *na wán Annobón gél wíh yú?*
 3SG.INDP FOC one PLACE girl bewitch 2SG.INDP
 ‘(*She) a girl from Annobón bewitched you?’ [fr03wt 002]

7.4.3.2 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:

- (189) *Na Nguema Mba bin gí mí dán beca séf.*
 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 (190). 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 (191) is rare:

- (190) *Na wán smól híl e klém.*
 FOC one small hill 3SG.SBJ climb
 ‘It’s a small hill that he climbed.’ [au07se 041]
- (191) *Wé wi smól, na sósó Píchi wé wi de tók.*
 SUB 1PL be.small FOC only Píchi SUB 1PL IPFV talk
 ‘When we were small, it’s only Píchi that we would talk.’ [au07se 213]

There are also numerous instances of focused adverbs. Compare the adverb *só* ‘so, like this’ in (192), 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’ (193):

- (192) *Sí, na só mí séf 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]
- (193) *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 (194), the manner adverbial *rən-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 (195):

- (194) *E de wáka rən-sáy, na rən-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]
- (195) *E sé e kómót fá, na fá e kómót.*
 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 (196) contains an instrumental prepositional phrase featuring the preposition *wet* ‘with’:

- (196) *Na wet ús=tín dɛn bɪl=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 (197):

- (197) *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 (198), 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 *dɔn 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:

- (198) *Wé yu dɔn de nák, na sé yu wánt sɔn tɪn e brók, mék*
 SUB 2SG PRF IPFV hit FOC QUOT 2SG want some thing 3SG.SBJ break SBJV
e krás, mék e destroza.
 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 (199). In (200), a conditional clause is singled out for focus. Hence, the negative focus marker *nóto* appears after *ɛf* ‘if’:

- (199) *E de kráy pero nóto sé e wánt chóp.*
 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]
- (200) *ɛf nóto yu báɪ dán húman go bít yú sóté yu go gó*
 if NEG.FOC 2SG buy that woman POT beat 2SG.INDP until 2SG POT go
léf=an.
 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:

- (201) *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 (202), 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':

- (202) *Entonces **dí káyn pikín, es que** normalmente e go tél yú dán*
 so this kind child it.is that normally 3SG.SBJ POT tell 2SG.INDP that
tín, (...)
 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':

- (203) *Es **que na** dán klém wé e de klém, e de gó e de*
 it.is that FOC that climb SUB 3SG.SBJ IPFV climb 3SG.SBJ IPFV go 3SG.SBJ IPFV
klém.
 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 (204) 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)':

- (204) *Bet e fíba sé **wán dé wé na ín** de púl di óda*
 but 3SG.SBJ resemble QUOT one BE.LOC SUB FOC 3SG.INDP IPFV pull DEF other
wán di torí.
 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]

7.4.3.3 Focus of resumptive elements

Cleft constructions of the type in (204) 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 tén* ‘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 (205), the topical, clefted adverbial phrase *frɔn in hós* ‘from her house’ is anaphorically referred to by another clefted adverbial, namely *dé* ‘there’:

- (205) *Na frɔn in hós, na dé yu go ték mared.*
 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 (206). 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:

- (206) *Di sáy wé mɔní dé, na dé yu géfɔ go.*
 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 (207), 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 (208), where *na dé* refers to a preceding time clause earlier in the paragraph:

- (207) *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]
- (208) *Na dé dán, dán kandá, dán tín, dán membrano, na dé e kɔmót.*
 FOC there that that skin that thing that membrane 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 (209), *na ín* refers to the antecedent subject under focus *na di fáyn chóp* ‘it’s the good food’. Example (210) features a resumptive *na ín* anaphorical to the dislocated, topical object *dís traje fɔ mono* ‘this overall-like suit’:

- (209) *Na di fáyn chóp, 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]
- (210) *Tél=an sé, nó, dís traje fɔ mono, na ín e wánt.*
 tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT INTJ this suit PREP overall FOC 3SG.INDP 3SG.SBJ want
 ‘(He) told him, no, this overall-like suit, that’s what he wants.’ [to03gm 004]

In (211), *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:

- (211) *Wé e dón 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’ (212) or alternatively, *na di tín (mék)* ‘FOC DEF thing (make)’ = ‘that’s why’ (213) may refer anaphorically to the preceding cause clause (cf. 134 for the analogous content question):

- (212) *Na bikəs in abuelo dón dáy, na ín e de kráy.*
 FOC because 3SG.POSS grandfather PRF die FOC 3SG.INDP 3SG.SBJ IPFV cry
 ‘It’s because his grandfather has died, that’s why he’s crying like that.’ [dj05be 046]
- (213) *Na bikəs den púl di motó, na di tín mék e chakrá.*
 FOC because 3PL remove DEF car FOC DEF thing 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. 207 and 210). 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.

7.4.4 Presentatives

Pichi features a presentative construction involving *na/nóto* as well as the proximal and distal demonstrative forms *dís* ‘this’ (214) and *dat* ‘that’ (215) 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:

- (214) *E sé na mán dí.*
 3SG.SBJ QUOT FOC man this
 'He said "this is a man."' [ed03sb 224]
- (215) *Na róp dát.*
 FOC rope that
 'That's a rope.' [li07pe 002]

Examples (214–215) 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 (214–215) above:

- (216) *Dí wán na bí.*
 this one FOC wild.animal
 'This (one) is a wild animal.' [ma03sh 011]
- (217) *Dá wán na bóbí.*
 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 (218), the NP *chóp* 'food' has been modified prenominally by *béta* 'very good' and post-nominally by a relative clause introduced by *wé* 'SUB':

- (218) *Na di béta chóp wé mán de chóp 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 (219), 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):

- (219) *Sé papá gód ús=káyn tróbul dí?*
 QUOT father God Q=kind trouble this
 '(I) said God, what (kind of) trouble (is) this?' [ab03ab 082]

7.4.5 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:

- (220) *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 (221) 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 (222):

- (221) *Chico, na bíg e bíg.*
 boy FOC big 3SG.SBJ big
 ‘Oh boy, it’s really big.’ [ye07fn 070]

- (222) * *Na bíg wé e bíg.*
 FOC big SUB 3SG.SBJ big
 Intended: ‘It’s really big.’ [ne07fn]

Sometimes verbs are clefted together with a pronominal object (223). 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 (224):

- (223) *Na krách=an yu de skrách.*
 FOC scratch=3SG.OBJ 2SG IPFV scratch
 ‘You’re actually scratching it.’ [dj07ae 386]

- (224) * *Na lúk fáyn yu lúk.*
 FOC look fine 2SG look
 Intended: You looked really well. [ne07fn]

However, verbs are not clefted together with TMA markers (225). 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 (226):

- (225) *Na wáka wi bin de wáka gó dé.*
 FOC walk 1PL PST IPFV walk go there
 ‘We actually walked there.’ [pa07me 002]
- (226) *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 (227), it is once again only the major verb *wáka* ‘walk’ that gets fronted, while the modal auxiliary verb *wánt* ‘want’ stays behind:

- (227) *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 *chóp*, which means ‘eat’ as a verb and ‘food’ (rather than only ‘eating’) as a noun. While (228) may be interpreted as involving either predicate or nominal cleft, the cleft construction in (229) is unlikely to be anything else than a nominal cleft construction, since the focused noun *chóp* ‘food’ is modified by *bókú* ‘be much’:

- (228) *Na chóp e chóp yéstadé 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]
- (229) *Na bókú chóp e kin chóp.*
 FOC much food 3SG.SBJ HAB eat
 ‘It’s a hell of a lot of food that he usually eats.’ [dj07ae 462]

7.4.6 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 *dón de* ‘PFV IPFV’ and *dón de finis* ‘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 (230), NP focus (i.e. *dís wán séf* ‘this one EMP’ co-occurs with a predicate featuring the perfect marker *dón* and the imperfective marker *de*. Sentence (231) additionally features the completive aspect auxiliary verb *finis* ‘finish (doing something)’, which adds even more emphatic force:

- (230) *Dís wán séf, yu dón de tráy.*
 this one EMP 2SG PRF IPFV try
 ‘Even this [little Bube that you speak], you’re really making an effort.’ [ab03ab 014]

- (231) *Náw a dón de finis sém fə wér dán sú.*
 now 1SG.SBJ PRF IPFV finish be.ashamed 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 *bókú* ‘be much’ (232), 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 (232):

- (232) *E de para na dán in yáy bókú 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 (233) and reduplication, predicate cleft, and cognate objects – the latter in combination with the particle *ó* in (234) as well as ideophones (235):

- (233) *Én, bət ín sidón dón dón dón yandá.*
 yes but 3SG.INDP stay down REP REP yonder
 ‘Yes, but he stays far down there.’ [ma03ni 020]

- (234) *Den bin fáyn wán fáyn ó.*
 3PL PST fine one fine SP
 ‘They were really beautiful.’ [mi07fn 120]

- (235) *Den nák=an na in chés kip.*
 3PL hit=3SG.OBJ LOC 3SG.POSS chest IDEO
 ‘They hit him (hard) in the chest with a thumping sound.’ [dj05ce 100]

7.5 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.

7.5.1 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 (236) 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’:

- (236) *Dán skúl, e dé nía berin-grón, nó?*
 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 (237) without a resumptive pronoun:

- (237) *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 *dí cartón* ‘the carton’ in (238) is resumed by the coreferential object pronoun *àn* ‘3SG.OBJ’:

- (238) *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 (239), the topical object NP *éni tín* ‘everything’ is reiterated by the resumptive, coreferential object pronoun *=an* ‘3SG.OBJ’ after the verb *púl* ‘remove’:

- (239) *Éni tín, yu wónt púl=an na puerto yu de pé.*
 every thing 2SG want remove=3SG.OBJ LOC harbour 2SG IPFV pay
 ‘Everything, you want to remove it from the port, you pay [tax].’ [f103fp 002]

Sentence (240) 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’:

- (240) *Mí, lek háw yu de sí mí, a dón sí plénte tín.*
 1SG.INDP like how 2SG IPFV see 1SG.INDP 1SG.SBJ PRF 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):

- (241) *Panyá, na ín wós mós.*
 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 (242):

- (242) *Fɔ tók 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 (243) 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 (243) may also be seen as an example of pseudo-clefting:

- (243) *Di tín wé bin dé difícil mós 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 in [building] this house, [was] to level the ground.’ [07fn 065]

7.5.2 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 (244), which may occur in presentational sentences like the following:

- (244) *Náw e tínap na grón.*
 now 3SG.SBJ stand LOC ground
 ‘Now it’s standing on the ground.’ [li07pe 093]

Sentence (245) 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 *mɔnt*.

- (245) “*Mɔnt*” *náw, e dón 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 & Thompson 1976). For example, in (246), 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*:

- (246) *Pikín náw, e nó hád.*
 child now 3SG.SBJ NEG hard
 ‘As for [having] kids, that’s not difficult.’ [hi03cb 162]

Example (247) 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:

- (247) *Sósó Píchi náw wé wi de tók.*
 only Pichi now SUB 1PL IPFV talk
 ‘(It was) only Pichi that we used to talk.’ [au07se 214]

Example (248) 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’:

- (248) *Na ín nǎw a bin de chék sé e bin fɔ dé fáyn if*
 FOC 3SG.INDP now 1SG.SBJ PST IPFV check QUOT 3SG.SBJ PST COND BE.LOC fine if
a mít wán pǒsin (...)
 1SG.SBJ meet one person
 ‘That’s why I was thinking it would be fine if I met somebody (...)’ [fr03ft 176]

7.6 BEING and HAVING

The forms employed to express BEING and HAVING in Pichi form part of a web of inter-linked 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.

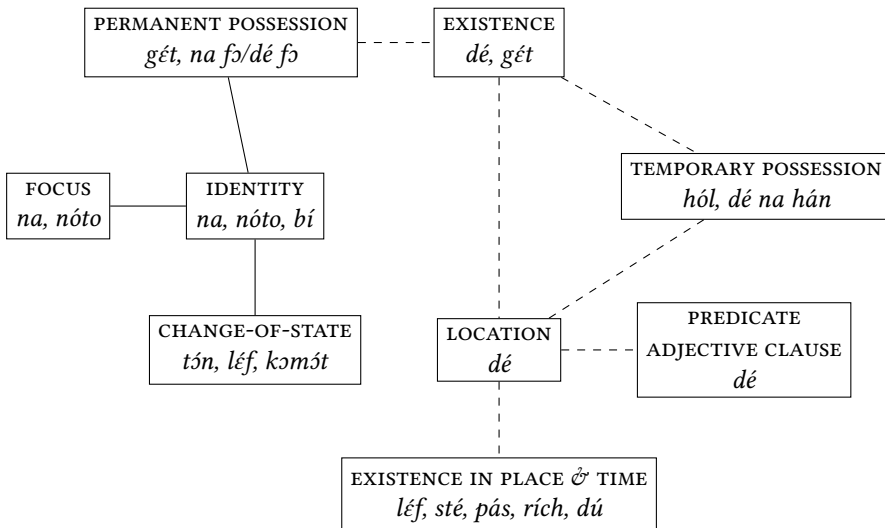


Figure 7.2 Expression of BEING and HAVING

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.

7.6.1 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
	<i>na</i> ‘FOC’	<i>nóto</i> ‘NEG.FOC’	<i>bí</i> ‘BE’	<i>dé</i> ‘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 (249), and classification as member of a group (250):

- (249) *Dán tín na di pasta.*
 that thing FOC DEF paste
 ‘That thing is the paste.’ [fr03do 036]

- (250) *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 (251), a name (252), and the expression of a family relationship (253). Note the presence of the verb *tón* ‘turn’ which denotes a change of state when used as a copula verb (251):

- (251) *Mi papá na dǎkta bɔt mí nó go tón dǎkta.*
 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]
- (252) *Yés, mi ném na Djunais.*
 yes 1SG.POSS name FOC NAME
 ‘Yes, my name is Djunais.’ [dj05ce 188]

- (253) *Na dán tén a kán sabí sé mi mamá na mi mamá.*
 FOC that time 1SG.SBJ PFV know QUOT 1SG.POSS mother FOC 1SG.POSS mother
 ‘It’s then that I came to know that my mother was my mother.’ [fr03ft 019]

Equateive 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 (254) and (255). In these clauses, the identified elements (i.e. *kasára* ‘cassava’ and *wi Píchi* ‘our (kind of) Píchi’) 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:

- (254) *Na kasára.*
 FOC cassava
 ‘That’s (a) cassava.’ [li07pe 028]
- (255) *Nóto wi Píchi.*
 NEG.FOC 1PL Píchi
 ‘That’s not our (kind of) Píchi.’ [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:

- (256) *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 (256) 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:

- (257) *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. 255 and 3sg default reference, i.e. 254 and 256) 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 (256) above and (258) below:

- (258) * *In mamá bí rusa.*
 3SG.POSS mother FOC Russian
 Intended: ‘Her mother is Russian.’ [dj07ae 532]

In the following two equative clauses, the presence of the TMA markers *dón* ‘PRF’ (259) and *go* ‘POT’ (260) motivates the appearance of the suppletive identity copula *bí* ‘BE’. In spite of its defective distribution (cf. 258), the copula *bí* behaves much more like a copula verb than *na/nóto*: It may take dependent personal pronouns (e.g. in 259) and appear with TMA marking (e.g. 259 and 260).

- (259) *E dón bí wán señorita.*
 3SG.SBJ PRF BE one little.lady
 ‘She has already become a real young lady.’ [fr03ft 117]
- (260) *Mí go bí dókta.*
 1SG.INDP POT BE doctor
 ‘I’ll be doctor.’ [ro05ee 025]

Sentence (261) 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):

- (261) *Mí ném bin bí Francisca Belobe Toichoa, porque mí mamá*
 1SG.POSS name PST BE NAME NAME NAME because 1SG.POSS mother
 in ném na Belobe Toichoa.
 3SG.POSS name FOC NAME NAME
 ‘My name was Francisca 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 (262) 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. 27–28):

- (262) *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 (263), *bí* occurs as the complement of the modal verb *fít* ‘can’. The form *bí* also appears in subjunctive clauses (264). Such clauses are not only inherently future-referring and non-assertive. They also feature reduced tense-aspect marking and are less finite:

- (263) *“Kót” fít bí leke herida.*
 cut can BE like wound
 ‘“Kót” can be [mean] like a wound.’ [ye05ce 227]

- (264) *Mék e bí sé Kofi dón kán.*
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC QUOT NAME PRF come
 ‘(Please) let it be that Kofi has come.’ [dj05ae 032]

Furthermore, *bí* is the only identity copula attested in a context like (265) 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 (265):

- (265) *Frɔn wé a bí pikín a bin wánt kɔmót na dís kóntri.*
 from SUB 1SG.SBJ BE child 1SG.SBJ PST want 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:

- (266) *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 (267a) and the corresponding answer in (267b):

- (267) a. *Ebongolo dé?*
 NAME BE.LOC
 ‘Is Ebongolo around/his usual self/fine/alright?’ [ge07fn 180]
 b. *Yés, e dé.*
 yes 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC
 ‘Yes, he’s here/around/his usual self/fine/alright.’ [he07fn 181]

In (268), *dé* takes a locative adverbial phrase introduced by the general locative preposition *na* ‘LOC’ as a complement. The adverbial phrase in (269) involves the locative noun *nía* ‘be near’:

- (268) *E dé na grón.*
 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC LOC ground
 ‘He is [lying] on the ground.’ [ab03ab 063]
 (269) *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 (270) 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 (271). Also note that the copula *dé* receives an imperfective, present tense interpretation like any other unmarked stative verb in Pichi:

- (270) *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]
 (271) *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 (272) exemplifies how *dé* is used to express existence in time. In contrast to locative complements, time adverbials like *ívin tén* ‘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):

- (272) *Wi dé ibin tén.*
 1PL BE.LOC evening time
 ‘It’s evening.’ [dj05ce 249]

Further, the time is always told in a codemixed 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 (273). No prepositions are employed in this construction either. Hence here too, there is no formal indication of the adverbial status of the time expression:

- (273) *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 (274). As explained in detail in §7.6.5, predicate adjective constructions, rather than verbal clauses, are only chosen when the situation is perceived as non-time-stable:

- (274) *Dán tén 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’ (275), a bare noun phrase featuring the generic noun *stáyl* ‘manner, style’ (276), or a prepositional phrase with the similitive and equative preposition *lek* ‘like’ (277):

- (275) *Na só e dé.*
 FOC like.that 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC
 ‘That’s the way it is.’ [au07se 159]
- (276) *E dé sda stáyl.*
 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC other style
 ‘It’s different.’ [dj05ae 081]
- (277) *A wánt dé lek 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 (278) and indirectly (279), or when a property is attributed to a main clause verb in a free adverbial manner clause (280):

- (278) *Háw yu go dé, yu nó gét pikín?*
 how 2SG POT there 2SG NEG get child
 ‘How would you be [feel] (if) you had no child?’ [kw03sb 203]

- (279) *Bət 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]
- (280) *Yu géfɔ léf=an lek 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 (281). It occurs with the standard negator and any TMA marker compatible with its distribution as a stative verb (282):

- (281) *Nó bódí nó dé na pueblo.*
 NEG body NEG BE.LOC LOC village
 ‘Nobody is in the village.’ [fr03ft 156]
- (282) *Sé “ús=tín kin dé ínsay dé?”*
 QUOT Q=thing HAB BE.LOC inside there
 ‘(They) said “what is usually in there?”’ [ed03sb 052]

7.6.2 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	<i>tɔn</i>	‘turn into’	‘turn’	—
	<i>léf</i>	‘turn into, become’	‘leave, remain’	Causative verb
	<i>kɔmɔt</i>	‘turn out as’	‘go/come out’	Egressive aspect
Existence in place & time	<i>gét</i>	‘exist’	‘get, have’	—
	<i>léf</i>	‘remain’	‘leave’	Causative verb
	<i>sté</i>	‘last (long)’	—	Duration SVC
	<i>pás</i>	‘exceed in degree’	‘pass’	Comparative SVC
	<i>rich</i>	‘equal in degree, be enough’	‘arrive’	SVC
	<i>dú</i>	‘be enough’	‘do’	—

When employed as a lexical verb, *tón* means ‘turn, stir’ (284). In its literal sense, *tón* is employed as a dynamic verb with an agent subject and a patient object (283), or a locative adverbial (284). The collocation *tón bák* means ‘return’ (285):

- (283) *Yu géfo de tón=an.*
 2SG have.to IPFV turn=3SG.OBJ
 ‘You have to be stirring it.’ [dj03do 057]
- (284) *Tón na yu léf-hán!*
 turn LOC DEF left.CPD-hand
 ‘Turn left!’ [ye05ce 278]
- (285) *Mék a gó dú smól tín a tón 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, *tón* ‘turn’ designates a change of state from one identity to another (286):

- (286) *Den-ól den dón tón europeos den.*
 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, *léf* may be employed as a dynamic verb in transitive clauses with the meaning ‘leave (behind)’ (287):

- (287) *A léf di tín den di sáy wé yu bin tél 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 *léf* ‘leave, remain’ also functions as a resultative copula in resultative causative constructions like the following one (cf. §9.4.4 for a thorough treatment):

- (288) *Yu go mék mék di gál léf 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 *gét* ‘get, have’ (cf. §7.6.3), a few other verbs express existence in space and time. When the inchoative-stative verb *léf* ‘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’ (289).

- (289) *Machyta léf wet in fâmbul.*
 NAME remain with 3SG.POSS family
 ‘Machyta has remained (temporarily) with his family’ [ge07ae 213]

The verb *kɔ́mɔ́t* ‘come out’ is employed to indicate a change of state in lexicalised collocations involving associative objects (cf. also §9.3.2). Compare (290):

- (290) *A de trén=an porque e go kɔ́mɔ́t 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 (291). This verb also expresses excessive duration in an adverbial SVC (cf. §11.2.5):

- (291) *Béta 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 (184) and equatives like (211) may also be seen as manifestations of a copula-like use of these otherwise dynamic verbs.

7.6.3 Existentials

The locative-existential copula *dé* ‘BE.LOC’, as well as the verb *gét* ‘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 *gét* ‘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?
<i>gét</i> ‘have’	About half	Object	Marginal	No	Marginal
<i>dé</i> ‘BE.LOC’	About half	Subject	Yes	Yes	Frequent

The *gét*-existential construction occurs in a transitive clause. The subject position is filled by an expletive 3sg pronoun, the object position by the existing entity (292). 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:

- (292) *Dís smál bótul den Fanta, wé e gét Coca-Cola, e gét Fanta, e*
 this small bottle PL NAME SUB 3SG.SBJ get NAME 3SG.SBJ get NAME 3SG.SBJ
gét limón, e báy=an wán.
 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 *gét*-existentials besides a 3SG expletive pronoun. The verb *gét* may also occur with an impersonal 3PL (293) or 2SG (294) pronoun in clauses that are functionally similar to existentials (292):

- (293) *ɔ den gét problema fɔ di sistema ɔ e sén=an na ɔda*
 or 3PL get problem PREP DEF system or 3SG.SBJ send=3SG.OBJ LOC other
empresa, wé nóto Western Union.
 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]
- (294) *Bɔt yu dón sabí na Afrika yu nó gét nó relación fɔ mán lek na*
 but 2SG PRF know LOC PLACE 2SG NEG get NEG relation PREP man like LOC
Europa.
 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 *gét*-existentials in subordinate clauses. In sentence (295), the existential clause appears in a relative clause introduced by *wé* ‘SUB’:

- (295) *Bɔt na dán fɔs tén hós den wé e gét dá piso den fɔ dán*
 but FOC that first time house PL SUB 3SG.SBJ get that storey PL PREP that
altura den.
 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 (296). Since there is no complement to provide further specification, the clause acquires the default locative and manner reading that typifies such *dé*-clauses (297):

- (296) *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]

- (297) *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 (298), we find the locative adverbial *na sala* ‘in the hall’:

- (298) *Paciente den dé na sala, yú dókta la una yu de kán?*
 patient PL BE.LOC LOC hall 2SG.INDP doctor the one 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 *gét* are not often negated. The data contains only a single negative *gét*-existential clause, presented in (299). This is probably so because the “true” existential construction featuring *gét* is subject to an affirmative presupposition:

- (299) *Den de kól den sé, e nó gét tók na Píchi.*
 3PL IPFV call 3PL QUOT 3SG.SBJ NEG get talk LOC Píchi
 ‘They’re called, there is no word (for that) in Píchi.’ [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:

- (300) *Nó pát fɔ wól mó 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]
- (301) *“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 *gét* with an existential sense. Conversely, we once more encounter many examples of non-finite *dé* ‘BE.LOC’ with an existential reading as in (302):

- (302) *Ebanistas den géfɔ 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 (303), there is no such example of a *gét*-existential. The latter type of existential therefore appears to be prototypical in an additional sense – *gét* existentials typically predicate a generic situation, which is also marked as such by factative tense-aspect:

- (303) *Ehé 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. 101 for further details on factive clauses):

- (304) *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]

7.6.4 Possessives

Pichi employs a verbal and a copula strategy in the formation of possessive clauses. The verbs *gét* ‘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	<i>gét</i> ‘get, have’	<i>hól</i> ‘keep’	Subject	Majority
Copula	<i>dé fɔ</i> ; <i>na fɔ</i> ‘be for’	<i>dé na/fɔ hán</i> ‘be LOC/PREP hand’	Prepositional phrase	Minority

The verb *gét* ‘get, have’ expresses permanent, time-stable possession. When *gét* occurs in a factative marked clause (305), a lexicalised light verb construction (306), 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’:

- (305) *A gét mɔdelɔ.*
 1SG.SBJ get mother-in-law
 ‘I have a mother-in-law.’ [ro05de 009]

- (306) *Dí mán gét líba én, fə kəmót wet dís káyn bíg gél.*
 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 *gét* co-occurs with a TMA marker with a default or explicit perfective reading (307) or sentential aspect suggestive of telicity (i.e. the time clause in 308), an inchoative interpretation of *gét* as ‘acquire, enter into permanent possession’ is favoured:

- (307) *Di papá de gládin sé in pikín dón gét 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]
- (308) *A kin gét məní, a kin fála húman den.*
 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 fə* ‘BE.LOC PREP’ or *na fə* ‘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 (310):

- (309) *Sən Pichi dé fə sən mán wé de síng, den de kól Lapiro.*
 some Pichi BE.LOC PREP some man SUB IPFV sing 3PL IPFV call NAME
 ‘There’s a kind of Pichi used by a man who sings, he’s called Lapiro [dé Mbanga].’ [ye05ce 039]
- (310) *Di tín dé fə=an, di tín na fə 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 (311). 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:

- (311) *A fit hól dán məní durante 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 *gét* and *hól* in (312). Note the difference in aspect marking with *hól*, *gét*, and *dráyb* ‘drive’. Imperfective aspect is expressed through factative marking with the inchoative-stative verbs *hól* and *gét*. Meanwhile, it is the presence of *de* ‘IPFV’ that signals imperfective aspect with the dynamic verb *dráyb*:

- (312) “Yu *hól wán motó*”, *yu de dráyb=an, pero sé yu gét, cuando tienes*,
 2SG hold one car 2SG IPFV drive=3SG.OBJ but QUOT 2SG get when you.get
 “a *gét wán motó*”.
 1SG.SBJ get one car
 ‘“Yú hól wán motó” (means) you’re driving it, but when you possess it, when
 you have it “a gét 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 (313) and (314):

- (313) A *hól mi bróda 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]
- (314) *Bikɔs e hól yú na hós yu géfɔ gét di hóm trénin*.
 because 3SG.SBJ hold 2SG.INDP LOC house 2SG have.to get 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 literal meaning of ‘hold’, hence the presence of the imperfective marker *de* in the following example:

- (315) *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’:

- (316) *George, mi móvil nó dé na mi hán, a nó gét móvil*
 NAME 1SG.POSS mobile NEG BE.LOC LOC 1SG.POSS hand 1SG.SBJ NEG get mobile
náw.
 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:

- (317) *Yu sabí sé yu nó gét pikín?*
 2SG know QUOT 2SG NEG get child
 ‘Do you know whether you don’t have a child?’ [fr03wt 173]

7.6.5 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:

- (318) *Tidé di húman dé fáyn.*
 today DEF woman BE.LOC fine
 ‘Today the woman is fine.’ [dj05ae 153]

In (318), *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 (319), 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:

- (319) *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.

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 (320) – the speaker is an elderly lady giving an account of her youth. Compare *frés* ‘be fresh’ in the

Table 7.11 Predicate adjectives

<i>bád</i>	‘ill’	<i>bráyt</i>	‘bright’	<i>frí</i>	‘free’
<i>fáyn</i>	‘fine’	<i>wówó</i>	‘messed up’	<i>sló</i>	‘slow’
<i>gúd</i>	‘well’	<i>pyó</i>	‘pure’	<i>spéshal</i>	‘special’

same sentence, which is used as an inchoative-stative verb to denote a more lasting body state of freshness or youthfulness:

- (320) *Moka bóy den krés wé den sí lek háw a frés, na so a*
 PLACE boy PL go.mad SUB 3PL see like how 1SG.SBJ be.fresh FOC like.that 1SG.SBJ
dé bráyt.
 BE.LOC bright
 ‘The Moka boys went crazy when they saw how fresh I was, that’s how bright I looked.’ [ab03ay 059]

- (321) *Yu skín bráyt ó.*
 2SG body be.bright sp
 ‘Your body is really glowing (with beauty).’ [dj07ae 165]

The physical property item *wówó* ‘be ugly, messed up’ is used by the same speaker as an adjective in (322) and as an inchoative-stative verb in (323). The first example featuring *wówó* again expresses a visible state of the street, while the second is more time-stable in its meaning:

- (322) *Di strít dé wówó.*
 DEF street BE.LOC ugly
 ‘The street looks messed up.’ [dj05ae 136]
- (323) *Di strít wówó, di strít chakrá, di strít nó dé fáyn.*
 DEF street be.ugly DEF street be.destroyed 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 (324) with a future tense reference:

- (324) *Wé yu go fódón 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 *gél* ‘girl’:

- (325) *Yu sí wán fáyn gél, 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’ (326), as well as light verb constructions involving *gét* ‘get, have’ (327) allow the attribution of a property to a referent:

- (326) *E hád fɔ mək mək den bıl na yá só bikɔs di grɔn*
 3SG.SBJ be.hard PREP make SBJV 3PL build LOC here like.that because DEF ground
e tú dé wet stón.
 3SG.SBJ too BE.LOC with stone

It’s hard for them to build here because the ground is too stony.’ [dj05be 111]

- (327) *E hád fɔ bıl na yá bikɔs sé di grɔn gét bókú*
 3SG.SBJ be.hard PREP build LOC here because QUOT DEF ground get much
sansán.
 sand

‘It’s hard to build here because the ground is very sandy.’ [ro05ee 063]

7.7 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 (for instance. *son.tén* ‘some.time’ = ‘perhaps’). Other expressions are more or less conventionalised phrases, constituted by means of phrasal syntax (e.g. *bókú tén den* ‘many times, often’), but usually not encountered in non-adverbial functions. Often such noun phrase adverbials are fixed collocations involving generic nouns denoting time (*tén* ‘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. *bikəs* ‘because’, *adɔnké* ‘even if’). Further, modal clauses with expletive subjects (e.g. *e fit 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 *sɔntén* ‘perhaps’ and *mébi* ‘maybe’.

7.7.1 Adverbs

Table 7.12 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. *smólten* ‘shortly after’ = locative adverb, *smólten* ‘nearly’ = modal adverb).

Adverbs that appear at the beginning modify the sentence in its entirety – they have a wide scope. In (328), the linking adverb *pero* ‘but’, the modal adverb *sɔntén* ‘perhaps’, and the time adverb *bambáy* ‘gradually’ all occur sentence-initially:

- (328) *Pero bambáy bambáy sɔntén yu go sí di wán wé go máred yú.*
 but gradually REP perhaps 2SG POT see DEF one 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 (329), the repeated locative noun *dón* ‘down’ and the locative adverb *yandá* ‘yonder’ modify the verb *sidón* ‘sit, stay’:

- (329) *Bɔt ín sidón dón dón dón 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 (328) above. Others are more or less idiosyncratic phrases containing the time-denoting generic noun *tén* ‘time’, as in *bókú ténn* ‘much time’ = ‘for a long time’

Table 7.12 Adverbs

Adverb type	Adverbs	Preferred position
Locative	<i>dé</i> ‘there’, <i>yá (só)</i> ‘here’, <i>hía</i> ‘here’, <i>yandá</i> ‘yonder’, <i>aráwn</i> ‘around’	Clause final
Time	<i>bambáy</i> ‘gradually’, <i>náw</i> ‘now’, <i>fós</i> ‘first’, <i>fós tén</i> ‘formerly’, <i>són tén</i> ‘sometimes’, <i>smólten</i> ‘shortly after’, <i>wán tén</i> ‘(at) once’, <i>wán tén</i> ‘from time to time’	Clause initial
	<i>bókú tén</i> ‘for a long time’, <i>lón tén</i> ‘long ago’, <i>sóté</i> ‘for a long time’, <i>mó</i> ‘again’, <i>yét</i> ‘yet’	Clause final
	<i>wán dé</i> ‘someday’, <i>nó wán dé</i> ‘never’, <i>ól tén</i> ‘always’, <i>ól áwa</i> ‘all the time’	Clause initial or final
Degree	<i>jís/jós</i> ‘just’, <i>stíl</i> ‘still’	Preverbal
	<i>tú (móch)</i> ‘too (much)’, <i>só</i> ‘so much’	Preverbal
	<i>bád</i> ‘extremely’, <i>mó</i> ‘more’, <i>mó-en-mó</i> ‘more and more’, <i>sóté</i> ‘extremely’, <i>óva</i> ‘excessively’, <i>sóté</i> ‘excessively’	Clause final
Linking	<i>áfta</i> ‘then’, <i>(e) finis</i> ‘then’, <i>bót /bet</i> ‘but’, <i>so</i> ‘so’, <i>na ín</i> ‘that’s when, that’s why’, <i>dásol</i> ‘then’, <i>pero</i> ‘but’, <i>bueno</i> ‘alright’	Clause initial
Modal & evaluative	<i>bádtén</i> ‘unfortunately’, <i>smólten</i> ‘nearly’, <i>sontén</i> ‘perhaps’, <i>mébi</i> ‘maybe’	Clause initial
	<i>ó</i> ‘sp’	Clause final
Manner	<i>kwík</i> ‘quickly’, <i>haydháyd</i> ‘secretly’, <i>só</i> ‘like that’, <i>fáyn</i> ‘well’, ideophones	Clause final

(330) or *dé* ‘day’, as in *wán dé* ‘someday’ (331). Location-in-time adverbs, like *wán dé* prefer the clause-initial, duration adverbs like *lón tén* ‘long ago’ and *bókú tén* the clause-final position:

- (330) *Nó chék=an bókú tén, tél 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 *ól tén* ‘always’ are equally often encountered in the initial as well as the final position:

- (331) *Na ín wán dé a bin tél wán grand frère na, na mí*
 FOC 3SG.INDP one day 1SG.SBJ PST tell one big brother LOC LOC 1SG.POSS

colegio dé, (...)

college there

‘That’s why one day, I told one of my seniors in, in my secondary school there, (...)’ [ye07ga.003]

- (332) A *məs 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:

- (333) *Ebongolo tél mí yéstadé in problema.*

NAME tell 1SG.INDP yesterday 3SG.POSS problem

‘Ebongolo told me about his problem yesterday.’ [dj07ae 347]

The phrase *e finis* ‘3SG.SBJ finish’ = ‘then’ is a stand-alone clause, which may function as a linking “adverb” (334). A formal indication of its hybrid status between clause and adverb is that the personal pronoun *e* ‘3SG.SBJ’ is sometimes dropped:

- (334) A *gó wás wet mí hán mí sənwe a dráy=an, e*
1SG.SBJ go wash with 1SG.POSS hand 1SG.INDP EMP 1SG.SBJ dry=3SG.OBJ 3SG.SBJ
fínis a áyən=an.

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 *səntén* ‘perhaps’ (cf. 328 above) and *smólten* ‘nearly’ (336) and the evaluative adverb *bádten* ‘unfortunately’ (335) are lexicalised phrases involving the generic noun *tén* ‘time’ as a formative element (cf. 6 above). Modal and evaluative adverbs are normally found in the initial position with scope over the entire clause:

- (335) *Bádten nánw, di fəs dśkta wé wi gét, e nó dé óp na*
unfortunately now DEF first doctor SUB 1PL get 3SG.SBJ NEG BE.LOC up LOC
ospítul.

hospital

‘Unfortunately, the first doctor that we had wasn’t up (there) in the hospital.’
[ab03ay 078]

- (336) *Smólten a bin fə dáy dé.*

nearly 1SG.SBJ PST COND die there

‘I nearly died there.’ [ed07fn 493]

The adverb *mébi* ‘maybe’ (337) is not as common as *səntén* ‘perhaps’. Note that *smólten* {small.time} has an entirely opaque sense ‘nearly’ in the example above, and a more transparent, temporal sense ‘shortly (after)’ in (338) below.

- (337) *Mébi den nó go bég yú plénte fə pé (...)*
 maybe 3PL NEG POT beg 2SG.INDP plenty PREP pay
 ‘Maybe they won’t ask you to pay a lot (...)’ [hi03cb 011]
- (338) *Smólten 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’ (339) differs from the H-toned deictic manner adverb *só* ‘like this, like that’ (340) in tone alone. The deictic manner adverb *so* ‘like this’ is often focused and fronted in a *na* cleft construction, in order to establish reference to preceding discourse material (341) (cf. also §7.4.3.3):

- (339) *So di ɔda wán de lɪstɪn=an.*
 So DEF other one IPFV listen=3SG.OBJ
 ‘So the other one is listening to him.’ [au07se 101]
- (340) *E de pás só lek sé e nó nó mí mɔ.*
 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]
- (341) *Na só den 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’ (342) and *náw só* ‘right now’ (343), where its deictic character provides emphasis:

- (342) *Frɔn na yá só den kin controla di húman.*
 from LOC here like.that 3PL HAB control DEF woman
 ‘They control the woman from right here.’ [ed03sb 158]
- (343) *Náw só taksí, nó extranjero nó de dréb taksí mɔ.*
 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:

- (344) *Bɔt dá mɔní de finis kwík.*
 but that money IPFV finish quickly
 ‘But that money used to finish quickly.’ [ed03sp 088]
- (345) *Den 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/jós* ‘just’ and *stíl* ‘still’, as well as the degree adverbs *só* ‘so much’, *tú (móch)* ‘too much’. The use of the preverbal time adverbs *jís/jós* 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/jós* ‘just’ and *stíl* ‘still’ are covered in §6.4.2 and §6.4.4, respectively (cf. also for a discussion of the position of preverbal adverbs):

- (346) *Náw den 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 (347). Hence, sentences like (348), in which a non-gradable verb (i.e. *tók* ‘talk’), and a dynamic one at that, is preceded by a preverbal degree adverb, are very rare:

- (347) *Yu tú lék húman.*
 2SG too like woman
 ‘You’re too much of a womaniser.’ [ge07fn 02]
- (348) *E fíba lék sé a dón de tú tók bókú.*
 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 móch* ‘too much’ than by preverbal *tú* ‘too (much)’ (349). The phrase *tú móch* includes the quantifying adverb *móch*. When a verb is modified in this way for superlative degree, the use of *móch* is mandatory. The same applies when *tú móch* modifies a nominal (350):

- (349) *E de só in séf tú móch.*
 3SG.SBJ IPFV show 3SG.POSS self too much
 ‘He boasts too much.’ [ye07je 133]
- (350) *A de fíl tú móch hót.*
 1SG.SBJ IPFV feel too much heat
 ‘I’m feeling too hot [too much heat].’ [dj07ae 316]

Nonetheless, *tú móch* 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 *smól.skín* ‘small.body’ = ‘be thin’ is modified preverbally, the property item *dráy* ‘be dry, haggard’ is modified postverbally by *tú móch*:

- (351) *Di pikín tú móch smól.skín, e dráy tú móch.*
 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 (móch)* 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’ (352). However, when *só* appears in the clause-final position, it means ‘like that’ and therefore retains its central meaning as a manner adverb (cf. 340 above):

- (352) *Den nó de só yús=an mós.*
 3PL NEG IPFV like.that use=3SG.OBJ more
 ‘It’s not used that much anymore.’ [ye07je 009]

The word *mós* ‘be more, again’ also functions as a degree adverb and is characterised by an unusual amount of syntactic flexibility. In contexts other than comparison, *mós* may occur clause-finally as a time adverb with the meaning ‘again’ (353) and ‘still’ (354–355):

- (353) *Pút=an bihén mós!*
 put=3SG.OBJ behind more
 ‘Put it behind [rewind] again!’ [au07se 057]
- (354) *Den sé nóto ín wán, óda wán dé mós.*
 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]
- (355) *E de sigue mós.*
 3SG.SBJ IPFV continue more
 ‘It’s still continuing.’ [ro05rr 003]

In negative clauses, *mós* is best translated as ‘anymore, no longer, not again’. Compare the following examples with the negated dynamic verb *ánsa* ‘answer’ (356), and (357) with the negated stative verb and copula *dé* ‘BE.LOC’:

- (356) *E dé e nó de ánsa mí mós.*
 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]
- (357) *Frón Rebola bajando e nó go dé mós.*
 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 (358) below *mó* may be analysed as occupying the object position of *tók* ‘talk, say’ with the meaning ‘more’. Alternatively, *mó* may be seen to function as an adverbial and be translated as ‘still, again continue to’:

- (358) *A nó de tók mó.*
 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 *mó* may also be narrower than the clause. In (359), *mó* is in the postnominal position and modifies the preceding NP in a way no different from that of the focus particle *séf* ‘FOC’ or the quantifier *ól* ‘all’. In (360), *mó* modifies the adverbial *áfta* ‘then’:

- (359) *Nó páť fə wól mó 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]
- (360) *Áfta mó a bin wók díś sén wók wé a de dú.*
 then more 1SG.SBJ PST work this same work 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 (361) or constructions featuring generic nouns of place (i.e. *sáy* ‘side, place’), time (i.e. *tén* ‘time’ and *dé* ‘day’), and manner (i.e. *stáyl* ‘manner, style’) serve as locative, time (362), and manner adverbials (363):

- (361) *Wok-sáy a de híe wé den de tók=an bókú.*
 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]
- (362) *E kán sán tén.*
 3SG.SBJ come sun time
 ‘He came (at) noon.’ [dj05ce 050]
- (363) *Den só di sót 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’, *fə* ‘PREP’, *to* ‘to’) or locative nouns (e.g. *bifó* ‘before’, *bótón* ‘under’, *kóna* ‘next to’, *mín-dul* ‘middle’) to form various types of adverbial phrases which provide modification to clauses:

- (364) *A pút di kí na pála.*
 1SG.SBJ put DEF key LOC parlour
 ‘I put the key in the parlour.’ [to07fn 114]

7.7.2 Modification of manner and circumstance

The corpus contains only few underived manner adverbs (amongst them *kwík* ‘quickly, early’ in 344 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. 385–386 further below):

- (365) *E fíks dén 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 *haydháyɔ* ‘secretly’ (366):

- (366) *Chico, yu dón chóp=an haydháyɔ.*
 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 (367), and the generic noun *stáyl* ‘style’ (368) in order to form manner-denoting adverbial NPs in clause-final position:

- (367) *Ás den nóba bin sí plantí, den bin chóp=an rón-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]
- (368) *Den tíf di mɔní sɪkrit 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:

- (369) *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’ (370) and *sé* ‘QUOT’ (371):

- (370) *E gó na wók wé e klín.*
 3SG.SBJ go LOC work SUB 3SG.SBJ be.clean
 ‘She went to work clean.’ [ra07ve 076]

- (371) *Dí pikín kómót sé e dotí.*
 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 (372), the secondary predicate *néked* ‘be naked’ provides information about the state of the subject *e* ‘3SG.SBJ’, while the situation denoted by *kómót* ‘come out’ unfolds:

- (372) *E kómót na rúm néked.*
 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’ (373) and *lek* ‘like’ (374):

- (373) *E pút di bótul pan di tébul wet di mót dón.*
 3SG.SBJ put DEF bottle pan DEF table with DEF mouth down
 ‘He put the bottle on the table upside-down.’ [li07pe 057]
- (374) *Pero mi mamá kán acepta di pikín lek mi bróda in pikín.*
 but 1SG.POSS mother PFV accept DEF child like 1SG brother 3SG.POSS child
 ‘But my mother accepted the child as my brother’s child.’ [fr03ft 122]

The preposition and clause linker *lek* may also introduce a prepositional phrase that indicates sameness of manner. Two examples of such “similatives” (Haspelmath & Buchholz 1998) follow:

- (375) *Mí nó lek yú bót wi fit dé lek kómpin.*
 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 lek dókta* functions as a nominal depictive (376) (cf. §11.3 for an extensive discussion of verbal depictives in secondary predications). A similative *lek* in (377) translates as ‘around’:

- (376) *Di cubana húman de wók lek dókta na Malábo.*
 DEF Cuban woman IPFV work like doctor LOC PLACE
 ‘The Cuban woman works as a doctor in Malabo.’ [ro05ee 071]

- (377) *Yu fít gí mí lek dos mil só?*
 2SG can give 1SG.INDP like two thousand like.that
 ‘Can you give me around two thousand?’ [be07fn 311]

Similitive clauses are introduced by *lek sé* ‘like QUOT’ = ‘as if’, as in the example below:

- (378) *E de dú lek sé e de fén sɔn tɪn.*
 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 (379) is more often rendered by (380):

- (379) *E dríng di watá kól.*
 3SG.SBJ drink DEF water be.cold
 ‘She drank the water cold.’ [ra07ve 004]
- (380) *E dríng kol-watá.*
 3SG.SBJ drink cold.CPD-water
 ‘She drank cold water.’ [ra07ve 003]

7.7.3 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 (381) is pronounced with an extra-high tone and lengthened. The phonetic transcription is provided in squared brackets:

- (381) *Pero wé a kin tɔch in fút, in hán dé, na só den*
 but SUB 1SG.SBJ HAB touch 3SG.POSS leg 3SG.POSS hand there FOC like.that 3PL
kó.ól [kó::l].
 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’ (382):

- (382) *Den kéch=an den bít=an sóté.e* [sóté::].
 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 (381) above and *fā* ‘be far’ in (383) 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 (383) below. Both *fā* and *fāwe* in (383) are additionally emphasised by means of an extra-high tone:

- (383) *Wánten a skía, e sé “nó skía, a kómót*
 suddenly 1SG.SBJ be.scared 3SG.SBJ QUOT NEG be.scared 1SG.SBJ come.out
fá.áwe [fá:we], *a kómót 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 (384), the property item *bíg* ‘be big’ is modified for degree by repetition and the H-tone over both iterations is raised:

- (384) *Den gét wán bíg bíg* [bǐg bǐg] *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 (385) the property item *bád* ‘bad’ is employed as a degree adverb with the meaning ‘extremely’.

- (385) *A de sóri bád.*
 1SG.SBJ IPFV feel.sorry extremely
 ‘I really feel sorry.’ [hi03cb 069]

In (386), *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:

- (386) *E fǿyn bád, e fǿyn 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 (387). The various functions of this particle are covered in §12.2.4:

- (387) *E hád ó.*
 3SG.SBJ be.hard sp
 ‘It’s really difficult.’ [ro05fe 037]

8 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.

8.1 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 discussion because it may involve the use of various competing structures.

8.1.1 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. Table 8.1 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
<i>na</i>	‘LOC’	General location (at rest)	—
<i>fɔ</i>	‘PREP’	General location (at rest)	Various non-locative roles
<i>pan</i>	‘on’	Superior location	‘in addition to’
<i>frɔn</i>	‘from’	Source	‘since (temporal)’
<i>sóté</i>	‘up to’	Extent	‘until (temporal), extremely (ADV)’
<i>to</i>	‘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 (1–2). The prepositions *fɔ* ‘PREP’, *pan* ‘on’, and *wet* ‘with’ may however be stranded in questions, cf. (82–83), as well as in relative clauses.

- (1) *Di pépa dé na tébul.*
 DEF paper BE.LOC LOC table
 ‘The paper is on the table.’ [dj05be 190]
- (2) (...) *e léf dén 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 (3):

- (3) *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]
- (4) *E kán fɔdón 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:

- (5) (...) *na di tín a kán na yá.*
 FOC DEF thing 1SG.SBJ come LOC here
 ‘(...) that’s why I came here.’ [ed03sb 087]
- (6) *Fɔ yá só, pípul fɔ isla dén 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:

- (7) *Na só dén 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 (8) or an idiomatic expression may be used, as in (92) further below:

- (8) *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 (9). The following sentences represent two of altogether four occurrences of this preposition in the corpus. I point out that in (10), 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. 58). The use of *to* as a complementiser is even more marginal (cf. 242 for an example involving the main verb of cognition *nó* ‘know (how to)’) and is not common with the vast majority of speakers:

- (9) *Yu gó to yu kómpin yu sé “chico dán gél de bót mi”.*
 2SG go to 2SG friend 2SG QUOT boy that girl IPFV hit.with.head 1SG.INDP
 ‘You go to your friend (and) you say “man, that girl is rejecting me”.’ [au07se 066]
- (10) *Wé den bin kér=an gó to dókta, (...)*
 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 (1), interior, proximate, or lateral (7) location. The associative preposition *fɔ* ‘PREP’ is employed as a general locative preposition in ways similar to *na* (cf. e.g. 36, 56, 57 and 84). But compared to *na* ‘LOC’, the preposition ‘*fɔ* ‘PREP’ is only employed in a minority of instances for the expression of general location.

8.1.2 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. 38) and distal location by means of the multifunctional word *fá(wé)* ‘(be) far’ (cf. e.g. 383). In Pichi, body part nouns such as *bák* ‘back’ or *fés* ‘face’ are not usually employed to express location roles.

Locative nouns have characteristics in common with ordinary nouns. They may occur in the position of NPs, for example as subjects (11) or as goal objects of movement verbs, like *rích* ‘arrive’ (12). In both cases, an explicit mention of the ground is not required:

- (11) (...) *mék yu tón=an, porque bótón go rós.*
 SBJV 2SG turn=3SG.OBJ because bottom POT burn
 ‘(...) turn it, because the bottom might burn.’ [dj03do 055]

Table 8.2 Locative nouns

Locative noun	Translation	Type of location	Other uses
<i>nía</i>	‘near, in contact with’	Proximate; lateral	Verb: ‘be near’
<i>kóna</i>	‘next to’	Proximate; lateral	Noun: ‘corner’
<i>ínsay</i>	‘inside’	Interior	Temporal: ‘during, within’
<i>nadó</i>	‘outside’	Exterior	—
<i>bifō</i>	‘front, before’	Anterior	Temporal: ‘before’
<i>bihén</i>	‘rear, behind’	Posterior	—
<i>pantáp; ontóp</i>	‘top, on’	Superior (contact)	‘in addition to’
<i>óp</i>	‘up(per side)’	Superior	—
<i>bótón</i>	‘bottom, under’	Inferior (contact)	—
<i>dón</i>	‘down (side)’	Inferior	—
<i>míndul</i>	‘middle, amidst’	Medial	—

- (12) *Yu de klém fō 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’ (13):

- (13) (...) *e dé óp, 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’, *kóna* ‘next to’, and *nadó* ‘outside’ may also be preceded by the definite article *di* ‘DEF’ as in the following example:

- (14) *Di dón na violeta*
 DEF down FOC violet
 ‘The lower part is violet.’ [ma03hm 034]

In addition, all locative nouns except *nía* ‘near’, *kóna* ‘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 *fō* ‘PREP’ instead of *na* ‘LOC’:

- (15) *E púl=an na pantáp di béd.*
 3SG.SBJ remove=3SG.OBJ LOC top DEF bed
 ‘She took him from the bed.’ [ab03ab 079]

- (16) *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’, *kóna* ‘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 *kóna* may be due to their multifunctionality. *Nía* also functions as a locative verb ‘be near’ (cf. 40), *kóna* as a common noun ‘corner’, and *bifó* as a time clause linker ‘before’ (cf. §10.7.3). In (34) below, *kóna* is employed as a locative noun, in the following example (17), as a common noun:

- (17) *E de sél e de pút smól smól wán fɔ kóna mék e fit*
 3SG.SBJ IPFV sell 3SG.SBJ IPFV put small RED one PREP corner SBJV 3SG.SBJ can
bák dán mán in mɔ́ní.
 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.mót* ‘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 nádó* ‘LOC outside’.

When the locative nouns *bifó* ‘before’, *bihén* ‘behind’, *ɔp* ‘upperside’, and *dón* ‘downside’ appear in a nominal position, speakers tend to employ an associative construction featuring the generic place noun *sáy* ‘side, place’ (19) and sometimes *pát* ‘part, place’ (20) 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 (18) with an explicit ground (i.e. *di hós* ‘the house’) and the two sentences thereafter without mention of a ground:

- (18) *E dé bifó di hós.*
 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC before DEF house
 ‘She’s in front of the house.’ [ye07de 026]
- (19) *E dé bifó sáy.*
 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC before side
 ‘She’s at the front.’ [ye07de 025]
- (20) *Di pambód gó bihén dí bíg stón yá, bifó pát, e gó dé.*
 DEF bird go behind this big stone here before part 3SG.SBJ go there
 ‘The bird went behind this big stone here, the front part, it went there.’ [ed03sb 174]

8 Spatial and temporal relations

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 (2) above with (21–23) below:

- (21) *Di béd dé mǐndul di rúm.*
 DEF bed BE.LOC middle DEF room
 ‘The bed is in the middle of the room.’ [ro05ee 118]
- (22) *Boyé sidón bihén díś hós.*
 NAME stay behind this house
 ‘Boyé lives behind this house.’ [ro05ee 073]
- (23) *E de cruza-cruza bifó di domót, e de dú lek sé e*
 3SG.SBJ IPFV CROSS.CPD-CROSS before DEF door 3SG.SBJ IPFV do like QUOT 3SG.SBJ
de fén sǝn tǐn.
 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 *kóna* ‘next to’, which behave differently from other locative nouns in other contexts:

- (24) *Yu fit tók sé “den sidón nía di fáya”.*
 2SG can talk QUOT 3PL sit near DEF fire
 ‘You can say “they’re sitting by the fire”.’ [ro05ee 112]
- (25) *A sidón kóna 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 *ǝntǝp* ‘top, on’ (26) and *pantáp* ‘top, on’ (15) above are absolute synonyms and equally frequent.

- (26) *Di pépa dé ǝntǝp tébul.*
 DEF paper BE.LOC top table
 ‘The paper is on the table.’ [ro05ee 091]
- (27) *Discoteca den dé botón grón én.*
 club PL BE.LOC bottom ground INTJ
 ‘(The) clubs are under the ground, you know.’ [ed03sb 217]

- (28) *Dán skúl e dé nía berin-grón, nǵ?*
 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 *fə*-prepositional phrase:

- (29) *Pósin den dé nádó fə 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 *fə*-prepositional phrase as in (29) above is not accepted with other locative nouns, i.e. **míndul fə di rúm* {middle PREP DEF room} ‘in the middle of the room’, **bihén fə díś hós* {behind PREP this house} ‘behind this house’. This also holds for the locative associative constructions described further below in (31). Compare the ungrammatical example (30), which involves such a structure:

- (30) **E dé bifó sáy fə di hós.*
 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC before side PREP DEF house
 Intended: ‘She’s in front of the house.’ [ye07de 024]

Furthermore, *dón* ‘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. *Dón* 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:

- (31) *Dón 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 *dón* ‘down’ and *bótón* ‘under’:

- (32) *Wi de dú=an dón yá na mi kóntri.*
 1PL IPFV do=3SG.OBJ down here LOC 1SG.POSS country
 ‘We do it down here in my hometown.’ [ab03ay 070]
- (33) *E sé mí nó de mék e slíp bótón 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]

8 Spatial and temporal relations

Moreover, all locative nouns except *nadó* ‘outside’, *dón* ‘down’ and *śp* ‘up’ may appear with personal pronouns as the ground in the same way as prepositions like *ƒɔ* ‘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:

- (34) *E pás kóna mí.*
 3SG.SBJ pass next.to 1SG.INDP
 ‘He went past next to me.’ [dj05be 212]
- (35) *Motó de kómśt bihén yú pan yu lef-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 Table 8.3.

Table 8.3 Distribution of locative nouns

Locative noun	Can be pre- ceded by <i>di</i> ‘DEF’ and <i>na</i> ‘LOC’	Can be followed by <i>yá</i> ‘here’ and <i>dé</i> ‘there’	Can be modifier to <i>sáy</i> ‘side’ or <i>pát</i> ‘part’	Relation of ground to locative noun
<i>nadó</i>				<i>ƒɔ</i> -PP
<i>nía</i>		×		Complement
<i>kóna</i>		×		Complement
<i>ínsay</i>	×	×		Complement
<i>míndul</i>	×	×		Complement
<i>bótśn</i>	×	×		Complement
<i>pantáp, ɔntśp</i>	×	×		Complement
<i>bifó</i>	×	×	×	Complement
<i>bihén</i>	×	×	×	Complement
<i>śp</i>	×	×	×	Complement
<i>dón</i>	×	×	×	<i>dón sáy</i> + 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’, *kóna* ‘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’, *bihén* ‘behind’, *śp* ‘up(per side)’, *bótśn* ‘bottom’, *dón* ‘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 *dón* ‘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’.

8.1.3 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
<i>dé</i>	‘BE.LOC’	Location
<i>ráwn</i>	‘be round, form a circle, surround’	
<i>léf</i>	‘remain at, leave at’	
<i>nía</i>	‘be near to, bring near’	
<i>sidón</i>	‘sit, seat’	Posture
<i>tínáp</i>	‘stand, stand up’	
<i>slíp</i>	‘sleep, lie, lay’	
<i>lé</i>	‘lie, lay’	
<i>jám</i>	‘be in/make contact’	Adhesion and attachment
<i>héng</i>	‘be hung onto, hang onto’	
<i>pín</i>	‘stuck to/in, stick to/in’	
<i>líng</i>	‘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 (36), and in transitive clauses, the figure is the patient object (37). The ground is expressed as a locative adverb(ial phrase) in both alternations:

- (36) *Den líng fɔ dán butaca.*
 3PL lean PREP this armchair
 ‘They’re sitting reclined in that armchair.’ [befn07 207]

8 Spatial and temporal relations

- (37) *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 (38):

- (38) *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 (39), the multifunctional item *nía* 'near' may be employed as a an inchoative-stative (40) or dynamic verb (41) like any other locative verb, although the latter usage is rare:

- (39) *Di glás dé nía.*
DEF glass BE.LOC near
'The glass is near.' [dj07ae 193]
- (40) *Di glás nía di domót.*
DEF glass near DEF door
'The glass is near the door.' [dj07ae 194]
- (41) *Nía di glás, a bég.*
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, *sidón* 'sit (down)' generally implies an animate (e.g. *pikín* 'child') and *pín* 'stick (into)' an inanimate (e.g. *stík* 'tree') figure. Consider (42) and (43) respectively:

- (42) *E sidón di pikín na butaca.*
3SG.SBJ seat DEF child LOC armchair
'She seated the child in (the) armchair.' [dj07ae 234]
- (43) *E pín di stík na grón.*
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, *tínáp* 'stand (up)' may appear with an inanimate (44) or animate (45) figure as well as in intransitive and transitive (46) clauses alike:

- (44) *Di kasára títap míndul tú stík.*
 DEF cassava stand middle two tree
 ‘The cassava is standing upright between two trees.’ [li07pe 081]
- (45) *Di mán títap míndul pípul den.*
 DEF man stand middle people PL
 ‘The man is standing amidst people.’ [ye05ce 282]
- (46) *E títap 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 (47) with the transitive use of *slíp* in (48). Both sentences involve the inanimate figure *bótul* ‘bottle’:

- (47) *Di bótul slíp pantáp di tébul bikəs di bótul 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]
- (48) *E slíp di bótul 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 (49). Note the use of the Spanish-derived verb *para* ‘stand’ as a labile locative verb just like its Pichi equivalent *títap* ‘stand (up)’ in (46) above:

- (49) *Den para di búk den sé den jám den séf.*
 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:

- (50) *So di mán kán pás nía ín, e jám=an, di plét fɔdón*
 so DEF man PFV pass near 3SG.INDP 3SG.SBJ make.contact=3SG.OBJ DEF plate fall
na grón.
 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 attachment *héng* ‘be hung onto, hang onto’:

- (51) *Di písis héng na di stík nó, bikɔs nó mán nó pút=an.*
 DEF piece.of.cloth hang LOC DEF tree INTJ because NEG man NEG put=3SG.OBJ
 ‘The piece of cloth is hanging onto the stick, right, because nobody put it there.’
 [li07pe 058]
- (52) *E táy di kasára wet róp áfta e héng=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]

8.1.4 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. *énta* ‘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. *dréb* ‘drive’, *pút* ‘put’).

Moreover, the verbs listed in Table 8.5 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).

The most commonly employed verbs to simultaneously encode motion and direction are *gó* ‘go (away)’, *kán* ‘come’, *kómót* ‘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 (53) or as a prepositional phrase in an intransitive clause (54). The second alternative is, however, attested in the majority of cases:

- (53) *A kómót colegio, (...)*
 1SG.SBJ come.out college
 ‘I came out of college (...)’ [ab03ay 132]
- (54) *A de kómót na tón nów nów.*
 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 (55). A PP is

Table 8.5 Motion verbs

Verb	Gloss	Direction	Manner	Causation	Ground
<i>gó</i>	‘go’	×			PP, O
<i>kán</i>	‘come’	×			PP, O
<i>kɔmɔ́t</i>	‘go/come out’	×			PP, O
<i>rích</i>	‘arrive’	×			PP, O
<i>énta</i>	‘enter’	×			PP
<i>baja</i>	‘go down’	×			PP
<i>sube</i>	‘go up’	×			PP
<i>fɔ́dɔ́n</i>	‘fall’		×		PP, O
<i>júmp</i>	‘jump’		×		PP, O
<i>pás</i>	‘pass’		×		PP, O
<i>klém</i>	‘climb’		×		PP, O
<i>wáka</i>	‘walk’		×		PP, SVC
<i>rón</i>	‘run’		×		PP, SVC
<i>fláy</i>	‘fly’		×		PP, SVC
<i>fála</i>	‘follow’		×		PP, SVC
<i>dréb</i>	‘drive’		×	×	PP
<i>bót</i>	‘cause to rebound’		×	×	PP
<i>flíng</i>	‘fling’		×	×	PP
<i>pús</i>	‘push’		×	×	PP
<i>híb</i>	‘throw’		×	×	PP
<i>ték</i>	‘take’			×	PP, SVC, O
<i>kér</i>	‘carry, take (to)’			×	PP, SVC, O
<i>bríng</i>	‘bring’	×		×	PP, SVC, O
<i>sén</i>	‘throw, send’	×	×	×	PP, SVC, O
<i>pút</i>	‘put’	×	×	×	PP, O
<i>púl</i>	‘remove’	×	×	×	PP

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).

- (55) *Bɔt wé e kán na Malábo, éni nét in abuela kin kán*
 but SUB 3SG.SBJ come LOC Malabo every night 3SG.POSS grandmother HAB come
hambɔ́g=an.
 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’ (56). In practice, the use of the general locative preposition *na*

instead of *fɔ* ‘PREP’ as in (54) above is pervasive. Nevertheless, *fɔ* must be used when the goal (or any other locative role) is animate (57):

- (56) *Wi kɔmɔ́t dé wi kán gó fɔ, fɔ Akébé Ville.*
 1PL go.out there 1PL PFV go PREP PREP PLACE
 ‘We left that place (and then) went to, to Akebeville.’ [ma03hm 039]
- (57) *Yu géfɔ 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’, *rón* ‘run’, or *pás* ‘pass (by)’, to the caused location verb *pút* ‘put’, or the caused motion verbs *ték* ‘take’, *bríng* ‘bring’, and *kér* ‘carry, take’. The following three examples featuring the verb *kér* once more present the PP (58), the object (59) and the SVC alternatives (60). Again the PP option is the most common one. Note that the goal object *hospital* ‘hospital’ in (59) is positioned to the right of the patient object *di pikín* ‘the child’:

- (58) *Di cemento, estaba dicho que na fɔ kɛr=an directamente na*
 DEF cement was said that FOC PREP carry=3SG.OBJ directly LOC
Ela Nguema.
 PLACE
 ‘The cement, it was said that it was to be taken directly to Ela Nguema.’ [ye03cd 008]
- (59) *A kɛr di pikín hospital.*
 1SG.SBJ carry DEF child hospital
 ‘I took the child to hospital.’ [dj07ae 343]
- (60) *Den kɛr=an gó fɔ pólís.*
 3PL carry=3SG.OBJ go PREP police
 ‘They took him to the police.’ [ma03sh 009]

The manner-of-motion verbs *wáka* (also *wók*) ‘walk’, *rón* ‘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 *fɔdón* ‘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 *fɔdón* ‘fall’ in the following two examples:

- (61) *E fɔdón di béd.*
 3SG.SBJ fall DEF bed
 ‘He fell from the bed.’ [pa07me 042]

- (62) *Di bolí fə́ðón frən 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’ (63) and *klém* ‘climb’ (64). 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:

- (63) *Di húman, e de júmp di wínda.*
 DEF woman 3SG.SBJ IPFV jump DEF window
 ‘The woman is jumping through the window.’ [ra07se 068]
- (64) *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 (65), featuring *júmp* ‘jump’:

- (65) *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 (66) unacceptable, because he interprets the clause featuring *klém* ‘climb’ as involving motion without a path on the ground *chía* ‘chair’:

- (66) *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: 200) *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:

- (67) *Dən híb=an dón.*
 3PL throw=3SG.OBJ down
 ‘It was thrown down.’ [dj07fn 136]
- (68) *A flíng=an na solwatá.*
 1SG.SBJ fling=3SG.OBJ LOC sea
 ‘I flung it into the sea.’ [nn03fn 002]

8 Spatial and temporal relations

The propulsion verb *sén* equally involves caused motion without direction when used with the sense ‘throw (with aim)’. However, *sén* additionally involves the notion of aim, hence has a manner component in its meaning:

- (69) *E de sén di ból 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 *sén* 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:

- (70) *E sén=an di ból.*
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).

8.1.5 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 (54) above *na* marks the source of *kɔmɔt* ‘go/come out of’, and in (57) 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 *ɔntɔp* ‘top’ (71) and *nía* ‘near’ (72), which both express ‘at rest’ location and appear with motion verbs in these two sentences:

- (71) *Di pambód de fláy ɔntɔp di stík.*
DEF bird IPFV fly top DEF tree
‘The bird is flying over/above the tree.’ [ro05ee 099]
- (72) *A nó nó wétin mék Anto púl Reina náy nía Tokobé.*
1SG.SBJ NEG know what make NAME pull 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:

- (73) *Den rón na farmacia, receta dé méresin.*
 3PL run LOC pharmacy prescription of medicine
 ‘They ran to [*in] the pharmacy, [to get a] prescription for medicine.’ [ab03ab 123]
- (74) *Den 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 (75), 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):

- (75) *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’ (76) and *sóté* ‘until, up to’ (77):

- (76) *Di bolí fɔdɔn frɔn di tébul.*
 DEF pen fall from DEF table
 ‘The pen fell from the table’ [dj05be 204]
- (77) *E kán fɔdɔn 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 (78). A biclausal structure featuring a modifying purpose or other adverbial clause may also serve the same end:

- (78) *Den bin de rón gó na ospítul 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]
- (79) *Den pús di motó mék e énta 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 *kɔmɔt* ‘come out of’ is reiterated by the ablative motion-from preposition *frɔn* ‘from’:

8 Spatial and temporal relations

- (80) *Olinga kəmšt frən bə́tón.*

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 *frən* ‘from’ and *sóté* ‘until, up to’. This usage is not attested with the associative preposition *fə* ‘PREP’:

- (81) *E kəl frən na plataforma, e kəl dón yá.*

3SG.SBJ call from LOC oil.rig 3SG.SBJ call down here

‘He called from the platform, he called down here.’ [to03gm 006]

- (82) (...) *mék e fit 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 *fə* ‘PREP’ may open up another space of ambiguity. *Fə* 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:

- (83) (...) *e recibe wán regalo fə in mamá.*

3SG.SBJ receive one present PREP 3SG.POSS mother

‘(...) she received a present for/from her mother.’ [dj05be 067]

- (84) *A bin báy wán motó fə 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 (83) above and (85) below were both elicited by means of the Spanish sentence *recibió un regalo de 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:

- (85) *Mi mamá bin dás mí sən 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 (86) below in order to render the meaning of Spanish *compré un coche de mí jefe* ‘I bought a car from my boss.’ Compare (86) below to (84) above, where speaker (dj) uses the *fə*-possessive construction instead (which is structurally similar to the Spanish *de*-possessive construction):

- (86) *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 (87) or locative noun (88):

- (87) *Ín bin pás na mi hós.*
 3SG.INDP PST pass LOC 1SG.POSS house
 ‘He [EMP] passed (by/through) my house.’ [dj05be.143]
- (88) *Di motó pás ɔntóp 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 (89) involves a figure (the theme *pikín* ‘child’) which undergoes a change-of-location (denoted by *fɔdón* ‘fall’) in a motion-from along a path (specified by *frɔn* ‘from’) out of the specific part (the superior location *ɔp* ‘upperside’) of the ground (the source *stík* ‘tree’):

- (89) *Di pikín fɔdón frɔn ɔp di stík.*
 DEF child fall from up DEF tree
 ‘The child fell from up in the tree.’ [dj05be 201]

In (90), the figure (*wi* ‘1PL’) instigates a motion-from (denoted by *kɔmɔt* ‘go out’) out of the specific part (the anterior location *bifó* ‘before’) of the ground (the source *chách* ‘church’):

- (90) *Wi kɔmɔt bifó di chách.*
 1PL go.out before DEF church
 ‘We went away from the front side of the church.’ [dj05be 179]

Sentence (91) 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):

- (91) *Chico, a wánt fláy gó insay Ela Nguema nów 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):

- (92) *Den 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 (93). *Nía*, as well as *kóna* ‘next to’ are also used to express a reciprocal spatial relation, in which figure and ground are ground and figure to each other (94):

- (93) *E jám=an nía wán stík wé e tínáp.*
 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]
- (94) *Den sidón nía den séf.*
 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 (95) 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. *kóna* ‘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 *rən-sáy* ‘backwards’:

- (95) *E pás kóna chia de wáka rən-sáy.*
 3SG.SBJ pass next.to chair IPFV walk wrong.CPD-side
 ‘She passed by next to (a) chair walking backwards.’ [au07se 051]

8.2 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.

8.2.1 Standard time units

In Pichi, the two equal halves of the day are split into *dé* ‘day’ and *nét* ‘night’. The conventionalised associative constructions *mónin tén* ‘morning time’ = ‘morning’, *sán tén* ‘sun time’ = ‘midday, noon’ (96), *ívin tén* ‘evening time’ = ‘afternoon, evening’, *míndul nét* ‘middle night’ = ‘midnight’ (97) denote the central points of the twenty-four hour day:

- (96) *E kán sán tén.*
 3SG.SBJ come sun time
 ‘She came (at) noon/in the afternoon.’ [dj05ce 050]
- (97) *E kán míndul nét.*
 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 *mónin* ‘morning’ as in (98) or the use of another emphatic element (here the quantifier *sósó* ‘only’), with or without repetition for emphasis (99):

- (98) *Tumóro mónin mónin tén lek háw yu gráp, bifō yu nōba chóp.*
 tomorrow morning REP time like how 2SG get.up before 2SG NEG.PRF eat
 ‘Tomorrow very early in the morning, as soon as you get up, before you have eaten.’ [ro05ee 144]
- (99) (...) *dís sósó mónin tén, dís sósó sósó mónin tén.*
 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 *mónin* and the verb *brék* ‘(to) dawn’ (100), or simply, by way of the Spanish noun *madrugada* ‘dawn’:

- (100) *E kán wé di mónin de brék.*
 3SG.SBJ come SUB DEF morning IPFV dawn
 ‘He came while morning was breaking.’ [dj05ce 049]
- (101) *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 codemixed 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:

- (102) *So yu wánt dé dé las cuatro, wi dón dé las tres y veinte.*
 so 2SG want BE.LOC there the.PL four 1PL PRF BE.LOC 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 *mónde* ‘Monday’, *tyúsde* ‘Tuesday’, *wénsde* ‘Wednesday’, *tósde* ‘Thursday’, *fráyde* ‘Friday’, *satidé* ‘Saturday’, and *sónde* ‘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 codemixed sentences in (103) reflect typical usage.

- (103) 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’:

- (104) *A go léf 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 codemixed structures like the following one:

- (105) *El diez de agosto, bay gód 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-sísín* {rain.CPD-season} ‘rainy season’ (106) and *dray-sísín* {dry.CPD-season} ‘dry season’. An alternative designation for the rainy season is the phrasal expression *tén fò rén* (107):

- (106) *Dís dé den ren-sísín go bigín.*
 this day PL rain.CPD-season POT begin
 ‘These days, the rainy season should begin.’ [dj05ce 059]

- (107) *Wi dé tén 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):

- (108) *Wí de kól yá só amatán dân, lek sé e kin dé*
 1PL.INDP IPFV call here like.that harmattan that like QUOT 3SG.SBJ HAB BE.LOC
leke niebla.
 like fog
 ‘Here, we call harmattan that, like it’s usually like fog.’ [ye05ce 062]

8.2.2 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 Table 8.6, the letter “X” stands for a compatible time-unit, like *tén* ‘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 flexibility 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”. 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.

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 tén* ‘(after)noon’ or calendric units like *viernes* ‘Friday’) with the appropriate TMA marking. Compare (96), (102), and (103) above.

Some items lexically incorporate time reference to the present, past, or future. Compare the time adverb *náw* ‘now’ (109) and the temporal nouns *tidé/tudé* ‘today’ (110). Note that the reference point of *tidé/tudé* is event time, not absolute time. Hence *tidé* in (110) 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’:

- (109) *Náw a dón 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]
- (110) *E sé śl tidé e bin de kól yú, yu nó ték teléfono.*
 3SG.SBJ QUOT all today 3SG.SBJ PST IPFV call 2SG.INDP 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]

Table 8.6 Temporal deixis

Temporal relation	Temporal expressions	
Location		
Future	<i>tumóro/tumára</i>	‘tomorrow’
	<i>ápás tumóro/tumára</i>	‘the day after tomorrow’
	<i>néks X</i>	‘next X’
	<i>ínsay X</i>	‘in X’
	<i>X wé e de kán</i>	‘coming X’
Present	<i>náw (só)</i>	‘(right) now’
	<i>tidé/tudé</i>	‘today’
Past	<i>yéstadé</i>	‘yesterday’
	<i>ápás yéstadé</i>	‘the day before yesterday’
	<i>lás X</i>	‘last X’
	<i>las-nét</i>	‘last night’
	<i>ínsay X</i>	‘in X’
	<i>lón tén</i>	‘long ago’
	<i>(lás) X wé pás (bihén)</i>	‘X ago’
	<i>(wé) X finis</i>	‘at the end of X’
	<i>(wé) X dón</i>	‘at the end of X’
Anterior	<i>bifô X</i>	‘before X’
	<i>ápás X</i>	‘before X’
Posterior	<i>ápás X</i>	‘after X’
Duration	<i>fɔ X</i>	‘for X’
	<i>síns X</i>	‘since X’
	<i>frɔn X</i>	‘since X’
	<i>sóté X</i>	‘until X’
	<i>frɔn X sóté X</i>	‘from X to X’
	<i>bókú tén</i>	‘for a long time’
	<i>pás bókú tén wé/sé X</i>	‘be a long time’ ‘since X’
	<i>kér X</i>	‘(to) last X, stay for X’
	<i>sté (fɔ) X</i>	‘stay for X’
	<i>sté (wé)</i>	‘be a long time (that)’
	<i>sté + V2</i>	‘be a long time since V2’
Iteration	<i>éni X</i>	‘every X’

The equally synonymous temporal nouns *tumóro/tumára* ‘tomorrow’ incorporate future reference to a day ahead of event time (111). When *tumóro* 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 (112):

- (111) *Tumára a go sí mi mamá.*
tomorrow 1SG.SBJ POT see 1SG.POSS mother
‘Tomorrow, I’ll see my mother.’ [dj05ce 045]
- (112) *Ápás tumóro 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 *yéstadé* ‘yesterday’ relates event time to a reference point one day back into the past (113). The temporal preposition *ápás* ‘after’ also combines with *yéstadé* ‘yesterday’ in the collocation *ápás yéstadé* ‘the day before yesterday’ (114):

- (113) *Yéstadé a sí mi mamá.*
yesterday 1SG.SBJ see 1SG.POSS mother
‘Yesterday, I saw my mother.’ [dj05ce 033]
- (114) *Ápás yéstadé 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 *tumóro/tumára* and *yéstadé* 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 (112) and (114) 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 *tumóro* ‘tomorrow’ as well as *yéstadé* ‘yesterday’. The “spatial frame of reference” (Levinson 2003: 24) of temporal posteriority is characterised by a mirror-like “reflection” (Beller et al. 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 *néks* ‘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 (115) and also note the use of the spatial and temporal preposition *sóté* ‘until, up to’ which expresses extent:

- (115) *A de léf na Lubá sóté di néks 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 *néks* ‘next’. *Lás* ‘last’ pushes a reference point into the past by one unit from event time as in (116–117). Note the presence of the definite article *di* ‘DEF’ in (116):

- (116) *Boyé komót na tón di lás mún.*
 NAME go.out LOC town DEF last month
 ‘Boyé left town last month.’ [dj05ce 027]
- (117) *Ǝfe nó bin gó lás hía, e bin fɔ dé wet wí na yá*
 if 3SG.SBJ NEG PST go last year 3SG.SBJ PST COND BE.LOC with 1PL.INDP LOC here
só.
 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 *néks* ‘next’ and *tumára* ‘tomorrow’ above or *lás* ‘last’.

The collocation *lón tén* ‘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:

- (118) *E bin dón pás lón tén, nóto lón lón tén.*
 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-nét* ‘last night’ is a compound (119). The lexicalisation of this collocation distinguishes it from other time expressions featuring *lás* ‘last’ (cf. e.g. *lás hía* ‘last year’ in 117), which are not usually subjected to the tonal derivation characteristic of compounding:

- (119) *Las-nét a chakrá mi séns.*
 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 (120), where the locative noun *ínsay* ‘inside’ fulfills this function.

- (120) *A de wét sé mék a gó insay tú dé.*
 1SG.SBJ IPFV wait QUOT SBJV 1SG.SBJ go inside two day
 ‘I’m hoping 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 nét* ‘at night’. All other standard periods of the day are expressed through associative constructions featuring the generic noun *tén* ‘time’ (121). In view of the limited number of *tén* ‘time’ collocations in Pichi and their often idiosyncratic meanings (cf. 6), even these expressions may be seen as lexicalised structures:

- (121) *Bóy den dé dé, mónin té n sán té n na nét, na Píchi den de tók*
 boy PL BE.LOC there morning time sun time LOC night FOC Pichi 3PL IPFV talk
Píchi.
 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 (122) incorporates an “intrinsic” (Beller et al. 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’ (123), a relational linkage with the vantage point of the speaker is not expressed:

- (122) *Kofi 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]
- (123) *Den go tón bák ápás di néks 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:

- (124) *Yu go moja di rés 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 *kér* ‘carry, take, last’. The “figure” enduring in time is expressed as the subject of the clause and may be inanimate (125) or animate (126), while the specified time period is the object of *kér*:

- (125) (...) *pero di fíba bin kér wán dé dásɔl.*
 but DEF fever PST carry one day only
 ‘(...) but the fever only lasted for a day.’ [ru03wt 062]

- (126) *Háw mósč tén yu go kér na kóntri?*
 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 (127).

- (127) *A de léf na Lubá sóté wík finis.*
 1SG.SBJ IPFV remain LOC PLACE until week finish
 ‘I’m staying in Luba until the end of the week.’ [ro05ee 128]

Secondly, example (128) and (127) illustrate the use of *sóté* together with the lexicalised (factative-marked) clausal structures *mún dón* ‘month done’ = ‘at the end of the month’ and *wík finis* ‘week finish’ = ‘at the end of the week’. Both expressions establish a punctual and past temporal reference point:

- (128) *Mék e wét sóté mún dón, wé a gét di moní a go báy*
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ wait until month done SUB 1SG.SBJ get DEF money 1SG.SBJ POT buy
di chóp.
 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 (129). Next to that, *sóté* also appears as a temporal preposition directly followed by a verb as in (130). 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 (130) is a non-finite, deverbal noun and appears without TMA or person marking:

- (129) *A chóp 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]
- (130) *A chóp 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 (131). The period of duration may be further specified by employing both *frɔn* ‘from’ and *sóté* ‘until’ as in (132). 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:

- (131) *Den nó nó den séf frɔn bɔkú tén.*
 3PL NEG know 3PL self from much time
 ‘They don’t know each other for a long time.’ [ch07fn 210]
- (132) *Frɔn las doce, sɔté e gó las seis, na “gúd ívin”.*
 from the.PL twelve until 3SG.SBJ go the.PL six 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’:

- (133) *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:

- (134) *A de léf na Lubá sɔté di wík wé e de kán.*
 1SG.SBJ IPFV leave LOC PLACE until DEF week SUB 3SG.SBJ IPFV come
 ‘I’m remaining in Luba until the coming week.’ [dj05ce 015]
- (135) *Djunais bin léf na Lubá sɔté di wík wé e bin pás.*
 NAME PST leave LOC PLACE until DEF week 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 (136). The verb is versatile in its syntactic behaviour. Firstly, it may appear as the only verb of a sentence like (136) or participate as a V1 in an adverbial SVC (cf. §11.2.5 for details):

- (136) *Na wán hós wé e dón sté nɔ?*
 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:

- (137) *E dón sté, a tɪnk sé e dón sté wé una bin gét insecticida*
 3SG.SBJ PRF stay 1SG.SBJ think QUOT 3SG.SBJ PRF stay SUB 2PL PST get insecticide
yá.
 here
 ‘It’s been long, I think it’s been long since you [PL] have had insecticide [sprayed] here.’ [fr03wt 059]

8 Spatial and temporal relations

The quantifier *éni* ‘every’ expresses iteration of the time unit it refers to (138). Time units are generally conceived as countable, *éni* is semantically compatible with any time unit including units of the clock (139):

- (138) *A bin de chéench húman éni síks mún.*
 1SG.SBJ PST IPFV change woman every six month
 ‘I was changing women every six months.’ [ed03sp 033]
- (139) *Bikəs ín de sé, éni las doce na ín in*
 because 3SG.INDP IPFV QUOT every the.PL twelve FOC 3SG.INDP 3SG.POSS
abuela kin kán kól=an.
 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
<i>ínsay</i>	‘inside’	Location	Locative noun
<i>bifó</i>	‘before’	Location (anterior)	Locative noun; time clause linker
<i>bihén</i>	‘after’	Location (posterior)	Locative noun
<i>ápás</i>	‘after’	Location (posterior)	—
<i>fɔ</i>	‘for’	Duration	General associative preposition
<i>frən</i>	‘since’	Duration (from)	source (locative)
<i>síns</i>	‘since’	Duration (from)	<i>síns wé</i> : time clause linker
<i>sóte</i>	‘until’	Duration (to)	Extent (locative); time clause linker

9 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 causative 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.

9.1 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.

9.1.1 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 (1) and experiencer (2):

- (1) *Dɛn kéch=an, dɛn bít=an.*
 3PL catch=3SG.OBJ 3PL beat=3SG.OBJ
 ‘They caught him (and) they beat him.’ [ye05ce 095]
- (2) *E lék dâns, e lék 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 (3), theme in the intransitive alternation of locative verbs (4) and property items (5), and patient in the intransitive alternation of change-of-state verbs (6):

- (3) *Tósti kéch mí.*
 thirst catch 1SG.INDP
 ‘I’m thirsty.’ [dj07ae 327]
- (4) *Ín sidón na Ela Nguema.*
 3SG.INDP stay LOC PLACE
 ‘She [EMP] stays in Ela Nguema.’ [ye07fn 017]
- (5) *Di gél strét.*
 DEF girl be.straight
 ‘The girl is sincere.’ [ye07je 109]
- (6) *A kót.*
 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.

9.1.2 Objects

Objecthood is marked by word order alone with full nouns (7) and by morphological case and word order with pronominal objects (8). 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 (9), the object of *nák* ‘hit’ remains unexpressed, but it is coreferential with the subject *e* ‘3SG.SBJ’ of the main clause:

- (7) *Wé den sút di pósin di pósin kin sék.*
 SUB 3PL shoot DEF person DEF person HAB shake
 ‘When they’ve shot the person, the person shakes.’ [ed03sb 112]
- (8) *Gó púl=an dé.*
 go remove=3SG.OBJ BE.LOC
 ‘Go remove it there.’ [ro05ee 093]
- (9) *Éf yu nó nák, e nó fit 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 *kómót* ‘go/come out’ may also be expressed as objects, although prepositional phrases are more common. Compare the goal object *colegio* ‘college’ in (10):

- (10) *So wé yu kómót 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 (11):

- (11) *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:

- (12) *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.).

9.1.3 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
<i>fɔ</i>	‘PREP’	General location
<i>wet</i>	‘with’	NP coordination
<i>bikɔs</i>	‘due to’	Clause linker ‘because’
<i>fɔsɛka/fɔsɛko</i>	‘due to’	—
<i>lek</i>	‘like’	IF-clause linker
<i>bay</i>	‘by’	Only idiomatic use
<i>bitáwt</i>	‘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

	<i>fɔ</i>	<i>wet</i>	<i>bikɔs</i>	<i>fɔsɛka</i>	<i>lek</i>	<i>bay</i>	<i>bitáwt</i>
Beneficiary	×						
Stimulus	×	×					
Comitative		×					
NEG comitative							×
Instrument	×	×				×	
Circumstance	×	×					
Cause	×	×	×	×			
Purpose	×						
Manner		×			×		

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: *bísín* ‘bother, be busy (with)’, *gládin* ‘be glad (about)’, *kóstɔn* ‘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 (13):

- (13) *Lúkət fə tif-mán den!*
 look.out PREP steal.CPD-man PL
 ‘Watch out for thieves!’ [dj07ae 096]

In contrast, the stimulus of the verbs *bísin* and *kóstən* 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:

- (14) *A bísin dán gál.*
 1SG.SBJ be.busy that girl
 ‘I checked out that girl.’ [dj07ae 025]
- (15) *Sí fəs tén a bin dé hía, a nó bin de bísin fə Pagalú*
 see first time 1SG.SBJ PST BE.LOC here 1SG.SBJ NEG PST IPFV be.busy PREP Annobón
gél den.
 girl PL
 ‘See formerly (when) I was here, I wasn’t checking out Annobonese girls.’
 [ed03sp 005]
- (16) *Láyf hád pero a dón kóstən=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]
- (17) *Wi dón kóstən fər=an.*
 1PL PRF be.used.to PREP=3SG.OBJ
 ‘We’ve got used to it.’ [ur07fn 218]

The verb *kóstən* ‘be used to’ is also attested with a third option: it may take a stimulus PP marked by the preposition *wet* ‘with’.

- (18) *A dón kóstən wet di trón láyf.*
 1SG.SBJ PRF be.used.to with DEF strong life
 ‘I’ve got used to a difficult life.’ [dj07ae 102]

The preposition *fə* ‘PREP’ may also mark the stimulus of motion of some agent-induced motion verbs like *háyd* ‘hide (from)’ or *rón* ‘run away (from)’ as in the following example (cf. §8.1.5 for the use of *fə* in marking locative source roles):

- (19) *E háyd fə in kómpin.*
 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 (20). Other verbs in this group are *sí* ‘see’, *hía/yér* ‘hear’ and *listin* ‘listen’:

- (20) A *lúk=an.*
 1SG.SBJ look=3SG.OBJ
 ‘I looked at him.’ [ab03ab 069]

Prepositional phrases introduced by *fə* ‘PREP’ also denote the semantic roles of purpose (21) and cause (22), the latter in combination with a body state:

- (21) *Mí gí dén diez mil fə transporte.*
 1SG.INDP give 3PL.INDP ten thousand PREP transport
 ‘I [EMP] gave them ten thousand (Francs) for transport.’ [fr03cd 005]
- (22) *E dáy fə tósti.*
 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’, *tósti* ‘thirst’ (23) or *səfút* ‘wound, injury’ (24) is marked by *wet* ‘with’. Note however that the cause of a sickness is usually expressed as an associative object (cf. §9.3.2):

- (23) *E dáy wet tósti.*
 3SG.SBJ die with thirsty
 ‘He died of thirst.’ [ro05ee 064]
- (24) *E dáy wet səfút.*
 3SG.SBJ die with wound
 ‘She died of her injury.’ [ro05ee 066]

The prepositions *fəséka* ‘due to’ (and its less frequent variant *foséko*) (25) and *bikəs* ‘because, due to’ (26) introduce prepositional phrases with the semantic role of cause. However, *bikəs* 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 *bón pikín* ‘give.birth child’ = ‘childbirth’, which is nominalised in its entirety and involves *bón* employed as a deverbal noun:

- (25) *Na fəséka bón pikín, e dáy.*
 FOC due.to give.birth child 3SG.SBJ die
 ‘It’s due to childbirth (that) she died.’ [dj05be 052]
- (26) *Náw só pó gál den dón bós in héd bikəs nátin.*
 now like.that poor girl 3PL PRF burst 3SG.POSS head 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 (27), materials (28), and functions (29) are involved. Instruments and materials can also be expressed by argument-introducing SVCs involving *ték* ‘take’ (cf. §9.1.4):

- (27) *Dɛn sút=an wet gón na in héd.*
 3PL shoot=3SG.OBJ with gun LOC 3SG.POSS head
 ‘He was shot in the head with a gun.’ [ro05ee 054]
- (28) *Di hós bíl wet plénk.*
 DEF house build with board
 ‘The house is built from boards.’ [dj07ae 459]
- (29) *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’ (30). Still, the functional overlap of *wet* and *fɔ* may lead to variation in the marking of certain expressions. Compare ‘walk by foot’ in (29) above with (31) below:

- (30) *E de kwénch fɔ in séf.*
 3SG.SBJ IPFV die PREP 3SG.POSS self
 ‘It goes off by itself.’ [ma03ni 017]
- (31) *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:

- (32) *El diez de agosto, bay gód 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 (33). A comitative role may also be expressed through an SVC involving *fála* ‘follow’ if the accompanee is human (cf. e.g. 34). Comitative *wet* ‘with’ may shade off into general circumstance (34):

- (33) *Yu de énta wet sús?*
 2SG IPFV enter with shoe
 ‘You’re coming in with shoes?’ [ge07fn 092]

- (34) *Yu nó dán tín wet yun-bóy nó?*
 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* ‘with-
 out’ (with the alternative pronunciation *witáwt*) (35). 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 (36):

- (35) *Dán mán de wáka bitáwt súš*
 that man IPFV walk without shoe
 ‘That man is walking without shoes.’ [ge07fn 133]
- (36) *A pás bókú tén wé a nó chóp.*
 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 (37). An
 equative or similitive participant is introduced by *lek* ‘like’ (38):

- (37) *Yu nó de tók=an wet páwa.*
 2SG NEG IPFV talk=3SG.OBJ with power
 ‘You’re not saying it forcefully.’ [lo07he 065]
- (38) (...) *wi fít dé lek kómpin.*
 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.

9.1.4 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 ac-
 companee in comitative (cf. §11.2). The areally widespread SVC employing a verb mean-
 ing ‘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:

- (39) *Na ús=káyn tín den ték mék díš, digamos dí bótul?*
 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 the 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:

- (40) *Na dén bin de transfiere moní mó na Western Union pás guineano dén.*
 FOC 3PL PST IPFV transfiere money more LOC NAME NAME 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:

- (41) *Di gél wáka gó na tón.*
 DEF girl walk go LOC town
 ‘The girl walked to town.’ [ne05fn 243]

9.2 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 causative reading in either alternation. Finally, expletive verbs take referentially empty subjects and may be used transitively or intransitively.

9.2.1 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 verbs denoting 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.

Inchoative-stative and stative intransitive verbs fall into three classes: modal and aspectual verbs (e.g. *fit* ‘can’ and *dón* ‘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 9.3 Intransitive dynamic verbs

Semantic class	Verb	Gloss
Locomotion verbs	<i>fláy</i>	‘fly’
	<i>gráp</i>	‘get up’
	<i>kán</i>	‘come’
	<i>rón</i>	‘run’
	<i>swín</i>	‘swim’
	<i>wáka</i>	‘walk’
Body state, physical activity & experiential verbs	<i>hángri</i>	‘be hungry’
	<i>tósti</i>	‘be thirsty’
	<i>bélch</i>	‘belch’
	<i>dáy</i>	‘die’
	<i>lúkət</i>	‘look out’
	<i>mekés</i>	‘hurry’
	<i>ambiente</i>	‘live it up’
Existence verbs	<i>pachá</i>	‘live it up’
	<i>sté</i>	‘stay’
Weather verbs	<i>líf</i>	‘live’
	<i>fól</i>	‘rain’
Verb of social interaction	<i>brék</i>	‘(to) dawn’
	<i>fét</i>	‘fight’

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 (42) or goal objects (43) is rejected as ungrammatical:

- (42) * *Di piloto de fláy di avión.*
 DEF pilot IPFV fly DEF plane
 Intended: ‘The pilot is flying the plane.’ [dj07ae 006]
- (43) * *Wáka hós!*
 walk house
 Intended: ‘Walk home!’ [dj07ae 131]

SVCs and PPs may be employed if the goal is to be made explicit. Compare the following two sentences:

Table 9.4 Intransitive (inchoative-)stative verbs

Semantic class	Verb	Gloss
Modal & aspectual verbs	<i>fit</i>	‘can’
	<i>hébul</i>	‘be capable’
	<i>tínk</i>	‘think’
	<i>dón</i>	‘be done, finished’
Existence verbs	<i>dé</i>	‘BE.LOC’
	<i>bí</i>	‘BE’
	<i>blánt</i>	‘reside’
Property items	<i>badhát</i>	‘be mean’
	<i>béta</i>	‘be very good’
	<i>difren</i>	‘be different’
	<i>fúlis</i>	‘be foolish’
	<i>hád</i>	‘be hard’
	<i>lás</i>	‘be last, end up’
	<i>ráyt</i>	‘be right’
	<i>sáful</i>	‘be slow’
	<i>síryəs</i>	‘be serious’
	<i>smát</i>	‘be quick’
	<i>trú</i>	‘be true’
	<i>wél</i>	‘be well’
	<i>wíkəd</i>	‘be wicked’

- (44) *Di gél wáka gó na tón.*
 DEF girl walk go LOC town
 ‘The girl walked to town.’ [ne05fn 243]

- (45) *A wánt fláy rích na tón 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 (46):

- (46) *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 *rón* ‘run’ are also found with a meaning other than physical motion through space. Three such cases of idiomatic transitivity follow with *gó* ‘go’ in (47–48) and *rón* ‘run’ in (49):

- (47) *Di tín de gó mí bád.*
 DEF thing IPFV go 1SG.INDP bad
 ‘The matter is going bad for me.’ [dj07ae 161]
- (48) *Dí fáyn klós de gó yú.*
 this fine clothing IPFV go 2SG.INDP
Lit. ‘These fine clothes go [fit] you.’ [nn05fn 391]
- (49) (...) *e de rón mí kóntri tín den.*
 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:

- (50) * *Lúkɔt tif-mán den!*
 look.out steal.CPDBEC PL
 Intended: ‘Watch out for thieves!’ [dj07ae 095]
- (51) *Lúkɔt fɔ tif-mán den!*
 look.out PREP steal.CPD-man PL
 ‘Watch out for thieves!’ [dj07ae 096]

The verb *fét* ‘fight’ cannot take an object either (52). A comitative participant needs to be expressed as a prepositional phrase (53) or within a coordinate structure (54):

- (52) * *Djunais de fét Boyé.*
 NAME IPFV fight NAME
 Intended: ‘Djunais is fighting Boyé.’ [dj07ae 395]
- (53) *Djunais de fét wet Boyé.*
 NAME IPFV fight with NAME
 ‘Djunais is fighting with Boyé.’ [dj07ae 396]
- (54) *Djunais wet Boyé den de fét.*
 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 (55–56):

- (55) * A ***blánt*** *Malábo*.
 1SG.SBJ reside Malabo
 Intended: ‘I reside in Malabo.’ [dj07ae 027]
- (56) A ***blánt na*** *Malábo*.
 1SG.SBJ reside LOC Malabo
 ‘I reside in Malabo.’ [dj07ae 026]

Intransitive property items include *gúd* ‘be good’ (57) and *béta/béte* ‘be very good, better’ (58). With both property items, a valency-increasing causative construction is required in order to add a participant in addition to the subject (59):

- (57) * *Gód go gúd=an*.
 God POT good=3SG.OBJ
 Intended: ‘God will make it good.’ [dj07ae 155]
- (58) * *Gód go bétar=an*.
 God POT very.good=3SG.OBJ
 Intended: ‘God will better it [things].’ [dj07ae 154]
- (59) *Gód go mék e bété*.
 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 (60) becomes an actor (agent) subject in (61). Even if this transitive, causativising use of *fáyn* is rather unusual, it is not ungrammatical:

- (60) *Di húman fáyn*.
 DEF woman be.fine
 ‘The woman is beautiful.’ [dj05ae 149]
- (61) *Gód 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 (62) involves the intransitive dynamic verb *dáy* ‘die’ followed by a cognate object:

- (62) *Ey, dán káyn spétikul, 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]

9.2.2 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 (63), the verb *swela* ‘swallow’ is followed by the patient object *ín* ‘3SG.INDP’, and (64) features the stimulus object *mí* ‘1SG.INDP’, object to the body process verb *láf* ‘laugh’:

- (63) *A swela ín, den bin tél mí sé di tín go gró na*
 1SG.SBJ swallow 3SG.INDP 3PL PST tell 1SG.INDP QUOT DEF thing POT grow LOC
mi belé.
 1SG.POSS belly
 ‘I swallowed it, (and) I was told that the thing would grow in my stomach.’
 [dj07ae 079]
- (64) *Dásol 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 *swét* ‘sweat’ featuring the effected object *wotá* ‘water’ = ‘sweat’ (65). The same holds for experiential (or human propensity) verbs like *jéls* ‘envy, be jealous’, which may appear with a stimulus object (66):

- (65) *A de swét wotá.*
 1SG.SBJ IPFV sweat water
 ‘I’m sweating.’ [dj07ae 124]
- (66) *A de jéls 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 (67):

- (67) *A wánt blú dí motó mék e chénch kóla.*
 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 *hót* ‘be hot’ (68), nor a value concept like *día* ‘be expensive’ (69) is barred from appearing in a transitive clause. Note the causativising effect of the transitive use of these inchoative-stative labile verbs in (68) and (69) below as well as in (67) above:

- (68) *Hót di chóp bifó yu sén=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]
- (69) *Di góbna dón día di petrol.*
 DEF government PRF make.expensive DEF petrol
 ‘The 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’:

- (70) *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]

9.2.3 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; Locative; Property item	Actor/undergoer	Non-causative/causative	ISTA/dynamic
b.	Experiential; Aspectual	Actor/undergoer	Non-causative/causative	Dynamic/dynamic

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 (71). 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. *bén* ‘bend’, *bwél* ‘boil’), ‘body states’ (e.g. *belfúl* ‘be satiated’, *táya* ‘be tired’), and ‘natural states’ (e.g. *rótin* ‘be rotten’, *sók* ‘be wet’), ‘other human states’ (e.g. *wér* ‘wear’, *máred* ‘marry’):

(71) Change-of-state verbs

a.	<i>bén</i>	‘bend, fold’		<i>spwél</i>	‘spoil’
	<i>bíl</i>	‘build’		<i>wás</i>	‘wash’
	<i>brók</i>	‘break’		<i>wék(ɔp)</i>	‘wake up’
	<i>bwél</i>	‘boil’		<i>wér</i>	‘wear’
	<i>chénch</i>	‘change’			
	<i>chér</i>	‘tear’	b.	<i>belfúl</i>	‘be satiated’
	<i>fíks</i>	‘fix, repair’		<i>chák</i>	‘be drunk’
	<i>fráy</i>	‘fry’		<i>dráy</i>	‘be dry’
	<i>hát</i>	‘hurt’		<i>drónɡo</i>	‘be dead drunk’
	<i>kóba</i>	‘cover’		<i>fúlɔp</i>	‘be full’
	<i>kót</i>	‘cut’		<i>láyt</i>	‘be lit, be tipsy’
	<i>krás</i>	‘crash’		<i>redí</i>	‘be ready’
	<i>kúk</i>	‘cook’		<i>rótin</i>	‘be rotten’
	<i>lók</i>	‘close’		<i>sók</i>	‘be wet’
	<i>máred</i>	‘marry’		<i>táya</i>	‘be tired’

In the intransitive clause in (72) 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 (73), *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 (72) 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 (73).

- (72) *Di wach-mán chák.*
 DEF watch.CPD-man be.drunk
 ‘The guard is drunk.’ [dj07ae 048]

- (73) *Den chák di wach-mán fɔs fɔ mék den fit gó tif.*
 3PL get.drunk DEF watch.CPD-man first PREP SBJV 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 (72) 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 *dón* ‘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 (74):

- (74) *Di plantí dón fráy.*

DEF plantain PRF fry

‘The plantain has been fried.’ [dj07ae 418]

- (75) *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 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 *belfúl* ‘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 (76) and transitive (77) 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:

- (76) *Di kasára lé míndul tú stík.*

DEF cassava lie middle two tree

‘The cassava is lying between two branches.’ [li07pe 080]

- (77) *E lé di bótul pantáp di tébul, e slíp di bótul pantáp di tébul.*

3SG.SBJ lay DEF bottle top DEF table 3SG.SBJ lay 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 *lón* ‘be long, lengthen’ in the two following examples:

- (78) *Dán húman lón bád.*

that woman be.long extremely

‘That woman is/was extremely tall.’ [li07pe 064]

- (79) *A wánt lón 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 *lón* ‘(be) long’ (cf. §4.1.2 for a listing of relevant semantic types). Compare the intransitive meaning of ‘be small’ of the dimension concept *smól* ‘(be) small’ in the intransitive clause in (80) with the causative meaning ‘make small, shrink’ in the transitive clause in (81). The imperfective marker *de* ‘IPFV’ specifies *smól* in (81) just like any dynamic verb with simultaneous taxis:

- (80) *Dí klós smól.*
 DEF clothing be.small
 ‘This (piece of) clothing is small.’
- (81) *Són klós ðen dé, hót-watá de smól=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:

- (82) *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 (83) presents the regular, derived transitive meaning of ‘make beautiful’, while (84) 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’ (47), *rón* ‘run’ (49), and *sube* ‘rise, raise’ (70):

- (83) *Nóto klós go fáyn yú sino que na yú géfō*
 NEG.FOC clothing POT make.fine 2SG.INDP but that FOC 2SG.INDP have.to
fáyn yu séf.
 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]
- (84) *Dán béłps 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 (85) features a resultative causative construction, and (86) involves a resultant state resultative construction:

- (85) *Den de léf=an fáyn?*
 3PL IPFV leave=3SG.OBJ fine
 ‘Are they making it [the house] beautiful?’ [hi03cb 041]
- (86) *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 (87). Experiential verbs comprise (a) body movements and processes, as well as (b) mental states denoting various types of affective conditions:

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| (87) | Experiential verbs | | |
| a. | <i>bló</i> | ‘relax’ | b. <i>gládin</i> ‘be glad’ |
| | <i>bón</i> | ‘be born’ | <i>krés</i> ‘be crazy’ |
| | <i>gró</i> | ‘grow’ | <i>lán</i> ‘learn’ |
| | <i>háyd</i> | ‘hide’ | <i>sém</i> ‘be ashamed’ |
| | <i>hóri</i> | ‘hurry’ | <i>skía</i> ‘be scared’ |
| | <i>léf</i> | ‘leave’ | <i>sófa</i> ‘suffer’ |
| | <i>mén</i> | ‘get better’ | <i>véks</i> ‘be angry’ |
| | <i>múf</i> | ‘move’ | <i>wánda</i> ‘wonder’ |
| | <i>rés</i> | ‘rest’ | <i>wóri</i> ‘worry’ |
| | <i>sék</i> | ‘shake’ | |
| | <i>tón</i> | ‘turn’ | |
| | <i>trímbul</i> | ‘tremble’ | |

Consider the use of the group (b) dynamic experiential verb *krés* ‘be crazy, drive crazy’ in the following intransitive (88) and transitive (89) clauses respectively:

- (88) *A krés.*
 1SG.SBJ be.crazy
 ‘I went mad.’ [ro05rt 022]
- (89) *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 (90) and transitive (91) 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:

- (90) *E de háyd fɔr=an.*
 3SG.SBJ IPFV hide PREP=3SG.OBJ
 ‘She’s hiding from him.’ [dj07re 042]
- (91) *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 (92):

- (92) Aspectual verbs
- | | | | |
|----|----------------------|----|------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>bigín</i> ‘begin’ | b. | <i>fínis</i> ‘finish’ |
| | <i>stát</i> ‘start’ | | <i>para</i> (< 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):

- (93) *Den-ál fínis.*
 3PL.CPD-all finish
 ‘They’re all finished.’ [dj03cd 157]
- (94) *A de tél yú, yu go sí náy yu nó go fínis dán watá.*
 1SG.SBJ IPFV tell 2SG.INDP 2SG POT see now 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. *rés* ‘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 occurring 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.

9.2.4 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 *fíl* ‘(to) rain’). All elements in the corpus which may take expletive subjects are listed in Table 9.6. The copula verbs *bí* ‘BE’, *dé* ‘BE.LOC’ and the focus markers *cum* copulas *na/nóto* occur in copula clauses with expletive subjects.

Sentence (95) 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. *son wích* ‘(some) witches’) must be expressed as the subject of the clause. Hence, existential clauses featuring *dé* have no expletive subjects:

- (95) *E dé sé, yu sabí sé yá só son wích dé nó.*
 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC QUOT 2SG know QUOT here like.that 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’ (96):

- (96) *E fít bí sé na paludismo.*
 3SG.SBJ can BE QUOT FOC malaria
 ‘It could be that it’s malaria.’ [fr03wt 058]

Table 9.6 Expletive verbs

Types	Verbs	Gloss
Copula elements	<i>bí</i>	‘BE’
	<i>na/nóto</i>	‘FOC/NEG.FOC’
	<i>dé</i>	‘BE.LOC’
	<i>fíba</i>	‘seem’
	<i>gét</i>	‘get, have, exist’
	<i>níd</i>	‘need, be necessary’
	<i>léf</i>	‘leave, remain’
	<i>sté</i>	‘last’
Evaluative verbs	<i>bád</i>	‘be bad’
	<i>fáyn</i>	‘be fine’
	<i>gúd</i>	‘be good’
	<i>hád</i>	‘be hard’
	<i>ísi</i>	‘be easy’
	<i>nó smól</i>	‘be considerable’
Spanish expletive verbs	<i>falta</i>	‘lack’
	<i>sigue</i>	‘follow’
Weather verb	<i>fól</i>	‘rain’

In these functions, *bí* and *dé* are also used as introductory formulas of narratives with the meaning ‘it came to pass that’ (97):

- (97) *E kán bí sé mi abuela, wé a bin smól, e gó*
 3SG.SBJ PFV BE QUOT 1SG.POSS grandmother SUB 1SG.SBJ PST BE.small 3SG.SBJ go
ríba (...)
 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’:

- (98) *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]
- (99) *Di kés dé sé, dís dé den a nó gét tén fɔ wók.*
 DEF matter BE.LOC QUOT this day PL 1SG.SBJ NEG get time PREP work
 ‘It’s that these days I do not have time to work.’ [ro05ee 036]

Also compare the cleft focus construction in (100) featuring *di tín* ‘the thing’ with the functionally equivalent construction in (101), featuring the expletive pronoun *e*:

- (100) *Na só di tín dé.*
 FOC like.that DEF thing BE.LOC
 ‘That’s how the thing [it] is.’ [sab07fn 104]

- (101) *Na só e dé.*
 FOC like.that 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC
 ‘That’s how it is.’ [ma03hm 077]

When the verb *fiba* ‘resemble’ occurs in a transitive clause, the 3SG.SBJ pronoun is not expletive (102):

- (102) *E fiba débul.*
 3SG.SBJ seem devil
 ‘He resembles a devil.’ [ra07fn 072]

In contrast, when used intransitively, *fiba* is best translated as ‘seem’ (103) and may take a complement clause (104). In such contexts, *fiba* also takes an expletive 3SG.SBJ pronoun:

- (103) *E fiba só.*
 3SG.SBJ seem like.that
 ‘It seems so.’ [dj07ae 252]
- (104) *E fiba sé nóto yú wán den tíf na dí kwáta.*
 3SG.SBJ seem QUOT NEG.FOC 2SG.INDP one 3PL steal LOC this quarter
 ‘It seems that it’s not you alone they stole from in this neighbourhood.’ [ge07fn 165]

The verb *léf* ‘leave, remain’ occurs as a copula verb with an expletive subject in clauses like the following one:

- (105) *E léf wán pǎsin*
 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 (106). Both verbs occur with expletive *e* in their copula function. Also consider *níd* ‘need, be necessary’ (107):

- (106) *E dón sté, a tǐnk sé e dón sté wé una bin gét*
 3SG.SBJ PRF be.long 1SG.SBJ think QUOT 3SG.SBJ PRF last SUB 2PL PST get
insecticida yá.
 insecticide here
 ‘It’s been long, I think it’s been long since you [PL] have had insecticide [sprayed] here.’ [fr03wt 059]

- (107) *E níd sé mék a gó dé tumóro.*
 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’ (108) and *fáyn* ‘(be) fine’ (109):

- (108) *E hád fɔ bɪl na yá bikɔs sé di grón gét bókú sansán.*
 3SG.SBJ hard PREP build LOC here because QUOT DEF ground get much sand
 ‘It’s hard to build here because the ground is very sandy.’ [ro05ee 063]
- (109) *E fáyn fɔ drɪŋ smól-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 (110) and (111) therefore feature the expletive pronoun *e* ‘3SG.SBJ’:

- (110) *E falta mɔní fɔ púl saco den dé fɔ kɛr=an na hós.*
 3SG.SBJ lack money PREP remove bag PL there PREP carry 3SG.OBJ LOC house
 ‘There is money lacking to remove the bags there in order to bring them to the house.’ [ye03cd 004]
- (111) *Porque e de sigue wán bád smél.*
 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 (110) and (112), and *sigue* in (111) and (113):

- (112) *E sé e nó fɪt falta.*
 3SG.SBJ QUOT 3SG.SBJ NEG can lack
 ‘She said she can’t be absent.’ [ma03hm 014]
- (113) *Mi rabia dón finis bɔt wé yu gó e de sigue mɔ.*
 1SG.POSS anger PRF finish but SUB 2SG go 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 (114) below, the 3SG.SBJ pronoun *e* anaphorically refers to *den 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 (115):

- (114) (...) *bət dən 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]
- (115) * *Dán sáy fáyn fɔ sí.*
 that side fine PREP see
 Intended: ‘That place is nice to see.’ [eb07fn]

The verb *fíba* ‘resemble’ takes full complement clauses introduced by the complementiser *sé* (116). Neither reduced *fɔ*-complement clauses nor SVCs are accepted in clause linkage. Hence, an SVC like (117) is ungrammatical:

- (116) *E fíba sé Boyé gét mɔní.*
 3SG.SBJ seem QUOT NAME get money
 ‘It seems that Boyé has money.’ [dj07ae 255]
- (117) * *Boyé fíba gét mɔní.*
 NAME seem get money
 Intended: ‘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 (118):

- (118) *Boyé fíba sé e gét 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 *gét* ‘get, exist’ are covered in detail in section §7.6.3.

9.3 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.

9.3.1 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 *gét* ‘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.

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 *gét* ‘get, have’.

The verb *gét* is an inchoative-stative transitive verb, which occurs with a stative (119), and at other times, an inchoative reading (120). The verb also has various functions as an existential and modal verb and expresses possession (cf. e.g. 121 below).

- (119) *Den gét wók nán ó.*
3PL get work now SP

‘They actually have work now.’ [to03gm 008]

- (120) *E gét óda húman ‘chíp’ bókú problema, (...)*
3SG.SBJ get other woman [SKT] much problem

‘He got (himself) another woman, many problems, (...)’ [ma03ni 025]

Ordinary objects of *gét* may occur bare or be preceded by determiners depending on pragmatic circumstance. In (121), the non-specific noun *bóy* ‘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 (121), the noun *mán* ‘man’ of the light verb construction *gét mán* ‘have a man/husband’ remains bare:

- (121) *Smól gál, ef e nó gét wán bóy, e nó gét mán, pero di húman,*
small girl if 3SG.SBJ NEG get one boy 3SG.SBJ NEG get man but DEF woman
di bíg wán den séf.
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 *gét* may be pluralised with a post-posed *den* (122) and may occur with pronominal modifiers like *bókú* ‘much’ or the 1SG possessive pronoun *mi* (122). The verb *gét* may also take pronominal objects (123), or occur with no overt object at all where reference has been established earlier on (124).

Table 9.7 Light verb constructions

Verb	Object	Translation
<i>gét</i> 'get, have'	<i>belé</i> 'belly'	'be pregnant'
	<i>páwa</i> 'strength'	'be strong, be potent'
	<i>líba</i> 'liver'	'have guts'
	<i>móni</i> 'money'	'be rich'
	<i>pikín</i> 'child'	'have children'
	<i>lǝki</i> 'luck'	'be lucky'
	<i>bad-lǝk</i> 'bad luck'	'have bad luck'
	<i>ráyt</i> 'right'	'be right'
	<i>bád fásin</i> 'bad ways'	'be ill-mannered'
	<i>trót</i> 'throat'	'have appetite, be lusty'
	<i>bódi</i> 'body'	'be chubby'
	<i>rabia</i> 'anger'	'be angry'
	<i>novio/mán</i> 'boyfriend/husband'	'have a boyfriend/husband'
	<i>novia/húman</i> 'girlfriend/wife'	'have a girlfriend/wife'
<i>gí</i> 'give'	<i>bóbí</i> 'breast'	'breastfeed'
	<i>chóp</i> 'food'	'feed'
	<i>belé</i> 'belly'	'impregnate'
	<i>hán</i> 'hand'	'shake hands'
	<i>skúl</i> 'school'	'give lessons'
	<i>wán vuelta</i> 'a walk'	'take a walk'
	<i>permiso</i> 'permission'	'give permission'
<i>mék</i> 'make'	<i>bigdé</i> 'festivity'	'have a festivity'
	<i>chǝsch</i> 'church'	'celebrate a mass'
	<i>fám</i> 'farm'	'(to) farm'
	<i>chóp</i> 'food'	'prepare food'
	<i>jǝmba</i> 'lover'	'make love'
	<i>wayó</i> 'cunning'	'be cunning, employ trickery'
	<i>wuruwúru</i> 'confusion'	'cause confusion'
	<i>affaire</i> 'affair'	'have an affair'
	<i>rabia</i> 'anger'	'be angry with somebody'
<i>púl</i> 'remove'	<i>belé</i> 'pregnancy'	'abort'
	<i>brís</i> 'air'	'breathe'
	<i>fotó</i> 'photo'	'take a picture'
	<i>torí</i> 'story'	'narrate a story, converse'
<i>sí</i> 'see'	<i>tén</i> 'time'	'menstruate'
	<i>tín</i> 'thing'	'have experience in life'
<i>fála</i> 'follow'	<i>húman</i> 'woman'	'womanise'
<i>gó</i> 'go'	<i>skúl</i> 'school'	'attend school'
<i>kót</i> 'cut'	<i>miná</i> 'penis'	'circumcise'
<i>kráy</i> 'cry'	<i>wotá</i> 'water'	'shed tears'
<i>pík</i> 'pick'	<i>mót</i> 'mouth'	'sound somebody out'
<i>ték</i> 'take'	<i>bódi/skín</i> 'body'	'gain weight'

- (122) *Bikəs a gét bəkú mi kəntri-mán den (...)*
 because 1SG.SBJ get much 1SG.POSS country.CPD-man PL
 ‘Because I have many of my countrymen (...)’ [ed03sb 157]
- (123) (...) *dán məní a fít gét=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]
- (124) (...) *mébi a gét pikín, wé mébi a nó gét.*
 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 *gét* in light verb constructions may occur with determiners if so required. Compare *di fós belé* ‘first pregnancy’ in (125):

- (125) *Dásəl wé a dón big wé a fós gét di fós belé (...)*
 only SUB 1SG.SBJ PRF big SUB 1SG.SBJ first get DEF first belly
 ‘Then when I was grown, when I first had the first pregnancy (...)’ [ed03sb 017]

The NP *di fós belé* ‘the first pregnancy’ in (125) above also shows that objects of light verbs are encountered with pronominal modifiers. Likewise, object NPs in light verb constructions may be placed under focus (126). Although there are not many instances of pronominalised light verb objects in the data, these also occur. In (127), the object pronoun *=an* substitutes for *torí* ‘story’:

- (126) *Na torí den de púl.*
 FOC story 3PL IPFV pull
 ‘It’s a story that they’re telling.’ [au07se 009]
- (127) *A go púl yú=an tumóro.*
 1SG.SBJ POT pull 2SG.INDP=3SG.OBJ tomorrow
 ‘I will narrate it to you tomorrow.’ [ye07de 018]

Table 9.8 presents a frequency analysis of *gét* in verb-object collocations in a subcorpus of 30,000 words. The verb *gét* enjoys a total number of 345 tokens, of which 136 tokens involve *gét* as a modal verb and *gét* without an overt object. In line (a) of the table, I give the remaining 209 tokens which represent uses of *gét* 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 *gét pikín* is employed with the

Table 9.8 Frequency of *gét* collocations

Construction	Total number	Percentage over (a.)
a. All <i>gét</i> collocations	209	100%
b. All ordinary <i>gét</i> collocations	140	67%
c. All <i>gét</i> light verb constructions	69	33%
<i>gét pikín</i> 'have children'	33	16%
<i>gét mɔní</i> 'have money'	22	11%
<i>gét belé</i> 'be pregnant'	10	5%
<i>gét líba</i> 'have guts'	4	2%

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 reveals that light verb constructions proper represent 33 per cent of the total number of occurrences of collocations involving *gét* and an object. Of all *gét*-constructions contained in the corpus, *gét 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 *gét* 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. codemixed 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 codemixed 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: 184)

For instance, none of the nouns in the collocations *gét rabia* 'be angry' (128), *gét novio* 'have a boyfriend' (129) and *gí permiso* 'give permission' (130) 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'.

- (128) *If a gét rabia wet yú, (...)*
 if 1SG.SBJ get anger with 2SG.INDP
 ‘If I’m angry with you (...)’ [ro05rr 002]
- (129) *Mék yu nó sé yu dón gét novio na pueblo, na kóntri.*
 SBJV 2SG know QUOT 2SG PRF get boyfriend LOC village LOC country
 ‘You should know that you already have a fiancé in the village, in the hometown.’ [ab03ay 010]
- (130) *If di fâmbul 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’:

- (131) *E de gí wán vuelta kwík*
 3SG.SBJ IPFV give one round quickly
 ‘She’s doing a round quickly.’ [dj05be 120]

Other codemixed collocations are further removed from the pole of light verb constructions. The collocation *gí beca* ‘give a scholarship’ (132–133) occurs with or without determiners in accordance with the referential properties of the NP:

- (132) *Den bin gí mí beca.*
 3PL PST give 1SG.INDP scholarship
 ‘I was given a scholarship.’ [ed03sp 057]
- (133) *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.

9.3.2 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. [141](#)). 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 object *wotá* ‘water’. The pragmatic context coerces a semantic role of instrument or means on the associative object:

- (134) *A de wás wotá.*
 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.

Associative objects are assigned a content role by the labile change-of-state verbs *fúlɔp* ‘fill up’ ([135](#)) and *pák* ‘pack, fill up’ ([136](#)):

- (135) *Na China motó den fúlɔp pípul.*
 LOC PLACE car PL be.full people
 ‘In China cars are full of people.’ [au07fn 107]
- (136) *ɔl 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 ([137](#)) and ([138](#)):

- (137) *Na lek 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]
- (138) *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 ([139](#)). The instrument role may also be expressed by a *wet*-prepositional phrase ([140](#)):

Table 9.9 Associative objects

Verb	Object	Gloss	Semantic role of object
<i>fúlɔp</i>	<i>pípul</i>	‘be full of/fill with people’	Content
<i>fúlɔp</i>	<i>watá</i>	‘be full of/fill with water’	
<i>pák</i>	<i>polvo</i>	‘be full of/fill with dust’	Instrument
<i>bít</i>	<i>stík</i>	‘beat with a stick’	
<i>cháp</i>	<i>kótlas</i>	‘chop (off) with a cutlass’	
<i>chúk</i>	<i>néf</i>	‘stab with a knife’	
<i>chúk</i>	<i>nidul</i>	‘sting with a needle’	
<i>chúk</i>	<i>inyección</i>	‘give an injection’	
<i>sút</i>	<i>pistola</i>	‘shoot with a pistol’	
<i>wás</i>	<i>watá</i>	‘wash oneself with water’	Purpose
<i>invita</i>	<i>Guinness</i>	‘invite for a Guinness’	
<i>kapú</i>	<i>hós</i>	‘fight over a house’	
<i>wók</i>	<i>móní</i>	‘work for money’	
<i>fɔdón</i>	<i>stík</i>	‘fall from a tree’	Source
<i>púl</i>	<i>wók</i>	‘sack from work’	
<i>smél</i>	<i>chóp</i>	‘smell of food’	
<i>kómót</i>	<i>pósin</i>	‘become a responsible person’	Goal
<i>tón</i>	<i>pósin</i>	‘turn into a person’	
<i>pré</i>	<i>gód</i>	‘pray to God’	
<i>kráy</i>	<i>móní</i>	‘cry over (lost) money’	Cause
<i>sík</i>	<i>fíba</i>	‘be sick with fever’	
<i>sík</i>	<i>malérya</i>	‘be sick with malaria’	
<i>sík</i>	<i>típhoidea</i>	‘be sick with typhoid fever’	
<i>báy</i>	<i>dos mil</i>	‘buy for two thousand Francs’	Price
<i>sél</i>	<i>dos mil</i>	‘sell for two thousand Francs’	
<i>kól</i>	NAME	‘call something X’	Reference

- (139) *Yu fit tók sé “den chúk=an néf”.*
 2SG can talk QUOT 3PL stab=SG.OBJ knife
 ‘You can say “he was stabbed with a knife”’. [ro05ee 061]
- (140) *Den chúk mí wet néf.*
 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, *kót* ‘cut’ is not attested with an associative object and requires the instrument to be expressed as a prepositional phrase:

- (141) * *A de kót di tín síšs.*
 1SG.SBJ IPFV cut DEF thing scissors
 Intended: ‘I’m cutting the thing with a pair of scissors.’ [dj07ae 477]
- (142) *Kót=an wet síšs!*
 cut=3SG.OBJ with scissors
 ‘Cut it with a pair of scissors!’ [dj07ae 478]

Sentences (143) and (144) 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* (144):

- (143) *Yu de kapú hós.*
 2SG IPFV fight.over house
 ‘You’re fighting over a house.’ [to07fn 112]
- (144) *Den 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 *fɔdɔn* ‘fall’ may be realised as an associative object (145). Alternatively, the source may be indicated via the preposition *frɔn* ‘from’ when it marks the ground (146). Note the possibility of additionally using the “at rest” locative noun *ɔp* ‘up(perside)’ to mark the ground in (146):

- (145) *Di pikín fɔdɔn di stík.*
 DEF child fall DEF tree
 ‘The child fell from the tree.’ [ro05ee 097]
- (146) *Di pikín fɔdɔn frɔn ɔp 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 *smél* ‘smell’ can only be disambiguated by context. In (147) the associative object *chóp* ‘food’ denotes the source of the sensation, in (148), *chóp* denotes the stimulus:

- (147) *E de kúk, áfta e de smél chóp.*
 3SG.SBJ IPFV cook then 3SG.SBJ IPFV smell food
 ‘He’s cooking, afterwards he’ll smell of food.’ [dj07ae 013]

- (148) *Yu de smél chóp, den de fráý éks 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 *kəmət* ‘come out’ and *tón* ‘turn (into)’.

- (149) *E de trén yú sé yu go kəmət pósín.*
 3SG.SBJ IPFV train 2SG.INDP QUOT 2SG POT come.out person
 ‘She is bringing you up to become a responsible person.’ [au07se 131]
- (150) *E tón pósín wán tén.*
 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:

- (151) *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 *móní* ‘money’, the object of *kráy* ‘cry’ in (152):

- (152) (...) *dán papá de kráy in móní.*
 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 (153). 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 (154):

- (153) *Dán pósín go ánsa yú, “yés, na malérya e bin de sík.”*
 that person POT answer 2SG.INDP yes FOC malaria 3SG.SBJ PST IPFV sick
 ‘That person would reply to you “yes, it’s malaria that she was sick with.”’ [dj05be 090]
- (154) *Ús=káyn sík e de sík?*
 Q=kind sickness 3SG.SBJ IPFV be.sick
 ‘What kind of sickness does she have?’ [eb07fn 244]

9.3.3 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 *tók* ‘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:

- (155) *Wé yu kómót sík dán sík na Panyá, wé yu de sík, náy yu*
 SUB 2SG come.out be.sick that sickness LOC Spain SUB 2SG IPFV sick now 2SG
bigín tók Panyá.
 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]
- (156) *A wánt tók dán smól tók 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 (157–158). 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. 63):

- (157) *Den bin fáyn wán fáyn.*
 3PL PST be.fine one fineness
 ‘They were really fine.’ [mi07fn 120]
- (158) *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 (159):

- (159) *Éy, dán káyn spétikul, 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 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:

- (160) *Na gó a de gó ó!*
 FOC go 1SG.SBJ IPFV go SP
 ‘[Mind you] I’m going now!’ [ch07fn 151]

9.3.4 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 3SG.OBJ 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 (161) with the ungrammatical example (162) and sentence (163). In the latter example, the 3SG.OBJ theme object *=an* remains unexpressed:

- (161) *Yu géfɔ sɛn wí=an.*
 2SG have.to send 1PL.INDP=3SG.OBJ
 ‘You have to send it to us.’ [ye07de 009]
- (162) * *A go gí una=an tumóro.*
 1SG.SBJ POT give 2PL=3SG.OBJ tomorrow
 Intended: ‘I’ll give you [PL] it tomorrow.’ [ye07de 011]
- (163) *A go gí unu tumóro.*
 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. Table 9.10 provides an overview of the semantic roles

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	<i>fɔ</i> -PP	—
		Goal (<i>pút</i>)	Theme	<i>fɔ</i> -PP; <i>na</i> -PP	—
3	Adjunction	Patient	Associative object	—	Diverse PPs; SVCs

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.

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 (164):

(164)	Communication verbs	Transfer verbs
	<i>púl</i> ‘narrate’	<i>gí</i> ‘give’
	<i>tél</i> ‘tell’	<i>dás</i> ‘give as present’
	<i>lán</i> ‘teach’	<i>bák</i> ‘give back’
	<i>tích</i> ‘teach’	<i>sén</i> ‘send’
	<i>áks</i> ‘ask’	<i>báy</i> ‘buy’
	<i>ríd</i> ‘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 (165). With transfer and communication verbs, a beneficiary is usually expressed in a PP introduced by *fo* ‘PREP’ (166). 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:

- (165) *Mi mamá dás mí son regalo.*
 1SG.POSS mother give.as.present 1SG.INDP some present
 ‘My mother gave me a present.’ [ro05ee 055]
- (166) *Mi mamá dás son regalo fo 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 *fo* ‘PREP’. The PP can only denote a beneficiary with the recipient remaining unexpressed. Hence the second translation is ungrammatical, since the recipient object cannot alternatively be expressed as a prepositional phrase:

- (167) *Den gí di mɔní fo mí.*
 3PL give DEF money PREP 1SG.INDP
 ‘They gave the money (to someone) for me.’ [lo07fn 555] but not ‘They gave me the money.’

The following two double-object constructions involve the transfer verb *gí* ‘give’ (168) and the verb of communication *púl* (*torí*) ‘narrate (a story)’ (169):

- (168) *Den bin gí mí beca.*
 3PL PST give 1SG.INDP scholarship.
 ‘I was given a scholarship.’ [ed03sp 057]
- (169) *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 *sén* ‘send, throw’ denotes a situation in which both a transfer and a motion event co-occur. When *sén* is used in a double-object construction, the primary object is always a recipient (170).

- (170) *E géfó sén 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 *sén* may not be expressed as a prepositional phrase. Where we do find a prepositional phrase (usually introduced by *fó* ‘PREP’), it can therefore only denote a beneficiary or a goal but not a recipient (171):

- (171) *E géfó sén=an fó 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] but not ‘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 (172) features two type 2 double-object constructions. The verb *dú* ‘do’ takes the primary, beneficiary object *mí* ‘1SG.INDP’ and the patient object *són fébo* ‘a favour’. The verb *wás* ‘wash’ also takes *mí* ‘1SG.INDP’ as the beneficiary object while *klós den* ‘clothing’ functions as the patient object:

- (172) *A wánt mék yu dú mí són fébo mék yu wás mí són*
 1SG.SBJ want SBV 2SG do 1SG.INDP some favour SBV 2SG wash 1SG.INDP some
klós den.
 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 (173), 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 (174):

- (173) *A léf mi pikín na Panyá bikəs a de fia sé den go*
 1SG.SBJ leave 1SG.POSS child LOC Spain because 1SG.SBJ IPFV fear QUOT 3PL POT
belé mí mi pikín.
 impregnate 1SG.INDP 1SG.POSS child
 ‘I have left my child in Spain because I fear that she would fall pregnant on me.’
 [ge05fn]
- (174) *Den tíf mí mi súś.*
 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 *fə* ‘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 (175) involving the verb *bay* ‘buy’ with the PP alternative (176):

- (175) *Áfta primera dama báý=an wán motó, (...)*
 then first lady buy=3SG.OBJ one car
 ‘Then the first lady bought him a car (...)’ [fr03cd 070]
- (176) *A bin báý wán motó fə mi máśa.*
 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 (177), the primary object of *pút* is the goal object *=an* ‘3SG.OBJ’, while the secondary object *saldo* ‘(mobile phone) credit’ is the theme. Sentence (178) also features the goal object *=an* ‘3SG.OBJ’, while the theme object is *cacahuete* ‘groundnut’:

- (177) *Yu gét móvil, yu dón 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]
- (178) *A báý dán dís tín, sən smól pépa, den de pút=an cacahuete.*
 1SG.SBJ buy that this thing some small paper 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 (179) or involve a locative noun (180). 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’):

- (179) *Den kin pút=an fə glás.*
 3PL HAB put=3SG.OBJ PREP glass
 ‘They put it into the glass.’ [ed03sb 096]
- (180) *A dón pút mi búk insay.*
 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 *fə* ‘PREP’ as a beneficiary in *pút*-double-object constructions, particularly where an object pronoun theoretically allows for both interpretations as in (181). A sentence like (180) above, which involves a locative noun (i.e. *insay* ‘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 (182):

- (181) *A dón pút granát fər=an.*
 1SG.SBJ PRF put peanut PREP=3SG.OBJ
 ‘I have put peanuts [somewhere] for her.’ [dj07ae 331a]
 ?I have put peanuts into it.
- (182) *A dón 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:

- (183) *Yu pút=an wán sardina ɔntóp.*
 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 (184) with the single-object construction involving a PP in (185):

- (184) *Na lek sé yu fúlɔp di glás watá?*
 FOC like QUOT 2SG fill DEF glás water
 ‘As if you filled this glass with water?’ [dj07ae 066]
- (185) *E fúlɔp di glás wet watá.*
 3SG.SBJ fill.up DEF glass with water
 ‘She filled the glass with water.’ [dj07ae 067]

9.3.5 Reflexivity

In the majority of cases, reflexivity is expressed through an object NP consisting of the pronominal and reflexive anaphor *séf* ‘self’ and a preceding possessive pronoun with the same person and number as the subject. Sometimes, the body part nouns *skín* ‘body’, *bódi* ‘body’, and *héd* ‘head’ are also employed as reflexive anaphors in the same syntactic position as *séf*. 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. (186):

- (186) *Dán gál e kin fiks in séf, pént in séf.*
 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 séf* ‘shake 3SG.POSS self’ = ‘make an effort’:

- (187) *E sék in séf bókú fɔ tón 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’, *bódi* ‘body’, and *héd* ‘head’ are far less commonly used than *séf* 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:

- (188) *A de sí mi skín na lukiŋlás.*
 1SG.SBJ IPFV see 1SG.POSS body LOC mirror
 ‘I’m seeing myself/my body in the mirror.’ [dj07ae 496]

- (189) *A de kíl mi skín dé, lək 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]

- (190) *E dón 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:

- (191) *Bət fə Bata den de ték/ dân wán sí que den yón mared díá,*
 but PREP PLACE 3PL IPFV take that one if that 3PL own marriage be.expensive
den yón mared de kári moní én.
 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 *wér* ‘dress (up)’ in an explicitly reflexive clause (192) and a clause in which reflexivity remains unexpressed (193):

- (192) *Toichoa wér in séf.*
 NAME wear 3SG.POSS self
 ‘Toichoa has/is dressed up.’ [dj07ae 375]

- (193) *A wér.*
 1SG.SBJ wear
 ‘I’m dressed/have got dressed.’ [ye05ae 233]

9.3.6 Reciprocity

Next to its use as a reflexive anaphor, the pronominal *séf* ‘self’ also serves as a reciprocal pronominal with plural referents. In sentence (194), the reciprocal NP is an object to the verb *sláp* ‘slap’, in (195) to the locative noun *bifó* ‘before’:

- (194) *Den de sláp den séf.*
 3PL IPFV slap 3PL self
 ‘They’re slapping each other.’ [dj07re 020]
- (195) *Pero den nó sidón bifó den séf.*
 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. *den-ɔl-tú* ‘the two of them’) as in (196) or universal inclusivity (*den-ɔl* ‘all of them’) as in (197) is also quite common in reciprocal contexts:

- (196) *Fós na den-ɔl-tú den bin de abraza den séf.*
 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]
- (197) *Den-ɔl den de salút den séf.*
 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 (198):

- (198) *Den lúk den yón fés.*
 3PL look 3PL own face
 ‘They looked at thier own faces.’ [eb07fn 313]

Pichi also has inherently reciprocal verbs, many of which preferably do not occur with the anaphor *séf* (cf. §9.4.3).

9.3.7 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’ (199–200) and *bráyt* ‘be bright’ (201) and the weather nouns *tináda* ‘thunderstorm’, *brís* ‘air’, and *sán* ‘sun’:

- (199) *Tináda de bló.*
 thunderstorm IPFV blow
 ‘A thunderstorm is raging.’ [dj07ae 239]
- (200) *Brís de bló.*
 air IPFV blow
 ‘The wind is blowing.’ [dj07ae 242]
- (201) *Di sán bráyt.*
 DEF sun be.bright
 ‘The sun is bright/is shining.’ [dj07ae 164]

Sentence (202) exemplifies the transitive usage of *bló* ‘blow’, sentence (203) that of *bráyt*, here with the meaning ‘brighten, light up’:

- (202) *Di ventilador de bló mí.*
 DEF fan IPFV blow 1SG.INDP
 ‘The fan is blowing at me.’ [dj07ae 243]

- (203) *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 (203) above:

- (204) *Di dé dák.*
 DEF weather be.dark
 ‘It’s dark.’ [ab07fn 115]
- (205) *Di dé fɔ tidé tú hót, tú móch sán.*
 DEF weather PREP today too be.hot too much sun
 ‘The weather of today is too hot, too much sun.’ [dj07ae 249]
- (206) *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 *fɔl* ‘rain’, which exclusively functions as a weather verb (207). The verb *fɔl* may, however, also occur in the first type of construction, together with the weather noun *rén* ‘rain’ in subject position (208):

- (207) *A de sí di dé lɛkɛ sé e wánt fɔl.*
 1SG.SBJ IPFV see DEF day like QUOT 3SG.SBJ want rain
 ‘I think the weather is like it’s going to rain.’ [ye07fn 083]
- (208) *A bin chék sé rén go fɔl.*
 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 *gét* ‘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 codemixed utterances involving a Spanish atmospheric phenomenon:

- (209) *E gét relámpago.*
 3SG.SBJ get lightning
 ‘There is lightning.’ [dj07ae 245]

- (210) *Dán sáy, niebla dé dé.*
 that side fog BE.LOC there
 ‘It’s foggy there.’ [he07fn 262]

9.3.8 Body states

Body states are expressed in constructions involving transitive (cf. 1a–1c in Table 9.11) and intransitive (2a–2c) clauses. Type 1 constructions in the table 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’ (211–213).

Table 9.11 Expressing body states

	Body state verb	1a	1b	1c	2a	2b	2c
a.	<i>pén</i> ‘pain’	×		×			
	<i>hát</i> ‘hurt’	×		×		×	
b.	<i>hángri</i> ‘be hungry’		×	×	×		
	<i>tósti</i> ‘be thirsty’		×	×	×		
	<i>slíp</i> ‘sleep’		×	×	×		
	<i>sík</i> ‘be sick’				×		
c.	<i>kól</i> ‘be cold’			×		×	
	<i>hót</i> ‘be hot’			×		×	
	<i>táya</i> ‘be tired’					×	
	<i>belfúl</i> ‘be satiated’					×	
	<i>wél</i> ‘be well’					×	
d.	<i>gúd</i> ‘be well’			×			×
	<i>bád</i> ‘be ill’			×			×
	<i>fáyn</i> ‘be fine’			×			×

- (211) *Mi belé de hát mí.*
 1SG.POSS belly IPFV hurt 1SG.INDP
 ‘My stomach is hurting me.’ [dj07ae 312]

- (212) *Mi belé de pén mí.*
 1SG.POSS belly IPFV pain 1SG.INDP
 ‘My stomach is paining me.’ [dj07ae 314]

- (213) *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:

- (214) *Smólten slíp kéch=an.*
 shortly sleep catch=3SG.OBJ
 ‘Shortly afterwards, he became sleepy/fell asleep.’ [ab03ab 050]
- (215) *Wán hángri kéch mí dé.*
 one hunger catch 1SG.INDP there
 ‘I suddenly felt very hungry there.’ [dj07ae 324]
- (216) *Tósti 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 *fil* ‘feel’ (217–218). Hunger and thirst can also be expressed in combination with the verb *sófa* ‘suffer, endure’ (219):

- (217) *A de fil hángri, A de fil slíp.*
 1SG.SBJ IPFV feel hungry 1SG.SBJ IPFV feel sleep
 ‘I’m feeling hungry, I’m feeling sleepy.’ [ye07fn 132]
- (218) *A fil 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]
- (219) *A sófa wán hángri na dán kóntri.*
 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 (218) and (219). In the former example, we find a dislocated possessive construction in the object position of *fil*. In the latter example, the indefinite determiner *wán* ‘one, a’ precedes *hángri* ‘hunger’, the object of *sáfa* ‘endure’.

The type 1c construction also serves to express the body states ‘feel hot’ and ‘feel cold’. Compare the following two examples:

- (220) A *de fil tú mós ch hót.*
1SG.SBJ IPFV feel too much heat
‘I’m feeling too hot.’ [dj07ae 316]
- (221) E *de fil gúd ef 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 (222–223). However, other transient body states like *sík* ‘be sick’ also appear in this construction (224):

- (222) A *de hángri.*
1SG.SBJ IPFV be.hungry
‘I’m hungry.’ [dj07ae 322]
- (223) A *de tísti.*
1SG.SBJ IPFV be.thirsty
‘I’m thirsty.’ [dj07ae 326]
- (224) *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’ (225) *wél* ‘be well’ (226), *belfúl* ‘be satiated’ (227), and *hát* ‘be hurt’ (228):

- (225) A *táya.*
1SG.SBJ be.tired
‘I’m tired.’ [dj07ae 318]
- (226) A *wél.*
1SG.SBJ well
‘I’m well.’ [li07fn 011]
- (227) A *belfúl.*
1SG.SBJ be.satiated
‘I’m full.’ [dj07ae 524]

- (228) *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’ (229). 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):

- (229) *Dán tén 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 *belfúl* ‘be satiated’ may also appear in transitive clauses involving associative objects (cf. §9.3.2):

- (230) *E de sík fíba.*
 3SG.SBJ IPFV sick fever
 ‘She’s sick with fever.’ [dj07ae 273]

- (231) *A belfúl plantí.*
 1SG.SBJ be.satiated plantain
 ‘I’m full with plantain.’ [dj07ae 529]

9.4 Valency adjustments

Verb valency is adjusted in three ways. For one part, the omission of the core participant 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 *dén* 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.

9.4.1 Unexpressed subjects

Subjects are normally expressed overtly but subject omission (indicated by \emptyset) occasionally occurs with verbs with impersonal reference, as with *fít* ‘can’ in an excerpt from a procedural text (232):

- (232) Ø *fít sifta ín sóté tú tén mék mék dán smól smól watá ðen nó*
 2SG can sieve 3SG.INDP until two time make SBJV that small REP water PL NEG
léf.
 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 the ambiguous function of *sé* in (233b), which is introduced by *sé*, with (a) where *sé* is firmly integrated into the sentence as a quotative marker:

- (233) a. *E tél=an sé “papá mí néva chóp mi sénwe”.*
 3SG.SBJ tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT father 1SG.INDP NEG.PRF eat 1SG.INDP EMP
 ‘He told him “please, I myself haven’t eaten yet”.’ [ye03cd 149]
 b. *Sé chico, dí tén 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.

9.4.2 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 (234) 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):

- (234) *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’ (235), a verb which is lower on the transitivity scale, but may also be used transitively (236), due to its status as a labile experiential verb:

- (235) *A de bló ɔ a de rəs.*
 1SG.SBJ IPFV relax or 1SG.SBJ IPFV rest
 ‘I’m relaxing or I’m resting.’ [dj07ae 030]
- (236) *Mék a bló dí pśsin mék e fit 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 *śn tın* ‘something’ of the highly transitive verb *hīb* ‘throw (away)’ (237) and *pśsin* ‘person’, object of *nák* ‘hit’ (238):

- (237) (...) *yu hīb śn tın fɔ grśn* (...)
 2SG throw some thing PREP ground
 ‘(...) (if) you throw something on the ground (...)’ [hi03cb 028]
- (238) (...) *na ín e de nák pśsin.*
 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 *tśk* ‘say, talk’ in a transitive (239) and in an intransitive clause (240):

- (239) *Bikəs yu dón tśk wán bád tśk, e sé “gód háma yu mót!”*
 because 2SG PRF talk one bad word 3SG.SBJ QUOT God hammer 2SG mouth
 ‘Because you have said something bad, she says “may God hammer your mouth!”’ [au07se 030]
- (240) *Sé “a bin sí bət a nó fit tśk.”*
 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* ‘sing’ (241):

- (241) *E de síng na Píchi.*
 3SG.SBJ IPFV sing 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’ (242–243) and *kúk* ‘cook’ (244–245) in the transitive and intransitive sentence pairs below:

- (242) (...) *wé yu nó nó to fiks 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]
- (243) *Di sastre de só.*
 DEF tailor IPFV sew
 ‘The tailor is sewing.’ [dj07ae 353]
- (244) *E kin kúk súp.*
 3SG.SBJ HAB cook soup
 ‘He cooks soups.’ [ye03cd 086]
- (245) *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’ (246–247) and *gó* ‘go (away)’ (248–249), whose goal objects may remain unexpressed:

- (246) *Yu néa rích Lubá?*
 2SG NEG.PRF arrive PLACE
 ‘You’ve not yet been to Luba?’ [li07re 058]
- (247) *E dón rích.*
 3SG.SBJ PRF arrive
 ‘He has arrived.’ [dj07ae 356]
- (248) *Bueno, a de gó mákit náu.*
 good 1SG.SBJ IPFV go market now
 ‘Alright, I’m going to the market now.’ [ro05fe 047]
- (249) *A go gó.*
 1SG.SBJ POT go
 ‘I’ll (eventually) go.’ [ra07se 097]

Typical affected-agent verbs are the ingestive verbs *chóp* (250) ‘eat’ and *dríng* ‘drink’ (251). 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’:

- (250) A *kán chóp.*
 1SG.SBJ PFV eat
 ‘(Then) I ate.’ [ed03sb 016]
- (251) *Dí pósin 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’, *hía* ‘hear, understand’, *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. 240). However, *sí* is also very often encountered in a non-specific context with a 3SG object pronoun (252) or an object NP *di tín* ‘the thing’ (253). 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):

- (252) *Yés, yu de sí=an?*
 yes 2SG IPFV see=3SG.OBJ
 ‘Yes, do you understand?’ [dj05ae 188]
- (253) *Yu sí di tín?*
 2SG see DEF thing
 ‘You see?’ [ur05fn 013]

The cognition verb *mémba* often appears without an explicit object with its meaning of ‘remember’ (254):

- (254) A *nó de mémba.*
 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV remember
 ‘I don’t remember.’ [fr03ft 047]

However, when *mémba* occurs in a transitive clause, it is best translated as ‘think of’, both with a specific object (255) and a non-specific one (256):

- (255) A *kin mémba yú bókú.*
 1SG.SBJ HAB think 2SG.INDP much
 ‘I think of you a lot.’ [nn05fn 045]
- (256) *Nó hambóg mí, a de mémba sən 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 (257):

- (257) *Bət wi fít de plé a jám yú yu fədón.*
 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 *bət* ‘bite’. It manifests itself in the use of the bare noun *dóg* ‘dog’, the presence of the habitual aspect marker *kin* and the absence of an overt object:

- (258) *Dóg kin bét.*
 dog HAB bite
 ‘Dogs bite.’ [dj07ae 371]

9.4.3 Unexpressed reflexive and reciprocal nominals

Pichi speakers may make use of the reflexive anaphor *séf* or a body part noun in order to express reflexivity and reciprocity (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’ (259), *báf* ‘bathe’ (260), and *wér* ‘dress (up)’ (193). Note that *wér* takes an object in (262) and still implies reflexivity:

- (259) *Dən de kán sé dən kán wás.*
 3PL IPFV come QUOT 3PL come wash
 ‘They come to wash themselves.’ [nn07fn 145]
- (260) *Yu dón báf?*
 2SG PRF bathe
 ‘Have you bathed?’ [dj07ae 377]
- (261) *A wér.*
 1SG.SBJ wear
 ‘I’m dressed up.’ [ye05ae 233]
- (262) *Na lek if yu wér sót di gud-sáy wet di rən-sáy.*
 FOC like if 2SG wear shirt DEF good.CPD-side with DEF wrong.CPD-side
 ‘That’s like if you put on a shirt the right way or 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 *wér* ‘dress (up)’ in the following sentences:

- (263) *Wás yu skín!*
wash 2SG body
‘Wash yourself!’ [dj07ae 504]
- (264) *Djunais wér in séf.*
NAME wear 3SG.POSS self
‘Djunais has dressed up.’ [dj07ae 375]

The basic posture verbs *slíp* ‘lie (down), sleep’, *tínáp* ‘stand (up)’ and *sidón* ‘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 *bén* ‘bend (over)’ in (265–266), as well as those denoting other types of body-related events, e.g. *háyd* ‘hide’ in (267–268) are found with or without reflexive pronouns:

- (265) *E de wáka e bén.*
3SG.SBJ IPFV walk 3SG.SBJ bend
‘He is walking stooped over.’ [ra07se 080]
- (266) *Sé den líng den séf ɔ fə lek háw den bén den séf?*
QUOT 3PL lean 3PL self or PREP like how 3PL bend 3PL self
‘That they’re leaning (onto something) or how they’re stooped over?’ [dj07re 026]
- (267) *A kán háyd insay hós.*
1SG.SBJ PFV hide inside house
‘(Then) I hid in the house.’ [dj07ae 382]
- (268) *A háyd mi séf 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 *rés* ‘rest’:

- (269) *A de bló ɔ a de rés.*
1SG.SBJ IPFV relax or 1SG.SBJ IPFV rest
‘I’m relaxing or I’m resting.’ [dj07ae 030]
- (270) *A wánt gó rés mi séf.*
1SG.SBJ want go rest 1SG.POSS self
‘I want to go rest.’ [dj07ae 379]

- (271) A wánt gó **bló** **mi** **séf**.
 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 *séf* ‘self’. Consider the use of reciprocal *séf* with the sexual act denoting verbs *nák* ‘knock’ (272) and *slíp* ‘sleep with’ (273), as well as the unexpressed reciprocal pronoun in (274). These examples also illustrate that sexual act denoting verbs, including highly transitive ones like *nák*, do not imply a male agent in Pichi:

- (272) (...) **wi** **nák** **wi** **séf**.
 1PL knock 1PL self
 ‘(...) we knocked each other.’ [dj07ae 300]
- (273) *Ínsay di motó, na dé unu de slíp unu séf?*
 inside DEF car FOC there 2PL IPFV sleep 2PL self
 ‘In the car, that’s where you sleep with each other?’ [ro05rt 020]
- (274) *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 *séf* (275–276):

- (275) *E tél 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]
- (276) *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 *fét* ‘fight’ in 52). 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 (277), with its intransitive use with two coordinate subjects in (278):

- (277) *Pero e mít mi gran-má.*
 but 3SG.SBJ meet 1SG.POSS grand-ma
 ‘But he met my grandmother.’ [fr03ft 085]
- (278) *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 *fiba* ‘resemble’ in the following transitive and intransitive sentences:

- (279) *Djunais fiba Boyé.*
 NAME resemble NAME
 ‘Djunais resembles Boyé.’ [dj08ae 397]
- (280) *Djunais wet Boyé den fiba.*
 NAME with NAME 3PL resemble
 ‘Djunais and Boyé (they) resemble (each other).’ [dj07ae 393]

9.4.4 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	<i>mék</i> ‘make’	Subject of SBJV clause	Subjunctive clause
Permissive causative	<i>léf</i> ‘leave’	Object of <i>léf</i> and simultaneously subject of SBJV clause	Subjunctive clause
Resultative causative	<i>léf</i> ‘leave’	Object of <i>léf</i>	Resultative complement

Causative and permissive constructions are formed with the two verbs *mék* ‘make’ and *léf* ‘leave, permit’. Examples (281–282) present their use in non-causative transitive clauses:

- (281) *Yu fit mék mí wán café?*
 2SG can make 1SG.INDP one coffee
 ‘Can you make me a coffee?’ [ye07ga 034]
- (282) *A sé a nó fit léf=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, Yakpo 2017b). The most common type of causative construction in Pichi involves 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. Sentence (283) below features the (inanimate) causer NP *lotería* ‘lottery’, the causative main verb *mék* ‘make’, the causee NP *mi məní* ‘my money’, and the subordinate verb-of-effect *bəkú* ‘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’:

- (283) *Lotería dən mék mék mi məní bəkú.*
 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 (284). 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 causative constructions:

- (284) *A go mék=an gó tumóro.*
 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 (285) features a causative construction with the intransitive verb of effect *bélch* ‘belch’ and (286) 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’ (286):

- (285) *A níd fə drink sən tín wé de mék mék a bélch*
 1SG.SBJ need PREF drink some thing SUB IPFV make SBJV 1SG.SBJ belch
 ‘I need to drink something that will make me belch.’ [ye07ga 029]
- (286) *Na ín mék sé mék dən wích=an.*
 FOC 3SG.INDP make QUOT SBJV 3PL bewitch=3SG.OBJ
 ‘That’s why he was bewitched.’ [ru03wt 011]

Sentence (287) illustrates the two options for rendering causative meaning with labile verbs. Before the comma, the verb *dríngo* ‘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:

- (287) A *dróngor=an, a mék mék e dróngo.*
 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 verb *gí* ‘give’ in a double-object construction:

- (288) E *bin mék mék a gí di gél 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 (289) as well as the verb of effect in the subordinate clause (290) may be negated:

- (289) *Pút di watá pero nó mék mék e fɔdɔn 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]
- (290) *Fít sifita ín sóté tú tén mék mék dán smól smól watá den nó léf.*
 can sieve 3SG.INDP until two time make SBJV 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 (291) and (292) feature regular TMA marking via *dón* ‘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. 286 above):

- (291) *Na ín mék dotí dón plénte.*
 FOC 3SG.INDP make dirty PRF plenty
 ‘That’s why the dirt has become so much.’ [hi03cb 033]
- (292) *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’ (293) (cf. §10.5.5 for a full treatment of the functions of *mék* ‘SBJV’ in subordinate clauses):

- (293) *Ūs=sáy yu wánt mék di smók komót?*
 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 et al. 1994: 213–30; Song 2001: 25–33).

The verb *léf* ‘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 *léf* and reiterate it as the subject of the subordinate subjunctive clause.

Consider the following two permissives and compare them with a causative construction like (285) above. In (285), 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.

- (294) *A léf 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]
- (295) *Seis años, léf=an mék e wér klós, mék e gó báy*
 six year.PL leave=3SG.OBJ SBJV 3SG.SBJ wear clothing SBJV 3SG.SBJ go buy
in bréd.
 3SG.POSS bread
 ‘(At) six years, let him dress up (by himself), let him go buy his (own) bread.’
 [ab03ab 151]

The verb *léf* ‘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 situations 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 *léf* (cf. §11.3 for resultative adjuncts in secondary predicate constructions).

Sentence (296) features the property item *yún* ‘be young’. The resultative causative equivalent in (297) features the causer *e* ‘3SG.SBJ’ = ‘it’ (i.e. ‘the clothing’), the causee *yú* ‘2SG.INDP’, which is an object to *léf* ‘leave’, as well as the resultative complement *yún*

‘young’. The verb *léf* in these constructions may either be used as an inchoative-stative verb, as in (297), or a dynamic verb, as in (301) below, where *léf* is specified by *de* ‘IPFV’:

- (296) *Dís húman yún yét.*
 this woman be.young yet
 ‘This woman is still young.’ [ro05fe 014]
- (297) *E léf yú yún.*
 3SG.SBJ leave 2SG.INDP be.young
 ‘It makes/made you (appear) young.’ [dj07ae 197]

Example (298) presents a non-causative predication involving the inchoative-stative property item *kǝrét* ‘be correct’. The resultative causative counterpart in (299) features the force causer *gǝd* ‘God’, the causative verb *léf* ‘leave’, and the resultative complement *kǝrét* ‘(be) correct’:

- (298) *Dí wán nó kǝrét.*
 this one NEG be.correct
 ‘This one is not correct.’ [dj07ae 188]
- (299) *Gǝd go léf di mán kǝrét.*
 God POT leave DEF man be.correct
 ‘God will make this man righteous.’ [dj07ae 202]

Sentence (300) is an equative clause featuring the identity copula/focus marker *na* ‘FOC’. The causative equivalent in (301) once more features the resultative causative verb *léf*, as well as the compound noun and resultative complement *yun-bǝy* ‘young.CPD-boy’:

- (300) *Di húman na yun-gél.*
 DEF woman FOC be.young.CPD-girl
 ‘The woman is a young woman.’ [ro05fe 013]
- (301) *Di klós ðen de léf yú yun-bǝy.*
 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 (283) above with the force causer *lotería* ‘lottery’ and the property item *bǝkú* ‘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 (302) below, *pút* is employed like *léf* in (297) and (301) 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 séf bíg mán* ‘make yourself an important man’:

- (302) *Éf yu húman na bíg húman, e hád fə pút yu séf bíg mán.*
 if 2SG woman FOC big woman 3SG.SBJ hard PREP put 2SG self big man
 ‘If your wife is an important woman, it is difficult to make yourself an important man.’ [ma03hm 083]

9.4.5 Impersonal constructions

A backgrounding passive may be formed by using impersonal *den* ‘3PL’ in the subject position. To begin with, the 3PL personal pronoun *den* may be used generically to refer to a loosely specified collective. Example (303) features the generic, impersonal use of *den* in a transitive clause:

- (303) *Den de wér wáyť íp violeta dón.*
 3PL IPFV wear white up violet down
 ‘They [the pupils] wear white up (and) violet down.’ [ma03hm 032]

The pronoun *den* 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 *den* serves to background a non-specific agent:

- (304) *Esto na wán ída kóntri, den go púl yú inmediateamente, den*
 this LOC one other country 3PL POT remove 2SG.INDP immediately 3PL
de púl yú wók.
 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 (305) and a transitive clause (306), respectively. In the intransitive clause, the subject *ród* ‘road’ is patient to the inchoative-stative verb *strét*. In the transitive clause, impersonal *den* in subject position denotes the backgrounded agent, while the patient *ród* is now in object position:

- (305) *Di ród strét.*
 DEF road be.straight
 ‘The road is straight.’ [dj07ae 122]

- (306) *Den dón strét di ród.*
 3PL PRF straighten DEF road
 ‘The road has been straightened.’ [dj07ae 123]

Impersonal *den* 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 *den*. For example, (307) sounds awkward, 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 (308):

- (307) ? *Den bét=an na fām.*
 3PL bite=3SG.OBJ LOC farm
 ?‘She was bitten on the farm.’ [li07fn 098]

- (308) *Snék bét=an na fām.*
 snake bite=3SG.OBJ LOC farm
 ‘A snake bit her on the farm.’ [li05fn 099]

However, impersonal *den* does not retain its plural reference by default. Sentence (309) was elicited by means of the “caused positions” video clip series of the Language and Cognition Group of the Max Planck Institute 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:

- (309) *Den pút=an mót dón fɔ di tébul.*
 3PL put=3SG.OBJ mouth down PREP DEF table
 ‘It has been put mouth-down on the table.’ [li07pe 089]

Impersonal *den* is subject to some morphosyntactic restrictions inherent to the non-specific nature of the pronoun. Impersonal *den* 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 *pósin* ‘person’ and *mán* ‘man, human-being’. The generic noun *pósin* ‘person, human-being’ may occur as an agent subject in transitive clauses and function like impersonal *den* ‘3PL’. The noun *pósin* refers to a backgrounded non-specific human agent. Compare the use of *pósin* and *den* in these two near-identical sentences:

- (310) *Pósin 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]

- (311) *Den 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 *den* ‘3PL’, other personal pronouns are also sometimes used with weak reference. Example (312) 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 (313):

- (312) *Wi de pús=an.*
 1PL IPFV push=3SG.OBJ
 ‘I’m managing.’ [Lit. ‘We’re pushing it.’] [ur07fn 100]
- (313) *Na leke wí nâw, wi de tók Panyá, wi go nó sé dís pósín,*
 FOC like 1PL.INDP now 1PL IPFV talk Spanish 1PL POT know QUOT this person
na nigeriano.
 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 (314):

- (314) *Dé, éni káyn tín na mɔní, yu fit mék éni káyn tín yu go sí*
 there every kind thing FOC money 2SG can make every kind thing 2SG POT see
mɔní.
 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 (315):

- (315) *Na fɔ tík=an mɔ.*
 FOC PREP thicken=3SG.OBJ more
 ‘It has to be thickened more.’ [dj07ae 151]
- (316) *Na to inicia ín.*
 FOC to initiate 3SG.INDP
 ‘He has to be initiated [to social life in Malabo].’

10 Clause linkage

Relations between clauses may be established in various ways in 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.

10.1 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 tén* '(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):

- (1) *Yu gó yu pé, siete mil yu baja, áfta yu finis yu sube, wé yu*
2SG go 2SG pay seven thousand 2SG go.down then 2SG finish 2SG go.up SUB 2SG
de pák mɔ siete mil, wé yu sube.
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 (2) shows how the sequential meaning of *áfta* can be read as a result relation in combination with continuative intonation:

10 Clause linkage

- (2) *A nó sabí ús=tín bin kán pás, áfta e gó na hospital.*
 1SG.SBJ NEG know Q=thing PST PFV pass then 3SG.SBJ go 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 *lek* ‘like’ (3):

- (3) *Lek náu, lek Boyé só na mi mán, áfta mi sísta go*
 like now like NAME like.that FOC 1SG.POSS man then 1SG.POSS sister POT
kól=an sé, wé e go kán, “ús=sáy mi brōda-ló dé?”
 call=3SG.OBJ QUOT SUB 3SG.SBJ POT come Q=side 1SG.POSS 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 (4) shows how the sequential meaning of *áfta* can be read as a reason relation:

- (4) *Ef yu sí sé, sōn sáy di plés klín, áfta den de dú di tín den*
 if 2SG see QUOT some side DEF PLACE be.clean then 3PL IPFV do DEF thing PL
fáyn, yu nó go bísín ef yu gasta mōní.
 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 tén* ‘at that time’ also relates a situation to a preceding one. In (5b), *dán tén* indicates a temporal relation of simultaneity with the preceding clause (a):

- (5) a. *E mít mi antí.*
 3SG.SBJ meet 1SG.POSS aunt
 ‘He met my aunt.’ [fr03ft 086]
 b. *Dán tén mi antí gét belé.*
 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 (6), a temporal interpretation is favoured due to the presence of the adverbial *las doce* ‘twelve (o’clock)’:

- (6) *Bikōs ín de sé, éni las doce na ín in*
 because 3SG.INDP IPFV QUOT every the.PL twelve FOC 3SG.INDP 3SG.POSS
abuela kin kán kól=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]

10.2 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.

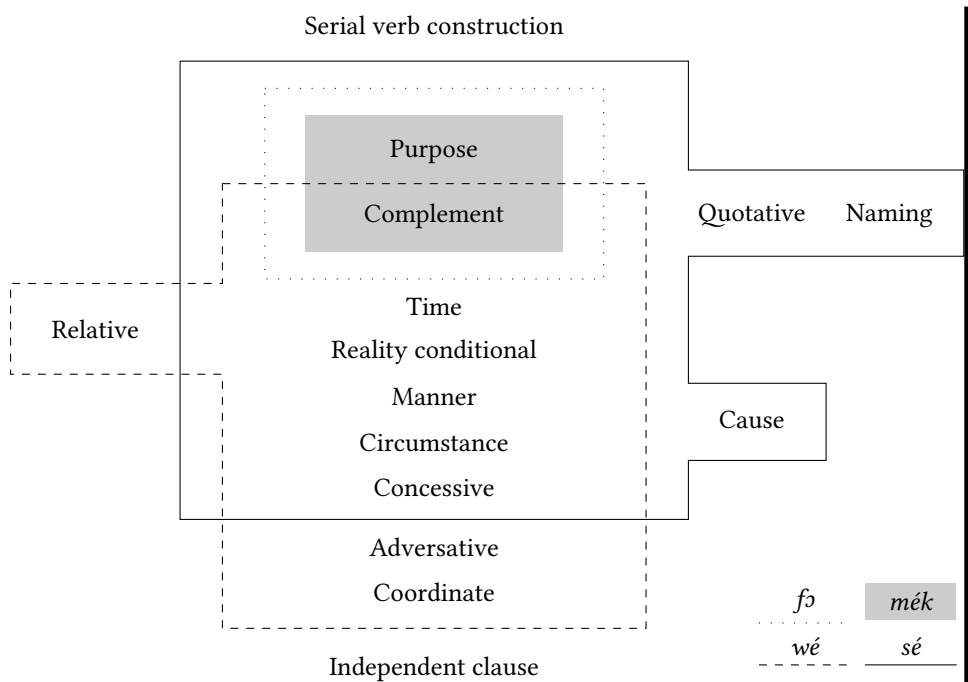


Figure 10.1 Functions of *fɔ*, *mék*, *wé*, and *sé* by clause type

10.3 Coordination

Coordinate clauses may be linked by way of intonation as well as the linkers *wé* ‘SUB’ and *an* ‘and’. In (7), *bús* ‘forest’ bears a continuative boundary tone, which links the clause to the following one after the comma.

- (7) Só e gó 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, (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):

- (8) a. *Áfta na mi gran-má a bin de kól 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 tón, wé a bigín gó skúl, wé a bin gét,*
 SUB 1PL PFV come LOC town SUB 1SG.SBJ begin go school SUB 1SG.SBJ PST get
a tínk sé seis años.
 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 (8b) above may extend into contiguous meanings such as adversative (9). 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.

- (9) a. *Frijoles yés frijoles.*
 bean.PL yes bean.PL
 ‘[The Cubans call them] frijoles, yes frijoles.’ [ed03sp 119]
- b. *Wé yá só, frijoles na haricots na yá.*
 SUB here like.that bean.PL FOC beans 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: 422) and thereby often occurs without an overt subject as in (10):

- (10) a. *Den de kál dís tín fɔ cacahuete, den de kál=an maní.*
 3PL IPFV call this thing PREP groundnut 3PL IPFV call=3SG.OBJ ground.nut
 ‘They call this peanut thing, they call it “maní”.’ [ed03sp 082]
- b. *Sé mónin tén a go gó, a báy, a ték tú*
 QUOT morning time 1SG.SBJ POT go 1SG.SBJ buy 1SG.SBJ take two
peso (...)
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):

- (11) *E nák di tébul an di stáyl wé e nák di tébul strón, e*
 3SG.SBJ hit DEF table and DEF style SUB 3SG.SBJ hit DEF table be.strong 3SG.SBJ
kán sék di plét an di plét kán brók.
 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. (54) for an example.

10.4 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:

10 Clause linkage

- (12) *Di dé wé yu go níð=an, yu go sé “a nó gét pamáyn”, yu*
 DEF day SUB 2SG POT need=3SG.OBJ 2SG POT QUOT 1SG.SBJ NEG get oil 2SG
go kót gadinéks.
 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:

- (13) *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 *tók* ‘talk, say’ and *tél* ‘tell’. For instance, *sé* does not normally take a nominal object, as does *tók*. Compare (14a) and (14b).

- (14) a. **Mék a sé wán wód.*
 SBJV 1SG.SBJ QUOT one word
 Intended: ‘Let me say one word.’ [to07fn 219]
 b. *A tók wán wód.*
 1SG.SBJ talk one word
 ‘I said one word.’ [to07fn 220]

Beyond that, adverbials do not usually modify *sé* ‘QUOT’ (15a). Adverbials only appear as quoted complements indexed by *sé* (b). Again, there is no restriction on adverbial modification of the speech verb *tók* ‘talk, say’ (c):

- (15) a. **A sé=an kwík.*
 1SG.SBJ QUOT=3SG.OBJ quickly
 Intended: ‘I said it quickly.’ [to07fn 221]
 b. *A sé “kwík.”*
 1SG.SBJ QUOT quickly
 ‘I said “quickly.”’ [to07fn 222]
 c. *A tók=an kwík*
 1SG.SBJ talk=3SG.OBJ quickly
 ‘I said it quickly.’ [to07fn 223]

Secondly, *sé* ‘QUOT’ is not normally encountered as a verbal complement. Hence below, the speech verb *tók* ‘talk, say’ appears as verbal complement to the modal verb *fít* ‘can’. The appearance of *sé* in this position is not attested.

- (16) *Yu fít tók “a de fil di sént fō lek háw e de kúk di*
 2SG can talk 1SG.SBJ IPFV feel DEF scent PREP like how 3SG.SBJ IPFV cook DEF
plantí” ∘ “a de siente di sént sé pòsin de kúk plantí dé”.
 plantain SP 1SG.SBJ IPFV feel DEF scent 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 (17a–17e), in which speaker (ed) recalls his difficulty in distinguishing a transsexual man from a woman:

- (17) 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 (18) 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 (18a) with the alternative translations of the subject-less *sé* in (18b):

- (18) a. *E go sé e de fie, e nó go gí mí di tín*
 3SG.SBJ POT QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV fear 3SG.SBJ NEG POT give 1SG.INDP DEF thing
wé a de sén=an.
 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:

- (19) *In bráda den ál kómót na tón yá só den sé den de kán*
 3SG.POSS brother PL all go.out LOC town here like.that 3PL QUOT 3PL IPFV come
ték=an.
 take=3SG.OBJ
 ‘His brothers all left town, (so) they said they came to take her.’ [ab03ay 142]
- (20) *E nó sabí tók ni Panyá, e sé e wánt muchachita de*
 3SG.SBJ NEG know talk even Spanish 3SG.SBJ QUOT 3SG.SBJ want young.girl of
diecisiete años.
 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 (20) above or insert direct quotations as in (21) 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:

- (21) *Tidé e kán e sé, “a tínk sé a go finis ál di*
 today 3SG.SBJ come 3SG.SBJ QUOT 1SG.SBJ think QUOT 1SG.SBJ POT finish all DEF
resto”.
 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: 398). The named or listed items appear as nominal objects of *sé*.

- (22) *Kríó mamá ðen wé ðen de tók Píchi ðen kin tók sé grín.*
 Krio mother PL SUB 3PL IPFV talk Píchi 3PL HAB talk QUOT green
 ‘The elderly Krio women, when they talk Píchi, they usually say green.’
 [as opposed to ‘verd’ like younger people] [dj05ce 257]

In combination with the verb *kól* ‘call’, the naming construction translates as ‘be in a kinship relation with X’:

- (23) *Na fada-ló, na di papá wé e bón mí, na ín*
 FOC father.CPD-law FOC DEF father SUB 3SG.SBJ beget 1SG.INDP FOC 3SG.INDP
mi mán go kól sé suegro.
 1SG.POSS man POT call QUOT father-in-law
 ‘That is the father-in-law, that is the father who begot me, it is him that my husband would call father-in-law.’ [ro05de 007]

Sentence (24) exemplifies the use of *sé* in listing. In these examples, the name or members of the list appear as nominal complements of *sé*:

- (24) *A fít tél 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:

- (25) 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 (26), *sé* expresses identity in combination with the copula and focus marker *na*:

- (26) *Di pikín ðl sé na mi yón bikəs a ðón pé móní.*
 DEF child all QUOT FOC 1SG.POSS own 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).

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.

10.5.1 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”.

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 *chóp* ‘eat’ is necessarily

Table 10.1 Complementation and finiteness

Feature/strategy	<i>f</i> ₃ 'PREP'	Ø / <i>de</i> 'IPFV'	<i>mék</i> 'SBJV'	<i>sé</i> '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

in a relation of simultaneous taxis with the MC verb *bigín* ‘begin to’ in a complement construction like *a bigín de chóp* ‘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, restricted 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 *if* ‘if’, which may function as complementisers in indirect question clauses (cf. §10.6.5).

10.5.2 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 sóri sé e dón 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 (\emptyset) in prospective aspect constructions. However, *wánt* takes \emptyset 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 Table 10.2, 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.

10.5.3 *De* ‘IPFV’

The aspectual and modal verbs *bigín* ‘begin’, *wánt/wónt* ‘want, be about to’, *fít* ‘can’, and *géfó* ‘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 denoted by the verb. Compare the following constructions.

Table 10.2 Complement-taking verbs, semantic class, and type of clause linkage

Semantic class	Verb	Gloss	Ø	<i>de</i> 'IPFV'	<i>fɔ</i> 'PREP'	<i>mék</i> 'SBJV'	<i>sé</i> 'QUOT'
Aspectual & modal	<i>kɔmɔt</i>	Egressive	×				
	<i>finis</i>	Completive	×				
	<i>sigue</i>	Continuative	×				
	<i>wánt</i>	Prospective	×				
	<i>bigín</i>	Ingressive	×	×			
	<i>fit</i>	'can'	×	×			
	<i>géfɔ</i>	'have to'	×	×			
	<i>hébul</i>	'be capable of'	×				
	<i>mánech</i>	'manage to'	×				
	<i>sabí</i>	'know how to'	×				
	<i>lék</i>	'like to'	×				
	<i>kóstɔn</i>	'be used to'	×				
	<i>léf</i>	'stop (doing)'			×		
	<i>lán</i>	'learn to'			×		
Experiential & body state	<i>fɔgét</i>	'forget to'			×		
	<i>bísin</i>	'be busy (with)'			×		
	<i>táya</i>	'be tired of'			×		
	<i>gládin</i>	'be happy to'			×		
	<i>sóri</i>	'be sorry to'			×		
	<i>sém</i>	'be ashamed of'			×		
Weak deontic	<i>fáyn</i>	'be fine to'			×	×	×
	<i>bád</i>	'be bad to'			×	×	×
	<i>gúd</i>	'be good to'			×	×	×
	<i>hád</i>	'be difficult to'			×	×	×
	<i>ísi</i>	'be easy to'			×	×	×
	<i>fia</i>	'be afraid to'			×	×	×
	<i>mém̥ba</i>	'remember to'			×	×	×
	<i>fil</i>	'feel like'			×	×	×
	<i>tráy</i>	'try to'	×		×	×	×
	<i>níd</i>	'need to'			×	×	×
	<i>grí</i>	'agree to'			×	×	×
	<i>hélp</i>	'help to'			×	×	×

Semantic class	Verb	Gloss	∅	<i>de</i> 'IPFV'	<i>fɔ</i> 'PREP'	<i>mék</i> 'SBJV'	<i>sé</i> 'QUOT'
Strong deontic	<i>wánt</i>	'want to'	×	×		×	×
	<i>mék</i>	'cause to'				X	X
	<i>léf</i>	'allow to'				×	×
	<i>fɔs</i>	'force to'				×	×
	<i>tún</i>	'persuade to'				×	×
	<i>tél</i>	'tell to'				×	×
	<i>áks</i>	'ask to'				×	×
	<i>bég</i>	'ask to'				×	×
Speech	<i>tók</i>	'talk, say'					X
	<i>tél</i>	'tell that'					×
	<i>hála</i>	'shout that'					×
	<i>ánsa</i>	'answer that'					×
Perception & cognition	<i>chék</i>	'think that'					×
	<i>tínk</i>	'think that'					×
	<i>nó/sabi</i>	'know that'					×
	<i>bilíf</i>	'believe that'					×
	<i>kechóp</i>	'realise that'					×
	<i>sí</i>	'see that'					×
	<i>hía</i>	'hear that'					×
	<i>smél</i>	'smell that'					×
	<i>fil</i>	'feel that'					×
	<i>e dé</i>	'it is that'					×
(Other) factives	<i>na (nóto)</i>	'it is (not) that'					×
	<i>dí tín dé</i>	'the thing is that'					×
	<i>dí kés dé</i>	'the thing is that'					×

- (27) *Yú wónt de gó?*
2SG want IPFV go
'You want to (get) go(ing)?' [nn07fn 202]

- (28) *Yu fít de bón yu pikín den (...)*
2SG can IPFV give.birth 2SG child PL
'You can be (continuously) having your children (...)' [ab03ab 197]

- (29) *Yu géfɔ de tón=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).

10.5.4 *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 (30) and with it in (31):

- (30) *E wánt tráy mén fɔs.*
 3SG.SBJ want try cure first
 ‘She wanted to try to get better first.’ [ed03sb 044]
- (31) *E de tɪnap, smól pikín wé e de tráy fɔ tɪnap yet.*
 3SG.SBJ IPFV stand up small child SUB 3SG.SBJ IPFV 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 *léf* ‘leave, stop to’ (32), a verb that expresses the aspectual notion of cessation:

- (32) *Mék e léf 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’ (33):

- (33) *Náw a dón de finis sém fɔ wér dán sú, ɛfa bin nó*
 now 1SG.SBJ PRF IPFV finish be.ashamed PREP wear that shoe if 1SG.SBJ PST know
a fɔ kér óda sú.
 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’ (34) and *grí* ‘agree’ (35):

- (34) *Di chóp ísi fɔ chóp.*
 DEF food be.easy PREP eat
 ‘The food is easy to eat.’ [ye07je 095]
- (35) *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 *mémba* ‘remember to’ may be introduced by *fɔ* ‘PREP’ (36) or by *mék* ‘SBJV’ (37). 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.

- (36) *A mémba fɔ kól=an.*
 1SG.SBJ remember PREP call=3SG.OBJ
 ‘I remembered to call her.’ [au07ec 067]
- (37) *A mémba mék a kól=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 (38) below:

- (38) *So wé yu dón lán yu lánwech én, e dón hád fɔ mék yu lán*
 so SUB 2SG PRF learn 2SG language INTJ 3SG.SBJ PRF hard PREP SBJV 2SG learn
Panyá.
 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 the subject in common. Compare (31) above with (39) below. Both sentences feature the main verb *tráy* ‘try’:

- (39) (...) *a go tráy mék e báy mí dán káyn gafas por dios.*
 1SG.SBJ POT try SBJV 3SG.SBJ buy 1SG.INDP that kind 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 (40) with the affirmative complement clause introduced by *fɔ* ‘PREP’ in (36) above. Both sentences involve the main verb *mémba* ‘remember’:

- (40) *Na ín a mémba 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 (41). Complements of evaluative main verbs with expletive subjects function as the notional subject of the main clause:

- (41) *E fáyn fɔ dríng smól-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 (42):

- (42) *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 (42) above. Any subjunctive clause may additionally be preceded by *sé* (cf. §10.5.5):

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 *fɔs* ‘force’ (43) and *tún* ‘tune, persuade’ (44):

- (43) A *fʒs=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]
- (44) 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’ (45) and *léf* ‘leave, permit’ in their respective functions as causative and permissive-causative verbs (cf. §9.4.4):

- (45) 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. 113) or may take complements featuring the imperfective marker *de* ‘IPFV’ (cf. e.g. 27). When the subjects of the main and complement clauses are not the same, a subjunctive *mék*-complement is required:

- (46) E *nák di plét pan di tébul bikɔs e wánt mék di plét brók.*
 3SG.SBJ hit DEF plate pan DEF table because 3SG.SBJ want 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 *tél* ‘tell (to)’ (47) and *bég* ‘ask to’ (48):

- (47) *Áfta, bueno tél=an sé mék e bák yú di mɔní.*
 then good tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ give.back 2SG.INDP DEF money
 ‘Then, ok, tell him that he should give you back the money.’ [ye03cd 032]
- (48) E *bin bég=an sé mék e kíl di fɔl.*
 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 *léf* ‘leave, permit’ (49) and *wánt* ‘want’ (50):

- (49) Na ín mi gran-má bin kán tók sé in nó go léf
 FOC 3SG.INDP 1SG.POSS grand-ma PST come talk QUOT 3SG.INDP NEG POT leave
 mi a gó.
 1SG.INDP 1SG.SBJ go
 ‘That’s when my grandma said that she [EMP] wouldn’t let me go.’ [fr03ft 078]

- (50) 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 (49) and (50) 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’.

10.5.6 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 (51), cognition (52), and perception verbs (53). 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:

- (51) Ye, a kán **tél**=an sé ‘chica, mí nó lék yú bót wi fit
 yeah 1SG.SBJ PFV tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT girl 1SG.INDP NEG like 2SG.INDP but 1PL can
 dé lek kómpin’.
 BE.LOC like friend
 ‘Yeah, I told her “girl, I don’t love you but we can be like friends.”’ [ru03wt 029]
- (52) Nó 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]
- (53) Yu jós **hía** sé pósín den bin de tók, bót yu nó listín.
 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 (51) above is a direct speech complement of *tél* ‘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’ (54) (cf. also 115 further below) or *wé* ‘SUB’ (cf. 109), and an adverbial time clause introduced by *lek háw* ‘the way that’ (54). The adverbial clause is marked for imperfective aspect, since it is simultaneous with the main clause situation:

- (54) *A de hía ín sé e de nák di gitá ɔ a de hía*
 1SG.SBJ IPFV hear 3SG.INDP QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV hit DEF guitar or 1SG.SBJ IPFV hear
ín lek háw e de nák di gita.
 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 (55) are very common as introductory formulas in narrative discourse (cf. also 98):

- (55) *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 (56):

- (56) *E fáyn sé e kán yéstadé.*
 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 (57). By expressing a preference, it harmonises with the deontic sense associated with the subjunctive mood in Pichi:

- (57) *E fáyn sé mék e kán tumóro.*
 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.

10.5.7 *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 (58) is a borderline case that may either be analysed as an adverbial clause, i.e. a modifying time clause, or a subject complement clause:

- (58) *E dón sté, a títik sé e dón sté wé una bin gét*
 3SG.SBJ PRF be.long 1SG.SBJ think QUOT 3SG.SBJ PRF be.long SUB 2PL PST get
insecticida yá.
 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 (59), 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:

- (59) *Yu nó hía wé a tél 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 (60) featuring the experiential main predicate *sóri* ‘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 (61). However, the data contains no examples of *wé*-complement clauses to speech verbs:

- (60) *Mék yú nó fíl sóri 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]
- (61) *A de fíl sóri sé e de kíl di fól.*
 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:

- (62) *Tenk gód wé yu dón kán!*
 thank God SUB 2SG PRF come
 ‘Thank God that you have come!’

10.5.8 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:

- (63) *E gét ɔ́da sáy fɔ pás, bɔt a de fén di sáy sé yu nó*
 3SG.SBJ get other side PREP pass but 1SG.SBJ IPFV look for DEF side QUOT 2SG NEG
go gét hambóg fɔ pípul den.
 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’:

- (64) *A sé bikɔs una Camerún, una gét di fúlis sé, wé nów wé*
 1SG.SBJ QUOT because 2PL PLACE 2PL get DEF foolishness QUOT SUB now SUB
yu ték=an, yu go sél=an.
 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]
- (65) *Yu trowé=an, yu pút ɔ́da nyú wán insay, dá wán sé mék e nó*
 2SG pour=3SG.OBJ 2SG put other new one inside that one QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ NEG
simél.
 smell
 ‘(...) you pour it away, (then) you put another new one [water] inside, that (is) so
 that it does not smell.’ [dj03do 048]

10.6 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.

10.6.1 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 (66):

- (66) *Ól dí mán den [wé den gét mɔní], na di tín wé den de mék.*
 all this man PL SUB 3PL get money FOC DEF thing 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 (66) above would therefore only be possible if a comma were inserted between *mán den* ‘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, *gét* ‘get’ is not followed by an object pronoun co-referential with the head noun *móní*:

- (67) *Mék e bák yú di móní [wé e gét].*
 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 (67) (for a subject relative clause without a resumptive pronoun, cf. 78 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 can be separated by quantifiers (68), as well as topic and focus particles (69). 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 in comparison with that of declarative clauses:

- (68) *Somos tú dásol [wé wi dé láyff] (...)*
 we.are two only SUB 1PL BE.LOC life
 ‘We are, (it’s) only two of us that are alive (...)’ [ab03ay 133]
- (69) *Son dé yét séf [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 (70), 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:

- (70) *Apart from mi antí [wé e dé yá], ɔ di pikín den fɔ mi*
 apart from 1SG.POSS aunt SUB 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC here or DEF child PL PREP 1SG.POSS
gran-má wet mi gran-pá [wé den stíl dé láyff], den-ól den
 grand-ma with 1SG.POSS grand-pa SUB 3PL still BE.LOC life 3PL.INDP.CPD-all 3PL

dé na Panyá.

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 *den* ‘PL’ appears immediately after the head noun and before the subordinator *wé* ‘SUB’ (71). Note the presence of the resumptive subject pronoun *den* ‘3PL’ in the relative clause, which is co-referential with the head noun *tín den* ‘things’:

- (71) *Porque dân tín na tín den [wé den dón sté dân tén den wé esclavitud*
because that thing FOC thing PL SUB 3PL PRF stay that time PL SUB slavery
dé].
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 (72). Equally, a relative clause may contain a focused resumptive pronoun (73):

- (72) *Bikəs mí dé sən stáyl, layk dân gél [wé mí wet=an bin*
because 1SG.INDP BE.LOC some style like that girl SUB 1SG.INDP with=3SG.OBJ PST
gó dé], a tél=an sé a wónt sí háw den de mék.
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]

- (73) *Bət di pé wé yu géfo pé, if yu nó de gí mí yu fəs mán [wé*
but DEF pay SUB 2SG have.to pay if 2SG NEG IPFV give 1SG.INDP 2SG first man SUB
na in gí yú dí belé], yu de gí mi di pikín [wé de
FOC 3SG.INDP give 2SG.INDP this belly 2SG IPFV give 1SG.INDP DEF child SUB IPFV
kəmót].
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 (74) or of an indirect question clause (75):

- (74) *Na dân báy [wé a tél yú sé in mamá dón gó na Panyá].*
FOC that boy SUB 1SG.SBJ tell 2SG.INDP QUOT 3SG.POSS mother PRF go LOC Spain
‘It is that boy (of) who I told that his mother has gone to Spain.’ [he07fn 253]

- (75) *A gét sɔn kómpin, sɔn Ghana-mán [wé a nó sabí ús=sáy*
 1SG.SBJ get some friend some Ghana.CPD-man SUB 1SG.SBJ NEG know Q=side
dán mán dé].
 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’, *tén* ‘time’ (119), *dé* ‘day’ (120) and *stáyl* ‘manner, style’ (§10.7.4).

10.6.2 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 (77):

- (76) *Éf yu chóp ɔl díɪs chóp [wé e nó dón], tumóro yu go sík.*
 if 2SG eat all this food SUB 3SG.SBJ NEG done tomorrow 2SG POT be.sick
 ‘If you eat all this food that is not done you’ll be sick tomorrow.’ [ro05ee 045]
- (77) *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 (77) exemplifies the relativisation of subject NPs without resumptive pronounal 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):

- (78) *Pero di gabonés [wé de tók Bata] wet di guineano [wé de tók Bata],*
 but DEF Gabonese SUB IPFV talk Fang with DEF Guinean SUB IPFV talk Fang
di sonido nó dé di sén.
 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 (79) 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’:

- (79) *Mék e bít yú, mék e dú yú di dú [e wánt] (...)*
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ beat 2SG.INDP SBJV 3SG.SBJ do 2SG DEF do 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 den* ‘blocks’:

- (80) *Son bloques den léf [wé den géfo monta] nó?*
 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 (81). Recipient resumptive pronouns are optional and may therefore be omitted as in (82):

- (81) *Yu sí dán pikín dé [wé in mamá de gí=an chóp]?*
 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]
- (82) *A bin sí di pikín [wé di húman bin gí chóp 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]

10.6.3 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:

- (83) *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 (72) 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 (84), there is no *wet* ‘with’ in the relative clause to point to the semantic role of instrument of the relativised head noun *gón* ‘gun’:

- (84) *Den de gó wet dán gón [wé den 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 (85) induces a locative, that in (86b) an instrumental interpretation. It is also of interest that (86b) 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):

- (85) *A kán kɔmót 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]
- (86) 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 den de mék súp], fɔ mék fufú.*
 that thing SUB 3PL IPFV make soup PREF make fufu
 ‘That thing they make soup (with), in order to make fufu (with).’ [dj05ce 099]

In a similar vein, the *wé*-clauses in (87) and (88) allow that a causal meaning is inferred:

- (87) *So na di tín [wé e rón], e kɔmót.*
 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]
- (88) (...) *e go sé e de fíe e nó go gí mí di tín*
 3SG.SBJ POT QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV fear 3SG.SBJ NEG POT give 1SG.INDP DEF thing
[wé a de sɛn=an].
 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 *sidón* ‘sit (down), stay’:

- (89) *A de gó nía di sáy [Paquita sidón].*
 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 (90) (cf. §9.3.4 for more details). Once more, note the occurrence of a “gap” relative clause in this example:

- (90) *A ték tú peso a báy dân dís-tín, sɔn smól pépa* [*den de*
1SG.SBJ take two peso 1SG.SBJ buy that this-thing some small paper 3PL IPFV
pút=an cacahuete].
put=3SG.OBJ groundnut
‘I took two pesos (and) I bought this whatsit, a small paper (into which)
groundnuts are put.’ [ed03sp 083]

Example (91) 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 (91):

- (91) *Bikɔs wán isla dé* [*wé e fíba sé petroleo dé na dís*
because one island BE.LOC SUB 3SG.SBJ seem QUOT oil BE.LOC LOC this
isla].
island
‘Because there is an island of which it seems that there is oil on this island.’
[fr03ft 109]

In sentence (92) below, the direct object *sɔn fáyn* ‘a beauty’ is resumed through another full NP, namely the demonstrative pronominal *dá wán* ‘that (one)’:

- (92) *A sé blák gél den gét sɔn fáyn* [*wé wáyť húman den nó gét dá*
1SG.SBJ QUOT black girl PL get some fine SUB white woman PL NEG get that
wán].
one
‘I say black girls 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 (75) 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.

10.6.4 Possessors

When a possessor noun is relativised, a co-referential possessive pronoun and the possessed noun immediately follow the subordinator *wé* ‘SUB’ (93):

- (93) (...) *den de kómót 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 (94):

- (94) *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 (95):

- (95) *A ték di stík in **kandá** [wé a sí dé], a rós=an.*
 1SG.SBJ take DEF tree 3SG.POSS bark SUB 1SG.SBJ see there 1SG.SBJ burn=3SG.OBJ
 ‘I took the bark_i of the tree_j that_i saw there, I burnt it_i.’ [bo05n 001]

10.6.5 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’:

- (96) *A dón tél yú [wétin pás na nét], dán nét.*
 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=pósin* ‘who’ question human referents. The following two examples are free object relative clauses:

- (97) *Den nó nó [údat hambóg=an].*
 3PL NEG know who bother=3SG.OBJ
 ‘They don’t know who disturbed her.’ [dj05ce 127]

- (98) *Mí nó sabí [ús=mán den kil], a nóba hía dán torí séf.*
 1SG.INDP NEG know Q=man 3PL kill 1SG.SBJ NEG.PRF hear 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 *tén* ‘time’ and *sáy* ‘side’ which function as adverbial clauses of time and place. Compare (99).

- (99) *E néa tél mí [ús=tén 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 (100), quantity, or degree; the latter two in the collocation *háw móch* ‘how much’ (101):

- (100) *Bət 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]
- (101) *Mí nó áks=an [háw móch e wónt].*
 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)* or *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:

- (102) *Sé yu wánt sabí ɛf rén de fól, nó?*
 QUOT 2SG want know if rain IPFV fall INTJ
 ‘(You) say you want to know if the rain is falling, right?’ [dj07ae 236]
- (103) *Mí séf, ɔl pósín den kin áks mí sé yu dón bón?*
 1SG.INDP EMP all person 3PL HAB ask 1SG.INDP QUOT 2SG PRF give.birth
 ‘Even me, everybody usually asks me “have you given birth?”’ [fr03ft 144]

10.7 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.

10.7.1 *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 (104) or follow (cf. 110 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’:

- (104) *Wé a go fínis skúl, a go tón dókta.*
 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 (104) with the multiple occurrences of *wé* here:

- (105) *Pero wé a kán mít dís mán, wé wi bigín bón in yón pikín den.*
 but SUB 1SG.SBJ PFV meet this man SUB 1PL begin beget 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 (106) or are unspecified with respect to aspect like the two clauses in (104) above containing the potential mood marker *go* ‘POT’:

- (106) *Wé e kin kómót wók a kin mék=an só, lek háw*
 SUB 3SG.SBJ HAB come.out work 1SG.SBJ HAB make=3SG.OBJ like.that like how
mún fínis.
 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]

Table 10.4 Adverbial relations

Clause type	Clause linkers	Linkage with <i>wé</i> or <i>sé</i> alone?	Other means of linkage?	Linkage by adverbial?
Time	<i>bifó</i> 'before' <i>læk háw</i> 'as soon as'	<i>wé</i> 'SUB'	<i>di tén wé</i> 'the time that'	<i>áfta</i> 'then', <i>dásɔl</i> 'then', <i>dán tén</i> 'that time', <i>na</i> <i>in/na dé</i> 'then'
Manner	<i>læk háw</i> 'the way that'		<i>di síáyɪ wé</i> 'the manner that'	<i>na só</i> 'that's how'
Locative			<i>di sáy/plés wé</i> 'the place that'	
Cause	<i>bikos/porque</i> 'because', <i>as/como</i> 'since', <i>fóséka</i> 'due to'	<i>sé</i> 'QUOT'		<i>na in (mék)</i> 'that's why', <i>so</i> 'so'
Purpose	<i>mék</i> 'SBJV', <i>fɔ</i> 'PREP'			
Extent	<i>sóté</i> 'until'	<i>sé</i> 'QUOT'		
Limit	<i>dásɔl sé/ónli sé</i> 'only that'			
Source	<i>fɾɔn wél síns (wé)</i> 'since'			
Conditional	<i>ɛf/ɛfɛ/ɪf</i> 'if', <i>læk (sé)</i> 'like'	<i>wé</i> 'SUB', <i>sé</i> 'QUOT'	Juxtaposition	
Concessive	<i>ɛf/ɛfɛ/ɪf</i> — <i>séf</i> 'even if', <i>aunque</i> 'although', <i>adanké</i> — <i>wáns</i> 'even if'	<i>wé</i> 'SUB', <i>sé</i> 'QUOT'		<i>bat</i> 'but'

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 (107) perfective marking with the dynamic verbs *rích* ‘reach’ and *sé* ‘say, QUOT’ implies succession, however brief the interval:

- (107) *Wé a rích na hós dé, a sé ‘yu go tél mi di sáy*
 SUB 1SG.SBJ reach LOC house there 1SG.SBJ QUOT 2SG POT tell 1SG.INDP DEF side
wé unu kin gó mítɔp.’
 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 *dón* ‘PRF’ in the main or dependent clause. Hence, the main clause in (108) is posterior to the time clause introduced by *wé* ‘SUB’:

- (108) *A go firma wé a go dón chóp.*
 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 (109), 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 (110):

- (109) *Den púl di motó na garaje wé den 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]
- (110) *Náw fɔ mék den fit gét wán amiga nadó wé yu sísta den sabí,*
 now PREP SBJV 3PL can get one girlfriend outside SUB 2SG sister 3PL know
in go had.
 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 (111a) and the clause introduced by *wé* is best interpreted as adversative. This is illustrated by the follow-up clause in (111b):

- (111) a. *Yu nó bin dé na mákit, wé a tél yú sé mék yu*
 2SG NEG PST BE.LOC LOC market SUB 1SG.SBJ tell 2SG.INDP QUOT SBJV 2SG
bríng mi watá?
 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 (112b), 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 (112b) may be interpreted as being in a causal relationship to clause (a):

- (112) a. *Son mamá den, den 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).

10.7.2 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:

- (113) a. *Wétin yu de wét?*
 what 2SG IPFV wait
 ‘What [why] are you waiting?’ [fr03wt 048]
- b. *Sé in mamá go dráyb=an fós.*
 QUOT 3SG.POSS mother POT drive=3SG.OBJ first
 ‘(He) says/because his mother will chase him away at first.’ [dj03wt 049]

The codemixed example (114) 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:

10 Clause linkage

- (114) “Yu hól wán motó”, yu de dráyb=*an*, pero sé yu gét, *cuando* tienes,
 2SG hold one car 2SG IPFV drive=3SG.OBJ but QUOT 2SG get when you.get
 “a gét wán motó”.
 1SG.SBJ get one car
 ‘“Yú hól wán motó” (means) you’re driving it, but if you possess it, when you have it “a gét 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 (115) with (109) above:

- (115) *Den púl di motó na garaje sé den 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 (110) with the following *sé*-clause in (116):

- (116) *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 *bikəs* (*sé*) ‘because’. *Sé* is obligatory when prepositions take clausal, rather than nominal complements, e.g. *fəséko sé* ‘due to, because’, and *lek sé* ‘as if’ (117):

- (117) “A hól wán motó” na *lek sé* yu de dráyb *wé* yu de wók.
 1SG.SBJ hold one car FOC like QUOT 2SG IPFV drive SUB 2SG IPFV work
 ‘“A hól wán motó” is like you drive (a car temporarily) while you work.’ [dj05ae 225]

10.7.3 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’, *tén* ‘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:

- (118) *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]

- (119) *Di tén* [wé den 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]
- (120) *Di dé* [wé a nó wánt gí yú quinientos] a de gí
 DEF day SUB 1SG.SBJ NEG want give 2SG.INDP five.hundred 1SG.SBJ IPFV give
 yú trescientos para tu cigarillo.
 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 *lek háw* ‘as soon as’ introduces time clauses. Time clauses introduced by *lek 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):

- (121) *Tumóro, lek háw* *yu tók wet Buehú, yu kól 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 (123):

- (122) *Bifó a kin gráp, a de sí big big 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]
- (123) (...) *wé den sáyn yu bigín baja mś, bifó yu énta.*
 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 (123) 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 (124):

- (124) *Léf=an, a go chóp, áfta a go dring.*
 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 (125):

- (125) *Sifta, wé a dón sifta ín, e de léf 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]

10.7.4 Manner clauses

Manner clauses may be expressed through a relative construction featuring the generic head noun *stáyl* ‘style, manner’:

- (126) *A bin chóp di plantí di stáyl [wé pòsin den fò Malábo den de chóp=an]*
 1SG.SBJ PST eat DEF plantain DEF style SUB person PL 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 *lek háw* ‘like how’ = ‘the way that’. Compare the near-identical sentence above with the two following ones:

- (127) *Mí chóp di plantí lek háw Malabo-pípul den de chóp=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]
- (128) *A nó sabí ús=tín den nó go restaura ín lek háw e bin*
 1SG.SBJ NEG know Q=thing 3PL NEG POT restore 3SG.INDP like how 3SG.SBJ PST
dé jamás.
 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 *lek háw* ‘like how’ are also often employed to denote the perceived situation of a main clause verb of sensory perception like *hía* ‘hear’ (129), *sí* ‘see’, *lúk* ‘look’, *smél* ‘smell’ (130), and *fil* ‘feel’. Such clauses vacillate between readings denoting manner and temporal overlap:

- (129) *A de hía ín lek 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]
- (130) *A de smél di sént fò lek 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 *lek háw* also forms part of the idiomatic phrase *lek 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:

- (131) *Mí, lek háw yu de sí mí a dón sí plénte 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 *lek 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 *lek háw* normally precede their main clauses (cf. 121 above in the previous section).

However, we also sometimes find manner clauses introduced by *lek 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. *Lek háw* then means ‘the way that’ (132):

- (132) *Lek háw e de wáka, e butú, e nó bén.*
 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 *lek háw* is marked for a perfective reading, it is very likely to be interpreted as a time clause. *Lek háw* then translates as ‘as soon as’. In (133), 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 (132) above. Also compare the temporal interpretation of the factative-marked verb *pút* ‘put’ in the previous section in (121) above:

- (133) *Lek háw e pút dán mɔní na mi hán, nó wét mɔ!*
 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 (134), 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:

- (134) *E nák di tébul an di stáyl [wé e nák di tébul strón],*
 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]

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 *lek háw* (cf. 209–210).

10.7.5 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:

- (135) *Náw e dón wánt bigín de fét wet di chía, di sáy [wé den sidón].*
 now 3SG.SBJ PRF want begin IPFV fight with DEF chair DEF side SUB 3PL sit
 ‘Now he already wanted to begin fighting with the chair, where they were sitting.’ [ab03ab 132]
- (136) *Yu nó nó di plés [wé a sidón]?*
 2SG NEG know DEF PLACE SUB 1SG.SBJ stay
 ‘You don’t know where I stay?’ [he07fn 307]

10.7.6 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’:

- (137) *A dón tú ol fɔ mared.*
 1SG.SBJ PRF too old PREP marry
 ‘I’m too old to marry.’ [fr03ab 206]
- (138) *A go firma, wét fɔ mék a chóp, a bég.*
 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’ (139) and *kán* ‘come’ (140 below) may optionally reinforce the purposive sense of the subordinate clause:

- (139) *Den kán kér mí na Madrid fɔ mék den 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 (140):

- (140) *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 (141):

- (141) *Layk háw den go pút yú na tébul yu dón de rɔ́tin, fɔ mék den gó*
 like how 3PL POT put 2SG.INDP LOC table 2SG PRF IPFV rot PREP SBJV 3PL go
bér yú kwík.
 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- (142) and same-subject (143) purpose clauses to be introduced by the subjunctive marker alone:

- (142) *Na ín den táy=an mék e nó kɔ́mɔ́t.*
 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]
- (143) *A go gó lúk=an fɔ wán vecino mék a lúk las*
 1SG.SBJ POT go look=3SG.OBJ PREP one neighbour SBJV 1SG.SBJ look the.PL
damas.
 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 (144):

- (144) *A dríng di méresin 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:

- (145) *Fə mək* *yu fit énta yu géfə* *bísin na wán pósín fə di fámbul*
 PREP SBJV 2SG can enter 2SG have.to be.busy LOC one person 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 mək* as well as one introduced by *mək* alone:

- (146) *A bin lās gó a de fén bíg bíg mamá den, sé mək den*
 1SG.SBJ PST end.up go 1SG.SBJ IPFV look.for big REP mother PL QUOT SBJV 3PL
bí mi gél frén, mək den de gí mi cháp.
 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 (147), 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 (148):

- (147) *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]
- (148) *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:

- (149) (...) *e sút=an sé e dón wónt gó ték=an,*
 3SG.SBJ shoot=3SG.OBJ QUOT 3SG.SBJ PRF want go take=3SG.OBJ 3SG.SBJ see
e sí di tín dón de tón pósín.
 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]

10.7.7 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:

- (150) *A dréb mi mán bikɔs sé a nó wánt=an mɔ.*
 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 (151). 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:

- (151) *Na bikɔs e bón pikín, na di tín mék e dáy.*
 FOC because 3SG.SBJ give.birth child FOC thing 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’ (152) and *como* ‘since’ (153) precede their main clauses:

- (152) *Ás den nɔba bin sí plantí, den bin chɔp=an rón-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]
- (153) *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 (154):

- (154) a. *E bin fɔ dé fáyn.*
 3SG.SBJ PST COND BE.LOC fine
 ‘That would have been fine.’ [fr03ft 172]
- b. *Porque mi séf, fɔs tén a bin de sidón dásɔl wet húman den.*
 because 1SG.INDP EMP first time 1SG.SBJ PST IPFV stay only with woman PL
 ‘Because me, formerly I was staying only with women.’ [fr03ft 173]

The preposition *fóséka* (and its free variant *fóséko*) ‘due to, for the sake of’ takes nominal, not clausal, complements (cf. e.g. 25). However, when *fóséka* 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 (155):

- (155) *Mí dú=an fóséko sé a bin wánt hélp=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]

10.7.8 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 (157). *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. 4):

- (156) *Mék e wét sóté mún dón, wé wi gét di məní, gó báy di chóp.*
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ wait until month finish SUB 1PL get DEF money 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]
- (157) *A chóp 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 (158). This usage may be due to transfer from Spanish. The equivalent Spanish conjunction *hasta que* ‘until (that)’ is also used with the subjunctive mood. Compare the subjunctive-marked *llegue* ‘arrive’ in (159).

- (158) *Tón=an tón=an, mék yu nó para sóté mék e tík lek*
 turn=3SG.OBJ turn=3SG.OBJ SBJV 2SG NEG stop until SBJV 3SG.SBJ be.thick like
háw e bin dé só.
 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]
- (159) *¡Haga cola hasta que llegue el cajero!*
 do line until that arrive:SBJV the teller
 ‘Make a line until the teller arrives!’ (Own knowledge)

However, the appearance of subjunctive marking in a clause like (158) 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:

10.7.9 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:

- (160) *A bin mék=an dásɔl fɔ hélp.*
 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:

- (161) *Wi de sí dásɔl sé di pisis dón héng.*
 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’:

- (162) *Ónli bikɔs yu de tók só, yu de salút só, yu de ánsa*
 only because 2SG IPFV talk like.that 2SG IPFV greet like.that 2SG IPFV answer
só.
 like.that
 ‘Only because you talk like that, you greet like that, you respond like that.’
 [au07se 158]

10.7.10 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:

- (163) *Frɔn wé dán béłps de wók, chico, e dón chéneh.*
 from SUB that babe IPFV work boy 3SG.SBJ PRF change
 ‘(Ever) since that babe has been working, man, she has changed.’ [dj07ae 173]
- (164) *Frɔn wé a bí pikín a bin wánt kɔmót na dís kóntri.*
 from SUB 1SG.SBJ BE child 1SG.SBJ PST want go.away 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. (165) below:

- (165) *Síns wé a bí pikín, a de mémba fɔ kɔmɔt na dí kóntri.*
 since SUB 1SG.SBJ BE child 1SG.SBJ IPFV think.of PREP go.out LOC this country
 ‘Since I was a child, I think about leaving this country.’ [li07fn 303]]

10.7.11 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 as 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	<i>ɛf</i> , <i>if</i> ‘if’	Non-modal tense & aspect	Non-modal tense & aspect
Potential	<i>ɛf</i> , <i>if</i> ‘if’	Factative TMA, <i>go</i> ‘POT’, <i>de</i> ‘IPFV’	<i>go</i> ‘POT’, <i>de</i> ‘IPFV’
Counterfactual	<i>ɛf</i> , <i>if</i> ‘if’	<i>bin</i> ‘PST’	<i>(bin) fɔ</i> ‘(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 iconic; the IF-clause(s) come(s) first, as in (166):

- (166) *Yu kɔmɔt dán, yu wánt énta mó, yu géfɔ gó pé ɔda quinientos.*
 2SG go.out down 2SG want enter more 2SG have.to go pay 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 *lek* (*sé*) {like QUOT} ‘as if, supposing that’ (167). The use of *lek* (*sé*) is not attested with counterfactuals:

- (167) *Lék sé yu de dríng nɔ́, dán pɔ́sin wé dé yandá, e de kán*
 like QUOT 2SG IPFV drink INTJ that person SUB BE.LOC yonder 3SG.SBJ IPFV come
sube wí wet glás, na di tín wé mék mék yu nó dríng nó
 go.up 1PL.INDP with glass FOC DEF thing SUB make SBJV 2SG NEG drink NEG
nátin wet glas.
 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 *lek* 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 *ef* or *if*. This constellation renders a form of bipartite and discontinuous conditional clause marking. Compare the following sentence:

- (168) *Ef* *yu bin bigín lás wík, lek* *yu dón 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 *ef*, *efe*, or *if* ‘if’. These forms are equivalent in meaning and occur in free variation. However, *ef* is the most frequent form. Any of these linkers may introduce the IF-clause of reality, potential, and counterfactual conditionals. Sentence (169) is a reality conditional:

- (169) *Pero ef* *na húman na big húman yu mán nó de tón big mán.*
 but if FOC woman FOC big woman 2SG man 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 (170) 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. 174)

- (170) *Ef* *yu chóp ál dís chóp wé e nó dón, tumóro yu go sík.*
 if 2SG eat all this food SUB 3SG.SBJ NEG done 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’ (171) and *de* ‘IPFV’ (172) 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:

- (171) *Mí nó go tél=an nó nátín.*
 1SG.INDP NEG POT tell=3SG.OBJ NEG nothing
 ‘I [EMP] wouldn’t tell him anything.’ [bo03cb 138]
- (172) *Nóto mí a de énta insay 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 appears 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 (173) and (174). I interpret this use as instances of modal harmony between the two hypothetical situations:

- (173) *Ɛf den go gó bér yú, den sɛn go gó na dán bérin.*
 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]
- (174) *If yu nó de gí mí yu fós mán wé na in gí yú dí*
 If 2SG NEG IPFV give 1SG.INDP 2SG first man SUB FOC 3SG.INDP give 2SG.INDP this
bélé, yu de gí mi di pikín wé de kómót.
 belly 2SG IPFV give 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’ (175) or the conditional mood marker *fɔ* ‘COND’ alone (176) 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 (176):

- (175) *Ɛf a bin sí=an yéstadé a bin fɔ gí=an di mɔní.*
 if 1SG.SBJ PST see=3SG.OBJ yesterday 1SG.SBJ PST COND give=3SG.OBJ DEF money
 ‘If I had seen her yesterday, I would have given her the money.’ [ro05de 028]
- (176) *Ɛf a bin nó sé e nó go fól a fɔ bríng ída sú.*
 if 1SG.SBJ PST know QUOT 3SG.SBJ NEG POT rain 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 (177). Sentence (178) 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:

- (177) *E bin fɔ dé fáyn.*
 3SG.SBJ PST COND BE.LOC fine
 ‘It would have been nice.’ [fr03ft 172]
- (178) *Yu fɔ gét hemorrhagia sóté blód fínis nów.*
 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 (179). These types of conditionals are pragmatically marked and usually involve focus of the proposed

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):

- (179) *A bin fɔ mǎred a los veinti-uno ɛf Maura in papa nó bin*
 1SG.SBJ PST COND marry at DEF.PL twenty-one if NAME 3SG.POSS father NEG PST
dáy.
 die
 ‘I should/would have married at twenty-one if Maura’s father hadn’t died.’
 [ab03ab 210]

10.7.12 Concessive clauses

Concessive meaning may be expressed by clauses introduced by *wé* ‘SUB’ (cf. 110) and *sé* ‘QUOT’ (cf. 116). Alternatively, concessive meaning may be expressed through conditional clauses in conjunction with clausal focus by means of the focus particle *séf* ‘EMP’, or by way of the Spanish-derived clause linker *aunque* ‘although’. In (180), the conditional relation is not signalled overtly. The presence of the focus particle *séf* ‘EMP’ alone is sufficient to signal concession:

- (180) *Yu nó séf, yu jós kán yu nó go sabí, yu nó go tók lɛkɛ dén.*
 2SG know EMP 2SG just come 2SG NEG POT know 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:

- (181) *ɛf yú na smól húman séf, den go kól 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’ (182):

- (182) *Aunque nóto paludismo, if den 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 *adɔnké* ‘no matter if’ also introduces concessive clauses. *Adɔnké* is often part of a disjoint structure, namely *adɔnké* — *wáns*, ‘even if — once’. The concessive clause is introduced by the first, and the main clause by the second element (183):

- (183) (...) *adɔnké e nó sí yú wán hól dé, e nó bísín, wáns*
 even.if 3SG.SBJ NEG see 2SG.INDP one whole day 3SG.SBJ NEG be.busy once
yu bríng di pamáyn.
 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]

10.8 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:

- (184) *Bokú motó den dé yá só, a nó nó sé Pancho mék lèke*
much car PL BE.LOC here like.that 1SG.SBJ NEG know QUOT NAME make like
sé e de sube bihén wí e baja mó.
QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV go.up behind 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 (185):

- (185) *Yu mék=an in fray-rés, in banána dé, e go*
 2SG make=3SG.OBJ 3SG.POSS fry.CPD-rice 3SG.POSS banana there 3SG.SBJ POT
chóp=an.
 eat=3SG.OBJ
 ‘(if/when) you make him his fried rice (and) his banana, he will eat it.’ [ro05rt
 059]

11 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.

11.1 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 SVC in serialising languages of the region. Equally, there is a tendency towards the lexicalisation of SVCs involving particular verbs. This characteristic warrants analysing at least some of these SVCs as compound verbs.

11.2 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-direction	Motion verb	<i>gó</i> ‘go’	Motion away	Yes
	Motion verb	<i>kán</i> ‘come’	Motion towards	Yes
	Motion verb	<i>kómót</i> ‘go out’	Motion outwards	Yes
	Motion verb	<i>rích</i> ‘reach’	Motion up to	Yes
Motion-action	<i>gó</i> ‘go’	Dynamic verb	Motion away/ purpose & action	No
	<i>kán</i> ‘come’	Dynamic verb	Motion to/ purpose & action	No
Participant-introducing	<i>ték</i> ‘take’	Dynamic verb	Instrument; theme	No
	<i>fála</i> ‘follow’	Motion verb	Comitative	No
	Verb	<i>pás</i> ‘(sur)pass’	Comparative	No
Complementation	<i>hía</i> ‘hear’, <i>sí</i> ‘see’	Verb	Immediate perception	Yes

Not included in Table 11.1 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 §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:

- (1) * *Yu kér=an yu nó gó hospital?*
 2SG carry=3SG.OBJ 2SG NEG go hospital
 Intended: ‘Didn’t you take him to hospital?’ [pa07me 006]
- (2) *Yu nó kér=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 (3) 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).

- (3) *Yu de kér=an de gó hospital.*
 2SG IPFV carry=3SG.OBJ NEG go hospital
 ‘You’re carrying him while going to the hospital.’ [pa07me 009]
 but not ‘You’re taking him to the hospital.’

11.2.1 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’, *rón* ‘run’, *fláy* ‘fly’, and *fála* ‘follow’), while the remaining four (*ték* ‘take’, *kér* ‘take, carry’, *bríng* ‘bring’, and *sén* ‘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. *dréb* ‘drive’, *énta* ‘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 *rón* ‘run’ and the V2 *gó* ‘go’, which expresses motion away from the ground. §8.1.5 contains an extensive treatment of goal and source-marking in combination with motion-direction SVCs and other constructions involving spatial relations:

- (4) *E sé “mómi mómi, yu nó de sí dán mán wé e rón gó*
 3SG.SBJ QUOT mum mum 2SG NEG IPFV see that man SUB 3SG.SBJ run go
abuela in rúm?”
 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 (4) above. The goal may also be instantiated in a prepositional phrase introduced by *na* ‘LOC’ (5). 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 *kér* ‘carry’ may be analysed as the subject of the V2 *gó* ‘go’ in the following example:

- (5) A *kér=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 (6) illustrates multiple serialisation with the verb string *kér-gó-wáka* ‘carry-go-walk’. The construction is an overlap of a motion-direction SVC (*kér-gó*) and a motion-action SVC (*gó-wáka*):

- (6) Di *bíg wán, a bin de* *kér=an* *gó wáka na nét wet Tokobé*.
 DEF big one 1SG.SBJ PST IPFV carry=3SG.OBJ go walk 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 (7). Strings involving the verb *kómót* ‘go out’ as the V2 express evacuation, i.e. motion out of a ground (8). Note the presence of the prepositions *fó* ‘PREP’ and *na* ‘LOC’ which mark goal and source, respectively:

- (7) *Kér di motó yu bríng kán fó yá*.
 take DEF car 2SG bring come PREP here
 ‘Take the car and bring it here.’ [ro05de 036]
- (8) *E kán rón kómót na kóntri, (...)*
 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 *rich* ‘arrive’ in the V2 position as in (9). This construction is, however, rare:

- (9) A *tínk sé e gét treinta y ocho años náy wé e dón de*
 1SG.SBJ think QUOT 3SG.SBJ get thirty and eight years now SUB 3SG.SBJ PRF IPFV
gó rich cuarenta.
 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 (10). 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’:

- (10) *Ɖen rón na farmacia, receta de méresin.*
 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.

11.2.2 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 (11), or any other dynamic verb (12). Motion-action SVCs are only attested with a dynamic V2:

- (11) *Di pikín ɖón gét séven hía, e go wánt gó wáka, “hé, nó kómót na hós!”*
 DEF child PRF get seven year 3SG.SBJ POT want go walk 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]
- (12) *Ápás tumóro a go gó sí mí 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 verb *kán* ‘come’ as the V1. Like *gó*-SVCs, *kán*-SVCs are encountered with (13) and without (14) resumptive subject marking with the V2:

- (13) *Yu kán yu púl=an.*
 2SG come 2SG remove=3SG.OBJ
 ‘You came and removed it.’ [ro05ee 094]
- (14) *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 (14) need to be distinguished from the use of *kán* as a narrative perfective aspect marker in a sentence like (15). There are two ways of making the distinction. Firstly, in (14), 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 (14) above would be ungrammatical in (15).

- (15) *Na ín e kán véks, 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 (13) 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 (16) 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:

- (16) *Porque if yu mék, yu sí dán polvo, e de pút=an insay, yu kán yu dríng, (...)*
 because if 2SG make 2SG see that powder 3SG.SBJ IPFV 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 (17), the verb string is interrupted by the adverbial phrase *na peluquería* ‘to the hairdresser’s’, after which we find a resumptive *gó*. Example (18) features resumptive *kán* after the adverbial phrase *wán dé* ‘one day’:

- (17) *Ef yu wánt bába, yu wánt gó na peluquería gó kót 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]
- (18) *Dán mán fit kán wán dé kán ték yú sé “kán wi gó”, (...)*
 that man can come one day come take 2SG.INDP QUOT 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 (19), movement to the speakers hometown has already occurred before the motion-action SVC *a gó bón* ‘I went to give birth’ follows. There is no prosodic juncture between the two clauses:

- (19) *A gó fɔ kóntri a gó bón.*
 1SG.SBJ go PREP country 1SG.SBJ go give.birth
 ‘I went to my home town in order to give birth.’

In (20), the literal meaning of the V1 *gó* recedes further behind a purposive sense. In this example, we see how motion through space instantiated by *kér* ‘bring’, the motion metaphor of the purpose clause introduced by *fɔ* ‘PREP’, and the motion/purpose reading of *gó* itself harmonise:

- (20) *Den kán kër mí na Madrid fɔ mək den 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 (21) 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:

- (21) *A púl in camiseta, a pút=an pantáp béd, a gó*
 1SG.SBJ remove 3SG.POSS singlet 1SG.SBJ put=3SG.OBJ top bed 1SG.SBJ go
a púl di trɔsis a hīb=an insay di bañera.
 1SG.SBJ remove DEF trousers 1SG.SBJ throw=3SG.OBJ 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 (21) also points towards a difference in meaning that may arise between motion-action serialisation without resumptive subject marking (cf. e.g. 20 above) and motion-action SVCs, in which the V2 has an overt subject pronoun (cf. e.g. 21). 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 (16) above, where the V1 *kán* also focuses the following V2 *dríng* ‘drink’.

11.2.3 Participant-introducing SVCs

In participant-introducing SVCs, a noun appears as the syntactic object of the minor verb, and 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 (22). The instrument may also be an abstract noun like *páwa* ‘power’ (23) or *papá gód* ‘God’ in the idiom in (24):

- (22) *E kin dé lek sé den ték wán blák lapá den kóba 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]
- (23) *Yu fit 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]

- (24) A *ték papá gód bég=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 (25) and (26). 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:

- (25) A *ték=an pút=an pantáp mi belé.*
 1SG.SBJ take=3SG.OBJ put=3SG.OBJ top 1SG.POSS belly
 ‘I (took him and) put him onto my belly.’ [ab03ab 067]

- (26) *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:

- (27) A *tél yú sé mi mán ték ín yáy e pút=an*
 1SG.SBJ tell 2SG.INDP QUOT 1SG.POSS man take 3SG.POSS eye 3SG.SBJ put3SG.OBJ
bótón grón só.
 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 gél* ‘the girl’ in the relative construction in (28):

- (28) *Porque e fíba sé di gél [wé e bin de ték kómót], e*
 because 3SG.SBJ seem QUOT DEF girl SUB 3SG.SBJ PST IPFV take go.out 3SG.SBJ
bin gét bokú báy den.
 PST get much boy PL
 ‘Because it seems that the girl that he was going out with, she had many boyfriends.’ [fr03ft 127]

Example (28) above is also noteworthy because it shows what happens when the object of *ték* is relativised. The object *di gél* ‘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 (29) features the questioned concrete noun *plénk* ‘board’ and (30) the abstract noun *stáyl* ‘manner’:

- (29) *Ús=káyn plénk den ték bíl di hós?*
Q=kind board 3PL take build DEF house
‘What kind of board did they build the house with?’ [dj05ce 104]
- (30) *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 (31). Comitative *ték*-serialisations are even less common. Speakers usually resort to a PP introduced by the preposition *wet* ‘with’ as in (36) further below:

- (31) *Den 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 (32) and (33) elicited from two different speakers. Here, the questioning of the instrument noun produced redundant marking of the question phrase *ús=káyn tén* ‘Q=kind thing’ = ‘WHAT’ with both a preposition and a *ték*-SVC. Non-interrogative double uses of this kind were not found, however:

- (32) *Wet ús=káyn tén den ték bíl di hós?*
with Q=kind thing 3PL take build DEF house
‘(With) what did they build the house with?’ [ye05ce 106]
- (33) *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:

- (34) *Yés, 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 *jwén* ‘join’, followed by the nominalised reference verb as in (35). The most common means involves a comitative prepositional phrase introduced by *wet* ‘with’ (36):

- (35) A *jwén* Boyé fə *chóp*.
1SG.SBJ join NAME PREP eat
‘I ate together with Boyé.’ [ur05fn 045]
- (36) 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’ (37). The object of *pás* is the standard of comparison. Comparative SVCs are covered in detail in section §6.9.1:

- (37) Lage de *tók* Bube *pás* mí.
NAME IPFV talk Bube pass 1SG.INDP
‘Lage speaks Bube better than me.’ [fr03ab 012]

11.2.4 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 (38), the object of *sí* ‘see’, i.e. *sən wáyť pambód* ‘a white bird’, functions as the notional subject of the V2 *kán* ‘come’:

- (38) A *sí* sən wáyť *pambód* 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 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 coreferential 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. (62). 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.

- (39) *If yu gó fɔ di mared, 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:

- (40) *Yu jós hía sé pòsin den bin de tók bɔt yu nó lɪstɪn.*
 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]

11.2.5 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 (41). Proof for the verbal status of *lás* comes from (42): *lás* may not appear in the postverbal adverbial position. In contrast, the word *fɔs* ‘first’ which also expresses temporal meanings may, since it is an adverb (43):

- (41) *A lás chóp.*
 1SG.SBJ be.last eat
 ‘I was the last to eat/I ended up eating.’ [eb07fn 130]
- (42) **Na mí chóp lás.*
 FOC 1SG.INDP eat last
 Intended: ‘I ate last.’ [ra07ve 025]
- (43) *A wás fɔs.*
 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 *dón*:

- (44) *Yu dón sté kán?*
 2SG PRF stay come
 ‘Did you come long ago?’ [ge07fn 164]

Many speakers instead prefer to express duration through a biclausal structure with co-referential subjects (45) or an expletive subject to *sté* (46). The latter use is once more similar to secondary predication covered below in section §11.3:

- (45) *A sté wé a néva chóp.*
 1SG.SBJ stay SUB 1SG.SBJ NEG.PRF eat
 ‘It’s been long since I haven’t eaten.’ [au07ec 081]
- (46) *E nó sté a recibe di carta, di tín wé a bég.*
 3SG.SBJ NEG stay 1SG.SBJ receive DEF letter DEF thing SUB 1SG.SBJ ask.for
 ‘It wasn’t long and I received the letter, the thing I (had) asked for.’ [ed03sb 214]

11.3 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. Resultative 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 simultaneity 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).

11.3.1 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. 51).

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 *kér* ‘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 kér=an e gó na comedor* ‘I carried him, he went to the dining-room’).

- (47) *A kér=**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’:

- (48) **E mít **mí** de kúk.*
 3SG.SBJ meet 1SG.INDP IPFV cook
 Intended: ‘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:

- (49) *E mít **mí** a de kúk séf.*
 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. 3). 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 *chóp* ‘eat’ in this example:

- (50) *Yu pikín sidón **de chóp** den tú bréd.*
 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 (47) above. However, contrary to the SVC in (47), 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:

- (51) a. *A léf di domót ópin.*
1SG.SBJ leave DEF door be.open
‘I left the door open.’ [pa07me 029]
- b. *A léf di domót e ópin.*
1SG.SBJ leave DEF door 3SG.SBJ be.open
‘I left the door open.’ [pa07me 030]
- c. *A léf di domót sé e ópin.*
1SG.SBJ leave DEF door QUOT 3SG.SBJ be.open
‘I left the door open.’ [pa07me 031]

11.3.2 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 occurring with object-oriented depictive predicates. For example, affected-agent verbs like the verbs of ingestion *dríng* ‘drink’ and *chóp* ‘eat’ appear with object-oriented secondary predicates with a depictive function:

- (52) *E dríng di watá kól.*
3SG.SBJ drink DEF water be.cold
‘He drank the water (and it was) cold.’ [ra07ve 004]
- (53) *Den chóp 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’, *kér* ‘carry’, *sél* ‘sell’, *yús* ‘use’). The following example illustrates this usage by means of *kér* ‘carry’ and the secondary predicate *énti* ‘be empty’:

- (54) *A kér di bokit-pán énti.*
1SG.SBJ carry DEF bucket.CPD-pan be.empty
‘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 *kəmót* ‘go/come out’ as in this example:

- (55) *E kəmót na rúm néked.*
 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 376 and 373–374 in §7.2):

- (56) *E kəmót 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 (57) where the posture verb *sidón* ‘sit (down)’ is followed by the imperfective marked dynamic verb *chóp* ‘eat’:

- (57) *Yu pikín sidón de chóp den tú bréd.*
 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 (58), the posture verb *sidón* ‘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 *den* ‘3PL’ in the example) is the norm if the secondary predicate is not dynamic:

- (58) *Den sidón den ráwn di fāya.*
 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:

- (59) *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:

- (60) *Den de fála den séf den de rón.*

3PL IPFV follow 3PL self 3PL IPFV run

‘They’re following each other running.’ [dj07re 005]

The construction in (61) features the locomotion verb *wáka* ‘walk’ as primary predicate and the idiomatic reflexive construction *ópin in séf* ‘(to) boast’ as secondary predicate. Note the presence of the resumptive subject pronoun *e* ‘3SG.SBJ’ in this example as well:

- (61) *E nó gét mɔní, wétin e de wáka e de ópin in séf*
3SG.SBJ NEG get money what 3SG.SBJ IPFV walk 3SG.SBJ IPFV open 3SG.POSS self
so?

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 (62) (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:

- (62) *Pero den kán dú mí a de sté na Móka, den kán dú mí na*
but 3PL PFV do 1SG.INDP 1SG.SBJ IPFV stay LOC PLACE 3PL PFV do 1SG.INDP LOC
Móka.

PLACE

‘But they did it to me while I was staying in Moka, they did it to me in Moka.’
[ab03ay 071]

11.3.3 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 (63), 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:

- (63) *E pént di hós blák.*
 3SG.SBJ paint DEF house black
 ‘He painted the house black.’ [pa07me 037]

Sentence (64) 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 49 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:

- (64) *Den 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 (65), i.e. the property item *wɔwɔ* ‘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’ (66). The generic noun *stáyl* ‘manner’ is also used in modifications of manner (cf. e.g. 368 in §7.7.2) and in manner question words (cf. e.g. 117 in §7.3.2), hence in (66), it is ambiguous between a participant-oriented resultative reading and an event-oriented manner reading:

- (65) *Den bíl di ród wɔwɔ.*
 3PL build DEF road be.ugly
 ‘They built the road (and it’s) shoddy.’ [ra07ve 059]
- (66) *Den bíl=an wɔwɔ 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.

- (67) KRIO
Di wúmán kúk rés sél.
 DEF woman cook rice sell
 ‘The woman cooked rice and sold it.’ (Finney 2004: 72)
- (68) GHANAIAN PIDGIN ENGLISH
A chóp táya.
 1SG.SBJ eat be.tired
 ‘I ate (until I was) tired (of it).’ (Own knowledge)

Accordingly, Pichi also does not have a resultative completive aspect construction featuring the dynamic verb *finish* ‘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):

- (69) GHANAIAN PIDGIN ENGLISH
A chóp finish.
 1SG.SBJ eat finish
 ‘I’ve finished eating/I’m done eating.’ (Own knowledge)

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:

- (70) *A viaja *(sóté) táya.*
 1SG.SBJ travel until be.tired
 ‘I travelled until (I was) tired (of it).’ [ju07ae 531]
- (71) *Bət wi fīt de plé, a jám yú yu fɔdón.*
 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]

11.4 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 *redí* ‘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’, *sén* ‘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 *redí* ‘prepare’ and *mék* ‘make’:

- (72) *Den go redí yú den go mék lek háw den de mék fɔ wích,*
 3PL POT prepare 2SG.INDP 3PL POT make like how 3PL IPFV make PREP sorcery
den ték yú den pút yú na avión den sén yú fɔ ʒda
 3PL take 2SG.INDP 3PL put 2SG.INDP LOC plane 3PL send 2SG.INDP PREP other
kóntri yu gó wók mɔní.
 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 (73), the verbs *ték* ‘take’, *pé* ‘pay’, *kɔmɔt* ‘go out’, *rich* ‘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, (73) does not involve clause chaining:

- (73) *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, kɔmɔt Alemania, rich na Douala, pé avioneta,
 3SG.SBJ pay small.aircraft go.out PLACE reach LOC PLACE pay small.aircraft
e kán na yá só.
 3SG.SBJ come LOC here like.that
 ‘Look at her, the day that Paquita’s father came to take her, he paid (a ticket for) a small plane, left Germany, got to Douala, paid (a ticket for) a small plane, (and) came here.’ [ab03ay 140]

12 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. Many members of both word classes do not enter into grammatical constructions with other word classes, and are fit 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.

12.1 Ideophones

Ideophones are words with expressive 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 argued to constitute a coherent semantic class. 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 ideophonic manner adverbs given in Table 12.1 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*, *fwífwífwí* and *wówó/wéwé*).

Ideophones differ in formal terms from other Pichi lexemes in at least three respects: (1) most ideophones listed in Table 12.1 belong to minor tone classes (cf. Table 3.2); (2) many ideophones feature marginal (sequences of) phonemes (cf. Table 2.2 and Table 2.6) only attested with this word class, e.g. /gb/ and /kp/ (*gbín*, *gbogbogbo*, *kpu*), or otherwise rare clusters like /fw/ (*fwífwífwí* ‘sound of the wind blowing’). Many ideophones also feature otherwise rare CV syllable structures (e.g. *súkútúpampa*, *kutuku*, *wéwé*), or a single vowel type (e.g. /a/ in *kata*-) and identical or similar consonants (e.g. /w/ and /r/ in *wuru*-). At

Table 12.1 Ideophones

Word class attested	Example	Translation
Verb	<i>kakara</i>	‘be restless’
	<i>katakátá</i>	‘be active, hectic’
	<i>ményéményé</i>	‘whine, nag in a childlike fashion’
Property item	<i>wówó</i>	‘be ugly, in disorder’
Noun	<i>pótópótó</i>	‘mushy substance, mud’
	<i>wuruwúru</i>	‘disorderliness, confusion’
Manner adverb	<i>bwa</i>	‘sound of water gushing’
	<i>bya</i>	‘sound of coughing’
	<i>fwífwífwí</i>	‘sound of wind blowing’
	<i>gbín</i>	‘sound of a hard, sudden blow’
	<i>gbogbogbo</i>	‘in haste’
	<i>kamúkamú</i>	‘sight of buttocks moving’
	<i>kip</i>	‘sound of a dull thud’
	<i>kutuku</i>	‘sound of heart beating’
	<i>kwáráng</i>	‘sound of round and hard object(s) falling into a receptacle’
	<i>kpu</i>	‘sound of impact on a soft matter’
	<i>príng</i>	‘sound of ringing’
	<i>súkútúpampa</i>	‘in a cheap and mean fashion’
	<i>tík</i>	‘cracking sound’
Interjection	<i>wéwé, wówó</i>	‘sound of crying and wailing’
	<i>kóngkóngkóng</i>	‘seek permission to enter’

least one ideophone, namely *bwa*, is also pronounced with a breathy voice. About half of the ideophones listed in Table 12.1 represent cases of lexicalised full or partial iteration, i.e. duplication and triplication. The importance of iteration with ideophones reflects the sound symbolic dimension of this word class.

In formal terms, some ideophones appear to have undergone the morpho-tonological process of reduplication (e.g. *kata.kátá* ‘be hectic’) while others seem to have been subjected to the syntactic process of repetition (e.g. *fwífwífwí* ‘sound of the wind blowing’) (cf. §4.5 for a detailed description of the formal and functional aspects of both types of iteration).

Ideophones that involve reduplication feature a suprasegmental structure of the type that we find with the ideophonic property item *kata.kátá* ‘be (hyper-)active, hectic’ in (46) below: 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 result-

ing from raising of the lexical L to H, which is phonologised and does not vary). Another ideophone belonging to this group is the ideophonic noun *pɔtɔ.pótɔ*:

- (1) *Na wán katakátá mán.*
 FOC one hectic man
 ‘He’s a hectic man.’ [tr07fn 229]
- (2) *Dán sáy gét bókú pɔtɔpótɔ.*
 that side get much mud
 ‘[Mind you] that place is very muddy.’ [ne07fn 230]

The most commonly used ideophonic (and generally quite frequent) property item is *wɔ.wɔ* ‘be ugly, messy, in disorder’. This property item 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 property item *kakara* ‘be restless’ is employed as a dynamic verb in (9), 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 the presence of (syntactic) repetition rather than (morpho-tonological) reduplication:

- (3) *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:

- (4) *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 ideophonic adverb *gbo.gbo.gbo* which expresses haste or precipitous hurry has no attested simplex form **gbo*. The ideophone only occurs as a triplicated iteration, as in this example:

- (5) *Tokobé dón wér klós gbogbogbo.*
 NAME PRF wear clothing IDEO
 ‘Tokobé had put on (her) clothes in haste.’ [ab03ab 111]

Likewise, the ideophonic adverb *fwí.fwí.fwí* ‘sound of the wind blowing’ only occurs as a triplicated lexicalised repetition (and is therefore written as one word). In the example below, this ideophone modifies the preceding clause headed by the Spanish-derived verb *sopla* ‘(to) fan, (to) blow’:

- (6) *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 lexicalised repetition, can be contrasted with ideophones like *gbin* ‘sound of a hard, sudden blow’ in (7). This ideophone is not encountered with any form of iteration in the corpus:

- (7) *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 kip* ‘hit=3SG.OBJ IDEO’ = ‘hit and produce a dull thud’, *mék nýs tík* ‘make noise IDEO’ = ‘make a cracking noise’.

The reduplication or repetition of ideophones therefore evokes the same type of “disaggregation” of the reference 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 illustrative of the cyclic and repetitive semantics of iterated ideophones. The ideophone *kamú.kamú* depicts the countermovement of a pair of buttocks as their owner strides along:

- (8) *Yu sí lek háw in bata den 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]

Most ideophones in the corpus are employed as adverbs and modify the verb with respect to manner. A few ideophones preferably function as (property-denoting) verbs or nouns, and one is used as an interjection (*kóngkóngkóng* ‘seek permission to enter’).

Ideophonic verbs are found in the syntactic positions available to other property items in Pichi. Hence, the ideophone *kakara* ‘be restless’ is employed as a dynamic verb in (9), and preceded by the imperfective marker *de* ‘IPFV’. Note the repetition of the ideophone for emphasis:

- (9) *Ín de kakara, kakara kakara.*
 3SG.INDP IPFV be.restless REP REP
 ‘He [EMP] was all restless.’ [ab03ab 047]

Ideophonic property items also appear in the prenominal modifier position. Compare *katakátá* ‘be (hyper-)active, hectic’ in the following sentence:

- (10) *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 *wɔwɔ* ‘be ugly, messy, in disorder’. This verb, too, is attested as a stative verb (11), and in a prenominal position as an attributive modifier (12). Some speakers also employ *wɔwɔ* as an adjective, i.e. a complement to the locative-existential copula *dé* ‘BE.LOC’ (13). Another indication of the ideophonic nature of *wɔwɔ* 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:

- (11) *Di sáy wɔwɔ én.*
 DEF side be.ugly SP
 ‘The place is messy, you know.’ [ma03ni 014]
- (12) *Na Afrika e gét wɔwɔ wɔwɔ tɪn dɛn (...)*
 LOC PLACE 3SG.SBJ get ugly REP thing PL
 ‘In Africa there are really messy things [happening], (...)’ [ed03sb 187]
- (13) *Dís chóp dé wɔwɔ.*
 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, *ɔtɔɔpɔtɔ* ‘mud’ is the head of an object NP featuring the quantifier *bɔkú* ‘much’:

- (14) *Dán sáy gét bɔkú ɔtɔɔpɔtɔ 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 (15) illustrates the depictive power of an ideophonic adverb like *kwáráng* when used to express the sensory experience connected to playing the African board game Oware. Example (16) presents the ideophonic adverb *fwí* ‘sound of the wind blowing’, which modifies the preceding Spanish-derived verb *sopla* ‘(to) fan, (to) blow’:

- (15) *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]

- (16) *Na só a de wáyp=an, a de soplá ín fwífwíwí*
 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 ideophonic adverb *súkútúpampa* in order to depict the supposedly cheap and mean manner in which sex workers in Malabo offer their services for sale:

- (17) *Den de sél den 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 position as in the following two sentences. Actually, the ideophones do not enter syntactic constructions in these examples either. Instead, the preceding generic verbs *mék* ‘make’ and *gí* ‘give’ function as a quotative index followed by a syntactically independent utterance consisting of the ideophonic adverb:

- (18) *Na só ín 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]
- (19) *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 kip* ‘hit=3SG.OBJ IDEO’ = ‘hit and produce a dull thud’, *mék nýs tík* ‘make noise IDEO’ = ‘make a cracking noise’, *kráy wówó wówó* ‘cry IDEO REP’ = ‘cry bitterly’.

12.2 Interjections

In the following, I employ the term “interjection” liberally as a cover term for words, phrases, and clauses that index physical and discursive entities (Kockelman 2003), cognitive and emotional states (Ameke 1992b), and social relations. Interjections are pragmatically oriented elements that appear at the beginning or end of an utterance or constitute utterances onto themselves.

In (20), the initial interjection *é* ‘INTJ’ (cf. Table 12.4) functions as an attention-getter and by doing so, indexes the following utterance. The sentence-final element *én* 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:

- (20) É, dí mán gét líba, én.
INTJ this man get liver INTJ
‘Hey, this man has guts, you know.’ [dj05ce 290]

Following Ameka (1992a,b), I classify Pichi interjections along three functions: expressive, conative, and phatic. Many interjections are “primary” (Ameka 1992b) 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).

12.2.1 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 expressive interjections in Table 12.2.

Table 12.2 Expressive interjections

	Interjection	Gloss	Function
Primary	cháy/ché	‘INTJ’	Exasperation
	áy	‘INTJ’	Extreme sensation
	ékié	‘INTJ’	Counterexpectation
	‘chíp’	‘suck teeth’	Irritation, fatigue
Secondary	papá gód	‘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 *ché* or *cháy*, which conveys the feeling of exasperation in the face of a difficult task. In (21), *ché* is the reaction of speaker(dj) to a particularly ungrammatical sentence that I (ko) submit to him for a grammaticality judgement:

- (21) 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. *Ché!*
 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:

- (22) *Den fit nák yú yu fit tók sé “áy a fíl hát ó!”*
 3PL can hit 2SG.INDP 2SG can talk QUOT INTJ 1SG.SBJ feel hurt SP
 ‘You could be hit (and) you would say “ouch I feel pain.”’ [dj05ae 083]
- (23) *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 (24) 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’:

- (24) *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 1992b) 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 gód* is a Pichi term for ‘God’ (25). As an interjection, *papá gód* is used to implore the help of God during prayer and inner speech (26), or to express self-pity and exasperation (27). Note that *papá gód* in (26) is preceded by the conative interjection *oó*, which introduces an emphatic vocative (cf. Table 12.4):

- (25) *Papa gód go mék mék e chénch, mék e chénch fâsin.*
 father God POT make SBJV 3SG.SBJ change SBJV 3SG.SBJ change manner
 ‘God will make him change, change (his) habits.’ [dj07ae 160]

- (26) *Di tén de gó mí bád, oó papá gód, mék mí so.*
 DEF thing IPFV go 1SG.INDP bad INTJ father God make 1SG.INDP like.that
 ‘The matter is going bad for me, oh God do this for me.’ [dj07ae 161]
- (27) *Sé papá gód ús=káyn tróbul díś?*
 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 European Spanish. The interjections *Señor mío* ‘my Lord’ and *Dios mío* ‘my God’ express sentiments like surprise, irritation, and frustration (28):

- (28) *Señor mío, tél mí, mi mán e de kómót wet yú?*
 Lord my tell 1SG.INDP 1SG.POSS man 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 (29a–29b), shock and amazement (29c), awe and admiration (29d):

- (29) 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 séf.*
 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 éni 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 trón 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 husband has just told her in (30a), 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. 34 below):

- (30) a. *Ínsay di motó, na dé unu de slíp unu séf?*
inside DEF car FOC there 2PL IPFV sleep 2PL self
‘In the car, that’s where you sleep with each other?’ [ro05rt 020]
- b. *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:

- (31) *Bió bió, den dón 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.

- (32) *Mierda mierda, ús=sáy e pás?*
shit REP Q=side 3SG.SBJ pass
‘Shit, shit, which way did she go?’ [ro05rt 002]

12.2.2 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 *yé(s)* ‘yes’ and *nó/nó* ‘no’ are covered in detail in §7.3.3.

The phatic interjection *aa* expresses sudden insight into a proposition or real-world fact. In this, its meaning is similar to *o.k.* (33b).

Table 12.3 Phatic interjections

	Interjection	Gloss	Function
Primary	<i>aa</i>	‘INTJ’	Insight
	<i>o.k.</i>	‘okay’	Insight
	<i>é</i>	‘INTJ’	Dismay, empathy
	<i>“chip”</i>	‘suck teeth’	(Solicit) empathy
Secondary	<i>papá</i> (<i>gʷd</i>)	‘father (God)’	Express/solicit empathy
	<i>mamá</i>	‘mother’	Express/solicit empathy
	<i>dúya</i>	‘please’	Solicit favour
	<i>plís</i>	‘please’	Solicit favour
	<i>eskyús</i>	‘excuse (me)’	Present excuses
	<i>kúsé</i> (<i>ó</i>)	‘good job’	Encouragement for work
	<i>yé(s)</i>	‘yes’	Agreement, appreciation
	<i>nó/nó</i>	‘no’	Disagreement, doubt

- (33) 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 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 (34), the expressive meaning of *e* is underlined by the presence of the interjection *papá* ‘father’:

- (34) a. *E gét belé, wé e wónt púl di belé.*
 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 (35), where speaker (ye) relates how Rubi appeals to the person represented by *=an* ‘3SG.OBJ’ to leave him his fair share of the remaining food:

- (35) a. *E de fəgét sé Rubi nóba chóp.*
 3SG.SBJ IPFV forget QUOT NAME NEG.PRF eat
 ‘He forgot that Rubi hadn’t yet eaten.’ [dj03cd 148]
- b. *E tél=an sé “papá mí néva chóp mí sénwe.”*
 3SG.SBJ tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT father 1SG.INDP NEG.PRF 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:

- (36) *Pút=an mós dúya!*
 put=3SG.OBJ more please
 ‘Put [play] it again, please!’ [au07se 095]

12.2.3 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.

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. 26 above).

The appropriate way of responding to the call of a social superior is by calling out the term of address of the caller (37b). If the caller is a peer, the person called may also simply respond with *yés* ‘yes’:

- (37) 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 (38b):

- (38) a. *Pancho!*
 NAME
- b. *Yéé Paquita!*
 INTJ NAME

Table 12.4 Conative interjections

	Interjection	Gloss	Function
Primary	ó	‘sp’	Vocative, warning
	yée	‘INTJ’	Response to call
	ónli	‘INTJ’	Response to call
	yés	‘yes’	Response to call
	oó	‘INTJ’	Emphatic vocative
	é	‘INTJ’	Attention getter
	én?	‘INTJ’	Channel check
	hé	‘INTJ’	Rebuke
	aa	‘INTJ’	Impatience, repudiation
	“chip”	‘suck teeth’	Remonstrative
Secondary	nó?	‘INTJ’	Channel check
	(yu de) hía?	‘(do you) hear?’	Channel check
	nó tók (én)!	‘don’t talk!’	Solicit approbation
	nó láf (én)!	‘don’t laugh’	Solicit approbation
	a tél yú	‘I tell you’	Emphasise veracity
	kóngkóngkóng	‘IDEO’	Seek permission to enter
	dí báy/ dí gél	‘hey you (M/F)’	Vocative (for M/F)

The interjection *hé* 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:

- (39) *Di pikín dón gét séven hía, e go wánt gó wáka, “hé, nó kómót na*
 DEF child PRF get seven year 3SG.SBJ POT want go walk INTJ NEG go.out LOC
hós!”
 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 33 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, *aa* is often pronounced with a rising contour and supported by ‘suck teeth’ (41).

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:

- (40) *Aa, léf=an dé!*
 INTJ leave=3SG.OBJ there
 ‘Just leave it there [don’t bother to pick it up]!’
- (41) “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 *én*, *nó*, *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 *én*, which occurs in sentence-final position, sometimes after a pause in order to increase dramatic effect, as well as *nó* (cf. 143 further above):

- (42) *Di trú comedor dé fɔ soja, Manolete, Corrobes, én.*
 DEF true dining.room BE.LOC PREP soy NAME 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 (44a), which always requires explicit approval, usually with the idiom *a hía* ‘I have heard’ (44b):

- (43) *Nó obstante, a bég gó sí dókta fós, hía?*
 nonetheless 1SG.SBJ beg go see doctor first hear
 ‘Nonetheless, please go see a doctor first, you hear?’ [fr03wt 053]
- (44) 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 tók* ‘don’t talk’, which appears together with *nó* and *én* in (143) further above, and *nó láf* ‘NEG laugh’ = ‘I’m not kidding’ (45b) underline the credibility of the speaker’s proposition or story. A similar function is fulfilled by *a tél yú* ‘I tell you’ in (46):

- (45) a. *Djunais tók sé “nó Rubi, dí gél lék yú, dí gél lék yú,*
 NAME talk QUOT INTJ NAME this girl like 2SG.INDP this girl like 2SG.INDP
náw bigín mék=an só.”
 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]
- (46) *A tél yú, den nó lék pòsin.*
 1SG.SBJ tell 2SG.INDP 3PL NEG like person
 ‘I tell you, they don’t like people.’ [ma03hm 010]

The interjections *dí báy* ‘this boy’ and *dí gál/gél* ‘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:

- (47) *Dí báy, ús=sáy den de sél bréd na yá?*
 this boy Q=side 3PL IPFV sell bread LOC here
 ‘Hey you, where is bread sold around here?’ [nn07fn 241]

12.2.4 Suck teeth

The terms “suck teeth”, or “kiss teeth”, (transcribed as “chip” and glossed as SKT) describe 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” therefore covers a range of phonetic realizations situated between the bilabial click [ɔ] and the dental click [ɿ].

“Suck teeth” is employed as a signifier of “negative affect” (Figuerola 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 (48), speaker (ed) remembers the hard times he went through as a student in Cuba when the Equatoguinean government stopped paying him his stipend. “Suck teeth” underlines his feeling of exasperation as he delves into his memories:

- (48) a. *Sófa dán məní bin de dú mí fə 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. *Tél yú, a sófa dé.*
 tell 2SG.INDP 1SG.SBJ suffer there
 ‘(I) tell you, I suffered there.’ [ed03sp 100]

In (49), 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:

- (49) *A wánt ték solwatá mék a gí=an, a sé “chip”, nó.*
 1SG.SBJ want take saltwater SBJV 1SG.SBJ give=3SG.OBJ 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 (50) 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:

- (50) *Náw só, e falta, una dón gó na Marathon, mí nó gó na*
 now like.that 3SG.SBJ lack 2PL PRF go LOC PLACE 1SG.INDP NEG go LOC
Marathon “chip”.
 PLACE SKT
 ‘Right now it remains, you [EMP] have gone to Marathon, while I haven’t gone to Marathon [SKT].’ [ye05ce 303]

In sentence (51), 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 *gét óda húman* ‘got (himself) another woman’:

- (51) *E gét óda húman “chip”, bókú problema, dán, mí bin dón sté,*
 3SG.SBJ get other woman SKT much problem that 1SG.INDP PST PRF be.long
wi bin gét bókú problema dé áfta/
 1PL PST get much 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 (52) below combines expressive and phatic meanings in a similar way as in (51) 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*:

- (52) a. *Sí fɔs tén a bin dé hía, a nó bin de b́sin fɔ*
 see first time 1SG.SBJ PST BE.LOC here 1SG.SBJ NEG PST IPFV be.busy PREP
Pagalú gél den.
 PLACE girl PL
 ‘See formerly, I was here, I didn’t bother about Annobonese girls.’ [ed03sp 005]
- b. *“Chip” a nó bin b́sin.*
 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 (53b) is sufficient to ward off the humorous advances of speaker (ye) in (53a). The remonstrative character of “suck teeth” in (b) points towards an area of transition from expressive and phatic to conative functions of “suck teeth”:

- (53) a. *Beatrice, wétin mék yu dón frés 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 (54)(a), where *chip* accompanies an insult. The pungency of the insult, and by extension the gesture of “suck teeth” itself, is commented by speaker(dj) in (54b):

- (54) a. *“Chip” aa múf, kómót yá!*
 SKT INTJ move go.away here
 ‘[SKT] move, get lost.’ [dj07ae 367]
- b. *Yu sí dán ṕsin lek wán dóg.*
 2SG see that person like one dog
 ‘You take that person for a dog.’ [dj07ae 368]

12.2.5 The particle *ó* ‘sp’

The sentence-final particle *ó* plays an important pragmatic role. It is employed for degree modification (cf. e.g. 387 in §7.7.3), 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 (55) or get their attention during conversation (56). Presumably, it is this function of alerting which lies at the heart of the other uses that follow:

- (55) *Concha ó, Maura ó, una kán, a bég!*
 NAME SP NAME SP 2PL come 1SG.SBJ beg
 ‘Concha! Maura! Come over, please!’ [he07fn 612]
- (56) *Lindo ó, Charley ó, una de sí, a bin tél dí gál sé mék e nó*
 NAME SP NAME SP 2PL IPFV see 1SG.SBJ PST tell this girl QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ NEG
hambóg mí ó, a go hát=an.
 bother 1SG.INDP SP 1SG.SBJ POT hurt=3SG.OBJ
 ‘Lindo, Charley, 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 (57a–57c) are characterised by an air of urgency and warning as speaker (ab) relates a near-death experience:

- (57) a. *A dón tél 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 mén=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 dón de gó ó, a dón 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:

- (58) *Yés, a sabí dé yés, bót a nóba énta 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]

12.3 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 (59) 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:

- | | | |
|------|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (59) | Nickname | Origin |
| | <i>Lage</i> | 'Líneas Aéreas de Guinea Ecuatorial' |
| | <i>Boyé Loco</i> | 'Crazy Boyé' |
| | <i>Johnson</i> | '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 unreliability 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.

–		Degree of formality		+
Nicknames	Same generation	Kinship terms for	<i>don/doña</i> + FN	<i>señor/a</i> + LN
	kinship terms +	1 & 2 generations	<i>señor/a</i> + FN	
	FN	older + FN	<i>sa</i>	
			<i>má</i>	

Figure 12.1 Degree of formality of terms of address

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 honorifics *don* (male) and *doña* (female) followed by FN, for elderly and respected members of the community, 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 (60) and a yes-no question by a male elder who is not a family relative (61):

- (60) *Yéstadé má.*
yesterday madam
‘Yesterday, madam.’ [ra07se 150]
- (61) *Yés 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.

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’, *sista* ‘sister’ or *bróda* ‘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:

- (62) *Tía Tokó, ús=sáy yu de gó?*
aunt NAME Q=side 2SG IPFV go
‘Auntie Tokó, where are you going?’ [ye07fn 213]

-		Age		+	
Same generation		1 generation older		2 generations older	
<i>cuñada</i>	‘sister-in-law’	<i>mamá, mamí</i>	‘mother’	<i>gran-má</i>	‘grandmother’
<i>cuñado</i>	‘brother-in-law’	<i>mami</i>	‘mother’	<i>gran-pá</i>	‘grandfather’
<i>sísta</i>	‘sister’	<i>papá, papí</i>	‘father’	<i>abuela</i>	‘grandmother’
<i>bróda</i>	‘brother’	<i>antí</i>	‘aunt’	<i>abuelo</i>	‘grandfather’
<i>brá</i>	‘brother’	<i>ɔnkúl</i>	‘uncle’		
		<i>tía</i>	‘aunt’		
		<i>tío</i>	‘uncle’		

Figure 12.2 Kinship-derived terms of address

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 acknowledgment 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 *bróda* or *brá* ‘brother’:

- (63) *Cuñado, mí géfɔ́ gó fɛ́n dán mi prima ó, Cristina.*
 brother-in-law 1SG.INDP have.to go look.for that 1SG.POSS 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 (64):

- (64) *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:

- (65) *Abuela, Guinea fit=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 an older common kin. In (66),

speaker (ro) is conversing with her nephew. She refers to her own husband as *yu ɔnkúl* ‘your uncle’:

- (66) *Yu ɔnkúl nó gét nó hambóg fɔ chóp.*
 2SG uncle NEG get NEG bother PREP food
 ‘Your uncle [my husband] is not picky about food.’ [ro05rt 058]

12.4 Greetings and other routines

A general greeting routine is normally initiated by addressing an individual with the phrase in (67) and a group of people by (68). These phrases may be reformulated at will to enquire after the health of partners, children, or other relatives (69). A general observation is that conventional Spanish greeting routines are widely used together with Pichi routines (i.e. *buenos días* ‘good morning’):

- (67) *Háw fɔ yú?*
 how PREP 2SG.INDP
 ‘How are you?’ [ye07je 063]
- (68) *Háw fɔ una?*
 how PREP 2PL
 ‘How are you [PL]?’ [ye07je 064]
- (69) *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 (70–72):

- (70) *A dé.*
 1SG.SBJ BE.LOC
 ‘I’m (fine).’ [ye07je 065]
- (71) *Den dé fáyn.*
 3PL BE.LOC fine
 ‘They’re fine.’ [ye07je 067]
- (72) *A wél.*
 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 (73). This greeting 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 (74):

- (73) *Háw fá?*
 how fashion
 ‘What’s up?’ [be07fn 174]
- (74) *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 (67–69) above. The collocation (*gúd*) *mónin* ‘good morning’ or a simple *mónin* ‘morning’ is used from sunrise to noon (75):

- (75) ‘*Gúd mónin*’ *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 (76). 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:

- (76) *Frɔn las doce, sóté e gó las seis, na “gúd ívin”.*
 from the.PL twelve until 3SG.SBJ go the.PL six 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 *nét* ‘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:

- (77) *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 *wélkəm* ‘welcome’.

The greeting formula *kúsé* (< Yoruba *kuṣe*, 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). *Kúsé* is also used to congratulate a person for their good work:

- (78) *Una kúsé ó!*
 2PL good.job SP
 ‘(We) encourage you [PL] in your good work!’ [ye07je 028]

Gratitude is expressed by means of *ténki* ‘thank you’ (79a). Reply options are provided in (b) and (c). Note that *fɔ nátin* (b) and *na nátin* (c) are calques from Spanish *de nada* ‘of nothing’ = ‘you’re welcome’:

- (79) a. *Ténki.*
 thanks
 ‘Thank you.’ [ye07fn 096]
 b. *Nɔ́, fɔ nátin.*
 INTJ PREP nothing
 ‘No, not at all.’ [hi07fn 097]
 c. *Léf, na nátin.*
 leave FOC nothing
 ‘Don’t mention it, it’s nothing.’ [ye07fn 503]

13 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; 2017a). 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 bold.

13.1 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.

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:

- (1) A *kəmót colegio*, a *dé fuera con mi mísis cuatro*
 1SG.SBJ leave high.school 1SG.SBJ BE.LOC outside with 1SG.POSS matron four
años a nó ték belé, a nó léf mi vájin.
 year.PL 1SG.SBJ NEG take belly 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*

Table 13.1 Patterns of Pichi-Spanish contact

Elements	Description
Noun phrases	SG and PL Spanish NPs occur with the Pichi definite article <i>di</i> and the pluraliser <i>den</i> .
Verbs	Spanish verbs occur in a 3SG present tense invariant form and may only take the suppletive object pronoun <i>in</i> ‘3SG.INDP’.
Adjectives	All Spanish adjectives and past participles occur as complements to the locative-existential copula <i>dé</i> ‘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.

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 ways listed in Table 13.2.

With respect to types, Table 13.2 shows that a total of 50% of all nouns and approximately 28% of all verbs that occur are Spanish. Property items (or “adjectives” in Spanish) were counted separately and amounted to a total of 44% of Spanish types. For numerals, the Spanish percentage stands even higher at 62%.

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%). But they are followed by a much lower percentage of Spanish nouns (19%) and adjectives (18%). This shows that the frequency with which Spanish words are used is considerably lower than the absolute number of Spanish words in Pichi discourse.

Table 13.2 Type-token analysis of Spanish words in Pichi discourse

Word class	Types			Tokens		
	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 the exception of numerals, the Spanish ratio of tokens stands at roughly 20% of an average text.

13.2 Specific constituents

The following four sections describe the specifics of codemixing involving noun phrases, verbs and adjectives, functional elements, and other constituents.

13.2.1 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 (2). Note that both Spanish nouns are objects of Pichi elements, the first of a verb, the second of a preposition:

- (2) *Mék yu nó sé yu dón gét novio na pueblo, na kóntri.*
 SBJV 2SG know QUOT 2SG PRF get boyfriend LOC village 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 (2), they usually remain bare where Pichi nouns do so, or are accompanied by Pichi determiners and the pluraliser *den* ‘PL’ in the same way as Pichi nouns are. In (3), the definite Spanish noun *paciencia* ‘patience’ is preceded by the Pichi definite article *di*:

- (3) *Porque fós, di paciencia, yu nó go gét=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 *den*, in accordance with the

pattern that applies to Pichi count nouns (4). 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:

- (4) *Áfta una báy di bloques den tumára.*
 then 2PL buy DEF bricks PL tomorrow
 ‘Then you [plural] buy the bricks tomorrow.’ [fr03cd 112]
- (5) *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 (6) demonstrates that Spanish nouns may well be devoid of Pichi noun phrase marking, but not necessarily so of the Spanish plural morpheme {-s}:

- (6) *Yu go gét 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 (7). Here the Pichi bare nouns *pía* ‘avocado’ and *sadín* ‘sardine’ are functionally equivalent to the Spanish plural noun *tomates* ‘tomatoes’:

- (7) *Mí wet Rubi wi mék jwen-jwén, wi báy pía, wi báy sadín, wi báy tomates, wi desayuna.*
 1SG.INDP with NAME 1PL make RED.CPD-join 1PL buy avocado 1PL buy sardine 1PL buy tomatoes, wi 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 (8):

- (8) *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 (9), 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’):

- (9) *Ef yu bin kán bigín las semana yu bin fɔ dón finis 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]

I 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 (10), 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:

- (10) *Na wán ɔnkúl directo, fɔ mi mamá in papá in fambul*
 FOC one uncle direct PREP 1SG.POSS mother 3SG.POSS father 3SG.POSS family
pát.
 part
 ‘He’s a direct uncle on the part of my mother’s father’s family.’ [fr03ft 051]

In (11), 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:

- (11) *E bríng fīs, e kúk sɔn especial fīs, e gí mí mék*
 3SG.SBJ bring fish 3SG.SBJ cook some special fish 3SG.SBJ give 1SG.INDP SBJV
a chóp.
 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 (12) may be likened to the Pichi manner adverb *fáyn* ‘well, really’ in (13):

- (12) *Dí wán go tɔn plába serio.*
 this one POT turn trouble serious
 ‘This will turn into real trouble.’ [fr03wt 015]
- (13) *‘Dí mán dé trɔn’ nó dé fáyn, e nó gét sentido fáyn.*
 this man BE.LOC strong NEG BE.LOC fine 3SG.SBJ NEG get meaning fine
 ‘“Dí man dé trɔn” is not nice, it doesn’t have a proper meaning.’ [dj05ae 124]

13.2.2 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’, *gét* ‘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’, *gét 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*:

- (14) *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 an 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 (15), *entiende* ‘understand’ (<*entender*>) in (16), and *sufre* ‘suffer’ (<*sufrir*>) in (17):

- (15) *Frón na yá só den kin controla di húman.*
 from LOC here like.that 3PL HAB control DEF woman
 ‘From here they control the woman.’ [ed03sb 158]
- (16) *Pósin go entiende bót e nó dé bien.*
 person POT understand but 3SG.SBJ NEG BE.LOC good
 ‘One would understand but it isn’t good.’ [dj05ae 043]
- (17) *E sofre wé nów den dón léf=an, e dón 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 (15) and *go* ‘POT’ in (16) 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 (18):

- (18) *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 (19). This is because the 3SG invariant form of the Equatoguinean Spanish verb always features a word-final L-toned vowel:

- (19) *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:

- (20) *A go **sigue** chóp.*
 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 óp* and *gó dón* (21):

- (21) *Bókú motó den dé yá só, a nó nó sé Pancho mék lek*
 much car PL BE.LOC here like.that 1SG.SBJ NEG know QUOT NAME make like
*sé e de **sube** bihén wé e **baja** mó.*
 QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV go.up behind SUB 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’ (22).

- (22) *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 (23).

- (23) *A wánt dé **flipa-do** ál áwa, ál 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’ (24) when used as an inchoative-stative verb and ‘ill’ when it appears as a complement to the copula *dé* (25):

- (24) *Son mamá den, den bád.*
 some mother PL 3PL be.bad
 ‘Some mothers, they are bad.’ [ab03ay 109]
- (25) *”E dé bád” 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 (26) and (27) 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 (24) and (25) above with the two sentences below show the functional overlap of the relevant constructions in the two languages:

- (26) SPANISH
Es malo.
 He.is bad
 ‘He is bad.’ (Own knowledge)
- (27) SPANISH
¿Estás mal hoy?
 You.are bad today
 ‘Do you feel bad today?’ (Own knowledge)

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 (22) above, while the Pichi colour term *wáyt* ‘be white’ can only be employed as a inchoative-stative verb as in (28):

- (28) *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 codemixed 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 rather marginal structure 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.

13.2.3 Functional elements

The most frequently used Spanish functional elements are the cause clause linkers *como* ‘since’ (29) and *porque* ‘because’ (30). Both linkers form an integral part of the Pichi system of clause linkage and are best seen to have been borrowed into the language:

- (29) *Como* wí de kól=an *mono* na Panyá, ín chék=an
 since 1PL.INDP IPFV call=3SG.OBJ monkey LOC Spanish 3SG.INDP think=3SG.OBJ
 sé efe tók 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]
- (30) *Yu néa* gét pikín *porque* *yu néa* mared.
 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’ (31) and *bikɔs* ‘because’ (32), respectively:

- (31) ‘As in sísta den bin de kól in mamá sé sísta, in de
 as 3SG.POSS sister 3PL PST IPFV call 3SG.POSS mother QUOT sister 3SG.INDP IPFV
 kól in mamá sé sísta.
 call 3SG.POSS mother QUOT sister
 ‘As her sisters would call her mother sister, she [EMP] would call her mother sister.’ [ab03ay 145]
- (32) *Bet a* dón nó wétin *yu níd*, *bikɔs* wi gét sɔn prɔblɛm wé wi de
 but 1SG.SBJ PRF NEG what 2SG need because 1PL get some problem SUB 1PL IPFV
 tók Pichi na Malábo.
 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% for *como* and 91% 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% of all occurrences, ‘since’ is expressed as *como*, hence only 24% is expressed with the Pichi equivalent *as*. In 41% of all cases ‘because’ is expressed as *porque*, so Pichi *bikɔs* occurs as the causal conjunction in 59% of all cases.

Table 13.3 Distribution and frequency of *como* and *porque*

Type of percentage	<i>como</i>	<i>porque</i>
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 (33) and as a similitive adverbial as in (34):

- (33) *Aunque* nóto *paludismo* if ðen gív yú *tratamiento* yu nó go dáy.
 although NEG.FOC malaria if 3PL give 2SG.INDP treatment 2SG NEG POT die
 ‘Even if it isn’t malaria, if you are given treatment, you won’t die.’ [fr03ft 061]
- (34) *Wé* yu de *mék=an* na hós, jós ték=an, pút=an na pót
 SUB 2SG IPFV make=3SG.OBJ LOC house just take=3SG.OBJ put=3SG.OBJ LOC pot
aunque wán taza só.
 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:

- (35) *Mientras* yu de sí sé ði tín de *transforma* pósin yu de kót
 while 2SG IPFV see QUOT DEF thing IPFV transform person 2SG IPFV cut
 wán tín fɔ in fínga.
 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 (36) or in discon-

tinuous negation (37). Unlike in Spanish, however, subject disjunction in Pichi requires the kind of negative concord characteristic of other negative clauses in Pichi (37):

- (36) *E nó sabí tók **ni** Panyá, e sé e wánt **muchachita***
 3SG.SBJ NEG know talk neither Spanish 3SG.SBJ QUOT 3SG.SBJ want young.girl
de diecisiete años.
 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]

- (37) ***Ni** ín **ni** in bróda den **nó** lán.*
 neither 3SG.INDP neither 3SG.POSS brother 3PL NEG learn
 ‘Neither him nor his brother studied.’ [ro05de 145]

In (38), 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 (38) and time units (39):

- (38) *Yu jós gét wán **diecisiete años.***
 2SG just get one seventeen year.PL
 ‘You’re just about seventeen years old.’ [ab03ay 105]
- (39) *Tumóro mónin tén,t 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 (40).

- (40) SPANISH
*Me faltan **unos** dos mil francos.*
 Me they.lack one.PL two thousand franc.PL
 ‘I am short of some 2000 francs CFA.’ (Own knowledge)

13.2.4 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’ (41) and *pero* ‘but’ (42). Conversely, the interjection *chico* ‘boy’ (42) 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.

- (41) *Bueno*, so e kán tél 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]
- (42) *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 (42) 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 deprecativ interjection (43):

- (43) *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:

- (44) A fít hól dán mōní *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:

- (45) A bōn nayntín twenti-fó, *por lo tanto ahora tengo ochenta años*.
 1SG.SBJ be.born nineteen twenty.CPD-four therefore 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 (46). 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.

- (46) *Es que* húman wé e gét belé *siempre suele ser así*.
 It.is that woman SUB 3SG.SBJ get belly always usually be like.that
 ‘It’s that women who are pregnant are always like that.’ [ro03rr 008]

13.3 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.

13.3.1 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 had 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

N 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:

- (47) *Léf=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 *wí* (49). In the Spanish construction, the clock time functions as the subject of the identity copula *ser* ‘be’ (49):

- (48) *Wi dé las cuatro y media.*
 1PL BE.LOC the.PL four and half
 ‘It’s four thirty.’ [nn07fn 483]

- (49) *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 (51). 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 (51) 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:

- (50) *El diez de agosto, bay gód 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]
- (51) *Soy del veinticuatro, a bón nayntín twenti-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 (52). Even older speakers rarely if ever use the corresponding Pichi day names *mónde* ‘Monday’, *tyúsde* ‘Tuesday’, *wénsde* ‘Wednesday’, *tósde* ‘Thursday’, *frayde* ‘Friday’, *sátidé* ‘Saturday’, and *sónde* ‘Sunday’ (53):

- (52) *Dí miércoles a de gó Lubá.*
 this Wednesday 1SG.SBJ IPFV go PLACE.
 ‘This Wednesday, I am going to Luba.’ [ro05ee 119]
- (53) *Lunes na mónde, 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 *sónde* ‘Sunday’, certainly because of its social importance for religious practice. A speaker above fifty-five years experienced considerable difficulties in retrieving Pichi day names (54a–c). *Wénsde* ‘Wednesday’ was only retrieved after an external input (b) and the elicitation of ‘Thursday’ and ‘Friday’ produced the misnomers *tyúsde* ‘Tuesday’ (c) and *wénsde* ‘Wednesday’ (d), respectively:

- (54) a. *Miercoles na, áy, pero a sabí=an.*
 wednesday FOC INTJ but 1SG.SBJ know=3SG.OBJ
 ‘“Wednesday” is, ah [pause], but I know it.’ [ro05ee 123]

- b. *Wénsde?*
 ‘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-sísín* ‘rainy season’ (55) and *amatán* ‘harmattan’ in (56):

- (55) *Dís dé ðen ren-sísín go bigín.*
 this day PL rainy.CPD-season POT begin
 ‘These days, the rainy season should begin.’ [dj05ce 059]
- (56) *Wi de kól yá só amatán dán, leke sé e kin dé leke*
 1PL IPFV call here like.that harmattan that like QUOT 3SG.SBJ HAB BE.LOC like
niebla.
 fog
 ‘Here, we call harmattan that, like it’s usually like fog.’ [ye05ce 062]

13.3.2 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 *rédi* ‘red’ and *yélo* ‘yellow’ are also used. All other colours are uniquely referred to by Spanish terms. The older group consistently makes use of Pichi *rédi* ‘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*, *rédi*, *yélo*, *blú*, and *grín* with the older group, to the two basic colours *blák* and *wáyt*, supplemented by the less frequent *rédi* and *yélo* (Table 13.5).

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 (57) and (58).

Table 13.5 Apparent-time differences in the use of colour terms

21–27 years	+55 years	Gloss
<i>blák</i>	<i>blák</i>	‘black’
<i>wáyt</i>	<i>wáyt</i>	‘white’
<i>réd, rojo</i>	<i>réd</i>	‘red’
<i>yélo, amarillo</i>	<i>yélo, amarillo</i>	‘yellow’
<i>azul</i>	<i>blú, azul</i>	‘blue’
<i>verde</i>	<i>grín, verde</i>	‘green’
<i>naranja</i>	<i>naranja</i>	‘orange’
<i>rosa</i>	<i>rosa</i>	‘pink’
<i>violeta</i>	<i>violeta</i>	‘violet’
<i>marrón</i>	<i>marrón</i>	‘brown’

- (57) *Di b́oy yélo leke 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]

- (58) *Dán tín yélo lek 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 denoted by specific property items.

When Spanish colour terms are used attributively, they occur with Spanish head nouns (59). The corpus contains no examples of mixed collocations involving a Spanish colour denoting property item and a Pichi head noun:

- (59) *A t́ínk 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.

13.3.3 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’ (60), ethnonyms like *uropeo* ‘European’ or *cameruneses* ‘Cameroonians’ (61), as well as terms belonging to the state domain such as *problema diplomático* ‘diplomatic problem’ (60):

- (60) *Entonces wán problema diplomático kán dé entre Guinea wet*
 so one problem diplomatic PFV BE.LOC between PLACE with
Gabón.
 PLACE
 ‘So a diplomatic problem came to be between Guinea and Gabon.’ [fr03ft 007]
- (61) *Cameruneses, yés den plénte 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 (62):

- (62) *A bin géfɔ chéncɩ in ném na registro a registra ín.*
 1SG.SBJ PST have.to change 3SG.POSS NAME LOC register 1SG.SBJ register 3SG.INDP
 ‘I had to change her name in the register, I registered her.’ [ab03ay 162]

The Pichi lexemes *skul* ‘school’, *góbna* ‘government’ (63), and *chích* ‘church’ (64) designate these institutions in their general sense and are favoured over their Spanish equivalents *escuela*, *gobierno*, and *iglesia*:

- (63) *E de gó fɔ, sɔn skúl wé dé fɔ góbna.*
 3SG.SBJ IPFV go PREP some school SUB BE.LOC PREP government
 ‘She goes to a school that belongs to government.’ [ma03hm 028]
- (64) *E sé e gó chích fɔ, fɔ Marieta na Ela Nguema, na*
 3SG.SBJ QUOT 3SG.SBJ go church PREP PREP PLACE LOC PLACE LOC
catedral.
 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 (64) above, *bolí* ‘pen’ and *cuaderno* ‘exercise book’ (65), as well as *profe(sor)* ‘teacher’ – though *tícha* ‘teacher’ is also common, however less so beyond primary school.

- (65) *Wé, yu wánt báy cuaderno, bolí íl dán tɩn den na wet dólar.*
 SUB 2SG want buy exercise.book pen all that thing PL FOC with dollar
 ‘While, if you want to buy exercise books, pens, all those things are with the dollar.’ [ed03sp 096]

- (66) *Di profesor, na béta 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 (67), we therefore find *placenta* ‘placenta’ and *matriz* ‘womb’ for which only the general term *belé* ‘belly, womb’ is recorded and Spanish *membrano* ‘membrane’ which has no equivalent in Pichi:

- (67) *Wé dákta ópin, wé den bigín dró di, sòn tín we e kin dé*
 SUB doctor open SUB 3PL begin draw DEF some thing SUB 3SG.SBJ HAB BE.LOC
bihén placenta, na membrana, sòn kán léf bifó di matriz, so di
 behind placenta FOC membrane some PFV remain before DEF womb so DEF
matriz nó kán lók.
 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 (68), a car mechanic explains the disadvantages of an Opel ignition cable. Note the Spanish technical terms in the sentence:

- (68) *Hé, a go fâla yú bikɔs sòn cable dé wé na fɔ*
 INTJ 1SG.SBJ POT accompany 2SG.INDP because some cable BE.LOC SUB FOC PREP
Opel, yu intenta bríng Opel in yón na corriente, Opel de kér
 NAME 2SG try bring NAME 3SG.POSS OWN FOC electricity NAME IPFV take
bókú corriente só e nó go fít énta na dán bujía, yu
 much electricity like.that 3SG.SBJ NEG POT can enter LOC that ignition.plug 2SG
go wánda séf.
 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 (69), we find *primo* ‘(male) cousin’, a kinship concept that is only rarely expressed by the Pichi term *kɔsín*.

- (69) *A tínk sé den 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 (70), we have *díg grón* ‘dig ground’ = ‘plough up the ground’, *plánt chóp* ‘(to) plant food’, *gádin* ‘small field, garden’, *jakató* ‘bitter tomato’ and *kíp* ‘grow, rear’, as well as *pamáyn* ‘oil’, and *gadinéks* ‘egg-plant’ (71):

- (70) *A díg grón, a plánt chóp, a gó na gádin, a kíp*
 1SG.SBJ dig ground 1SG.SBJ plant food 1SG.SBJ go FOC garden 1SG.SBJ grow
jakató, verdura.
 bitter.tomato vegetables
 ‘I ploughed the ground, I planted food, I went to the garden, I grew bitter tomato, vegetables.’ [ab03ay 063]
- (71) *Di dé wé yu go níd=an, yu go sé a nó gét pamáyn, yu*
 DEF day SUB 2SG POT need=3SG.OBJ 2SG POT QUOT 1SG.SBJ NEG get oil 2SG
go kít gadinéks.
 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]

14 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) word order and 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 pronominal 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 littoral 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.

15 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. 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 at the time of field research. This has been partly remedied by the publication of *Bolekia Boleká* (2009), but the description of Bube still leaves much to be desired.

15.1 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.

(1) ab03ab 008

Hé a, yu nó de tók Bube, a wónða nów lək háw e dón
INTJ 1SG.SBJ 2SG NEG IPFV talk Bube 1SG.SBJ wonder now like how 3SG.SBJ PRF
fɔgét Bube wé e gó Panyá.
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.’

- (2) ab03ab 009
Pero ef e dé yá wán mún, e go tók=an.
 but if 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC here one month 3SG.SBJ POT talk=3SG.OBJ
 ‘But if she were here for a month, she would speak it.’
- (3) ab03ab 010
Dí wán dón de tók, dí wán de tók fáyn pás in sísta.
 this one PRF IPFV talk this one IPFV talk fine pass 3SG.POSS sister
 ‘This one (here) already speaks it, this one talks better than her sister.’
- (4) fr03ab 011
Nó, nóto trú abuela.
 NEG NEG.FOC be.true grandmother
 ‘No, that’s not true grandmother.’
- (5) fr03ab 012
Lage de tók Bube pás mí.
 NAME IPFV talk Bube pass 1SG.INDP
 ‘Lage speaks Bube better than me.’
- (6) ab03ab 013
E de tók Bube pás yú?
 3SG.SBJ IPFV talk Bube pass 2SG.INDP
 ‘She speaks Bube better than you?’
- (7) ab03ab 014
Dís wán séf, yu dón de tráy.
 this one FOC 2SG PRF IPFV try
 ‘Even this one [you], you’re making an effort.’
- (8) ko03ab 015
Bət yu bin de tók Bube bifó?
 but 2SG PST IPFV talk Bube before
 ‘But you were speaking Bube before?’
- (9) ab03ab 016
E bin de tók=an, e nó bin de hía óda lángwej.
 3SG.SBJ PST IPFV talk=3SG.OBJ 3SG.SBJ NEG PST IPFV hear other language
 ‘She was speaking it, she didn’t understand any other language.’
- (10) fr03ab 017
Wé a bin smól, a bin de tók Bube.
 SUB 1SG.SBJ PST be.small 1SG.SBJ PST IPFV talk Bube
 ‘When I was small, I was speaking Bube.’

- (11) ab03ab 018
Wé yu kəmót sík dán sík na Panyá, wé yu bin sík, náy yu
 SUB 2SG come.out be.sick that be.sick LOC Spain SUB 2SG PST be.sick now 2SG
bigín tšk Panyá.
 begin talk Spain
 ‘When you had just been sick in Spain, when you were sick, then you began speaking Spanish.’
- (12) 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?’
- (13) fr03ab 020
Medio año, seis meses.
 half year six month.PL
 ‘Half a year, six months.’
- (14) ab03ab 021
Áfta in papá séf kán ték=an.
 then 3SG.POSS father self come take=3SG.OBJ
 ‘Then her father himself came to take her [away from here].’
- (15) ab03ab 022
Áfta es la respuesta.
 then it.is DEF answer
 ‘Then that’s the answer.’
- (16) ab03ab 023
Mí, lek háw yu de sí mí, a dón sí plénte tín.
 1SG.INDP like how 2SG IPFV see 1SG.INDP 1SG.SBJ PRF see be.plenty thing
 ‘As for me, as you see me, I’ve seen many things (in life).’
- (17) ab03ab 024
A nó di tén wé yu de smél pamáyn, swit-ýl.
 1SG.SBJ know DEF time SUB 2SG IPFV smell oil tasty.CPD-oil
 ‘I know the time when you’d smell oil, sweet oil.’
- (18) ab03ab 025
Yu mísís sén yú gó na shóp, sé gó báy mí
 2SG matron send 2SG.INDP go LOC shop QUOT go buy 1SG.INDP
swit-ýl.
 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”.’

- (19) ab03ab 026
Yu gó yu brínɡ sən óyl.
 2SG go 2SG bring some oil
 ‘You would go (and) bring some oil.’
- (20) 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].’
- (21) ab03ab 028
Dís?
 this
 ‘This?’
- (22) ab03ab 029
Dís nóto Manolete.
 this NEG.FOC NAME
 ‘This is not Manolete (oil).’
- (23) ab03ab 030
Gó léf=an, gó léf=an!
 go leave=3SG.OBJ go leave=3SG.OBJ
 ‘Go leave it, go leave it [bring it back]!’
- (24) ab03ab 031
Di trú comedor dé fɔ soya, 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?’
- (25) ab03ab 032
Na di bété bété swít óyl, pyó pyó uvas.
 FOC DEF very.good REP tasty oil pure REP grapes
 ‘That’s the very best sweet oil, (made from) purest grapes.’
- (26) ab03ab 033
Éfnóto yu báy, dán húman go bít yú sóté yu go gó
 if NEG.FOC 2SG buy that woman POT beat 2SG.INDP until 2SG POT go
léf=an.
 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].’

- (27) ab03ab 034
Wé yu dón gó léf=an, yu go gí di mán wé e de sél di
 SUB 2SG PRF go leave=3SG.OBJ 2SG POT give DEF man SUB 3SG.SBJ IPFV sell DEF
funda, e nó go ték=an fə yú.
 receptacle 3SG.SBJ NEG POT 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.’
- (28) ab03ab 035
Yu géfə gó fə yu fāmbul.
 2SG have.to go PREP 2SG family
 ‘You would have to go to your (own) family.’
- (29) ab03ab 036
Yú gí dən dán sməl pamáyn mék den gí yú məní yu
 2SG.INDP give 3PL.INDP that small oil SBJV 3PL give 2SG.INDP money 2SG
go báy di wán wé yu mísis dé, adənké e nó sí yú wán
 POT buy DEF one SUB 2SG matron there even.if 3SG.SBJ NEG see 2SG.INDP one
hól dé, e nó bísín wáns yu bríng di pamáyn.
 whole day 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.’
- (30) ab03ab 037
Mí dón sǝfa.
 1SG.INDP PRF suffer
 ‘I have suffered.’
- (31) ab03ab 038
A dón sí bihén [continues in Bube].
 1SG.SBJ PRF see behind
 ‘I have seen behind (...)’
- (32) ab03ab 039
Pero pikín tidé, náy yu sən=an, dí pikín, wé a de
 but child today now 2SG send=3SG.OBJ this child SUB 1SG.SBJ IPFV
sən=an, e nó de gó mǝ.
 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.’
- (33) 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!”’

(34) ab03ab 041

Náw náw mék a sén=an na gran-pá in rúm, e go
 now REP SBJV 1SG.SBJ send=3SG.OBJ LOC grand-pa 3SG.POSS room 3SG.SBJ POT
sé e de fiε, e nó go gí mí di tín wé a de
 say 3SG.SBJ IPFV fear 3SG.SBJ NEG POT give 1SG.INDP DEF thing SUB 1SG.SBJ IPFV
sén=an.
 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.’

(35) ab03ab 042

Sé in 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.’

(36) ab03ab 043

A dón tél yú wétin pás na nét, dán nét.
 1SG.SBJ PRF tell 2SG.INDP what happen LOC night that night
 ‘I’ve already told you what happened at night, that night.’

(37) ab03ab 044

Yéstadé.
 yesterday
 ‘Yesterday.’

(38) ab03ab 045

Mí gó na mi béd, a bigín de mémba mi yón tróbul.
 1SG.INDP go LOC 1SG.POSS bed 1SG.SBJ begin IPFV remember 1SG.POSS own trouble
 ‘I [EMP] went to bed, I began thinking about my own problems.’

(39) ab03ab 046

Dén slíp den de ronca.
 3PL.INDP sleep 3PL IPFV snore

‘They [EMP] [the others in the house] had lied down and were snoring.’

(40) ab03ab 047

Ín de kakara, kakara kakara.
 3SG.INDP IPFV IDEO REP REP

‘He [Miguel] was all fidgety.’

(41) ab03ab 048

E de costumbre.
 3SG.SBJ IPFV habit

‘He’s was getting used to it.’

- (42) ab03ab 049
Di wé in áwa n3ba r3ch f3 sl3p, e go big3n de
 DEF way 3SG.POSS hour NEG.PRF arrive PREP sleep 3SG.SBJ POT begin IPFV
hala-hála mí.
 RED.CPD-shout 1SG.INDP
 ‘Since his time for sleeping hadn’t come yet, he was going to begin shouting for me.’
- (43) ab03ab 050
Sm3lten sl3p k3ch=an.
 shortly.after sleep catch=3SG.OBJ
 ‘Shortly after, he became sleepy.’
- (44) ab03ab 051
E sé “áy” a h3a di h3la.
 3SG.SBJ say INTJ 1SG.SBJ hear DEF shout
 ‘He said “ay”, I heard the shout.’
- (45) ab03ab 052
In mamá sé w3tin pás, w3tin pás?
 3SG.POSS mother say what happen what happen
 ‘His mother said what happened, what happened?’
- (46) ab03ab 053
E sé “m3mi m3mi yu nó de sí dán mán wé e r3n g3
 3SG.SBJ say mum mum 2SG NEG IPFV see that man SUB 3SG.SBJ run go
abuela in rúm?”
 grandmother 3SG.POSS room
 ‘He said “mum, mum don’t you see that man who ran into grandmother’s room?”’
- (47) ab03ab 054
“E d3n pás, e d3n pás, e d3n 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.’”
- (48) ab03ab 055
E big3n de tr3bul.
 3SG.SBJ begin IPFV tremble
 ‘He began to tremble.’
- (49) ab03ab 056
Náw e sé/ in mamá tél=an sé nó, abuela fue a
 now 3SG.SBJ say 3SG.POSS mother tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT NEG grandmother went to

la cocina a beber agua.

the kitchen to drink water

‘Now he said/ his mother told him that “no, grandmother went to the kitchen to drink water”.’

(50) ab03ab 057

E sé pero es un hombre.

3SG.SBJ say but it.is DEF man

‘He said “but it’s a man”.’

(51) ab03ab 058

E nó kán slíp mós ó.

3SG.SBJ NEG PFV sleep more SP

‘He actually didn’t sleep again.’

(52) ab03ab 059

Són 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).’

(53) ab03ab 060

Mónin tén e gráp e sé Miguel vete a hacer pipí y vete

morning time 3SG.SBJ get.up 3SG.SBJ say Miguel go to do wee-wee and to

a bañarte, hay clase.

bathe there.is class

‘In the morning she got up (and) she said “Miguel go do a wee-wee and go take a bath, you have classes”.’

(54) 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”.’

(55) ab03ab 062

E sé “no puedo parar”.

3SG.SBJ QUOT NEG I.can stand

‘He said “I can’t (even) stand”.’

(56) ab03ab 063

E dé na grón.

3SG.SBJ BE.LOC LOC ground

‘He was (lying) on the ground.’

(57) ab03ab 064

Na só e de swét.

FOC so 3SG.SBJ IPFV sweat

‘He was sweating just like that.’

- (58) ab03ab 065
Wé a kin mék só, a nó de fíl hót.
 SUB 1SG.SBJ HAB make so 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV feel hot
 ‘When I would do like this [places her hand on her forehead], I wasn’t feeling heat.’
- (59) ab03ab 066
Pero wé a kin tóch in fút, in hán dé, na só den kól
 but SUB 1SG.SBJ HAB touch 3SG.POSS leg 3SG.POSS arm there FOC so 3PL be.cold
 [ko::l].
 ‘But when I would touch his leg (and) his arm there, they were so incredibly cold.’
- (60) ab03ab 067
A ték=an pút=an pantáp mi belé.
 1SG.SBJ take=3SG.OBJ put=3SG.OBJ on 1SG.POSS belly
 ‘I put him onto my stomach.’
- (61) ab03ab 068
Na só a de wáyp=an, a de sopla in fwífwífwí.
 FOC so 1SG.SBJ IPFV wipe=3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ IPFV blow 3SG.INDP IDEO
 ‘I was wiping him, I was fanning him just like that.’
- (62) ab03ab 069
A lúk=an.
 1SG.SBJ look=3SG.OBJ
 ‘I looked at him.’
- (63) 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.’
- (64) ab03ab 071
A kól Tokobé a sé “mómi”, a sé “kán”.
 1SG.SBJ call NAME 1SG.SBJ QUOT mum 1SG.SBJ QUOT come
 ‘I called Tokobé, I said “mother”, I said “come”.’
- (65) ab03ab 072
A bég, lúk dí 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.’
- (66) ab03ab 073
Na in 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.’

- (67) ab03ab 074
E sé “na nét”, e sé “na só yu bin hía ín hála”.
 3SG.SBJ QUOT LOC night 3SG.SBJ QUOT FOC like.that 2SG PST hear 3SG.INDP shout
 ‘She said “at night”, she said “that’s how you heard him shout”.’
- (68) ab03ab 075
E sé frɔn dán hála di pikín nó slíp mɔ.
 3SG.SBJ QUOT from that shout DEF child NEG sleep more
 ‘She said “since that shout the child didn’t sleep again”.’
- (69) ab03ab 076
E kán gét fíba.
 3SG.SBJ PFV get fever
 ‘He got a fever.’
- (70) ab03ab 077
 [A sentence in Bube].
- (71) ab03ab 078
“Vete, a bañar.”
 “Off you go, go have a bath”.
- (72) ab03ab 079
E púl=an na pantáp di béd.
 3SG.SBJ remove=3SG.OBJ LOC on DEF bed
 ‘She pulled him from the bed.’
- (73) ab03ab 080
Na só e de swét.
 FOC so 3SG.SBJ IPFV sweat
 ‘He was sweating just like that.’
- (74) ab03ab 081
A púl in klós, a hīb=an pantáp di béd.
 1SG.SBJ remove 3SG.POSS clothing 1SG.SBJ heave=3SG.OBJ on DEF bed
 ‘I removed his clothes, I heaved him onto the bed.’
- (75) ab03ab 082
Sé “papá gód, ús=káyn tróbul dí?”
 QUOT INTJ God Q=kind trouble this
 ‘(I) said (to myself) “oh God, what kind of trouble is this?”’
- (76) ab03ab 083
A púl in camiseta, a pút=an pantáp béd a gó
 1SG.SBJ remove 3SG.POSS singlet 1SG.SBJ put=3SG.OBJ on bed 1SG.SBJ go
a púl di trósis a hīb=an ínsay di bañera.
 1SG.SBJ remove DEF trousers 1SG.SBJ 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.’

- (77) ab03ab 084
A ték wán kóp watá, a ték=an a mék bwa bwa bwa
 1SG.SBJ take one cup water 1SG.SBJ take=3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ make IDEO REP REP
bwa.
 REP
 ‘I took a cup of water, I took it (and) splushed him all over with water.’
- (78) ab03ab 085
A sé [continues in Bube].
 1SG.SBJ QUOT
 ‘I said (...)’
- (79) ab03ab 086
Smólten e mék [imitates exhalation].
 shortly.after 3SG.SBJ make
 ‘Shortly he made [imitates exhalation].’
- (80) ab03ab 087
A sé “¿cómo sientes?”
 1SG.SBJ QUOT how you.feel
 ‘I said “how do you feel?”’
- (81) ab03ab 088
E sé “abuela ya siento bien.”
 3SG.SBJ QUOT grandmother already I.feel good
 ‘He said “grandmother, I already feel fine.”’
- (82) ab03ab 089
E kómót na bañera, ín séf kán gó.
 3SG.SBJ come.out LOC bathtub 3SG.INDP self PFV go
 ‘He came out of the bathtub, he himself left (it).’
- (83) ab03ab 090
A gí=an di haf-táwel.
 1SG.SBJ give=3SG.OBJ DEF half.CPD-towel
 ‘I gave him the [his] little towel.’
- (84) ab03ab 091
A kér=an gó na comedor.
 1SG.SBJ carry=3SG.OBJ go LOC dining-room
 ‘I carried him to the dining-room.’
- (85) ab03ab 092
Sé Tokobé, kér di pikín na ospítul.
 QUOT NAME carry DEF child LOC hospital
 ‘(I) said Tokobé, bring this child to hospital.’

- (86) ab03ab 093
Mí nó sé di pikín [continues in Bube].
 1SG.INDP NEG QUOT DEF child
 ‘I know that the child (...)’
- (87) ab03ab 094
A wánt ték solwatá mék a gí=an, a sé “chip” nó.
 1SG.SBJ want take saltwater SBJV 1SG.SBJ give=3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ QUOT SKT NEG
 ‘I wanted to take saltwater and give it to him, I said [SKT] no.’
- (88) ab03ab 095
E sé na hángri.
 3SG.SBJ QUOT FOC hunger
 ‘He said “it’s hunger” [that’s worrying me].’
- (89) 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.’
- (90) ab03ab 097
E sé “abuela, e nó kér”.
 3SG.SBJ QUOT grandmother 3SG.SBJ NEG carry
 ‘He said “grandmother, it wasn’t enough.”’
- (91) ab03ab 098
Mí sé [continues in Bube].
 1SG.INDP QUOT
 ‘I [EMP] QUOT (...)’
- (92) 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!”’
- (93) ab03ab 100
A gí=an.
 1SG.SBJ give=3SG.OBJ
 ‘I gave him (the water).’
- (94) ab03ab 101
E sé e nó kér.
 3SG.SBJ QUOT 3SG.SBJ NEG carry
 ‘He said it wasn’t enough.’

- (95) ab03ab 102
Lek háw Tokobé púl di/ e nóba púl di glás e wánt
 like how NAME remove DEF 3SG.SBJ NEG.PRF remove DEF glass 3SG.SBJ want
má.
 more
 ‘As soon as Tokobé removed the/ she hadn’t yet removed the glass (and) he wanted more.’
- (96) ab03ab 103
Mí gó dón.
 1SG.INDP go down
 ‘I went down(stairs).’
- (97) ab03ab 104
Wé a kómót dón, a gó sidón bifór=an, a sé “¿cómo
 SUB 1SG.SBJ come.out down 1SG.SBJ go sit before=3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ QUOT how
sientes?”
 feel.2SG
 ‘When I came back from downstairs, I went to sit before him (and) I said “how do you feel?”’
- (98) ab03ab 105
E sé “abuela, siento mal, quiero ir al hospital”.
 3SG.SBJ QUOT grandmother I.feel bad I.want go to hospital
 ‘He said “grandmother, I feel bad, I want to go to the hospital”.’
- (99) ab03ab 106
E sé “cuando una persona está enferma los demás no deben estar con
 3SG.SBJ QUOT when a person is sick the others not must be with
ella sentada”.
 him seated
 ‘He said “when a person is sick, the others are not supposed to be sitting with him”.’
- (100) ab03ab 107
Porque cuando se va a vomitar, se va a mojar con vómito.
 ‘Because when he vomits they will get wet with vomit.’
- (101) ab03ab 108
A sé “has vomitado?”
 1SG.SBJ QUOT have.you vomited
 ‘I said “did you vomit?”’

- (102) 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.”’
- (103) ab03ab 110
A sé “Tokobé kán ó!”
 1SG.SBJ QUOT NAME come SP
 ‘I said “Tokobé come, please!”’
- (104) ab03ab 111
Tokobé dón wér klós gbogbogbo “nó fɔ fén cuaderno.”
 NAME PRF wear clothing IDEO NEG PREP look.for exercise.book
 ‘Tokobé had already worn her clothes in a rush, “no we have to look for the patient’s logbook.”’
- (105) ab03ab 112
E mít wán ól ól cuaderno, di tén fɔ Niumbe, na ín
 3SG.SBJ meet one old REP exercise.book DEF time PREP NAME FOC 3SG.INDP
e bin rón wet=an ospítul.
 3SG.SBJ PST run with=3SG.OBJ hospital
 ‘She found a very old patient’s book, from the time of Niumbe, that’s when she ran off to the hospital with him.’
- (106) ab03ab 113
Den gó na ospítul.
 3PL go LOC hospital
 ‘They went to the hospital.’
- (107) ab03ab 114
Sé nɔ bifó di dɔkta de kán wé a de kán fós.
 QUOT NEG before DEF doctor IPFV come SUB 1SG.SBJ IPFV come first
 ‘Then before the doctor was coming I was already coming first [had come to the hospital from home as well].’
- (108) ab03ab 115
Den gó sé análisis.
 3PL go QUOT analysis
 ‘They went for an analysis.’
- (109) ab03ab 116
Den rón gó mék análisis.
 3PL run go make analysis
 ‘The rushed off to make an analysis.’

- (110) ab03ab 117
Lek háw e de bríng di análisis, wi sí di dókta dón de kán, ya
 like how 3SG.SBJ IPFV bring DEF analysis 1PL see DEF doctor PRF IPFV come here
era la una y algo.
 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.’
- (111) ab03ab 118
Paciente den dé na sala, yú dókta “la una yu de kán?”
 patient PL BE.LOC LOC hall 2SG.INDP doctor DEF one 2SG IPFV come
 ‘Patients are in the waiting room, (and) you doctor, “you’re [only] coming at one o’clock?”’
- (112) ab03ab 119
Dókta den nó dé na dís kóntri na mék pípul den de dáy plénte.
 doctor PL NEG COP LOC this country FOC make people PL IPFV die plenty
 ‘There are no doctors in this country, that’s what’s making people die a lot.’
- (113) ab03ab 120
Wánten wé e lúk di pikín, e lúk di análisis, “tiene paludismo
 at.once SUB 3SG.SBJ look DEF child 3SG.SBJ look DEF analysis he.has malaria
de una cruz wé kin kíl pikín séf.”
 of one cross SUB HAB kill 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”.’
- (114) ab03ab 121
Yu de mémba sé e de slíp.
 2SG IPFV remember QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV sleep
 ‘You would think that he [the boy] was sleeping.’
- (115) ab03ab 122
Den gí=an méresin.
 3PL give=3SG.OBJ medicine
 ‘He was given medicine.’
- (116) ab03ab 123
Den rón na farmacia, receta de méresin.
 3PL run LOC pharmacy prescription of medicine
 ‘They rushed to the pharmacy [to get a] prescription.’
- (117) ab03ab 124
Den 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.’

- (118) ab03ab 125
Sé mómí, e sé “siento hambre.”
 QUOT mum 3SG.SBJ QUOT I.feel hunger
 ‘(He) said, “mum, I feel hungry”.’
- (119) ab03ab 126
Mómí, gó báy tú bocadillo!
 mum go buy two bun
 [I told his mum] ‘Mum, go buy two buns!’
- (120) ab03ab 127
Tú bréd.
 two bread
 ‘Two (loaves) of bread.’
- (121) ab03ab 128
Yu pikín sidón de chóp den tú bréd.
 2SG child sit IPFV eat 3PL two bread
 ‘Your child [directed at the listener [fr]] was sitting (there) eating those two (loaves of) bread.’
- (122) ab03ab 129
E sé “a wánt Fanta”.
 3SG.SBJ QUOT 1SG.SBJ want NAME
 ‘He said “I want Fanta”.’
- (123) ab03ab 130
Dís smól bótul den Fanta, wé e gét Coca-Cola, e gét Fanta, a
 this small bottle PL NAME SUB 3SG.SBJ get NAME 3SG.SBJ get NAME 3SG.SBJ
gét limón, e báy=an wán.
 get lemon 3SG.SBJ buy=3SG.OBJ one
 ‘These small bottles of Fanta, of which there is (also) Coca-Cola, there is Fanta, there is lemon, she bought one for him.’
- (124) ab03ab 131
E nák=an.
 3SG.SBJ hit=3SG.OBJ
 ‘He gulped it down.’
- (125) ab03ab 132
Náw e dón wánt bigín de fét wet di chia, di say wé den sidón.
 now 3SG.SBJ PRF want begin IPFV fight with DEF chair DEF side SUB 3PL sit
 ‘Now he wanted to begin fighting with the chair, where they were sitting [due to his delirium].’

- (126) ab03ab 133
Sé “nó, dókta wi dón fit gó?”
 QUOT NEG doctor 1PL PRF can go
 ‘(We) said “doctor, can we go now?”’
- (127) ab03ab 134
E sé “una dón fit gó.”
 3SG.SBJ QUOT 2PL PRF can go
 ‘He said “you can already go now.”’

15.2 Narrative and conversation: Annobón sorcery

The following text begins with a conversation between Francisca (fr), Rubi (ru), and Dju-nais (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.

- (1) ru03wt 001
Wán Annobón gél wích mí mán.
 one PLACE girl bewitch 1SG.INDP INTJ
 ‘A girl from Annobón bewitched me, man.’
- (2) fr03wt 002
Na wán Annobón gél wích yú?
 FOC one PLACE girl bewitch 2SG.INDP
 ‘It’s a girl from Annobón that bewitched you?’
- (3) fr03wt 003
Na fɔ dán tín mék yu gó dókta.
 FOC PREP that thing SBJV 2SG go doctor
 ‘That’s why you should go to the doctor.’
- (4) fr03wt 004
Údat tél yú sé e wích yú?
 who tell 2SG.INDP QUOT 3SG.SBJ bewitch 2SG.INDP
 ‘Who told you that she bewitched you?’

- (5) fr03wt 005
Na torí a de hía ó!
 FOC story 1SG.SBJ IPFV hear SP
 ‘I’m hearing the story [come on let’s hear the story]!’
- (6) fr03wt 006
Yu sabí ús=káyn tín na wích nś?
 2SG know Q=kind thing FOC bewitch NEG
 ‘You know what sorcery is, right?’
- (7) fr03wt 007
Annobón?
 PLACE
 ‘(And) Annobón?’
- (8) fr03wt 008
Yu sabí ús=tin na Annobón séf.
 2SG know Q=thing FOC PLACE FOC
 ‘You even know what Annobón is.’
- (9) ko03ft 009
Yu fǝǵét sé a dón gó dé.
 2SG forget QUOT 1SG.SBJ PRF go there
 ‘You forgot that I had already gone there.’
- (10) fr03wt 010
E bin dé na Annobón yéstadé.
 3SG.SBJ PST there LOC PLACE yesterday
 ‘He was in Annobón yesterday.’
- (11) fr03wt 011
Djunais, na ín mék sé mék den wích=an.
 NAME FOC 3SG.INDP make QUOT SBJV 3PL bewitch=3SG.OBJ
 ‘(It’s) Djunais, it’s him who made them bewitch him.’
- (12) dj03wt 012
Nó mete mí insay dí tók a bég!
 NEG put 1SG.INDP inside this talk 1SG.SBJ ask.for
 ‘Don’t involve me in this matter, please!’
- (13) ru03wt 013
Na yú mék=an.
 FOC 2SG.INDP make=3SG.OBJ
 ‘It’s you who made it [laughter].’

- (14) fr03wt 014
Ūs=káyn tɪn e mək?
 Q=kind thing 3SG.SBJ make
 ‘What did he do?’
- (15) fr03wt 015
If mɪ kɛr dɪs plába nájw, én, na comisaría, una sabí sé den
 if 1SG.INDP carry this trouble now INTJ LOC police.station 2PL know QUOT 3PL
nó lək dɪs tɪn, nó nájw fɔ wɪch, dí wán go tɪn plába serio.
 NEG like this thing NEG nothing PREP 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.’
- (16) fr03wt 016
Áfta den go kɛr una, na Vivencias fɔ, ús=wán na in ném?
 then 3PL POT carry 2PL LOC NAME PREP Q=one FOC 3SG.POSS name
 ‘Then they’d take you [PL] to Vivencias” to, what’s his name?’
- (17) 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.’
- (18) fr03wt 018
Una púl di torí!
 2PL remove DEF story
 ‘Tell [PL] the story!’
- (19) ru03wt 019
E dé sé dán gél 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.’
- (20) 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.’
- (21) ru03wt 021
Djunais tɔk sé, nó Rubi dí gél lək yú, dí gél lək yú, nájw
 NAME talk QUOT NEG NAME this girl like 2SG.INDP this girl like 2SG.INDP now
bigín mək=an só.
 begin make=3SG.OBJ like.that
 ‘Djunais said, no Rubi, this girl likes you, this girl likes you, now begin doing it
 like this.’

- (22) ru03wt 022
Nó láf!
 NEG laugh
 ‘Don’t laugh!’
- (23) fr03wt 023
Djunais, nó láf!
 NAME NEG laugh
 ‘Djunais, don’t laugh!’
- (24) ru03wt 024
Dán tén a dé fáyn.
 that time 1SG.SBJ BE.LOC fine
 ‘That time I was fine.’
- (25) ru03wt 025
A gó, a lúk di gél, wi bigín tók, wi bigín tók, wi bigín tók tal
 1SG.SBJ go 1SG.SBJ look DEF girl 1PL begin talk 1PL begin talk 1PL begin talk so
tal.
 so
 ‘I went, I had a look at the girl, we began to talk and talk and talk, and so on.’
- (26) ru03wt 026
Tumóro di gél 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).’
- (27) ru03wt 027
E insiste sóté [click].
 3SG.SBJ insist until
 ‘She insisted until [clicks with his fingers].’
- (28) fr03wt 028
Una slíp?
 2PL sleep
 ‘You slept (with each other)?’
- (29) ru03wt 029
Ye, a kán tél=an sé ‘chica, mí nó lék yú bət wi fit
 yes 1SG.SBJ PFV tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT girl 1SG.INDP NEG like 2SG.INDP but 1PL can
dé lek kómpin’.
 BE.LOC like friend
 ‘Yeah, I eventually told her “girl, I [EMP] don’t love you but we can be like friends”.’

- (30) ru03wt 030
 “A wónt mék yu dú mí sɔn fébɔ, mék yu wás mí sɔn
 1SG.SBJ want SBJV 2SG do 1SG.INDP some favour SBJV 2SG wash 1SG.INDP some
 klós ðen.”
 clothing PL
 “I want you to do me a favour and wash some clothes for me.”
- (31) fr03wt 031
 Ól dán tén Djunais de gív=an di acción, e de pút calor.
 all that time NAME IPFV give=3SG.OBJ DEF action 3SG.SBJ IPFV put heat
 ‘All that time Djunais was causing commotion, he was fanning the flames.’
- (32) fr03wt 032
 Djunais yu badhát éñ.
 NAME 2SG be.mean INTJ
 ‘Djunais, you’re mean, you know.’
- (33) ru03wt 033
 E gó, e wás di klós ðen.
 3SG.SBJ go 3SG.SBJ wash DEF clothing PL
 ‘She went (and) she washed the clothes.’
- (34) ru03wt 034
 E wás di klós ðen, e dráy ðén, nɔ́, na mí dráy
 3SG.SBJ wash DEF clothing PL 3SG.SBJ dry 3PL.INDP NEG FOC 1SG.INDP dry
 ðén.
 3PL.INDP
 ‘She washed the clothes, she dried them, no, it was me who dried them.’
- (35) ru03wt 035
 Pero di klós ðen slíp na dón ó.
 but DEF clothing PL lie LOC down SP
 ‘But the clothes came to lie down [on the ground].’
- (36) ru03wt 036
 Mónin tén wé a kán lúk a de sí sɔn klós ðen, a
 morning time SUB 1SG.SBJ PFV look 1SG.SBJ IPFV see some clothing PL 1SG.SBJ
 nó de sí mi yón ðen.
 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.’
- (37) ru03wt 037
 Áfta a de mít=an nía di klós ðen di mónin mónin tén.
 then 1SG.SBJ IPFV meet=3SG.OBJ near DEF clothing PL DEF morning REP time
 ‘Then I find her next to the clothes early in the morning.’

- (38) ru03wt 038
A áks=an sé “ús=say di klós den dé?”
 1SG.SBJ ask=3SG.OBJ QUOT Q=side DEF clothing PL BE.LOC
 ‘I asked her “where are the clothes?”’
- (39) ru03wt 039
E sé “nó, a de sí lek sé den dón tíf sòn.”
 3SG.SBJ QUOT NEG 1SG.SBJ IPFV see like QUOT 3PL PRF steal some
 ‘She said “no, it seems to me like some have been stolen”.’
- (40) ru03wt 040
Ús=say mi klós den dé, di ívin tén, [click] fíba, fíba sóté
Q=side 1SG.POSS clothing PL BE.LOC DEF evening time fever fever until
a kól=an.
 1SG.SBJ call=3SG.OBJ
 ‘Where were my clothes, in the evening [clicks with his fingers], fever, fever until finally I called her.’
- (41) ru03wt 041
E dé, e nó de ánsa mí mó, e de pás só lek
 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC 3SG.SBJ NEG IPFV answer 1SG.INDP more 3SG.SBJ IPFV pass so like
sé e nó nó mí mó.
 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.’
- (42) ru03wt 042
A tél=an sé “chica, sóté yu de kán na mi drim den
 1SG.SBJ tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT girl until 2SG IPFV come LOC 1SG.POSS dream PL
én, na só só tín yu mék mí, tráy reduce ín.”
 INTJ FOC so REP thing 2SG make 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”.’
- (43) ru03wt 043
“¿Tú piensas eso de mí?”
 ‘[She replied] “You think that of me?”’
- (44) ru03wt 044
A dón explica Boyé den, sé na só mí de mémba, ól tín.
 1SG.SBJ PRF explain NAME PL QUOT FOC so 1SG.INDP IPFV remember all thing
 ‘I’ve already explained to Boyé and the others, that’s how I remember everything.’

- (45) fr03wt 045
Yu dón gó sí yu mamá?
 2SG PRF go see 2SG mother
 ‘Have already gone to see your mother?’
- (46) ru03wt 046
Nó.
 NEG
 ‘No.’
- (47) fr03wt 047
Wétin yu de wét?
 what 2SG IPFV wait
 ‘What are you waiting (for)?’
- (48) dj03wt 048
Sé in mamá go dráyb=an fós.
 QUOT 3SG.POSS mother POT drive=3SG.OBJ first
 ‘Because his mother would chase him away first.’
- (49) fr03wt 049
In mamá go dráyb=an fós pero in mamá na di ónli
 3SG.POSS mother POT drive=3SG.OBJ first but 3SG.POSS mother FOC DEF only
pósin wé e fít gó wáka wet=an, mí nó sabí wáka.
 person SUB 3SG.SBJ can go walk 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.’
- (50) ru03wt 050
Annobón méresin nó de tón mi héd.
 PLACE sorcery NEG IPFV turn 1SG.POSS head
 ‘Annobón sorcery doesn’t turn my head [have an effect on me].’
- (51) dj03wt 051
Annobón méresin, e nó de gó bihén.
 PLACE sorcery 3SG.SBJ NEG IPFV go behind
 ‘As for Annobón sorcery, it doesn’t go behind [have a profound effect].’
- (52) fr03wt 052
No obstante, a bég gó sí dókta fós, hía?
 nonetheless 1SG.SBJ ask.for go see doctor first hear
 ‘Nonetheless, please go see the doctor first, (you) hear?’

- (53) fr03wt 053
Na fə dán tín yu nó de gó dókta porque yu de chék sé na
 FOC PREP that thing 2SG NEG IPFV go doctor because 2SG IPFV think QUOT FOC
wích?
 bewitch
 ‘Is that why you’re not going to the doctor because you think it’s witchcraft?’
- (54) fr03wt 054
Gó dókta fəs, wé di dókta go gí yu sən tín mék yu fil smál fáyn,
 go doctor first SUB DEF doctor POT give 2SG some thing SBJV 2SG feel a.bit fine
yu bigín mék di óda tín den.
 2SG begin make DEF other thing 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.’
- (55) fr03wt 055
Yú de hía?
 2SG.INDP IPFV hear
 ‘Do you hear?’
- (56) ru03wt 056
A hía.
 1SG.SBJ hear
 ‘I hear.’
- (57) fr03wt 057
E fit bí sé na paludismo.
 3SG.SBJ can BE QUOT FOC malaria
 ‘It could be that it’s malaria.’
- (58) fr03wt 058
Ús=tén una lás impregna una mosquiteros den?
 Q=time 2PL be.last impregnate 2PL mosquito.nets PL
 ‘When did you [PL] last impregnate your [PL] mosquito nets?’
- (59) fr03wt 059
E dón sté, a tínk sé e dón sté wé una bin gét insecticida
 3SG.SBJ PRF last 1SG.SBJ think QUOT 3SG.SBJ PRF last SUB 2PL PST get insecticide
yá.
 here
 ‘It’s been a long time, I think that it’s been a long time that you had insecticide here.’

- (60) fr03wt 060
Dán bíg bíg mosquito den wé den fíba aviones den.
 that big REP mosquito PL SUB 3PL resemble plane.PL PL
 ‘Those huge mosquitos that resemble airplanes.’
- (61) fr03wt 061
Aunque nóto paludismo, if den gív yú tratamiento yu nó go dáy.
 even.if NEG.FOC malaria if 3PL give 2SG.INDP treatment 2SG NEG POT die
 ‘Even if it’s not malaria, if they give you a treatment you won’t die.’

15.3 Conversation: Dinner for four

The text that follows is an extensive conversation involving four people: Boyé (ye), Dju-nais (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 presenter of “Vivencias”, a popular Equatoguinean TV reality show.

- (1) ye03cd 001
Pues hemos estado ahí, a tínk sé wán las cuatro wé di chéf
 so we.have been there 1SG.SBJ think QUOT one the.PL four SUB DEF boss
kómót e nó aparece yet.
 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.’

- (2) ye03cd 002
Di óda mán tél mí sé den dón báy veinte sacos.
 DEF other man tell 1SG.INDP QUOT 3PL PRF buy twenty bags
 ‘The other man told me that they had bought twenty bags.’
- (3) ye03cd 003
E léf doce.
 3SG.SBJ remain twelve
 ‘Twelve remain.’
- (4) ye03cd 004
E falta moní fɔ púl saco den dé fɔ kér=an na hós.
 3SG.SBJ lack money PREP remove sack PL there PREP carry=3SG.OBJ LOC house
 ‘The money is lacking to remove the bags there in order to bring them to the house.’
- (5) fr03cd 005
Me van a tocar los cojones porque mí gí dén diez mil fɔ transporte.
 me they.will to touch the.PL testicle.PL because 1SG.INDP give 3PL.INDP ten thousand PREP transport
 ‘They’re going to get me really annoyed because I gave them ten thousand for transport.’
- (6) ye03cd 006
Na só ín de tél mí.
 FOC so 3SG.INDP IPFV tell 1SG.INDP
 ‘That’s what he [EMP] told me.’
- (7) fr03cd 007
Mék den transporta di cemento na Ela Nguema porque no estaba dicho que den go gó léf di cemento.
 SBJV 3PL transport DEF cement LOC PLACE because NEG was said that 3PL POT go leave DEF cement
 ‘Let them transport the cement to Ela Nguema because it hadn’t been agreed that they would go leave the cement [lying there].’
- (8) fr03cd 008
Di cemento, estaba dicho que na fɔ kér=an directamente na Ela Nguema.
 DEF cement was said that FOC PREP carry=3SG.OBJ directly LOC PLACE
 ‘The cement, it had been agreed that it is to be taken directly to Ela Nguema.’

- (9) fr03cd 009
Dát min sé Buehu nó kán e nó gí nó mōní nó nátin.
 that mean QUOT NAME NEG come 3SG.SBJ NEG give NEG money NEG nothing
 ‘That means that Buehu didn’t come (and) he didn’t give (them) any money at all.’
- (10) ye03cd 010
Nó nátin.
 NEG nothing
 ‘Nothing at all.’
- (11) ye03cd 011
Tumóro mōnin tén, wán las siete só a go gó dé.
 tomorrow morning time one the.PL seven like.that 1SG.SBJ POT go there
 ‘Tomorrow morning, around seven o’clock or so I’ll go there.’
- (12) ye03cd 012
ᵒ bókú mán den bin de fén/
 or much man PL PST IPFV look.for
 ‘Or many people were looking for/’
- (13) ye03cd 013
¿Que vas escribiendo así?
 what you.go writing so
 ‘What are you writing like that?’
- (14) ye03cd 014
ᵒl dí compromiso den fō escribiendo dán bōy in apellido, wétin mék
 all this agreement PL PREP writing that boy 3SG.POSS surname what make
yu ráyt mi ném?
 2SG write 1SG.POSS name
 ‘All these agreements writing that guy’s surname, how come you’ve written my name?’
- (15) 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!’
- (16) fr03cd 016
Dát min sé yu nó go hép mí?
 that mean QUOT 2SG NEG POT help 1SG.INDP
 ‘That means you’re not going to help me?’
- (17) ye03cd 017
Na fō ús=káyn tín, explica mí!
 FOC PREP Q=kind thing explain 1SG.INDP
 ‘It’s for what, explain to me!’

- (18) fr03cd 018
A níd wán lista de participantes.
 1SG.SBJ need one list of participants
 ‘I need a list of participants.’
- (19) ye03cd 019
Na compromiso dát ó.
 FOC agreement that SP
 ‘That’s actually an agreement.’
- (20) ye03cd 020
Dán ficción, Bata-mán go tón=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.’
- (21) ye03cd 021
E sé ɔl tidé e bin de kɔl yú yu nó ték teléfono.
 3SG.SBJ QUOT all today 3SG.SBJ PST IPFV call 2SG.INDP 2SG NEG take telephone
 ‘He said the whole of today, he was calling you (and) you didn’t pick the phone.’
- (22) fr03cd 022
“ɔl tidé e bin de kɔl mí”, e kɔl mí wán tén dásɔl.
 all today 3SG.SBJ PST IPFV call 1SG.INDP 3SG.SBJ call 1SG.INDP one time only
 ‘“All of today he was calling me”, he called me only once.’
- (23) fr03cd 023
Bueno, a bég tumóro, gó recupera di mɔní wé yu léf.
 alright 1SG.SBJ ask.for tomorrow go recover DEF money SUB 2SG leave
 ‘Alright, please tomorrow, go recover the money that you left.’
- (24) fr03cd 024
Náw só a géfɔ pé mɔní mɔ fɔ gó kér di cemento na hós.
 now so 1SG.SBJ have.to pay money more PREP go carry DEF cement LOC house
 ‘Now I have to pay money again in order to bring the cement to the house.’
- (25) fr03cd 025
Nó, yu sabí di tín wé yu go tél=an?
 NEG 2SG know DEF thing SUB 2SG POT tell=3SG.OBJ
 ‘No, you know what you’re going to tell him?’
- (26) fr03cd 026
Yu go tél=an sé wi nó de ték di cemento, mék e
 2SG POT tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT 1PL NEG IPFV take DEF cement SBJV 3SG.SBJ
bák yú di mɔní wé e gét, én?
 give.back 2SG.INDP DEF money SUB 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?’

- (27) fr03cd 027
Mék e bák yú di mɔní wé e gét.
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ give.back 2SG.INDP DEF money SUB 3SG.SBJ get
 ‘Let him give you back the money that he has.’
- (28) ye03cd 028
Di wán wé e dón sobra ín.
 DEF one SUB 3SG.SBJ PRF remain 3SG.INDP
 ‘The one [amount] that has remained with him.’
- (29) fr03cd 029
Di wán wé e dón sobra ín.
 DEF one SUB 3SG.SBJ PRF remain 3SG.INDP
 ‘The one that has remained with him.’
- (30) fr03cd 030
Áfta, como ín níd cemento, mék e gó gí yú di mɔní,
 then because 3SG.INDP need cement SBJV 3SG.SBJ go give 2SG.INDP DEF money
nóto tumóro e go gí di mɔní.
 NEG.FOC tomorrow 3SG.SBJ POT give DEF 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.’
- (31) fr03cd 031
Pero di tén wé ín go géfɔ báy cemento, mék e ték dán
 but DEF time SUB 3SG.INDP POT have.to buy cement SBJV 3SG.SBJ take that
cemento dé.
 cement there
 ‘But when he himself has to buy cement, let him take that cement (there).’
- (32) fr03cd 032
Áfta, bueno, tél=an sé mék e bák yú di mɔní,
 then alright tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ give.back 2SG.INDP DEF money
mí go tók wet=an.
 1SG.INDP POT talk with=3SG.OBJ
 ‘Then, alright, tell him to give you back the money, I myself will talk to him.’
- (33) fr03cd 033
Mék e ték dán cemento.
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ take that cement
 ‘Let him take that cement.’
- (34) fr03cd 034
Áfta, e go ték di cemento.
 then 3SG.SBJ POT take DEF cement
 ‘Then he’ll take the cement.’

- (35) fr03cd 035
Áfta, como e go géfɔ pé dán óda mán séf transporte, dán tén
 then because 3SG.SBJ POT have.to pay that other man FOC transport that time
e go devuelve mí di mɔní fɔ transporte.
 3SG.SBJ POT give.back 1SG.INDP 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.’
- (36) fr03cd 036
Porque yo no estoy para esas cosas.
 ‘Because I don’t like these (kind of) things.’
- (37) fr03cd 037
Qué barbaridad.
 ‘What nonsense.’
- (38) ye03cd 038
A go firma wé a go dón chóp.
 1SG.SBJ POT sign SUB 1SG.SBJ POT PRF eat
 ‘I’ll sign when I’ll have eaten.’
- (39) fr03cd 039
A firmar antes, que no firme, que no coma.
 ‘First sign, you don’t sign, you don’t eat [laughter].’
- (40) ye03cd 040
A nó de énta/
 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV enter (...)
 ‘I don’t enter/’
- (41) fr03cd 041
Así que no firme, que no coma.
 ‘So you don’t sign, you don’t eat.’
- (42) fr03cd 042
A bég gí mí dán pépa yu gí mí wán bolí.
 1SG.SBJ ask.for give 1SG.INDP that paper 2SG give 1SG.INDP one pen
 ‘Please, give me that paper (and) give me a pen.’
- (43) ye03cd 043
A go firma, wét fɔ mék a chóp, a bég.
 1SG.SBJ POT sign wait PREP SBJV 1SG.SBJ eat 1SG.SBJ ask.for
 ‘I’ll sign, wait for me to eat, please.’
- (44) fr03cd 044
Nó, nó, nó, a nó dé insay dán stáyl.
 NEG NEG NEG 1SG.SBJ NEG there inside that style
 ‘No, no, no, I’m not into that (kind of) style.’

- (45) ye03cd 045
Léf mék a/, Djunais!
 leave SBJV 1SG.SBJ NAME
 ‘Let me/, Djunais!’
- (46) fr03cd 046
Yu chénch caligrafía.
 2SG change handwriting
 ‘You changed (your) handwriting.’
- (47) ye03cd 047
Údat?
 who
 ‘Who?’
- (48) ye03cd 048
În sénwe de tók=an dé.
 3SG.INDP FOC IPFV talk=3SG.OBJ there
 ‘He [EMP] himself says it.’
- (49) fr03cd 049
Údat tíf, tél mí di ném!
 who steal tell 1SG.INDP DEF name
 ‘Who stole, tell me the name!’
- (50) ye03cd 050
Fiba go sube yú mś.
 fever POT go.up 2SG.INDP more
 ‘Fever will rise on you again.’
- (51) ye03cd 051
Dên go só=an na Vivencias, na di tín dên de tók dé.
 3PL POT show=3SG.OBJ LOC NAME FOC DEF thing 3PL IPFV talk there
 ‘They’ll show it on Vivencias [a TV show], that’s the (kind of) thing they talk (about) there.’
- (52) ye03cd 052
Wán mán wé e nó gét mñí, e dón gét sesenta años.
 one man SUB 3SG.SBJ NEG get money 3SG.SBJ PRF get sixty year.PL
 ‘[In Vivencias there was] a man who doesn’t have money, he’s already sixty years old.’
- (53) ye03cd 053
E nó sabí tók ni Panyá, e sé e wánt muchachita dé
 3SG.SBJ NEG know talk even Spanish 3SG.SBJ QUOT 3SG.SBJ want young.girl of

diecisiete años.

seventeen years

‘He didn’t even know how to speak Spanish, he said he wants a young girl of seventeen years.’

(54) ye03cd 054

E sé “yo quiero una muchachita de diecisiete años”.

3SG.SBJ QUOT I I.want one young.girl of seventeen year.PL

‘He said “I want a young girl of seventeen years”.’

(55) ye03cd 055

E nó wánt ni treinta ni cuarenta, mm mm, diecisiete años.

3SG.SBJ NEG want neither thirty neither forty INTJ INTJ seventeen year.PL

‘He neither wanted thirty nor forty years, no no, seventeen years.’

(56) ye03cd 056

Na Vivencias den de só dán tín.

LOC NAME 3PL IPFV show that thing

‘In Vivencias they show that (kind of) thing.’

(57) ye03cd 057

Ūs=tín den kin de gó fén mán den wé nó sabí tók Panyá?

Q=thing 3PL HAB IPFV go look.for man PL SUB NEG know talk Spanish

‘Why do they always go look for people who don’t know how to talk Spanish?’

(58) ye03cd 058

Dí Olinga.

this NAME

‘This Olinga.’

(59) fr03cd 059

A nó sabí lek háw e dé in wók, bot e nó sabí

1SG.SBJ NEG know like how 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC 3SG.POSS work but 3SG.SBJ NEG know

tók Panyá.

talk Spanish

‘I don’t know how he is at his work, but he doesn’t know how to speak Spanish.’

(60) ko03cd 060

Ūdat?

who

‘Who?’

(61) fr03cd 061

Olinga na wán presentador fɔ wán programa.

NAME FOC one presenter PREP one programme

‘Olinga is a presenter of a programme.’

- (62) fr03cd 062
Na reportero, el programa más popular de este país, in nám na
 FOC reporter the programme most popular of this country 3SG.POSS name FOC
Vivencias.
 NAME
 ‘He’s a reporter, the most popular programme of this country, its name is
 Vivencias.’
- (63) fr03cd 063
Di mán e nó sabí tók Panyá.
 DEF man 3SG.SBJ NEG know talk Spain
 ‘The man doesn’t know how to speak Spanish.’
- (64) fr03cd 064
E de chér wán káyn chér min sé e de mék fallos ðen,
 3SG.SBJ IPFV tear one kind tear mean QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV make error.PL PL
faltas.
 mistake.PL
 ‘He “tears one kind of Spanish” means that he makes errors, mistakes.’
- (65) fr03cd 065
E de chér wán káyn chér wé mí yón Panyá/
 3SG.SBJ IPFV tear one kind tear SUB 1SG.INDP own Spanish
 ‘He makes such serious mistakes where my own Spanish/’
- (66) ye03cd 066
E tók sé ín na poeta.
 3SG.SBJ talk QUOT 3SG.INDP FOC poet
 ‘He said he’s a poet.’
- (67) ye03cd 067
E kin de híb sɔn poesía ðen, chico nó.
 3SG.SBJ HAB IPFV throw some poetry PL INTJ NEG
 ‘He kicks some poetry, man really.’
- (68) ye03cd 068
Olinga kɔmɔt frɔn botón.
 NAME come.out from bottom
 ‘Olinga comes from the bottom [has very modest origins].’
- (69) ko03cd 069
Bot na ín wé pípul layk=an nó.
 but FOC 3SG.INDP SUB people like=3SG.OBJ NEG
 ‘But that’s why people like him, right.’

- (70) fr03cd 070
Áfta primera dama báy=an wán motó, wán todo terreno, wán
 then first lady buy=3SG.OBJ one car one cross-country.vehicle one
cuatro por cuatro, mék e fit de rích ál say sóté na Riaba.
 four-wheel.drive SBJV 3SG.SBJ 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.’
- (71) fr03cd 071
Wán dé wán pikín bin de sík.
 one day one child PST IPFV be.sick
 ‘One day a child was sick.’
- (72) 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.’
- (73) fr03cd 073
Nó, na wán mán, ehé wán accidente fo motó bin dé.
 NEG FOC one man exactly one accident PREP car PST BE.LOC
 ‘No, it was a man, oh yes, there had been a car accident.’
- (74) fr03cd 074
A nó sabí ús=tín bin kán pás áfta e gó na hospital.
 1SG.SBJ NEG know Q=thing PST PFV happen then 3SG.SBJ go LOC hospital
 ‘I don’t know what had happened for him to arrive at the hospital.’
- (75) fr03cd 075
Di báy dé dé e dón de dáy.
 DEF báy BE.LOC there 3SG.SBJ PRF IPFV die
 ‘The guy [a casualty] was already dying.’
- (76) fr03cd 076
E pút micrófono así, e sé “los últimos suspiros, de un momento
 3SG.SBJ put microfone so 3SG.SBJ QUOT the.PL last.PL sigh.PL of one moment
al otro se va a morir”.
 to other REFL go to die
 ‘He put the microfone like this, he said “the last sighs, from one moment to
 another he’ll die”.’
- (77) fr03cd 077
Esto na wán óda kóntri den go púl yú inmediatamente, den de
 this LOC one other country 3PL POT remove 2SG.INDP immediately 3PL IPFV

púl yú wók.
remove 2SG.INDP work

‘This is in another country, they would remove you immediately, they would remove you from work.’

(78) ye03cd 078

Mán dón diaboliza.
man PRF diabolise

‘People have become devilish.’

(79) fr03cd 079

Chico, yu nó bring mí glás?
INTJ 2SG NEG bring 1SG.INDP glass

‘Man, you haven’t brought me a glass?’

(80) fr03cd 080

Léf=an, a go chóp, áfta a go dring.
leave=3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ POT eat then 1SG.SBJ POT drink
‘Leave it, I’ll eat, then I’ll drink.’

(81) ye03cd 081

Yu nó sabí na mí kúk?
2SG NEG know FOC 1SG.INDP cook

‘You don’t know it’s me who cooked?’

(82) fr03cd 082

Boyé sabí kúk?
NAME know cook

‘Boyé knows how to cook?’

(83) fr03cd 083

Ūs=káyn tín e kúk?
Q=kind thing 3SG.SBJ cook

‘What did he cook?’

(84) fr03cd 084

E kin tráy nów?
3SG.SBJ HAB try now

‘So he’s making an effort now?’

(85) fr03cd 085

Ūs=káyn tín e kúk, fray-rés?
Q=kind thing 3SG.SBJ cook fry.CPD-rice

‘What did he cook, fried rice?’

- (86) dj03cd 086
E kin kúk súp.
 3SG.SBJ HAB cook soup
 ‘He cooks soups.’
- (87) fr03cd 087
Ús=káyn súp?
 Q=kind soup
 ‘Which kind of soups?’
- (88) dj03cd 088
Maluka.
 maluka
 ‘Maluka’
- (89) fr03cd 089
Maluka e nó bin tú dró, pantáp diez, ús=káyn nota yu go
 maluka 3SG.SBJ NEG PST too draw on ten Q=kind mark 2SG POT
gí=an?
 give=3SG.OBJ
 ‘The maluka, wasn’t it too sticky, out of ten which mark would you give him?’
- (90) dj03cd 090
Cuatro con cinco.
 four with five
 ‘Four out of five.’
- (91) ye03cd 091
Ín tél yú sé pantáp cinco o pantáp diez, yu de gí mí
 3SG.INDP tell 2SG.INDP QUOT on five or on ten 2SG IPFV give 1SG.INDP
cuatro con cinco.
 four with five
 ‘She told you out of five or out of ten, (and) you’re giving me four over five.’
- (92) fr03cd 092
Ehé, dán wán min sé ús=wán na di escala?
 exactly that one mean QUOT Q=one FOC DEF scale
 ‘Exactly, that means which one [of the two] is the scale?’
- (93) ye03cd 093
Di tóp, di nota máxima na diez, entonces yu de gí mí cuatro con
 DEF top DEF mark highest FOC ten so 2SG IPFV give 1SG.INDP four with
cinco.
 five
 ‘The top, the highest mark is ten, and you give me four over five.’

- (94) ye03cd 094
Nó wi de conversa, nó véks Djunais.
 NEG 1PL IPFV converse NEG be.angry NAME
 ‘No, we’re conversing, don’t be angry Djunais.’
- (95) dj03cd 095
A nó de véks.
 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV be.angry
 ‘I’m not angry.’
- (96) ye03cd 096
Wi de conversa na tébul.
 1PL IPFV converse LOC table
 ‘We’re conversing at the table.’
- (97) ye03cd 097
A nó fit keri yú restaurante bikəs sé yu go fét wet
 1SG.SBJ NEG can carry 2SG.INDP restaurant because QUOT 2SG POT fight with
sən pəsin dé.
 some person there
 ‘I can’t take you to a restaurant because you would fight with somebody there.’
- (98) fr03cd 098
Wétin yu de tək/
 what 2SG IPFV talk
 ‘What are you talking/ [music from below drowns the recording for a few minutes]
- (99) ye03cd 099
Gabriel e gét jege.
 NAME 3SG.SBJ get ?
 Gabriel has a “jege”.
- (100) fr03cd 100
Ús=káyn tɪn na jege?
 Q=kind thing FOC ?
 ‘What’s a “jege”?’
- (101) ye03cd 101
E gét sən, sən smól jege ínsay in yáy só.
 3SG.SBJ get some some small ? inside 3SG.POSS eye like.that
 ‘He has a, a small “jege” inside his eye like that.’
- (102) fr03cd 102
Ús=káyn tɪn na jege?
 Q=kind thing FOC ?
 ‘What’s “jege”?’

- (103) dj03cd 103
Dán wáyť tńń 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.’
- (104) ye03cd 104
Sńń tńń de tapa in retina.
 some thing IPFV cover 3SG.POSS retina
 ‘Something covers his retina.’
- (105) dj03cd 105
Nń, wńń accidente wé e bin gét.
 NEG one accident SUB 3SG.SBJ PST get
 ‘No, it’s an accident that he had.’
- (106) ye03cd 106
Wńń 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.’
- (107) fr03cd 107
Mń nó fńja ín.
 1SG.INDP NEG notice 3SG.INDP
 ‘I didn’t notice it.’
- (108) ye03cd 108
Yu géfń fńja ín.
 2SG have.to notice 3SG.INDP
 ‘One has to notice it.’
- (109) ye03cd 109
E de para na dán in yáy bńkń bńd.
 3SG.SBJ IPFV stand LOC that 3SG.POSS eye much extremely
 ‘It sits there in his eye real bad.’
- (110) ye03cd 110
Ehé, ús=tńń wi go tńk fń Gabriel?
 exactly Q=thing 1PL POT talk PREP NAME
 ‘So, what are we going to say to Gabriel?’
- (111) fr03cd 111
Tumńro, lek hńw yu tńk wet Buehu, yu kńl mń, if yu tńk
 tomorrow like how 2SG talk with NAME 2SG call 1SG.INDP if 2SG talk
wet=an ń yu nó tńk wet=an.
 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.’

- (112) fr03cd 112
If *yu nó tók wet=an,* *yu kól mí,* *dán tén yu go géfɔ kán*
 if 2SG NEG talk with=3SG.OBJ 2SG call 1SG.INDP that time 2SG POT have.to come
na wók, mék a gí yú wán cheque, mék yu gó ték mɔní fɔ
 LOC work SBJV 1SG.SBJ give 2SG.INDP one cheque SBJV 2SG go take money PREP
báy di bloques den wé den léf.
 buy 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.’
- (113) fr03cd 113
Áfta yu fɔ pé dén.
 then 2SG PREP pay 3PL.INDP
 ‘Then you have to pay them.’
- (114) fr03cd 114
Sɔn bloques den léf wé den géfɔ monta nó?
 some brick.PL PL remain SUB 3PL have.to mount NEG
 ‘Some bricks remain that they have to build up, right?’
- (115) fr03cd 115
Pero e bin tél mí sé mék a báy cuarenta bloques.
 but 3SG.SBJ PST tell 1SG.INDP QUOT SBJV 1SG.SBJ buy forty brick.PL
 ‘But he told me to buy forty bricks.’
- (116) ye03cd 116
Yés cuarenta.
 yes forty
 ‘Yes forty.’
- (117) fr03cd 117
Entonces fɔ monta ɔl di baf-rúm, e bin tél mí sé na
 so PREP mount all DEF bathe.CPD-room 3SG.SBJ PST tell 1SG.INDP QUOT FOC
cuarenta mil fɔ di wók wet di bloques den wé den léf.
 forty thousand PREP DEF work 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.’
- (118) fr03cd 118
Dán tén tumóro, ef yu nó kán sí dán mán, mék a kán mék a
 that time tomorrow if 2SG NEG PFV see that man SBJV 1SG.SBJ come SBJV 1SG.SBJ
gí yú di mɔní.
 give 2SG.INDP DEF money
 ‘By that time tomorrow, if you don’t see that man, let me come and give you the
 money.’

- (119) ye03cd 119
Mék a gí yú di cheque mék yú gó na banco yu gó
 SBJV 1SG.SBJ give 2SG.INDP DEF cheque SBJV 2SG.INDP go LOC bank 2SG go
cobra.
 receive
 ‘Let me give you the cheque so that you go to the bank and receive (the money).’
- (120) ye03cd 120
Áfta una báy di bloques den tumóro.
 then 2PL buy DEF brick.PL PL tomorrow
 ‘Then you [PL] buy the bricks tomorrow.’
- (121) 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!’
- (122) ye03cd 122
Tók bifó di [unintelligible]
 talk before DEF
 ‘Talk in front of/ (...)’
- (123) ye03cd 123
¿Sí o no?
 yes or no
 ‘Yes or no?’
- (124) ye03cd 124
Yu nó hía wé a tél 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?’
- (125) ye03cd 125
Djunais tók trú!
 NAME talk true
 ‘Djunais tell the truth!’
- (126) ye03cd 126
Sóté a tél Djunais sé pút mí wet Pancho, wi go chóp wán say.
 until 1SG.SBJ tell NAME QUOT put 1SG.INDP with NAME 1PL POT eat one side
 ‘I even told Djunais to put [dish the food] for me and Pancho, we’ll eat in one place.’

- (127) ye03cd 127
Porque a chék sé/
 because 1SG.SBJ think QUOT
 ‘Because I thought that/’
- (128) fr03cd 128
Porque éni tén wé mí de kól/ e nó gét móvil mós?
 because every time SUB 1SG.INDP IPFV call 3SG.SBJ NEG get mobile more
 ‘Because anytime that I call/ doesn’t he have a mobile-phone anymore?’
- (129) ye03cd 129
Ús=nómba yu géfɔ dán móvil?
 Q=number 2SG have.to that mobile
 ‘Which number do you have in that [your] mobile?’
- (130) ye03cd 130
Yu nó sí dán gyál de chénch, e de chénch-chénch dán nómba
 2SG NEG see that girl IPFV change 3SG.SBJ IPFV RED.CPD-change that number
den lek terrorista wé e nó wánt mék den kéch=an.
 PL like terrorist SUB 3SG.SBJ 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.’
- (131) ye03cd 131
Wétin yu de chench-chénch nómba den só?
 what 2SG IPFV RED.CPD-change number PL like.that
 ‘Why are you constantly changing numbers like that?’
- (132) ye03cd 132
Nó drink watá, nó drink watá, yu go siente ín bád, a tél
 NEG drink water NEG drink water 2SG POT feel 3SG.INDP extremely 1SG.SBJ tell
yú.
 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.’
- (133) ye03cd 133
A de tél yú, yu go sí náy yu nó go finis dán watá.
 1SG.SBJ IPFV tell 2SG.INDP 2SG POT see now 2SG NEG POT finish that water
 ‘I’m telling you, you’ll see now you won’t finish that water.’
- (134) ye03cd 134
A bin wánt intenta dring watá.
 1SG.SBJ PST want intend drink water
 ‘I had wanted to try to drink water.’

- (135) dj03cd 135
Mí nóto yú.
 1SG.INDP NEG.FOC 2SG.INDP
 ‘I’m not you.’
- (136) ye03cd 136
Sí, sí, e fíba vómit, yu de sí?
 see see 3SG.SBJ resemble vomit 2SG IPFV see
 ‘See, see, it [the water] seems like vomit, you see?’
- (137) ye03cd 137
A de tél yú, e fíba vómit insay in mót náu.
 1SG.SBJ IPFV tell 2SG.INDP 3SG.SBJ resemble vomit inside 3SG.POSS mouth now
 ‘I’m telling you, it seems like vomit inside his mouth now.’
- (138) dj03cd 138
Yu dé bád én.
 2SG BE.LOC bad INTJ
 ‘You’re mean, really,’
- (139) ye03cd 139
E dé lēk sé yu de drink ácido.
 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC like QUOT 2SG IPFV drink acid
 ‘It’s as if you’re drinking acid.’
- (140) ye03cd 140
Háu yu siente dán watá?
 how 2SG feel that water
 ‘How does that water feel to you?’
- (141) dj03cd 141
E kin táyt mi belé náu só, chakrá dán pasta smól, yu nó go
 3SG.SBJ HAB be.tight 1SG.POSS belly now so destroy that paste a.bit 2SG NEG POT
wín mí.
 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.’
- (142) dj03cd 142
Yu nó fít.
 2SG NEG can
 ‘You can’t.’
- (143) ye03cd 143
Hó, dán mán go dú vómit tidé, e nó go slíp.
 INTJ that man POT do vomit today 3SG.SBJ NEG POT sleep
 ‘Ho, that man (dj) will vomit today, he won’t sleep.’

- (144) ye03cd 144
A go tél 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.’
- (145) 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/.’
- (146) dj03cd 146
E kin véks bád.
 3SG.SBJ HAB be.angry bad
 ‘He gets really angry [for being left out of the dinner].’
- (147) ye03cd 147
Tidé e kán e sé, “a tínk sé a go finis ál di
 today 3SG.SBJ come 3SG.SBJ QUOT 1SG.SBJ think QUOT 1SG.SBJ POT finish all DEF
resto”.
 rest
 ‘Today he came and said “I think I’m going to finish all the rest [of the food]”.’
- (148) dj03cd 148
E de fǝgét sé Rubi nóba chǝp.
 3SG.SBJ IPFV forget QUOT NAME NEG.PRF eat
 ‘He was forgetting that Rubi hadn’t eaten yet.’
- (149) ye03cd 149
E tél=an sé “papá mí néa chǝp mí sénwe”.
 3SG.SBJ tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT father 1SG.INDP NEG.PRF eat 1SG.INDP FOC
 ‘He [Rubi] told him [Pancho] “please, I myself haven’t eaten yet”.’
- (150) 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”.’
- (151) ye03cd 151
A tél Pancho sé “yu nó lék yu séf”.
 1SG.SBJ tell NAME QUOT 2SG NEG like 2SG self
 ‘I said to Pancho “you don’t like yourself [should be ashamed of yourself]”.’
- (152) ye03cd 152
Mí wet Rubi wi mék jwen-jwén, wi bá y pía, wi bá y sadín, wi
 1SG.INDP with NAME 1PL make RED.CPD-join 1PL buy avocado 1PL buy sardine 1PL

báy tomates, wi desayuna.

buy tomatoes 1PL breakfast

‘Me and Rubi, we teamed up, we bought avocados, we bought sardine, we bought tomatoes (and) we had breakfast.’

(153) ye03cd 153

Pancho de lúk mí só.

NAME IPFV look 1SG.INDP like.that

‘Pancho was looking at me like this.’

(154) fr03cd 154

Móni nó dé dón mós?

money NEG BE.LOC down more

‘Is there no money left down (there) [for your daily expenses]?’

(155) ye03cd 155

E nó dé mós.

3SG.SBJ NEG BE.LOC more

‘None is left.’

(156) fr03cd 156

Veinte mil wé bin dón finis?

twenty thousand SUB PST PRF finish

‘Twenty thousand (that) have already finished?’

(157) ju03cd 157

Den-ól finis.

3PL.CPD-all finish

‘They’ve already finished.’

(158) fr03cd 158

Pero apenas dos semanas wé yu bin tél mí sé yu níd a pút

but barely two week.PL SUB 2SG PST tell 1SG.INDP QUOT 2SG need 1SG.SBJ put

veinte mil dón.

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.’

(159) ye03cd 159

Na yú bin tél mí.

FOC 2SG.INDP PST tell 1SG.INDP

‘It was you who told me.’

(160) ye03cd 160

Bueno, una bríng mí di pépa.

alright 2PL bring 1SG.INDP DEF paper

‘Alright bring me the paper.’

- (161) ye03cd 161
Porque en dos semanas mék veinte mil finis.
 because in two weeks make twenty thousand finish
 ‘Because to make twenty thousand finish in two weeks.’
- (162) fr03cd 162
Háw móch una de ték por día?
 how much 2PL IPFV take by day
 ‘How much do you take [spend] per day?’
- (163) dj03cd 163
A go bríng di pépa.
 1SG.SBJ POT bring DEF paper
 ‘I’ll bring the paper.’
- (164) ye03cd 164
“Mék yu tél dén sé fō mí, éni dé ef yu de ték un kilo,
 SBJV 2SG tell 3PL.INDP QUOT PREP 1SG.INDP every day if 2SG IPFV take one kilo
e dú.”
 3SG.SBJ do
 [Continues quoting Pancho] “Tell them that for me, every day, if you take one kilo, it’s enough.”
- (165) dj03cd 165
‘Di dé wé yu sí bétá chóp yu de chóp fâyn.’
 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.’
- (166) dj03cd 166
Di dé wé pépe nó dé ínsay pót “a nó de chóp dí
 DEF day SUB pepper NEG BE.LOC inside POT 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV food this
porquería!”
 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.”’
- (167) ye03cd 167
A tél yú sé una de pík pépe aunque na bús, e go
 1SG.SBJ tell 2SG.INDP QUOT 2PL IPFV pick pepper even LOC forest 3SG.SBJ POT
chóp ál káyn tín ef e gét pépe.
 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.’

- (168) ye03cd 168
Yéstadé a kúk mí sénwe, al final a gó chóp.
 yesterday 1SG.SBJ cook 1SG.INDP FOC finally 1SG.SBJ go eat
 ‘Yesterday I myself cooked (and) then I ate.’
- (169) ye03cd 169
Na Pancho den bin de combate ín dé mónin tén.
 FOC NAME PL PST IPFV fight 3SG.INDP there morning time
 ‘It’s Pancho they were having an argument with there in the morning.’
- (170) ye03cd 170
Sí, na só mí séf 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.’
- (171) ye03cd 171
Bot wé pósin de kúk ín sénwe “chip”.
 but SUB person IPFV cook 3SG.INDP FOC SKT
 ‘But when somebody himself cooks, “chip”.’
- (172) ye03cd 172
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 cut up (the trimmings), we fried potatoes, we fried plantain.’
- (173) fr03cd 173
Una bin tók wet Pancho?
 2PL PST talk with NAME
 ‘Did you talk to Pancho?’
- (174) ye03cd 174
Wi dón tók wet=an.
 1PL PRF talk with=3SG.OBJ
 ‘We’ve talked to him.’
- (175) fr03cd 175
Bot 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?’
- (176) ye03cd 176
Dán dé a bít Pancho, a bít=an a tél=an sé,
 that day 1SG.SBJ beat NAME 1SG.SBJ beat=3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT
sóté a tél=an sé “éf yu wánt, a de alquila yú taksí,
 until 1SG.SBJ tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT if 2SG want 1SG.SBJ IPFV rent 2SG.INDP taxi

yu sube ʒp, e sáful.
 2SG go.up up 3SG.SBJ be.slow

‘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)”’.

(177) ye03cd 177

“A de gí yú quinientos”, a tél di taksi-mán sé
 1SG.SBJ IPFV give 2SG.INDP fifteen 1SG.SBJ tell DEF taxi.CPD-man QUOT
“arriba a mi casa”.
 up to 1SG.POSS house

‘[I told Pancho] “I’ll give you five hundred”, I told the taxi driver “up to my house”’.

(178) ye03cd 178

Bokú motó den dé yá só, a nó nó sé Pancho mék leke sé
 much car PL BE.LOC here so 1SG.SBJ NEG know QUOT NAME make like QUOT
e de sube bihén wé e baja mó.
 3SG.SBJ IPFV go.up behind SUB 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.’

15.4 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 (*blāk* ‘really dark’ (001); *slíp* ‘sleep’ (010), *pén* ‘pain’ (015) and the entire sentence (012)), vowel lengthening (*eyé* ‘INTJ’ (008), *ʒl* ‘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 away 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.

(1) ye07ga 001

A sé, wán mi kómpin nó, e bin de tél mí sé/ yu
 1SG.SBJ QUOT one 1SG.POSS friend NEG 3SG.SBJ PST IPFV tell 1SG.INDP QUOT 2SG
sí Obiang Nguema, dán tén e de wér sɔn gafas den wé den
 see NAME that time 3SG.SBJ IPFV wear some glasses PL SUB 3PL
blǎk.
 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.’

(2) ye07ga 002

E sé den bin tél mí sé, wé e kin dé na estadio
 3SG.SBJ QUOT 3PL PST tell 1SG.INDP QUOT SUB 3SG.SBJ HAB BE.LOC LOC stadion
só, yu dé na estadio, den de mék Copa de su Excelencia, den sé
 like.that 2SG BE.LOC LOC stadion 3PL IPFV make President’s.Cup 3PL QUOT
dán gafa, e de sí ɔl mán néked’.
 that glasses 3SG.SBJ 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.’

(3) ye07ga 003

Na ín wán dé a bin tél wán grand frère na, na mi
 FOC 3SG.INDP one day 1SG.SBJ PST tell one big brother LOC LOC 1SG.POSS
colegio dé, a tél=an sé “mi mamá de viaja bákú,
 college there 1SG.SBJ tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT 1SG.POSS mother IPFV travel much
a go tráy mék e báy mí dán káyn gafas por Dios’.
 1SG.SBJ POT try SBJV 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”.’

- (4) ye07ga 004
A wánt de sí ól mán nékɛd. [laughter]
 1SG.SBJ want IPFV see all man be.naked
 ‘I want to be seeing everybody naked.’
- (5) ye07ga 005
A wánt dé lek Obiang Nguema.
 1SG.SBJ want BE.LOC like NAME
 ‘I want to be like Obiang Nguema.’
- (6) 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.’
- (7) ne07ga 007
A fit sé if yu consigue gafas wé, yu go wók na ród.
 1SG.SBJ can QUOT if 2SG obtain glasses SUB 2SG POT walk LOC road
 ‘I can tell you if you obtained glasses which, you would walk on the road.’
- (8) ye07ga 008
Eyé [éjé:].
 INTJ
 ‘Good gracious.’
- (9) ne07ga 009
Dán gafa yu go slíp wet=an.
 that glasses 2SG POT sleep with=3SG.OBJ
 ‘Those glasses, you would sleep with them.’
- (10) ye07ga 010
A de slíp wet=an cuñado. [laughter]
 1SG.SBJ IPFV sleep with=3SG.OBJ brother-in-law
 ‘I would sleep with them brother.’
- (11) 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?’
- (12) ye07ga 012
A wánt dé flipado ol áwa, ol [ɔ::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.’

- (13) ye07ga 013
Ól áwa.
 all hour
 ‘All the time.’
- (14) ne07ga 014
A sé, na fɔ tók fɔ dán (...)
 1SG.SBJ QUOT FOC PREP talk PREP that
 ‘I say, one has to talk about that (...)
- (15) ne07ga 015
Yu go lás sí sɔn nékɛd wé na ín go mék mék yu yáy
 2SG POT end.up see some be.naked SUB FOC 3SG.INDP POT make SBJV 2SG eye
pén ó.
 pain SP
 ‘You’ll end up seeing some (kind of) nakedness that will really make your eyes pain.’
- (16) ne07ga 016
Ey, dán káyn spétikul a dáy dáy.
 INTJ that kind glasses 1SG.SBJ die death
 ‘That kind of glasses, I would really die.’
- (17) ne07ga 017
Wé yu tél húman, “lúk di wán, yu wánt tók wet mí?”
 SUB 2SG tell woman look DEF one 2SG want talk with 1SG.INDP
 ‘And you would say to women, “look at this one, you (actually) want to talk to me [now that I have seen all of you]?”’
- (18) ye07ga 018
Yú, yú?
 2SG.INDP 2SG.INDP
 ‘You, you?’ [laughter]
- (19) ne07ga 019
Kɔmót!
 go.out
 ‘Get lost!’
- (20) ye07ga 020
Aa, kɔmót dé!
 INTJ go.out BE.LOC
 ‘Just get lost there!’

- (21) ye07ga 021
¡Fuera!
 outside
 ‘Out!’
- (22) la07ga 022
Te van a matar.
 you they.will to kill
 ‘They [the women] will kill you.’

15.5 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. *trówe=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), *fit* ‘can’ (008)) as well as a brief conversation (021)–(034) after which (dj) quickly turns back to describing the cooking:

- (1) ko03do 001
Djunais a bég explica mí.
 NAME 1SG.SBJ ask.for explain 1SG.INDP
 ‘Djunais, please explain to me [how to prepare maize porridge].’
- (2) dj03do 002
A ralla di, di, di maíz.
 1SG.SBJ grate DEF DEF DEF corn
 ‘I grate(d) the, the corn.’
- (3) ge03do 003
Yu ték di maíz yu hól=an.
 2SG take DEF corn 2SG hold=3SG.OBJ
 ‘You take the corn and hold it.’
- (4) dj03do 004
A ralla in wet rallador.
 1SG.SBJ grate 3SG.INDP with grater
 ‘I grate it with a a grater.’

- (5) dj03do 005
Wé a ralla ín, a sifita ín.
 SUB 1SG.SBJ grate 3SG.INDP 1SG.SBJ sift 3SG.INDP
 ‘When I have grated it, I sift it.’
- (6) dj03do 006
Ól dán watá den a nó de pút dén insay.
 all that water PL 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV put 3PL.INDP inside
 ‘All that water, I don’t put it inside.’
- (7) dj03do 007
Sifta, wé a dón sifita ín, e de léf wet di watá.
 sift SUB 1SG.SBJ PRF sift 3SG.INDP 3SG.SBJ IPFV remain with DEF water
 ‘Sift (it), when I have sifted it, it remains with the water.’
- (8) dj03do 008
Fít sifita ín sóté tú tén mék mék dán smól smól watá den nó
 can sift 3SG.INDP until two time make SBJV that small REP water PL NEG
léf.
 remain
 ‘(You) can sift it up to two times to make that little bit of water not remain.’
- (9) dj03do 009
Són dé yet séf wé a nó mék, entonces dán wán wé léf, una
 some BE.LOC yet FOC SUB 1SG.SBJ NEG make so that one SUB remain 2PL
fít kér=an gó aunque insay wán bótul fɔ wán mineral una
 can carry=3SG.OBJ go like inside one bottle PREP one mineral 2PL
pút=an, na congelador.
 put=3SG.OBJ LOC 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.’
- (10) dj03do 010
Wé yu de mék=an na hós, jós ték=an pút=an na pót
 SUB 2SG IPFV make=3SG.OBJ LOC house just take=3SG.OBJ put=3SG.OBJ LOC POT
aunque wán tasa só.
 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.’
- (11) dj03do 011
If yu de mék=an só e go bokú pero na só
 if 2SG IPFV make=3SG.OBJ like.that 3SG.SBJ POT become.much but FOC like.that
e géfɔ dé.
 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.’

- (12) dj03do 012
Wé a ralla ín, a mék=an, pút di pót na fáya wet
 SUB 1SG.SBJ grate 3SG.INDP 1SG.SBJ make=3SG.OBJ put DEF pot LOC fire with
smól watá, a bigín de pút dán mezcla dé sóté e dé
 small water 1SG.SBJ begin IPFV put that mixture there until 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC
só sénwe.
 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.’
- (13) dj03do 013
Igual séf wet di wán fɔ rés.
 equal FOC with DEF one PREP rice
 ‘The same with the one (made) with rice.’
- (14) ko03do 014
So wán dé fɔ rés séf?
 so one BE.LOC PREP rice FOC
 ‘So there’s one made with rice, too?’
- (15) ko03do 015
Na di sén fásin fɔ dú=an?
 FOC DEF same manner PREP do=3SG.OBJ
 ‘Is it done the same way?’
- (16) dj03do 016
Yu/ rés, yu de bít=an.
 2SG rice 2SG IPFV beat=3SG.OBJ
 ‘You/ as for rice, you beat it.’
- (17) dj03do 017
Bít=an yu mék=an só séf.
 beat=3SG.OBJ 2SG make=3SG.OBJ like.that FOC
 ‘(You) beat it (and) make just like this.’
- (18) ko03do 018
So yu go bít di rés?
 so 2SG POT beat DEF rice
 ‘So you beat the rice?’
- (19) dj03do 019
Yu go moja di rés na watá, fɔ tidé, tú dé, lek háw yu wánt nó,
 2SG POT soak DEF rice LOC water PREP today two day like how 2SG want NEG
di dé yu de calcula sé yu wánt chóp=an.
 DEF day 2SG IPFV calculate QUOT 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.’

- (20) dj03do 020
Yu wánt cháp=an tú dé áfta, yu go mék=an mék e dé
 2SG want eat=3SG.OBJ two day then 2SG POT make=3SG.OBJ SBJV 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC
na watá.
 LOC water
 ‘(If) you want to eat it two days afterwards, you make it be in the water [for that time].’
- (21) ko03do 021
Ús=say yu lán fə kúk?
 Q=side 2SG learn PREP cook
 ‘Where did you learn to cook?’
- (22) dj03do 022
A gó skúl.
 1SG.SBJ go school
 ‘I went to school.’
- (23) dj03do 023
A gó skúl pero ál di smál tín den yá só na tín den wé
 1SG.SBJ go school but all DEF small thing PL here like.that FOC thing PL SUB
mí de mék=an na hós.
 1SG.INDP IPFV make=3SG.OBJ LOC house
 ‘I went to school but all the small things here are things that I make at home.’
- (24) dj03do 024
Pero, Sita bin dé nó, mamá.
 but NAME PST BE.LOC NEG mother
 ‘But Sita was (still) around [alive], right, mother.’
- (25) dj03do 025
Porque na mí mí de prepara ál tín.
 because FOC 1SG.INDP 1SG.INDP IPFV prepare all thing
 ‘Because it’s me, I [EMP] prepare everything.’
- (26) ko03do 026
Yu húman go gládin.
 2SG woman POT be.glad
 ‘Your wife will be happy.’
- (27) ko03do 027
Na Djunais go kúk fə in fāmbul.
 FOC NAME POT cook ASS 3SG.POSS family
 ‘It’s Djunais who’ll cook for his family.’

- (28) ko03do 028
Rubi gó Lubá?
 NAME go PLACE
 ‘Did Rubi go to Lubá?’
- (29) dj03do 029
Yéstadé.
 yesterday
 ‘Yesterday.’
- (30) ge03do 030
Údat, Rubi?
 who NAME
 ‘Who, Rubi?’
- (31) ko03do 031
Ūs=dé e go tón bák?
 Q=day 3SG.SBJ POT turn back
 ‘When will he return?’
- (32) dj03do 032
E fít kán tumára.
 3SG.SBJ can come tomorrow
 ‘He might come tomorrow.’
- (33) ge03do 033
E gó wet in mamá?
 3SG.SBJ go with 3SG.POSS mother
 ‘Did he go with his mother?’
- (34) dj03do 034
Wet in smól bróda.
 with 3SG.POSS small brother
 ‘With his little brother.’
- (35) dj03do 035
A sé díś tín yá só, ef di kón bin bókú lek, di watá
 1SG.SBJ QUOT this thing here like.that if DEF corn PST be.much like DEF water
náw só, di watá/
 now like that DEF water
 ‘I say this thing right here, if the corn was a lot like, the water now, the water/’
- (36) ge03do 036
Dán tín na di pasta.
 that thing FOC DEF paste
 ‘That is the paste.’

- (37) dj03do 037
Di pasta yés.
 DEF paste yes
 ‘The paste, yes.’
- (38) dj03do 038
Na di tín, na ín a níd fɔ mék di pasta porque den de
 FOC DEF thing FOC 3SG.INDP 1SG.SBJ need PREP make DEF paste because 3PL IPFV
sél=an simple só.
 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.’
- (39) dj03do 039
Yu fɔ trowé di watá yá só, na háw só di tín bin fɔ
 2SG PREP pour DEF water here like.that FOC how like.that DEF thing PST COND
léf botón.
 remain bottom
 ‘You have to pour this water here away, that’s how the thing should have remained at the bottom.’
- (40) dj03do 040
Pero e bin fɔ léf bokú sé de tal forma que sí, a fit ték
 but 3SG.SBJ PST COND remain much QUOT of so form that yes 1SG.SBJ can take
di watá a trowé=an, léf di pán na sán, e dráy e
 DEF water 1SG.SBJ pour=3SG.OBJ leave DEF pan LOC sun 3SG.SBJ be.dry 3SG.SBJ
léf leke gari nów.
 remain like 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.’
- (41) ko03do 041
Na só a sabí=an séf.
 FOC like.that 1SG.SBJ know=3SG.OBJ FOC
 ‘That’s how I know it, too.’
- (42) dj03do 042
Lék háw den de mék=an yu de sí na kɔsta nó, wán kɔsta,
 like how 3PL IPFV make=3SG.OBJ 2SG IPFV see FOC custard NEG one custard
sontén na só den de mék ɔ den de pút dán colorante insay wé
 perhaps FOC like.that 3PL IPFV make or 3PL IPFV put that colourant inside SUB
e de chénch.
 3SG.SBJ IPFV 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.’

- (43) dj03do 043
E tón arena, dán água dé a fit ték wán spún, a bigín
 3SG.SBJ turn sand that water BE.LOC 1SG.SBJ can take one spoon 1SG.SBJ begin
de mék=an normal.
 IPFV make=3SG.OBJ normal
 ‘(When) it turns into sand [farina], that water over there, I can take a spoon (of it) and begin to make normally.’
- (44) dj03do 044
Pero como di arena tú lílí-lí, kón tú smól náu, a mezcla
 but because DEF sand too little-REP corn too be.small now 1SG.SBJ mix
ín ál.
 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].’
- (45) dj03do 045
Wén a go kliár=an, sòn, botón mó, e go kán gét dí
 SUB 1SG.SBJ POT clear=3SG.OBJ some bottom more 3SG.SBJ POT come get this
tín.
 thing
 ‘When I clear it, some, at the bottom again, it will come to have this thing.’
- (46) dj03do 046
Pero dí watá, una nó trowé=an lo que sí, una sí sé e dón
 but this water 2PL NEG pour=3SG.OBJ DEF that yes 2PL see QUOT 3SG.SBJ PRF
slíp e dón slíp fáyn, dí watá dón baja.
 sleep 3SG.SBJ PRF lie fine this 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.’
- (47) dj03do 047
Dí tín dón baja, wé di watá una dón de sí=an óp leke sé
 this thing PRF go.down SUB DEF water 2PL PRF IPFV see=3SG.OBJ up like QUOT
na watá normal.
 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.’
- (48) dj03do 048
Éf yu ték dán watá dé, yu trowé=an, yu trowé=an pero mék
 if 2SG take that water there 2SG pour=3SG.OBJ 2SG pour=3SG.OBJ but SBJV
e, yu fit ték dán watá yu trowé=an yu pút óda nyú wán ínsay,
 3SG.SBJ 2SG can take that water 2SG pour=3SG.OBJ 2SG put other new one inside

dán wán sé mék e nó smél.
that 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.’

- (49) dj03do 049
Porque e de sigue wán bád smél.
because 3SG.SBJ IPFV follow one bad smell
‘Because (otherwise) a bad smell follows.’

- (50) ge03do 050
Áfta háw fɔ mék di ógi?
then how PREP make DEF corn.porridge
‘Then how do you make the corn porridge?’

- (51) dj03do 051
Yu fít ték náw, wán, wán smól kóp nó, yu pút=an na fáya, ínsay di
2SG can take now one one small cup NEG 2SG put=3SG.OBJ LOC fire inside DEF
pót.
pot
‘Now you can take, a, a small cup, right, you put it on the fire, inside the pot.’

- (52) dj03do 052
Dásɔl, wán smól, wán glás, yu fúlɔp=an.
only one small one glass 2SG fill=3SG.OBJ
‘Only, one small, one glass, you fill it up.’

- (53) ge03do 053
Wán glás watá.
one glass water
‘A glass of water.’

- (54) dj03do 054
Éhé, wán glás watá aparte, yu pút=an ínsay, dán wán dé yu fít
exactly one glass water apart 2SG put=3SG.OBJ inside that one there 2SG can
ték medio fɔ dán sɛn glás, fɔ dí tɪn yá.
take half PREP that same glass PREP this thing here
‘Exactly, a glass of water apart, you put it inside, as for that one you can take half in that same glass, in this thing here.’

- (55) dj03do 055
Yu de tɔn=an, yu nó fít, yu nó para así, mék yu
2SG IPFV turn=3SG.OBJ 2SG NEG can 2SG NEG stop like.this make 2SG

- tón=an porque bɔtón go rós.*
 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.’
- (56) dj03do 056
E go rós e go léf leke pan-kék.
 3SG.SBJ POT burn 3SG.SBJ POT remain like pan.CPD-cake
 ‘It might burn and become like pancake.’
- (57) dj03do 057
Yu gɛfɔ de tón=an.
 2SG have.to 1PFV turn=3SG.OBJ
 ‘You have to be turning it.’
- (58) dj03do 058
Tón=an tón=an, mék yu nó para sóté mék e tík lek
 turn=3SG.OBJ turn=3SG.OBJ SBJV 2SG NEG stop until SBJV 3SG.SBJ be.thick like
háw e bin dé só.
 how 3SG.SBJ PST BE.LOC so
 ‘Turn it, turn it, don’t stop until it is thick, just the way it was (here).’
- (59) dj03do 059
Pero ɛf di tɪn kán bɔkú mó pás di watá, e go léf wán
 but if DEF thing PFV be.much more pass DEF water 3SG.SBJ POT remain one
pasta, e go léf leke, pan-kék wán tɪn só, e go tú
 paste 3SG.SBJ POT remain like pan.CPD-cake one thing like.that 3SG.SBJ POT too
tík.
 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.’

15.6 Elicitation: Caused positions

The text below results from the elicitation of “caused positions” with the help of the corresponding 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’).

- (1) li07pe 001
E pút wán pisis pantáp tébul.
 3SG.SBJ put one piece.of.cloth on table
 ‘She put a cloth on the table.’
- (2) li07pe 002
Na róp dat.
 FOC rope that
 ‘That’s a rope.’
- (3) li07pe 003
If a sé den de híb sɔn tín na dân stik.
 if 1SG.SBJ QUOT 3PL IPFV throw some thing LOC that tree
 ‘If I said they’re throwing something at that stick.’
- (4) li07pe 004
Pero údat de híb=an?
 but who IPFV throw=3SG.OBJ
 ‘But who is throwing it?’
- (5) li07pe 005
Áfta di róp séf wí nó sí nó mán wé e híb=an.
 then DEF rope FOC 1PL NEG see NEG man SUB 3SG.SBJ throw=3SG.OBJ
 ‘Then, even the rope, we didn’t see anybody who threw it.’
- (6) li07pe 006
Wétin e hénɡ dé?
 what 3SG.SBJ hang there
 ‘What’s hanging there?’
- (7) li07pe 007
Na brís sék=an?
 FOC air shake=3SG.OBJ
 ‘Is it the air that shook it?’
- (8) dj07pe 008
Sí di róp ɔp dé?
 see DEF rope up there
 ‘(Do you) see the rope up there?’
- (9) li07pe 009
Den jós de híb=an, áfta e hénɡ.
 3PL just IPFV throw=3SG.OBJ then 3SG.SBJ hang
 ‘It’s just being thrown, then it hangs.’

- (10) li07pe 010
Nó nátin nó dé na di tébul.
 NEG nothing NEG BE.LOC LOC DEF table
 ‘Nothing is on the table.’
- (11) li07pe 011
Nó nátin nó dé pantáp=an.
 NEG nothing NEG BE.LOC on=3SG.OBJ
 ‘Nothing is on it.’
- (12) li07pe 012
Náw sɔn tín dón dé pan di tébul wé na haricots den.
 now some thing PRF BE.LOC on DEF table SUB FOC beans PL
 ‘Now something is on the table that’s beans [<French ‘haricots’].’
- (13) li07pe 013
Di húman, e bríng di tú ból den 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.’
- (14) li07pe 014
E kán mék di sɛn tín nó.
 3SG.SBJ come make DEF same thing NEG
 ‘She did the same thing, right?’
- (15) dj07pe 015
Fós e fíba sé den bin dón dón.
 first 3SG.SBJ resemble QUOT 3PL PST PRF be.done
 ‘First, it seemed that they [the beans] were done [cooked].’
- (16) dj07pe 016
Náw só den nó dón, yu sí?
 now so 3PL NEG be.done 2SG see
 ‘Right now they aren’t done, you see?’
- (17) dj07pe 017
Náw fós haricots den bin dón kúk.
 now first beans PL PST PRF cook
 ‘Now first, the beans were cooked.’
- (18) li07pe 018
A nó tɪnk.
 1SG.SBJ NEG think
 ‘I don’t think (so).’

- (19) li07pe 019
Na di sén tín.
 FOC DEF same thing
 ‘It’s the same thing [in both video clips].’
- (20) li07pe 020
E bríng haricots na hán, e léf dén pan di tébul.
 3SG.SBJ bring beans LOC hand 3SG.SBJ leave 3PL.INDP on DEF table
 ‘She brought beans in her hand (and) she left them on the table.’
- (21) li07pe 021
Di róp dé pantáp di tébul.
 DEF rope BE.LOC on DEF table
 ‘The rope is on the table.’
- (22) li07pe 022
Di róp nó fít slíp.
 DEF rope NEG can sleep
 ‘The rope can’t lie.’
- (23) li07pe 023
Na pśsin de slíp.
 FOC person IPFV sleep
 ‘It’s a person that lies down.’
- (24) ko07pe 024
E lé pantáp di tébul?
 3SG.SBJ lie on DEF table
 ‘[So can I say] it’s lying on the table?’
- (25) li07pe 025
Nó, e dé pantáp di tébul.
 NEG 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC on DEF table
 ‘No, it’s on the table.’
- (26) li07pe 026
Éfe lé na lek 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.’
- (27) li07pe 027
Na pśsin de lé.
 FOC person IPFV lie
 ‘It’s a person that lies.’

- (28) li07pe 028
Na kasára.
 FOC cassava
 ‘That’s cassava.’
- (29) 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.’
- (30) li07pe 030
Di cartón dé pantáp di tébul.
 DEF carton BE.LOC on DEF table
 ‘The carton is on the table.’
- (31) li07pe 031
E pút di kasára ínsay di cartón wé dé pantáp di tébul.
 3SG.SBJ put DEF cassava inside DEF carton SUB BE.LOC on DEF table
 ‘She put the cassava into the carton that is on the table.’
- (32) li07pe 032
Yu nó=an én?
 2SG know=3SG.OBJ INTJ
 ‘You know her, right?’
- (33) li07pe 033
Yu nó nó?
 2SG NEG know
 ‘You don’t know (her)?’
- (34) li07pe 034
E héng=an míndul tú stík den.
 3SG.SBJ hang=3SG.OBJ middle two tree PL
 ‘He hung it up between two branches.’
- (35) li07pe 035
Héng=an na colgar.
 hang=3SG.OBJ FOC hang
 ‘“Héng=an” is “colgar” [in Spanish].’
- (36) li07pe 036
Éfe kwís=an, e go spwél.
 if 3SG.SBJ squeeze=3SG.OBJ 3SG.SBJ POT spoil
 ‘If he squeezes it, it will spoil.’

- (37) li07pe 037
Na kandá fɔ kokonát.
 FOC skin PREP coconut
 ‘That’s the shell of a coconut.’
- (38) dj07pe 038
Na só sénwe.
 FOC like.that FOC
 ‘That’s exactly how it is.’
- (39) li07pe 039
E bríng tú bótul énti.
 3SG.SBJ bring two bottle empty
 ‘He brought two bottles empty.’
- (40) li07pe 040
E pút dén pan di tébul.
 3SG.SBJ put 3PL.INDP on DEF table
 ‘He put them on the table.’
- (41) dj07pe 041
Tú dífren bótul den fɔ vino.
 two different bottle PL PREP wine
 ‘Two different bottles of wine.’
- (42) dj07pe 042
Di tú bótul den fit slíp pantáp tébul séf.
 DEF two bottle PL can lie on table FOC
 ‘The two bottles can (actually) even lie on the table.’
- (43) li07pe 043
E fínis bén di píses fáyn.
 3SG.SBJ finish bend DEF piece.of.cloth fine
 ‘He has finished folding the piece of cloth nicely.’
- (44) li07pe 044
E pút wán smál 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.’
- (45) 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.’

- (46) dj07pe 046
Porque dí wán na stík wé e para.
 because this one FOC tree SUB 3SG.SBJ stand
 ‘Because this one is a tree that’s standing.’
- (47) dj07pe 047
Yu fit tók sé yu líng yu séf dé.
 2SG can talk QUOT 2SG lean 2SG self there
 ‘You can say you’re abutting yourself there.’
- (48) dj07pe 048
Yu fit tók sé chico, a wánt líng mi séf fə díś butaca.
 2SG can talk QUOT INTJ 1SG.SBJ want lean 1SG.POSS self PREP this armchair
 ‘You can say, man, I want to lounge in this armchair.’
- (49) 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.’
- (50) li07pe 050
E jám=an nía wán stík wé e tínáp.
 3SG.SBJ make.contact=3SG.OBJ near one tree SUB 3SG.SBJ stand
 ‘She placed it [the branch] in contact with the tree that’s standing.’
- (51) li07pe 051
Yu fit ték wán stík wé e kót háf, yu apoya ín.
 2SG can take one tree SUB 3SG.SBJ cut half 2SG lean 3SG.INDP
 ‘You can take a branch that’s cut in half (and) abut it.’
- (52) li07pe 052
Wán stík wé den kót=an, bíg bíg wán.
 one tree SUB 3PL cut=3SG.OBJ big REP one
 ‘A branch that’s been cut, a really big one.’
- (53) li07pe 053
Uf, Pichi es una basura, én.
 INTJ Pichi it.is a rubbish INTJ
 ‘Phew, Pichi is real rubbish, right.’
- (54) li07pe 054
E líng di bótul nía di stík.
 3SG.SBJ lean DEF bottle near DEF tree
 ‘He leaned the bottle against the tree.’

- (55) li07pe 055
E de kwís di ból fɔ mék di ból fít hénɡ fǎyn.
 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.’
- (56) dj07pe 056
E pút di bótul pantáp di tébul pero di mót dé dón.
 3SG.SBJ put DEF bottle on DEF table but DEF mouth BE.LOC down
 ‘He put the bottle on the table but with the mouth down.’
- (57) li07pe 057
E pút di bótul pan di tébul wet di mót dón ɔ rɔn-sáy.
 3SG.SBJ put DEF bottle on DEF table with DEF mouth down or wrong.CPD-side
 ‘He put the bottle on the table with the mouth down or upside-down.’
- (58) li07pe 058
Di písis hénɡ na di stík, bikəs nó mán nó pút=an.
 DEF piece.of.cloth hang LOC DEF tree because NEG man NEG put=3SG.OBJ
 ‘The piece of cloth is hanging from the tree, because nobody has put it (there).’
- (59) li07pe 059
Wí de sí dásɔl sé di písis dón hénɡ.
 1PL.INDP IPFV see only QUOT DEF piece.of.cloth PRF hang
 ‘We only see that the piece of cloth is now hanging.’
- (60) li07pe 060
E dón cuelga na di stík.
 3SG.SBJ PRF hang LOC DEF tree
 ‘It’s hanging from the tree.’
- (61) li07pe 061
Dís wán dé sé a mít wán bótul wé e dé míndul tú
 this one BE.LOC QUOT 1SG.SBJ meet one bottle SUB 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC middle two
stík den.
 tree PL
 ‘This one [still image] is like I’ve come across a bottle that’s between two trees.’
- (62) li07pe 062
E brínɡ 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.’
- (63) li07pe 063
E líng=an dé.
 3SG.SBJ lean=3SG.OBJ there
 ‘She abutted it there.’

- (64) li07pe 064
Dán húman lón bad.
that woman be.long extremely
‘That woman is really tall.’
- (65) li07pe 065
Chico, Dios mío.
INTJ my God
‘Wow, my God.’
- (66) dj07pe 066
E bríng escalera, e líng=an nía di stik.
3SG.SBJ bring ladder 3SG.SBJ lean=3SG.OBJ near DEF tree
‘She brought a ladder, she leaned it against the tree.’
- (67) dj07pe 067
E bríng trí kasára, e lé dén 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.’
- (68) dj07pe 068
E lé=an pantáp di tébul.
3SG.SBJ lay=3SG.OBJ on DEF table
‘She laid them on the table.’
- (69) li07pe 069
E fíks dén fáyn.
3SG.SBJ fix 3PL.INDP fine
‘She arranged them nicely.’
- (70) li07pe 070
Dí cartón, e mít=an yá?
this carton 3SG.SBJ meet=3SG.OBJ here
‘The carton, did she find it [lying] here?’
- (71) li07pe 071
E pút di róp ínsay di cartón wé e dé pantáp di tébul.
3SG.SBJ put DEF rope inside DEF carton SUB 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC on DEF table
‘She put the rope inside the carton that’s on the table.’
- (72) li07pe 072
E slíp di bótul pantáp di tébul.
3SG.SBJ lay DEF bottle on DEF table
‘She laid the bottle down on the table.’

- (73) li07pe 073
Di bótul lé náy pantáp di tébul.
 DEF bottle lie now on DEF table
 ‘The bottle is now lying on the table.’
- (74) li07pe 074
E lé di bótul pantáp di tébul, e slíp di bótul pantáp di tébul.
 3SG.SBJ lay DEF bottle on DEF table 3SG.SBJ lay DEF bottle on DEF table
 ‘She laid [*le*] the bottle on the table, she laid [*slíp*] the bottle on the table.’
- (75) li07pe 075
Di bótul slíp pantáp di tébul bikəs di bótul 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.’
- (76) li07pe 076
Náy e ték róp, e héng di róp na di stík wet kasára.
 now 3SG.SBJ take rope 3SG.SBJ hang DEF rope LOC DEF tree with cassava
 ‘Now he took a rope, he hung the rope from the tree with a cassava.’
- (77) li07pe 077
Nóto só, a tók=an bád, Djunais?
 NEG.FOC SO 1SG.SBJ talk=3SG.OBJ bad NAME
 ‘Isn’t it so, did I say that wrong, Djunais?’
- (78) dj07pe 078
E táy di kasára wet róp áfta e héng=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.’
- (79) 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.’
- (80) dj07pe 080
Di kasára lé míndul tú stík.
 DEF cassava lie middle two tree
 ‘The cassava is lying between two trees.’
- (81) li07pe 081
Di kasára títap míndul tú stík.
 DEF cassava stand middle two tree
 ‘The cassava is standing between two trees.’

- (82) li07pe 082
E tɪnap di kasára míndul tú stík.
 3SG.SBJ stand DEF cassava middle two tree
 ‘He stood up the cassava between two trees.’
- (83) li07pe 083
E tɪnap=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.’
- (84) dj07pe 084
Gó ték mí dán teléfono wé tánap pantáp di tébul.
 go take 1SG.INDP that telephone SUB stand on DEF table
 ‘Go take that telephone for me that’s standing on the table.’
- (85) dj07pe 085
A go kán a go lúk, ɛfna dí wán dásɪ dé a go tók
 1SG.SBJ POT PFV 1SG.SBJ POT look if FOC this one only BE.LOC 1SG.SBJ POT talk
sé a nó sí.
 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).’
- (86) dj07pe 086
A go tók sé a nó sí teléfono wé e slíp pantáp di
 1SG.SBJ POT talk QUOT 1SG.SBJ NEG see telephone SUB 3SG.SBJ lie on DEF
tébul.
 table
 ‘I would say I haven’t seen a telephone that’s lying on the table.’
- (87) li07pe 087
E nó kóba ín.
 3SG.SBJ NEG cover 3SG.INDP
 ‘She hasn’t covered it [the pot].’
- (88) li07pe 088
Di pót kán sin kóba.
 DEF pot come without cover
 ‘The pot came without a cover.’
- (89) li07pe 089
Dɛn pút=an mót dón fɔ di tébul.
 3PL put=3SG.OBJ mouth down PREP DEF table
 ‘It was put mouth down [upside-down] on the table.’

- (90) li07pe 090
E dè kán fɔ́dón sóté yá.
 3SG.SBJ IPFV come fall until here
 ‘It’s coming and extending until here.’
- (91) 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.’
- (92) dj07pe 092
E pín di stík na grón.
 3SG.SBJ stick DEF tree LOC ground
 ‘She stuck the stick into the ground.’
- (93) dj07pe 093
Náw e tínap na grón.
 now 3SG.SBJ stand LOC ground
 ‘Now it’s standing (upright) in the ground.’
- (94) dj07pe 094
Di pót 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.’
- (95) dj07pe 095
E slíp di escalera na grón.
 3SG.SBJ lay DEF ladder LOC ground
 ‘She laid the ladder on the ground.’

16 Word lists

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 pósín* ‘sick person’). Commonly employed Spanish-derived words are also included. Spanish-derived words are written following Spanish orthographic conventions and without tone-marking. The following abbreviations are used in addition to those listed on page [xi](#):

<i>adj</i>	adjective	<i>morph</i>	morphological structure of entry
<i>adv</i>	adverb	<i>n</i>	noun
<i>aff</i>	affix	<i>part</i>	particle
<i>aux</i>	auxiliary	<i>pn</i>	proper noun
<i>det</i>	determiner	<i>prep</i>	preposition
<i>ideo</i>	ideophone	<i>prom</i>	pronominal
<i>inter</i>	interrogative word	<i>pron</i>	personal pronoun
<i>intj</i>	interjection	<i>quant</i>	quantifier
<i>link</i>	clause linker	<i>TMA</i>	tense-mood-aspect particle
<i>loc</i>	locative noun	<i>v</i>	verb

16.1 Pichi–English

A - a

a *pron.* 1sg subject dependent pronoun.

aa¹ *intj.* expression of insight.

aa² *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.

adɔnké *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.

áyen *v.* iron. Variant: háyen.

— *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.

bádden *adv.* unfortunately. Morph: bád-tén.

bañera *n.* bathtub. From: Spanish.

báf *v.* bathe.

bág *n.* bag.

baja *v.* go down, take down. See: gó dón.
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, be sickly.

bangá *n.* palm tree, palm kernel.

baptáys *v.* baptise.

bat *adv.* but. See: bet; bot.

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.

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.

bég *v.* ask for, implore.

bélch *v.* belch.

belé *n.* belly, womb; pregnancy.

— *v.* impregnate.

bele-húman *n.* pregnant woman.

gét belé be pregnant.

gí belé impregnate.

púl belé abort.

belfúl *v.* be satiated, full.

bélps *n.* sweetheart, babe. Usage: informal.

bélt *n.* belt, strap.

bén *v.* bend (over); fold.

bér *v.* bury.

bérin *n.* burial.

bét¹ *v.* bite.

bet² *adv.* but.

béta *v.* (be) very good, excellent. Variant: béte.

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.

bihén *loc.* rear, behind, after (also temporal).

bikós *link.* because. Variant: bikós.

bíl *v.* build.

bilíf *v.* believe.

bin *TMA.* past tense marker.

bió *intj.* expression of surprise.

bis *v.* repeat. From: Spanish.

bísín *v.* bother (about); be busy (with).

bísnes *n.* business.

bít *v.* beat.

bitáwt *prep.* without. Variant: witáwt.
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.
blóð *n.* blood.
blókks *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.
bóbi *n.* breast.
bódi *n*; *prom.* body.
bóks *n.* box.
bókú *v*; *quant.* (be) much.
ból *n.* ball.
bón *v.* give birth; be born.
bós *v.* burst (open).
bót¹ *adv.* but.
bót² *v.* hit with the head; (cause to) rebound.

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. From: Spanish.
 cobra mōní receive money, salary.
colegio *n.* college. From: Spanish.
comisaría *n.* police station. From: Spanish.
como *link.* because, since. See: as. From:

bótón *loc.* bottom, under(neath).
bótul *n.* bottle.
bóy *n.* boy.
bráket *v.* coincide, be on par with.
bráyt *v.* be bright, radiant.
brék *v.* dawn.
bréd *n.* bread.
bríng *v.* bring.
brís *n.* air; wind.
brók *v.* break, be broken.
bróda *n.* brother; term of address.
brōdaló *n.* brother-in-law. Morph:
 bróda-ló. Variant: braló.
Bube *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.
bwél *v.* boil.
bya *ideo.* sound of coughing.
byabyá *n.* beard.

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; tél. 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: **ché**.
chekó *n.* lower chest.
chénych *v.* change.
chék *v.* think; check (out).
chéř *v.* tear.

D - d

dák *v.* be dark.
dán *det.* that (distal demonstrative modifier). See: **dát**. Variant: **dá**.
dáns *v; n.* dance.
dás *v.* give as a present, for free.
dásol *adv.* then.
 — *quant.* only. See: **ónli**.
dát *det; prom.* that (distal demonstrative modifier and pronominal).
day *v.* die; death.
day-mán, day-pósin *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 auxiliary verbs.
desayuna *v.* have breakfast. From: Spanish.
débul *n.* devil.
 — *v.* be devilish.
dén *pron.* 3PL independent pronoun.

chés *n.* chest.
chía *n.* chair.
chico *n.* boy.
 — *intj.* expression of surprise, 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.
chóch *n.* church.
chóp *v.* eat.
 — *n.* food.
chúk *v.* pierce, stab, sting.
chúk néf stab with a knife.
chukchúk *n.* thorn. Morph: **chúk-chúk**.
chupete *n.* nipple. From: Spanish.

den *pron.* 3PL dependent pronoun; postnominal plural marker.
dí *det.* this (proximal demonstrative modifier). Variant: **dís**.
di *det.* definite article.
dia¹ *n.* deer.
dia² *v.* be expensive.
difren *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 modifier and pronominal). Variant: **dí**.
discoteca *n.* discotheque. From: Spanish.
disfruta *v.* enjoy (oneself). From: Spanish.
dógo *n.* fool.
dominó *n.* domino.
domót *n.* door.
dote *n.* dowry. From: Spanish.
dóg *n.* dog.

dókta *n.* doctor.
dón¹ *TMA.* perfect tense-aspect marker.
dón² *loc.* lowerside, down.
dón³ *v.* be done, finished.
dotaló *n.* daughter-in-law. Morph: dóta-ló.
dótí *v.* be dirty.
dráy *v.* be dry; be haggard, thin.
dráyva *n.* driver.

E - e

é *intj.* expression of dismay, empathy.
e *pron.* 3sg dependent subject pronoun.
éch *n.* age, age group.
ékié *intj.* expression of counterexpectation, amazement. From: Fang.
éks *v.* bounce.
Ela Nguema *pn.* popular quarter in the eastern part of Malabo.

Ɛ - ɛ

é *intj.* attention getter. See: ey.
ɛf *link.* if, whether. See: if. Variant: ɛfɛ.
ɛhé *intj.* yes (strong agreement).
éks *n.* egg.
gadinéks ‘garden-eggs’ = eggplant.
én *intj.* channel check.

F - f

fá *v.* be far.
fadaló *n.* father-in-law. Morph: fada-ló.
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.

dréb *v.* drive (a vehicle); chase away.
 Variant: dráyb.
dríng *v.* drink.
dró, *v.* 1) draw, remove; be sticky (of an okro soup). 2) draw (a drawing).
dróngo *v.* be dead drunk.
dú *v.* do, make; be enough.
dúya *intj.* please.

espia *v.* spy on, tail somebody. From: Spanish.
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: é.

éni *quant.* every.
énta *v.* enter.
énti *v.* be empty.
ɛskyús *v.* excuse.
ɛsplén *v.* explain.

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.
févo *n.* favour. Variant: fébo.
féda *n.* feather.

- fén** *v.* look for.
fēt *v.* fight.
fīa *v.* fear. Variant: **fīe**.
fība¹ *v.* resemble; seem.
fība² *n.* fever.
fīja *v.* notice, remark, pay attention. From: Spanish.
fīks *v.* fix, arrange; repair.
fīl¹ *v.* feel.
 fīl hángri feel hungry.
 fīl tósti feel thirsty.
 fīl slíp feel sleepy.
fīl² *n.* field.
fin dé semana *n.* weekend. From: Spanish.
fīnga *n.* finger.
 fīnga-nél *n.* finger nail, claw.
fīnis *v.* finish.
 — *aux.* completive aspect auxiliary.
fīs *n.* fish. See: **fīsin**.
fīsin *v.* fish. See: **fīs**.
 fīsin-mán fisherman.
Fistɔn Nɔmba-wán *pn.* Pichi-speaking village close to Malabo.
fīt *v.* can, be able.
fityáy *v.* cheek, offend.
fláy *v.* 1) 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*.
ƒɔdɔn *v.* fall.
ƒɔgét *v.* forget.
ƒɔk *v.* fuck. Usage: informal.
ƒɔl¹ *v.* rain.
ƒɔl² *n.* fowl.
 mán ƒɔl *n.* cock.
 húman ƒɔl *n.* hen.
ƒɔréva *adv.* (for) ever. Variant: **ƒɔréba**.
ƒɔs¹ *quant; adv.* first.
 ƒɔs tén formerly.
ƒɔs² *v.* force.
ƒɔséka *link.* due to. Variant: **ƒɔséko**.
frase *n.* sentence. From: Spanish.
fráy *v.* fry.
 fray-rés *n.* fried rice.
fráyde *n.* friday.
frén *n.* friend. Usage: rare. See: **kómpin**.
frés *v.* (be) fresh.
frɛskól *n.* mucus. Morph: **frés-kól**.
frí *v; adj.* be free.
fritámbo *n.* antelope.
frɔn *prep.* since.
 frɔn bɔkú tén since long.
 frɔn - sóté *prep.* from - until.
frút *n.* fruit.
fruta *n.* fruit. From: Spanish.
fufú *n.* fufu.
 bit-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**; **gél**, **gyél**.
gáls *n.* girl-PL. See: **gál**.
garí *n.* gari.
gasolina *n.* petrol. From: Spanish.

gél *n.* girl. See: gál.
gél frén *n.* girlfriend.
gét *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 dón *v.* go down.
gó óp *v.* go up.
go *TMA*. potential mood marker.
góð *n.* God.
gón *n.* gun.
góvna *n.* governor; government. Variant: góvna.
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-móða *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.
grón *n.* ground; plot.
báy grón buy land.
berin-grón *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

gbín *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.
hambóg *v.* bother.
hán *n.* hand, arm.
hángri *v.* be hungry. Variant: hángri.
haricot *n.* beans. From: French.
hásis *n.* ashes.
hát *n.* heart.
háv *inter.* how.

háv móch *inter.* how much.
háyd *v.* hide.
haydháyð *adv.* secretly.
hébul *v.* be capable, able.
héd *n.* head.
hés *v.* lift.
hé *intj.* expresses warning, rebuke.
hélp *v.* help. Variant: hép.
héng *v.* hang (onto).
hía¹ *adv.* here. See: yá. Variant: hie.
hía² *n.* hair.
hía³ *n.* year. Variant: yía.
las-hía *n.* last year.

néks *hía* next year.
hía⁴ *v.* hear, understand. Variant: *híe*, *yér*.
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.

I - i

if *link.* if, whether. See: *ef*.
ín *pron.* 3sg independent and object pronoun.
in *pron.* 3sg possessive pronoun.
Ínglis *pn.* English(-speaking) person, the English language.

J - j

jakató *n.* bitter tomato.
jám *v.* make contact, be in contact.
jél *n.* jail.
jéls *v.* envy, be jealous.
jéntri *n.* riches.
jéntri-mán rich man, rich person.
jís *aux; adv.* just; egressive aspect

K - k

kágo *n.* goods.
kaká *v.* defecate.
 — *n.* faeces.
kakara *ideo.* be restless.
kamúkamú *ideo.* countermovement of buttocks when walking.
kán¹ *v.* come.

hós *n.* house, building; home. See: *hóm*.
hospital *n.* hospital. From: Spanish.
hólidé *n.* holiday. Variant: *holidé*.
hón *n.* horn.
hónti *v.* hunt. Variant: *hóntin*.
hónti-mán *n.* hunter.
hóri *v.* hurry, rush. Variant: *hórin*.
hót *v.* be hot, warm.
húk *v.* hook, hook arms.
 — *n.* hook.
húman *n.* woman. Variant: *wúman*.

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 tén *n.* evening.

auxiliary. Variant: *jós*.
jób *n.* job.
jóch *v.* judge.
jomba *n.* lover.
mék jomba make love.
júmp *v.* jump.
jwén *v.* join.

kán² *v.* (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 mán hyper-active, hectic man.
káyn *prom.* kind.
kéch *v.* catch.
kechóp *v.* realise.
kék *n.* cake.
pan-kék *n.* pancake.
kenú *n.* canoe.
kés *n.* matter.
kér *v.* carry; take; last. Variant: kéri;
 kyér(i); kári.
kí *n.* key.
kíchín *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.
kléva *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.
kóba *v.* cover.
 — *n.* cover.
kóf *v.* cough.
kɔfi *n.* coffee.
kól *v.* call.
kóla *n.* colour.
kólech *n.* college.
kómót *v.* 1) go out, come out. 2) turn out,
 become. Variant: kómót.
 — *aux.* egressive aspect auxiliary.
kómpani *n.* (commercial) company.
kómpin *n.* friend.
kəmplít *v.* be complete.
kón *n.* corn.
kóna *n.* corner.
 — *prep.* next to.
kɔnfyús *v.* confuse.
kóngkóngkóng *ideo; intj.* sound of
 knocking, employed to seek
 permission to enter.
kónk *n.* snail.
kónt *v.* count.
kóntri *n.* country, village, hometown.
kóp *n.* cup.
kórét *v.* be correct; correct, discipline.
kós¹ *v.* cost.
kós² *v.* insult, offend.
kosín *n.* cousin.
kósta *n.* custard.
kóstən *v.* be used to, be accustomed to.
kót *v.* cut; have sex.
 — *n.* cut, gash, (open) wound.
kótlas *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.
krób *v.* scrub; have sex. Usage: informal.
krós *v.* cross.
 — *n.* cross.
kúk *v.* cook.
kúsé *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).
kwénch *v.* die (off).

kwésɔn *n.* question. Variant: kwésyɔn.
kwík *adv.* quickly.

Kp - kp

kpu *ideo.* sound of impact on a soft matter.

L - l

láf *v.* laugh.
lám̐p *n.* lamp; electricity. **lám̐p nó dé** ‘lám̐p
 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: lek.
láyñ *n.* line.
láyť *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).
léf¹ *v.* 1) remain; leave (tr.), stop.
 2) resultative copula. 3) allow
 (causative-permissive verb).
léf² *n.* left (side).
léf-hán *n.* left-hand (side).
lék *v.* like.
lek *adv.* like, as (standard marker in
 equative constructions). Variant: leke,

layk.
lek háw *link.* as soon as; the way that.
lek sé *link.* as if.
léta *n.* letter.
líba *n.* liver.
gét líba have guts.
líf¹ *n.* leaf.
líf² *v.* live; reside. See: láyť.
líka *n.* alcohol.
líli *v.* (be) little, tiny.
lílibit *adv.* a (little) bit. Morph: líli-bít. See:
 líli.
líng *v.* lean against, be reclined; lounge.
lónson *v.* be lonely, miss (a person).
lók *v.* close; lock.
 — *n.* lock.
lók *n.* luck. See: lóki.
bad-lók bad luck.
lóki *v.* be lucky. Variant: lókin.
lón *v.* (be) long, tall.
lón tén long time ago, since long.
lós *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*, *mómi*.

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.* taro. From: Spanish.

malérya *n.* malaria.

sík malérya be sick with malaria.

mamá *n.* mother; term of address. See: *mamí*, *mómi*, *má*.

— *intj.* expression of surprise or shock.

mamí *n.* mother; term of address. See: *mamá*, *mómi*, *má*.

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: *mén*.

mék¹ *v.* make, do; causative verb.

mék² *link.* subjunctive mood marker, modal complementiser; in order to.

mekés *v.* hurry.

mélk *n.* milk.

ményéményé *ideo.* whine; nag in a childlike fashion.

mémba *v.* remember, remind; think of, think about.

mén *v.* 1) care for, mind. 2) cure. Variant: *máyn*.

mérésin *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.

mítóp *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.

mó *adv.* more (comparative particle); again.

— *v.* be more.

móch *adv.* much.

tú móch *adv.* too much. See: *tú*.

mó-én-mó *adv.* more and more.

mómi *n.* mother; term of address. See: *mamá*, *mómi*, *ma*.

mónde *n.* monday.

móní *n.* money.

mónin *n.* morning.

gúd mónin good morning.

mónin tén *n.* morning.

mónkí *n.* monkey.

məs *TMA.* must (obligative mood marker).

mót *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

*na*¹ *part.* focus marker; identity copula (affirmative).
*na*² *prep.* general locative preposition.
nadó *loc.* outside.
nák *v.* hit; make love to; gulp down a drink.
nátin *prom.* nothing.
náw *adv.* now.
 náw só *adv.* right now.
nawá *intj.* expression of exasperation and (self) pity.
náyn *quant.* nine.
náys *v.* (be) nice.
nékəd *v.* be naked.
nél *n.* nail.
ném *n.* name.
nésɔn *n.* nation(ality), (a) people. Variant: *nésyɔn*.
netif *v.* (be) customary.
néa *TMA.* negative perfect tense-aspect marker. Morph: *néva*. Variant: *néba*, *nóba*.
néf *n.* knife.
nék *n.* neck.
néks *quant.* next.
net *n.* night.
 na net *adv.* at night, in the night.
ní *n.* knee.

O - o

o *link.* or. See: *ɔ*. From: Spanish.
ó *intj.* sentence particle.
ógi *n.* corn porridge.
ól *v.* (be) old.
ónli *quant.* only. See: *dásɔl*.
ópin *v.* be open. Variant: *hópin*.

O - ɔ

ni *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.
*nó*¹ *part.* negative particle.
*nó*² *v.* know.
normal *adj.* normal. From: Spanish.
nós *n.* nose.
nóto *part.* focus marker (negative); identity copula (negative).
novia *n.* girlfriend. From: Spanish.
novio *n.* boyfriend. From: Spanish.
nó *part.* negative particle; question tag.
 See: *nó*.
nóba *TMA.* negative perfect tense-aspect marker. See: *néa*.
nómba *n.* number.
nóys *n.* noise.
nube *n.* cloud. From: Spanish.
nyangá *v.* put on airs, coquet.
nyóní *n.* ant.
nyú *v.* (be) new.
Nyúmbili *pn.* most populous and densely-populated quarter of Malabo.
nyús *n.* news.

opinyáy *v.* be enlightened, cultivated.
 Morph: *ópin-yáy*.
opó *n.* vagina.
óva *adv.* over, excessively. Variant: *óba*.
 — *v.* be over; be excessive.
ova-hót *v.* be overhot, overheat.

ɔ *link.* or.
 ʒda *quant.* other.
 ɔf *prep.* of. Usage: rare.
 ʒfis *n.* office.
 ʒl *quant.* all, every.
 ɔndastán *v.* understand.
 ɔnkúl *n.* uncle; term of address.

ɔntóp *loc.* top, on.
 ʒp *loc.* up(perside), above.
 ɔráyt *adv.* alright.
 ɔspítul *n.* hospital.
 ʒt *v.* extinguish.
 ʒyl *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.
 pamáyñ *n.* oil.
 pambóð *n.* bird.
 pán *n.* pan.
 ɔtí pán rubbish bin.
 pan *prep.* on.
 pantáp *loc.* top; on. Variant: pantóp.
 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 góð *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.
 pépe *n.* pepper.
 píá¹ *n.* avocado.
 píá² *n.* pair.
 píá súś *n.* pair of shoes.
 Pichi *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.
 píł *v.* peel.
 pín *v.* stick in(to).
 pínch *v.* pinch. Variant: spínch.
 pipí *v.* urinate.
 — *n.* urine.
 pípul *n.* people.
 písís *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.
 bwel-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.
plénk *n.* board, plank.
plénte *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: bikos. From: Spanish.
pómp *v; n.* pump.
pónis *v.* punish.
pósin *n.* person, human-being. Variant: pésin.

R - r

rás *n.* arse. Usage: informal.
 kaka-rás *n.* arse (also used as an insult).
ráwn *v.* surround.
ralla *v.* grate. From: Spanish.
ráyt¹ *v.* write.
ráyt² *n.* right.
 gét ráyt be right. *n.*
 rayt-hán *n.* right hand (side).
Rebola *pn.* town on the east coast of Bioko.
refyús *v.* refuse.
relámpago *n.* lightning. From: Spanish.
rén *n.* rain.

pót *n.* pot.
pótápót *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.
próblem *n.* problem.
prómis *v.* promise.
prōpatí *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 belé abort.
 púl brís breathe, inhale.
 púl fotó take a picture.
 púl torí tell a story, converse.
pús *v.* push.
pút *v.* put.
pyó *v.* (be) pure.

restaurante *n.* restaurant. From: Spanish.
reunión *n.* meeting. From: Spanish.
réd *v.* (be) red, orange.
redí *v.* prepare.
rép *v.* be ripe.
rés¹ *v.* rest.
rés² *n.* rice.
respét *v.* respect, admire.
Riaba *pn.* town on the east coast of Bioko.
rich *v.* arrive; reach; (to) equal.
ring *n.* ring.
ríva *n.* river. Variant: ríba.
ród *n.* road.

róp *n.* rope.

rós *v.* roast, burn.

rób *v.* rub.

rón¹ *v.* (be) wrong.

ron-sáy *n.* reverse, upside down, inside out.

rón² *v.* run.

rótin *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.

gét saldo have units (on the mobile phone).

salút *v.* greet.

sán *n.* sun.

sán tén *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.

séf *prom.* self.

— *part.* focus marker; even, too, also.

sékón *quant.* second. Variant: sékøn.

sél *v.* sell.

sén *v.* send, throw with aim.

séns *n.* brain, mind.

gét séns be intelligent.

sént *n.* scent.

séven *quant.* seven. Variant: sében.

sí *v.* see; find.

síd *n.* seed.

sídón *v.* sit (down); reside. Variant: sídøn.

sífta *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.* sing.

— *n.* song.

sinimá *n.* movie; cinema.

síns *prep.* since (temporal).

síryəs *v.* (be) serious.

sísín *n.* season.

ren-sísín *n.* rainy season.

dray-sísín *n.* dry season.

sísəs *n.* scissors.

sísta *n.* sister; term of address.

sístał *n.* sister-in-law. Morph: sísta-ló.

Variant: sisteló.

skía *v.* be scared, scare.

skín *n.* body.

- smòlskín** *v.* be thin, emaciated. Morph: smól-skín.
- skrách** *v.* scratch. Variant: krách.
- skúl** *n.* school.
gí skúl give classes.
gó 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.
- smél** *v.* smell.
 — *n.* smell.
- smók** *v;* *n.* smoke.
- smól** *v.* (be) small.
 — *quant.* a bit, few.
- smólten** *adv.* shortly after; nearly. Morph: smól-tén.
- snék** *n.* snake.
- só¹** *v.* show.
- só²** *v.* sew.
- só³** *adv.* like that, like this.
- so** *adv.* so, thus, hence.
- sobrina** *n.* niece. From: Spanish.
- sobрино** *n.* nephew. From: Spanish.
- sók** *v.* be wet.
- soldado** *n.* soldier. From: Spanish.
- solwatá** *n.* the sea, saltwater. Morph: sól-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.
- sófa** *v.* suffer.
- sófút** *n.* wound, injury. Morph: só-fút.
- sól** *n.* salt.
- són** *quant.* some; indefinite determiner.
- sónde** *n.* sunday.
- sóniló** *n.* son-in-law. Morph: sòni-ló.
- sontén** *adv.* perhaps, maybe. Morph: sòn-tén.
- sóp** *n.* shop. Variant: syóp.
- sóri** *v.* feel sorry. Variant: sórin.
- sót¹** *v.* (be) short. Variant: syót.
- sót²** *n.* shirt. Variant: syót.
- spén** *v.* spend.
- spétikul** *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.
- spotinbóy** *n.* well dressed, stylish guy.
- spún** *n.* spoon.
- spwél** *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.
- stóp** *v.* stop.
- strét** *v.* (be) straight; respectable; sincere.
 Variant: trét.
- strít** *n.* street. Variant: trít.
- strón** *v.* (be) strong; (be) hard; (be) difficult; (be) profound. See: tránga.
 Variant: trón.
- styú** *n.* stew.
- súb** *v.* shove, push.
- sube** *v.* go up, take up. See: gó óp. 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.

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.
táwel *n.* towel.
táy *v.* tie.
táya *v.* be tired.
táyt *v.* be tight, tighten.
tébul *n.* table.
ték *v.* take. See: **kyér**.
teléfono *n.* telephone. From: Spanish.
televisión *n.* television. From: Spanish.
tél *v.* tell, narrate.
tén *n.* time.
ténki *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.

sút *v.* shoot.
swéla *v.* swallow.
swét *v.* sweat.
 — *n.* sweat.
swín *v.* swim.
swít *v.* 1) (be) tasty. 2) (be) sweet.

tio *n.* uncle; term of address. See: **onkúl**.
 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**.
tóch *v.* touch.
tók *v.* talk.
 — *n.* word, speech, language.
kóntri-tók *n.* the language of one's home town, native language.
tón¹ *n.* town.
tón² *v.* 1) turn. 2) become.
tón bák *v.* return, come back.
tóng *n.* tongue; language.
Bata tóng *n.* the Fang language; any language of the continental part of Equatorial Guinea.
tóp *n.* top.
tósti *v.* be thirsty. Variant: **tóstin**.
tradicional *adj.* traditional. From: Spanish.
tránga *v.* (be) strong; (be) hard; (be) difficult. See: **strón**.
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: strímbul.
tripas *n.* intestines. From: Spanish.
trót *n.* throat.
trowé *v.* 1) throw (away). 2) pour.
tróbul *n.* trouble, hardship.
trósís *n.* trousers.
trú *v.* (be) true.
tú¹ *quant.* two.

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.

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.
véks *v.* be angry.
viaja *v.* travel. From: Spanish.

W - w

wách *v.* watch.
wahála *n.* trouble; problem.
wáka *v.* walk. Variant: wók.
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: wónda.
wán-én-háf *quant.* one and a half.
wáns *link.* once.
wánt *v.* want.

tú² *adv.* too (much).
tudé *n.* See: tidé.
tumára *n.* tomorrow, the next day.
 Variant: tumóro.
tumbú *n.* worm.
tumóro *n.* See: tumára.
tún *v.* 1) tune. 2) persuade, chat up.
tyúsde *n.* tuesday.

ús=káyn *inter.* which (kind of).
ús=pósin *inter.* who.
ús=say *inter.* where.
ús=stáyl *inter.* how.
ús=tén *inter.* when.
ús=tín *inter.* what.

vílech *n.* village.
vino *n.* wine. From: Spanish.
visít *v.* visit.
vómit *v.* vomit.
vuelta *n.* round. From: Spanish.
gí wán vuelta take a walk.

— *aux.* prospective aspect auxiliary.
 Variant: wónt.
wánten *adv.* suddenly; at once.
wás *v.* wash.
watá *n.* water. Variant: wotá.
hót-watá *n.* hot, warm water.
kol-watá *n.* cold, cool water.
wáyf *n.* wife.
wayó *n.* cunning.
 — *v.* be cunning.
wáyp *v.* wipe.
wáynt *v.* (be) white, light, clear.

wé¹ *link.* introduces relative clauses;
coordinate clauses; time clauses;
complement clauses (marginal).
Variant: wén.
wé² *n.* way.
wék *v.* wake (up).
wékp *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.
wél *v.* be well.
wélkəm *intj.* welcome.
wénsde *n.* wednesday.
wér *v.* wear; dress up.
wí *pron.* 1PL independent pronoun.
wi *pron.* 1PL dependent pronoun.

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.

wích¹ *inter.* which.
wích² *v.* bewitch.
— *n.* witch, sorcerer; sorcery.
wík *n.* week.
wíkəd *v.* (be) wicked.
wín *v.* win; defeat.
wínda *n.* window. Variant: wíndo.
wók *v.*; *n.* work.
wós *v.* be very bad, worse.
wówó *ideo.* of crying.
wód *n.* word.
wók *v.* walk. Usage: rare. See: wáka.
wól *n.* world.
wóri *v.* worry. Variant: wórin.
wotá *n.* water. Variant: watá.
wówó *ideo*; *v.* (be) ugly; (be) messy, in
disorder.
wúd *n.* wood.
faya-wúd *n.* fire wood.
wuruwúru *ideo*; *n.* disorderliness;
confusion.

yér *v.* hear, understand. See: hía.
yés *intj.* yes. Variant: yé.
yéstade *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.

16.2 English–Pichi

A - a

- a quant.* sɔn;
quant. wán (1).
abilitive mood marker *TMA.* kin.
able *v.* fit.
abort *v.* púl belé, see: púl.
above *loc.* óp.
abundant *quant.* sósó.
accident *n.* accidente.
accompany *v.* fála.
acquire *v.* gét.
active (hyper~) *ideo.* katakátá.
admire *v.* respét.
adopt *v.* adopta.
adverbialising affix *aff.* -wán.
advise *v.* adváys.
affair *n.* affaire. From French.
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.* bihén;
prep. ápás.
afternoon *n.* áftanun;
n. sán tén, see: sán.
afterwards *adv.* áfta.
again *adv.* mó.
age *n.* éch.
agree *v.* grí.
air *n.* brís.
airport *n.* aeropuerto.
airs (put on ~) *v.* nyangá.
alcohol *n.* líka.
alive (be ~) *v.* dé láyf, see: láyf.
all *quant.* ól.
allow *v.* grí;
v. léf¹ (1).
alone *quant.* wán (2).
alright *adv.* bueno;
adv. ɔráyt.
also *part.* séf.
altar *n.* altar.
although *link.* aunque.
amongst *loc.* insay;
loc. míndul.
and *link.* an¹;
link. wé¹;
prep. wet.
angry *v.* véks.
animal *n.* animal.
animal (wild ~) *n.* bíf.
answer *v.* ánsa.
ant *n.* nyóní.
antelope *n.* fritámbo.
approximately *adv.* aunque;
quant. wán (3).
arm *n.* hán.
around *adv.* aráwn.
arrange *v.* fiks.
arrive *v.* rích.
arrogant *v.* práwd.
arse *n.* rás;
n. kaka-rás, see: rás.
as *adv.* lek;
link. as.
as if *link.* lek sé, see: lek.
as (much) *adv.* tan.
as soon as *link.* lek háw, see: lek.
ashamed *v.* sém.
ashes *n.* hásis.
ask *v.* áks².
ask for *v.* bég.
association *n.* sosáyti.
at *prep.* fɔ;
prep. na².
at night *adv.* na nét, see: nét.
at once *adv.* wánten.
aunt *n.* antí;

n. tia.
auxiliary (completive aspect ~) *aux. finis.*
auxiliary (continuative aspect ~) *aux.*
sigue;
aux. stíl.
auxiliary (egressive aspect ~) *aux. kómót;*

aux; adv. jís.
auxiliary (ingressive aspect ~) *aux. bigín.*
auxiliary (prospective aspect ~) *aux.*
wánt.
avocado *n. píá¹.*
axe *n. áks¹.*

B - b

babe *n. bebí (2);*
n. béłps.
baby *n. bebí (1).*
back (body part) *n. bák.*
bad *v. bád.*
bad (very ~) *v. wós.*
bag *n. bág;*
n. bláy.
ball *n. ból.*
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. aguenta;*
v. bíá².
beard *n. byabyá.*
beat *v. bít.*
beautiful *adj. fáyn;*
v. bráyt;
v. frés.
because *link. ás;*
link. bikəs;
link. como;

link. porque.
become *v. kómót (2);*
v. tón² (1).
bed *n. béd.*
beer *n. bíá¹.*
before (temporal) *link. bifó.*
begin *v. bigín.*
behind *loc. bihén.*
belch *v. bélch.*
believe *v. bilíf.*
belly *n. belé.*
belt *n. bélť.*
bend (over) *v. bén.*
between *loc. míndul.*
bewitch *v. wích².*
big *v. big.*
bird *n. pambód.*
bit (a ~) *adv. lílĩbit;*
quant. smól.
bite *v. bét¹.*
bitter tomato *n. jakató.*
black *v. blák.*
blood *n. blód.*
blow *n. bló³.*
blow (air) *v. bló¹.*
blue *v. blú.*
board *n. plénk.*
boastful *v. práwd.*
body *n. skín;*
n; prom. bódi.
boil *v. bwél.*
bone *n. bón.*
book *n. búk.*
bored *v. aburre.*

born, be ~ *v.* bón (1).
 boss *n.* chíf;
 n. mása;
 n. másta.
 bother *v.* hambóg.
 bother (about) *v.* bísín.
 bottle *n.* bótul.
 bottom *loc.* bótón.
 bottom part *n.* wés.
 bounce *v.* éks.
 bowlegs *n.* kobofút, see: fút.
 box *n.* bóks.
 boy *n.* bóy;
 n. chico.
 boyfriend *n.* novio.
 brain *n.* séns.
 branch *n.* stík.
 bread *n.* bréd.
 break *v.* brók.
 breakfast *v.* desayuna.
 breast *n.* bóbí.
 breathe *v.* púl brís, see: púl.
 brick *n.* bloque.
 bright *v.* bráyt.
 bring *v.* bríng.
 bring up *v.* trén.

C - c

cake *n.* kék.
 call *v.* kól.
 can *n.* lata;
 v. fit.
 canoe *n.* kenú.
 cap *n.* káp.
 capable *v.* hébul.
 car *n.* motó.
 card *n.* tarjeta.
 care for *v.* máyn;
 v. mén (1).
 careful (be ~) *v.* sáful.
 carpenter *n.* kápinta.
 carry *v.* kér;

brother *n.* bróda.
 brother, big ~ *n.* grand frère.
 brother-in-law *n.* bródaló;
 n. cuñado.
 Bube *pn.* Bube.
 bucket *n.* bókit.
 build *v.* bíl.
 building *n.* hós.
 bun *n.* bocadillo.
 burial *n.* bérín.
 burial-ground *n.* berin-grón, see: grón.
 burn *v.* rós.
 burst (open) *v.* bós.
 bury *v.* bér.
 business *n.* bísnes.
 busy (with) *v.* bísín.
 but *adv.* bat;
 adv. bet²;
 adv. bot¹.
 buttocks *n.* bata²;
 n. wés.
 buy *v.* báy.
 by *prep.* bay;
 prep. fɔ;
 prep. na²;
 prep. wet.

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.* dréb.
 chat up *v.* tún (2).
 check *v.* chék.
 cheek *v.* fityáy.
 chest *n.* chés.
 chew *v.* chám.

chief *n.* chíf.
child *n.* pikín.
chop *v.* cháp.
church *n.* chóch.
cigarette *n.* sigá.
cinema *n.* sinimá.
class *n.* clase.
claw *n.* fínga-nél, see: fínga.
clean *v.* klín.
clear *v.* klía.
clever *v.* kléva.
climb *v.* klém.
close *v.* lók.
cloth *n.* lapá.
cloth (piece of ~) *n.* písís.
clothing *n.* klós.
cloud *n.* nube.
coat *n.* kót.
cock *n.* mán fól, see: fól².
cocoa *n.* cacao.
cocoa yam *n.* kokó.
coconut *n.* kokonát.
coffee *n.* kafé;
n. kǎfi.
cold *v.* kól.
college *n.* kólech.
colour *n.* kóla.
come *v.* kán¹.
come across *v.* mít.
come back *v.* tón bák, see: tón².
come out *v.* kǎmót (1).
company (commercial ~) *n.* kómpani.
comparative particle *adv.* mó.
complementiser *link.* de;
link. fǎ;
link. mék²;
link. sé;
link. wé¹.
complete *v.* kǎmplít.
completive aspect auxiliary *aux.* fínis.
conditional mood marker *TMA.* fǎ.
confuse *v.* kǎnfyús.
confusion *ideo; n.* wuruwúrí.
contact (make, be in ~) *v.* jám.

continuative aspect auxiliary *aux.* sigue;
aux. stíl.
continue *v.* sigue.
converse *v.* 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.* léf¹ (1).
coquet *v.* nyangá.
corn *n.* kón.
corn porridge *n.* ógi.
corner *n.* kóna.
corpse *n.* day-mán, day-pósin, see: dáy.
corpulent *v.* stáwt.
correct *v.* kǎrét.
cost *v.* kós¹.
cough *v.* kóf.
count *v.* kónt.
country *n.* kóntri.
couple *n.* pareja.
cousin *n.* kǎsín.
cousin f. *n.* prima.
cousin m. *n.* primo.
cover *n.* kóba;
v. kóba.
crash *v.* krás.
crazy *v.* krés.
cross *n.* cruz;
n. krós;
v. krós.
cry *v.* kráy.
cunning *n.* wayó.
cunning (be ~) *v.* wayó.
cup *n.* kóp.
custard *n.* kósta.
customary *v.* nétif.
cut *n.* kót;
v. kót.
cut (hair, beard) *v.* bába.
cutlass *n.* kótlas.

D - d

- dance** *v.* sék;
v.; n. dāns.
dark *v.* blák;
v. dāk.
daughter-in-law *n.* dotaló.
dawn *v.* brék.
day *n.* dé³.
deceased *v.* lét.
deep *loc.* dón²;
v. díp.
deer *n.* díá¹.
defeat *v.* wín.
defecate *v.* kaká.
demonstrative modifier *det.* dán;
det. dí;
det; prom. dát;
det; prom. dí.
demonstrative pronominal *det; prom.* dát;
det; prom. dí.
deny *v.* dináy.
destroy *v.* chakrá.
determiner *det.* dán;
det. dí;
det; prom. dí.
determiner (definite) *det.* di.
determiner (indefinite) *quant.* sɔn;
quant. wán (1).
devil *n.* débul.
devilish (be ~) *v.* débul.
die *v.* dáy.
death *n.* dáy.
- die (off)** *v.* kwénch.
different *v.* dífrɛn.
dig *v.* díg.
dirty *v.* dotí.
discipline *v.* kɔrét.
disclose *v.* prúf.
discotheque *n.* boîte;
n. discoteca.
disfigure *v.* banfá
disorderliness *ideo; n.* wuruwúrí.
do *v.* dú;
v. mék¹.
doctor *n.* dókta.
dog *n.* dóg.
domino *n.* dominó.
done *v.* dón³.
door *n.* domót.
down *loc.* dón².
dowry *n.* dote.
draw *v.* dró (1).
dress up *v.* wér.
drink *v.* dríng.
drive (a vehicle) *v.* dréb.
driver *n.* dráyva.
drunk (be, get ~) *v.* dróngo.
v. chák.
dry *v.* dráy.
dry season *n.* dray-sísín, see: sísín.
due to *link.* fɔséka;
prep. fɔ;
prep. wet.

E - e

- ear** *n.* yés.
easy *v.* ísi.
eat *v.* chóp.
egg *n.* éks.
eggplant *n.* gadinéks, see: éks.
egressive aspect auxiliary *aux.* kɔmót;
aux; adv. jís.
- eight** *quant.* et.
electricity *n.* lámp.
empty *v.* énti.
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.* énta.
envy *v.* jéłbs.
equal (to ~) *v.* rích.
Equatoguinean f. *pn.* guineana, see:
 Guinea.
Equatoguinean m. *pn.* guineano, see:
 Guinea.
even *adv.* aunque;
adv. ní²;
adv. sóté;
part. sénwe;
part. séf.
even if *link.* adonké;
link. aunque.

F - f

face *n.* fés.
faeces *n.* kaká.
fall *v.* fódón.
family *n.* fámbul.
family member *n.* fámbul.
Fang *pn.* Fang.
Fang (person, language) *pn.* Bata¹ (2).
far *v.* fá;
v. fáwe.
farm *n.* fám.
fart *v.* bló wín, see: bló³;
v. fát².
fast *v.* smát.
fat *n.* grís;
v. fát¹.
father *n.* pá;
n. papá;
n. papí.
father-in-law *n.* fadaló.
favour *n.* févó.
fear *v.* fia.
feather *n.* féda.
feel *v.* fil¹.

evening *n.* ívin;
n. ívin tén, see: ívin.
every *quant.* éni;
quant. ól.
exactly *adv.* exactamente.
excessive (be ~) *v.* óva.
excessively *adv.* pás mák, see: mák;
adv. óva.
excuse *v.* eskyús.
exercise book *n.* cuaderno.
expensive *v.* díá².
explain *v.* esplén.
extinguish *v.* ót.
extremely *adv.* bad;
adv. sóté.
eye *n.* yáy.

festivity *n.* bigdé.
fever *n.* fíba².
fever (typhoid ~) *n.* tifoidea.
few *quant.* smól.
field *n.* fil².
fight *v.* fét.
fight over *v.* kapú.
fill *v.* fúlóp;
v. pák.
find *v.* mít;
v. sí.
fine *adj.* fáyn.
finger *n.* fínga.
finger nail *n.* fínga-nél, see: fínga.
finish *v.* fínis.
finished *v.* dón³.
fire *n.* fáya.
fire wood *n.* faya-wúd, see: wúd.
first *quant;* *adv.* fós¹.
first time (the ~) *adv.* fós tén, see: fós¹.
fish *n.* fis;
v. físin.
fisherman *n.* fisin-mán, see: físin.

five *quant.* fáyf.
 fix *v.* fiks.
 fling *v.* flíng.
 fly *v.* fláy.
 focus marker *part.* ná¹;
 part. nóto;
 part. sénwe;
 part. séf.
 fold *v.* bén.
 follow *v.* fála;
 v. sigue.
 food *n.* chóp.
 fool *n.* dógo;
 n. fúl.
 foolish (be ~) *v.* fúl;
 v. fúlis.
 foot *n.* fút.
 for *prep.* fɔ.
 (for) ever *adv.* fɔréva.
 force *v.* fɔs².
 foreigner *n.* extranjero.
 forest *n.* búš.

G - g

Gabon *pn.* Gabón.
 game *n.* plé.
 garden *n.* gádin.
 gari *n.* garí.
 gash *n.* kót.
 genital area *n.* wés.
 genitals (male ~) *n.* blókós.
 get *v.* gét.
 get up *v.* gráp.
 girl *n.* gál;
 n. gél;
 n. tití.
 girlfriend *n.* gél frén;
 n. novia.
 girls *n.* gáls.
 give *v.* gí.
 give a blow *v.* bló³.
 give as a present *v.* dás.

forget *v.* fɔgét.
 formerly *adv.* fɔs tén, see: fɔs¹.
 four *quant.* fo.
 fowl *n.* fɔl².
 free *v.; adj.* frí.
 fresh *v.* frés.
 friday *n.* fráýde.
 fridge *n.* congelador.
 friend *n.* frén;
 n. kómpin.
 from *prep.* fɔ;
 prep. frɔn.
 from - until *prep.* frɔn - sóté, see: frɔn.
 front *loc.* bifó.
 fruit *n.* frút;
 n. fruta.
 fry *v.* fráý.
 fuck *v.* fók.
 fufu *n.* fufú.
 full *v.* belfúl;
 v. fúlɔp;
 v. pák.

give back *v.* bák.
 give birth *v.* bón (1).
 give classes *v.* gí skúl, see: skúl.
 glad *v.* gládin.
 glass *n.* glás.
 glasses *n.* gafas;
 n. spétikul.
 go *v.* gó.
 go down *v.* baja;
 v. gó dón, see: gó.
 go out *v.* kɔmót (1).
 go smoothly *v.* sáful.
 go to school *v.* gó skúl, see: skúl.
 go up *v.* gó óp, see: gó;
 v. sube.
 God *n.* gód.
 God (father ~) *n.* papá gód.
 God (my ~) *intj.* Dios mio.

- good** *v; adj.* gúd.
good evening *intj.* gúd ívin, see: ívin.
good morning *intj.* gúd mónin, see: mónin.
good (very ~) *v.* béta.
goods *n.* kágo.
government *n.* góðna.
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, see: gran-.
grandmother *n.* abuela;
 n. gran-má, see: gran-;

- n.* gran-móda, see: gran-.
grass *n.* grás.
grate *v.* ralla.
gravy *n.* greví.
greedy *v.* grídi.
green *v.* grín.
greet *v.* salút.
ground *n.* grón.
groundnut *n.* granát.
groundnut soup *n.* granát súp, see: súp.
grow *v.* gró.
guitar *n.* gitá.
gulp down *v.* nák.
gun *n.* gón.
guts (have ~) *v.* gét líba, see: líba.

H - h

- habit** *n.* fásin.
habitual aspect marker *TMA.* kin.
haggard *v.* dráy.
hair *n.* hía².
hairstresser *n.* peluqueria.
half *quant.* háf.
half an hour *quant.* háf áwa, see: háf.
half (one and a ~) *quant.* wán-en-háf.
hall *n.* sala.
hammer *n.* háma;
 v. háma.
hand *n.* hán.
hang *v.* hæng.
happen *v.* pás (2).
happy *v.* gláðin.
harbour *n.* puerto.
hard *v.* háð;
 v. strón;
 v. trंगा.
hardship *n.* tróbul.
harmattan *n.* amatán.
have *v.* gét;
 v. hól¹.
have sex *v.* fók;
 v. kót;

- v.* krób;
 v. nák;
 v. slíp.
have units *v.* gét saldo, see: saldo.
he *pron.* e;
 pron. in.
head *n.* héd.
hear *v.* hía⁴;
 v. yér.
heart *n.* hát.
heave *v.* híf.
heavy *v.* évi (1).
hectic *ideo.* katakátá.
help *v.* hélp.
hen *n.* húman fól, see: fól².
her *pron.* =an²;
 pron. in;
 pron. in.
here *adv.* hía¹;
 adv. yá.
here (right ~) *adv.* yá só, see: yá.
hide *v.* háyd.
hill *n.* híl.
him *pron.* =an²;
 pron. in.

his *pron.* in.
hit *v.* nák.
hit with the head *v.* bót².
hold *v.* hól¹.
hole *n.* hól².
holiday *n.* hólidé.
home *n.* hóm.
hometown *n.* kóntri.
hook *n.* húk;
 v. húk.
horn *n.* hón.
hospital *n.* hospital;
 n. ospítul.
hot *v.* hót.

I - i

I *pron.* a.
ideophone *ideo.* bwa;
 ideo. bya;
 ideo. fwífwífwí;
 ideo. gbin;
 ideo. gbogbogbo;
 ideo. kakara;
 ideo. kamúkamú;
 ideo. katakátá;
 ideo. kip;
 ideo. kutuku;
 ideo. kwáráng;
 ideo. kpu;
 ideo. ményéményé;
 ideo. príng;
 ideo. súkútúpampa;
 ideo. tík;
 ideo. wéwé;
 ideo. wówó;
 ideo; intj. kóngkóngkóng;
 ideo; n. wuruwúru;
 ideo; v. wówó;
 n; ideo. potópótó.
if *link.* ef;
 link. if.
ill *adj.* bád.

hour *n.* áwa.
house *n.* hós.
how *inter.* háw;
 inter. ús=stáyl, see: stáyl.
how much *inter.* háw móch, see: háw.
human-being *n.* mán;
 n. pósin.
hungry *v.* hángri.
hunt *v.* hónti.
hunter *n.* honti-mán, see: hónti.
hurry *v.* hóri;
 v. mekés.
hurt *v.* pén.

imperfective aspect marker *TMA.* de.
implore *v.* bég.
impregnate *v.* belé.
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-sáy, see: rɔn¹.
insult *v.* chík;
 v. kós².
intelligent (be ~) *v.* gét séns, see: séns.
intend *v.* intenta;
 v. mín.
interjection *ideo; intj.* kóngkóngkóng;
 intj. aa¹;
 intj. aa²;
 intj. áy²;
 intj. bió;
 intj. cháý;
 intj. chico;

intj. “chip”;
intj. Dios mio;
intj. dúya;
intj. é;
intj. ékié;
intj. éy;
intj. é;
intj. ehé;
intj. én;
intj. hé;
intj. hó;
intj. kúsé;
intj. mamá;
intj. mán;
intj. nawá;
intj. ó;
intj. papá;

intj. papá gód;
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. ín.
iterative aspect marker *TMA.* kin.
its *pron.* in.

J - j

jail *n.* jél.
jealous *v.* jélɔs.
job *n.* jób.
join *v.* jwén.

judge *v.* jóch.
jump *v.* júmp.
just *aux;* *adv.* jís.

K - k

keep *v.* kíp.
key *n.* kí.
kick *v.* kík.
kill *v.* kíł.
kilo *n.* kilo.
kind *prom.* káyn.
kitchen *n.* kichin.
knee *n.* ní.

knife *n.* néf.
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. tók;
n. tóng.

language (native ~) *n.* lángwech;
n. kontri-tók, see: tók.
last *quant.* lás;
v. kér;

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. léf¹ (1).
left *n.* léf²;
 n. léf-hán, see: léf².
leg *n.* fút.
letter *n.* léta.
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. lek.
 v. lék.
like that *adv.* só².
line *n.* láyn.
little v. lílí.

M - m

madam *n.* má (2).
madman *n.* kres-mán, see: kres.
make v. dú;
 v. mék¹.
make an effort v. tráy.
malanga *n.* malanga.
malaria *n.* malérya;

live v. líf.
live it up v. ambiente;
 v. pachá.
liver *n.* líba.
locative noun *loc.* bifó;
 loc. bihén;
 loc. botón;
 loc. dón²;
 loc. insay;
 loc. míndul;
 loc. nadó;
 loc. nía;
 loc. ɔntóp;
 loc. óp;
 loc. pantáp.
lock *n.* lók;
 v. lók.
lonely v. lónson.
long v. lón.
long (temporal) *adv.* sóté.
long time ago *adv.* lón tén, see: lón.
look v. lúk.
look for v. fén.
loose v. lós.
loose(n) v. slák.
lorry *n.* camión.
lounge v. líng.
louse *n.* lós.
lover *n.* jɔmba.
low *loc.* dón².
lower chest *n.* chekó.
luck *n.* lók.
lucky v. lóki.

marry *v.* máred.
mash *v.* más.
master *n.* mása;
 n. másta.
matron *n.* mísís.
matter *n.* kés;
 n. plába.
maybe *adv.* sǫntén.
me *pron.* mí.
mean *v.* badhát.
mean (to) *v.* mín.
meat *n.* bíf.
medicine *n.* méresin.
meet *v.* mít;
 v. mítǫp.
meeting *n.* reunión.
mess *n.* porcería.
messy *ideo;* *v.* wǫwǫ.
middle *loc.* míndul.
milk *n.* mélk.
mind *n.* séns;
 v. máyn;
 v. mén (1).
ministry *n.* ministerio.
miss (a person) *v.* lónson.
mix *v.* míks.

N - n

nail *n.* nél.
naked *v.* nékəd.
name *n.* ném.
narrate *v.* cuenta.
nation *n.* nésǫn.
near *loc.* nía;
 prep. kóna.
nearly *adv.* smóltén.
neck *n.* nék.
need *v.* níd.
needle *n.* nidul.
negative particle *part.* nó¹;
 part. nó.
neighbour *f. n.* vecina.

monday *n.* mónde.
money *n.* mǫní.
monkey *n.* mǫnkí.
month *n.* mún.
moon *n.* mún.
more *adv.* mǫ.
more and more *adv.* mǫ-én-mǫ.
more (be ~) *v.* mǫ.
morning *n.* mǫnin.
mosquito *n.* mosquito.
mosquito net *n.* mosquitero.
mother *n.* má (1);
 n. mamá;
 n. mamí;
 n. mǫmí.
mountain *n.* híl.
mouth *n.* mǫt.
move *v.* múf.
movie *n.* sinimá.
much *adv.* mǫch;
 v; *quant.* bǫkú;
 v; *quant.* plénte.
mucus *n.* frǫskól.
mud *n;* *ideo.* pǫtǫpǫtǫ.
must *TMA.* mǫs.
my *pron.* mí.

neighbour *m. n.* vecino.
neither *link.* ní.
nephew *n.* sobrino.
new *v.* nyú.
news *n.* nyús.
next *quant.* néks.
next to *loc.* nía;
 prep. kóna.
nice *v.* náys.
niece *n.* sobrina.
night *n.* nét.
nine *quant.* náyn.
nipple *n.* chupete.
nit *n.* nít.

no *part.* nó¹;

part. nó.

noise *n.* nóys.

noon *n.* sán tén, see: sán.

normal *adj.* normal.

nose *n.* nós.

nothing *prom.* nátin.

notice *v.* fíja.

now *adv.* náw.

now (right ~) *adv.* náw só, see: náw.

number *n.* nómba.

O - o

obligative mood marker *TMA*. məs.
of *prep.* ɔf;
prep. wet.
offend *v.* fityáy;
v. kɔs².
office *n.* ɔfis.
oil *n.* ɔyl;
n. pamáyn.
oil (crude ~) *n.* petróleo.
oil rig *n.* plataforma.
old *v.* ɔl.
on *loc.* ɔntɔp;
loc. pantáp;
prep. na²;
prep. pan.
on par (be ~) *v.* bráket.
once *link.* wáns.
once (at~) *adv.* wán tén, see: wán.
one *prom.* wán;

quant. wán (1).
one and a half *quant.* wán-ɛn-háf.
onion *n.* yabás.
only *quant.* dásɔl;
quant. ɔnli;
quant. sósó;
quant. wán (2).
open *v.* ɔpin.
or *link.* o;
link. ɔ.
orange *v.* réd.
other *quant.* ɔda.
outer layer *n.* kandá.
outside *loc.* nadó.
over *adv.* óva.
over (be ~) *v.* óva.
overheat *v.* ova-hót, see: óva.
own *prom.* yón.

P - p

pack *v.* pák.
pain *v.* pén.
paint *v.* pént.
pair *n.* píá².
pair of shoes *n.* píá sús, see: píá².
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: kék.
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.* píl.
pen *n.* bolí.
penis *n.* miná;
n. prík.
people *n.* nésɔn;
n. pípul.
pepper *n.* pépɛ.
perfect tense-aspect marker *TMA*. dɔn¹.
perfect tense-aspect marker (negative ~)
TMA. néa;
TMA. nóba.
perfective aspect marker (narrative ~) *v.*
kán².
perhaps *adv.* sɔntén.
persevere *v.* aguanta.
person *n.* mán;

n. pòsin.
persuade *v.* tún (2).
pestle *n.* matapenso.
petrol *n.* gasolina.
photo *n.* fotó.
Pichi *pn.* Píchi.
pick (up) *v.* pík.
pierce *v.* chúk.
pinch *v.* pínch.
pistol *n.* písul.
place *n.* pát;
 n. plés;
 n. sáy;
 pn. Guinea.
plait *v.* plánt (2).
plane *n.* avión.
plank *n.* plénk.
plant *v.* plánt (1).
plantain *n.* plantí.
plastic *n.* plástík.
plate *n.* plét.
play *v.* plé.
please *intj.* dúya;
 intj. plís.
plenty *v;* *quant.* plénte.
plot *n.* grón.
plural marker *pron.* den.
police *n.* policía;
 n. polís.
police station *n.* comisaría.
poor *v.* pó.
pot *n.* pót.
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.* belé.
pregnant *adj.* gét belé, see: belé.
pregnant woman *n.* belé-húman, see: belé.
prepare *v.* redí.

preposition *prep.* ápás;
 prep. bay;
 prep. bitáwt.
 prep. fɔ;
 prep. frɔn;
 prep. kóna;
 prep. ná²;
 prep. ɔf;
 prep. pan;
 prep. sin;
 prep. síns;
 prep. sóté;
 prep. to;
 prep. wet.
problem *n.* plába;
 n. problema;
 n. próblem.
profound *v.* strón.
promise *v.* prómis.
pronoun *pron.* a;
 pron. =an²;
 pron. dén;
 pron. den;
 pron. e;
 pron. ín;
 pron. in;
 pron. mí;
 pron. mi;
 pron. una;
 pron. wí;
 pron. wi;
 pron. yú;
 pron. yu.
property *n.* prɔpatí.
prospective aspect auxiliary *aux.* wánt.
proud *v.* práwd.
prove *v.* prúf.
provoke *v.* chik.
public holiday *n.* bigdé.
pull *v.* púl.
pump *v;* *n.* pómp.
punish *v.* pónis.
pure *v.* pyó.

purpose clause introducer *link.* fɔ;
link. mék².
push *v.* pús;

v. súb.
put *v.* pút.

Q - q

quarrel *v.* chakrá.
quarry *n.* kwári.
quarter (of a town) *n.* kwáta.

question *n.* kwésɔn.
quickly *adv.* kwík.
quotative marker *link.* sé.

R - r

radiant *v.* bráyt.
rag *n.* písis.
rain *n.* rén;
v. fɔl¹.
rainy season *n.* ren-sísín, see: sísín.
rat *n.* aráta.
reach *v.* rích.
realise *v.* kechóp.
rear *loc.* bihén.
rebound *v.* bót².
receive *v.* cobra.
record *v.* graba.
red *v.* réd.
refuse *v.* dináy;
v. refyús.
relax *v.* bló².
remain *v.* léf¹ (1).
remember *v.* mémba.
remind *v.* mémba.
remove *v.* dró (1);
v. púl.
rent *v.* alquila.
repair *v.* fíks.
repeat *v.* bis.
resemble *v.* fíba¹.
reside *v.* blánt;
v. líf;

v. sidón.
respect *v.* respét.
respectable *v.* strét.
rest *v.* bló²;
v. rés¹.
restaurant *n.* restaurante.
restless (be ~) *ideo.* kakara.
reverse *n.* rɔn-sáy, see: rón¹.
rice *n.* rés².
rich person *n.* jɛntri-mán, see: jɛntri.
riches *n.* jɛntri.
right *n.* ráyt².
right (be ~) *v.* gét ráyt, see: ráyt².
right (side) *n.* rayt-hán, see: ráyt².
ring *n.* ríng.
ripe *v.* rép.
river *n.* ríva.
road *n.* ród.
roast *v.* rós.
room *n.* rúm.
rope *n.* róp.
rot *v.* rótin.
round *n.* vuelta.
rub *v.* rób.
run *v.* rón².
rush *v.* hóri.
rush (to a place) *v.* fláy (2).

S - s

- sack *n.* saco.
 salt *n.* sól.
 saltwater *n.* solwatá.
 same *prom.* sén.
 sand *n.* arena;
 n. sansán.
 sardine *n.* sadín.
 satiated *v.* belfúl.
 saturday *n.* sátide.
 say *v.* sé.
 scared (be ~) *v.* skía.
 scent *n.* sént.
 school *n.* skúl.
 school (secondary ~) *n.* colegio.
 scissors *n.* síscos.
 scratch *v.* skrách.
 scrub *v.* króbb.
 sea *n.* solwatá.
 season *n.* sísin.
 second *quant.* sekón.
 secret *n.* síkrit.
 secretly *adv.* haydháyd, see: háyd.
 see *v.* sí.
 seed *n.* síd.
 seem *v.* fíba¹.
 seize *v.* kapú.
 self *prom.* séf.
 sell *v.* sél.
 send *v.* sén.
 sentence *n.* frase.
 series *n.* serie.
 serious *v.* síryos.
 seven *quant.* séven.
 sew *v.* só³.
 shake *v.* sék.
 share *v.* séb.
 she *pron.* e.
 ship *n.* stíma.
 shirt *n.* sót².
 shit *n.* kaká;
 intj. mierda.
 shoe *n.* sús.
 shoot *v.* sút.
- shop *n.* sóp.
 short *v.* sót¹.
 shortly after *adv.* smólten.
 shout *v.* hála.
 shove *v.* súb.
 show *v.* só¹.
 shower *v.* sáwa.
 sick *adj.* bád.
 sick (be ~) *v.* sík;
 v. banfá.
 sickness *n.* sík.
 side *n.* sáy.
 sieve *n.* sífta.
 sift *v.* sífta.
 sign *v.* sáyn.
 since *prep.* frón.
 since long *adv.* frón bokú tén, see: frón;
 adv. lón tén, see: lón.
 since (temporal) *prep.* síns.
 sincere *v.* strét.
 sing *v.* síng.
 singlet *n.* camiseta.
 sir *n.* sá.
 sister *n.* sísta.
 sister-in-law *n.* cuñada;
 n. sistaló.
 sit *v.* sidón.
 six *quant.* síks.
 skin *n.* kandá.
 sky *n.* cielo.
 slap *v.* sláp.
 sleep *v.* slíp.
 sleepy (be ~) *v.* fil slíp, see: fil¹.
 slim *v.* slím.
 slipper *n.* slipás.
 slow *adj.* sló.
 slow (be ~) *v.* sáful.
 small *v.* smól.
 smell *n.* smél;
 v. smél.
 smoke *v;* *n.* smók.
 snail *n.* kónk.
 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.* son.
song *n.* síng.
son-in-law *n.* soniló.
sorcerer *n.* wích².
sorcery *n.* méresin;
n. wích².
sorry *v.* sóri.
sound *n.* sonido.
soup *n.* súp.
Spain *pn.* Panyá.
Spaniard *pn.* Panyá.
Spanish *pn.* Panyá.
spend *v.* spén.
spirit *n.* spírit.
spit *n.* spít;
v. spít.
spoil *v.* spwél.
spoon *n.* spún.
spy on *v.* espia.
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.* dró (1).
still *adv.* stíl;
adv. yét.
sting *v.* chúk.
stingy *v.* grídi.
stone *n.* stón (1).
stoop (over) *v.* butú.
stop *v.* léf¹ (1);
v. para;
v. stóp.
store *n.* almacén.
storey *n.* piso.
story *n.* torí.
straight *v.* strét.
strap *n.* bélť.
street *n.* strít.
strength *n.* páwa.
strong *v.* strón;
v. tránga.
style *n.* stáyl.
stylish (be ~) *v.* spót.
subjunctive mood marker *link.* mék².
subordinator *link.* wé¹.
suddenly *adv.* wánten.
suffer *v.* sófa.
sugar *n.* súga.
sun *n.* sán.
sunday *n.* sónde.
surname *n.* apellido.
surpass *v.* pás (1).
surround *v.* ráwn.
swallow *v.* swéla.
sweat *n.* swét;
v. swét.
sweet *v.* swít (2).
sweetheart *n.* bebí (2);
n. béłps.
swim *v.* swín.

T - t

- table** *n.* tébul.
tailor *n.* sastre.
take *v.* kër;
 v. ték.
take a picture *v.* púl fotó, see: púl.
take down *v.* baja.
take up *v.* sube.
talk *v.* tók.
tall *v.* lón.
taro *n.* malanga.
tasty *v.* swít (1).
taxi *n.* taksí.
teach *v.* lán;
 v. tích.
teacher *n.* profesor;
 n. tícha.
tear *v.* chér.
telephone *n.* teléfono.
telephone (mobile ~) *n.* móvil.
television *n.* televisión.
tell *v.* tél.
tell a story *v.* púl torí, see: púl.
term of address *n.* antí;
 n. bróda;
 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. mómi;
 n. onkúl;
 n. pá;
 n. papá;
 n. papí;
 n. sá;
 n. sísta;
 n. tia;
 n. tio.
testicle *n.* stón (2).
thanks *intj.* ténki.
that *det.* dán;
 det; prom. dát;
 link. sé;
 link. wé¹.
the *det.* di.
them *pron.* dén.
then *adv.* áfta;
 adv. dásol.
there *adv.* dé¹.
there (over ~) *adv.* yandá.
they *pron.* dén;
 pron. den.
thick *v.* tík.
thief *n.* tif-mán, see: tíf.
thin *v.* dráy;
 v. smòlskín, see: skín;
 v. slím.
thing *n.* tín.
think *v.* chék;
 v. tínk.
think of *v.* mémba.
thirsty *v.* tósti.
this *det.* dí;
 det; prom. dís.
thorn *n.* chukchúk.
three *quant.* trí.
throat *n.* trót.
through *prep.* wet.
throw *v.* flíng;
 v. híb;
 v. sén;
 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. tén.
tiny *v.* lílí.
tipsy *v.* láyt (2).
tired *v.* táya.
TMA marker *link.* mék²;
TMA. bin;
TMA. de;
TMA. dón¹;
TMA. fō;
TMA. go;
TMA. kán²;
TMA. kin;
TMA. mōs;
TMA. néa;
TMA. nōba.
to *prep.* fō;
prep. to.
today *n.* tidé.
tomato *n.* tamátis;
n. tomate.
tomorrow *n.* tumára.
tongue *n.* tóng.
too *part.* sénwe;
part. séf.
too much *adv.* tú móch, see: móch;
adv. tú².

U - u

ugly *ideo;* *v.* wōwó.
uncle *n.* ōnkúl;
n. tio.
under *loc.* bōtón.
understand *v.* hía⁴;
v. ōndastán;
v. yér.
unfortunately *adv.* bádten.
units (mobile phone ~) *n.* saldo.
until *prep.* sóté.

tooth *n.* tí.
top *loc.* ōntóp;
loc. pantáp;
n. tóp.
touch *v.* tóch.
towel *n.* táwēl.
town *n.* tón¹.
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.
trickery *n.* ajáajá.
trouble *n.* plába;
n. tróbul.
trousers *n.* trósís.
true *v.* trú.
try *v.* intenta;
v. tráy.
tuesday *n.* tyúsde.
tune *v.* tún (1).
turn *v.* tón² (1).
turn out *v.* kōmót (2).
two *quant.* tú¹.

up *loc.* óp.
upbringing *n.* trénin.
upside down *n.* rōn-sáy, see: rón¹.
urinate *v.* pipí.
urine *n.* pipí.
us *pron.* wí.
use *v.* yús.
use up *v.* spwél.
used to (be ~) *v.* kóstōn.

V - v

vagina *n.* opó;
n. totó.
vegetables *n.* verdura.
vehicle *n.* motó.
village *n.* kóntri;

n. pueblo;
n. vîlech.
virgin(ity) *n.* vâjin.
visit *v.* visít.
vomit *v.* vómit.

W - w

wait *v.* wét.
wake (up) *v.* wék;
v. wékɔp.
walk *v.* wáka;
v. wók.
want *v.* wánt.
warm *v.* hót¹.
wash *v.* wás.
watch *v.* wách.
water *n.* watá;
n. wotá.
water (cold, cool ~) *n.* kol-watá, see: watá.
water (hot, warm ~) *n.* hot-watá, see:
 watá.
way *n.* wé².
way (the ~ that) *link.* lek háw, see: lek.
we *pron.* wí;
pron. wi.
wear *v.* wér.
weather *n.* dé³.
wednesday *n.* wénsde.
weed *v.* chapea.
week *n.* wík.
weekend *n.* fin dé semana.
welcome *intj.* wélkɔm.
well *v.* wél.
well-dressed (be ~) *v.* spót.
wet *v.* sók.
what *inter.* ús=tin, see: ús=;
inter. wétin.
when *inter.* ús=áwa, see: ús=;
inter. ús=tén, see: ús=;
link. wé¹.

where *inter.* ús=sáy, see: ús=.
whether *link.* ef;
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=pósin, see: ús=.
whole *quant.* hól³.
wicked *v.* wíked.
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.* bitáwt;
prep. sin.
woman *n.* húman.
womb *n.* belé.
wonder *v.* wánda.
wood *n.* stík;
n. wúd.
word *n.* tók;
n. wód.
work *v;* *n.* wók.
world *n.* wól.
worm *n.* tumbú.

worry *v.* wóri.

wound *n.* kót;
n. sɔfút.

write *v.* rayt¹.

wrong *v.* rón¹.

Y - y

year *n.* hía³.

yes *intj.* yés.

yes (strong) *intj.* éhé.

yesterday *n.* yéstadé.

yet *adv.* yét.

you (pl) *pron.* una.

pron. unu.

you (sg) *pron.* yú;

pron. yu.

young *v.* yún.

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Name index

subjects, [439](#)

Language index

Aku, 6, 487

Bube, 489

Bubi, 1, 12, 559

English, 2, 6, 8, 9, 12, 45, 487, 559

Fa d'Ambô, 12

Fang, 1, 12, 559

French, 2, 12, 559

German, 12

Jamaican, 487

Kombe, 12

Krio, 1, 2, 6–11, 440, 465, 487

Lungwa Santome, 12

Mende, 45

Portuguese, 2

Saramaccan, 45

Spanish, 1, 2, 4, 9, 11, 12, 17, 20, 45, 59,
66, 75, 97, 121, 170, 194, 206,
213, 224, 229, 233, 234, 238,
240, 254, 289, 300, 333, 338,
339, 416, 421, 450–452, 461–
464, 466, 467, 474, 477, 487,
489, 559

Sranan, 179

Twi, 12

Yoruba, 466, 484

Subject index

- abilitative mood, 168
- adjectives, 475
- adjuncts, 340, 346, 350, 438
- adverbial phrases, 287, 298, 316, 344
- adverbs, 278, 301
- agent, 326, 357, 362, 369, 370
- alternative question, 72
- alternative questions, 212
- anaphora, 105, 108, 110, 112, 131, 246, 374
- animacy, 121, 288, 291, 297, 371
- answers, 226, 462
- article, 106, 107, 111, 115, 116, 282, 468, 469
- aspect, 9, 75, 139, 141, 151, 178, 186, 271, 324, 373, 407, 408, 428, 433, 435, 437, 440, 441, 473
- aspectual verbs, 151
- assimilation of segments, 49
- associative, 285
- associative constructions, 75, 90, 119, 213
- associative objects, 257, 344
- associative preposition, 280, 291, 296, 314, 315, 346, 389, 426
- auxiliaries, 157, 168, 169, 171, 172, 186, 329, 473
- basic vocabulary, 7
- beneficiary, 198, 268, 296, 312, 343, 348, 349
- beneficiary SVC, 346
- body states, 314, 320, 322, 323, 334, 357, 385, 387, 474
- borrowing, 75, 107, 206, 213, 216, 234, 333, 338, 415, 468, 476, 478, 479, 482
- cardinal numerals, 79, 80, 106, 113, 122, 479
- case, 130
- causative constructions, 223, 321, 323, 325, 327, 370
- cause, 314
- cause clauses, 199, 215, 241, 407, 416, 417, 422
- circumstantial clauses, 408
- clause chaining, 141, 430, 441, 538
- clause structure, 201
- cleft constructions, 107, 214, 222, 239, 241
- cliticisation, 34, 112, 127, 129, 212, 218
- codemixing, 467, 485
- cognate objects, 81, 245, 311, 321, 398, 535
- cohortatives, 172, 174
- colour terminology, 482
- comitative, 432
- comitative SVC, 424
- comparative constructions, 156, 195
- comparative degree, 91, 191
- comparative SVC, 317, 424, 432
- complement, 169
- complement clause, 261
- complement clauses, 171, 332, 334, 368, 394, 433
- complementisers, 281, 383
 - finite, 393
 - non-finite, 389
- complements, 118, 200, 249, 253, 280, 294, 306, 338, 357
 - copula complements, 255, 259, 282
- completive aspect, 152, 155, 157, 165, 186, 385

- compounding, 118, 119, 271
- compounds
 - nouns, 90
- concessive clauses, 406, 476
- conditional clauses, 144, 147, 149, 167, 170, 184, 421
- consonant clusters, 27, 33
- content questions, 62, 223, 226, 242
- continuative aspect, 146, 151, 152, 156, 385, 473
- continuative intonation, 72, 239, 246, 373, 396, 424, 441
- contrastive focus, 226, 227, 234, 235, 238
- conversion, 82
- coordination
 - clauses, 377
 - noun phrases, 134
- copula
 - identity, 253, 262
 - locative-existential, 259, 260, 262, 288, 330, 357, 473, 479
- copula verb, 258
- core participant, 357
- core participants, 75, 232, 309, 330, 334, 402
- declarative intonation, 63, 69, 70, 100, 376, 424
 - emphatic, 71
- definite article, 213
- definiteness, 109, 284, 470
- degree modification, 92, 273, 276, 277, 459
- deletion of segments, 27, 28
- demonstratives, 112, 129, 213, 217, 242, 280
- deontic modality, 201, 385, 391
- dependent object pronoun, 127
- derivation, 82
 - affixation, 79
 - conversion, 82
 - tonal, 79
 - verbs, 92
- direct speech, 377, 379, 403, 414
- directives, 167, 174, 201, 389
- dislocation, 247
- double-object construction, 367
- double-object constructions, 198, 350
- downdrift, 47, 50
- downstep, 47, 50, 56
- dummy noun, 261
- dummy nouns, 330, 361, 392
- effected objects, 360
- egressive aspect, 151, 152, 154, 157, 385
- emphasis, 57, 63, 73, 91, 107, 112, 150, 193, 199, 204, 205, 226, 245, 276, 344, 445, 446, 460
- emphatic intonation, 66
- emphatic pronouns, 128, 130
- emphatic stress, 63
- equative clauses, 250, 330, 411
- equative degree, 195
- experiencer, 310, 311, 317, 323, 327, 354
- expletive, 353, 389, 392
- factive TMA, 145, 146, 157, 158, 160, 162, 179, 180, 326, 378, 411, 419, 436
- finiteness, 141, 251, 252, 384
- focus, 241, 459
- force, 325, 369
- free relative clauses, 403
- fronting, 217, 242, 243, 248
- future perfect, 175
- future perfect tense-aspect, 164
- future tense, 146, 158, 175, 265
- general, 282, 290, 294, 426, 427
- general locative preposition, 238, 296
- generic noun, 132
- generic nouns, 86, 133, 209, 212, 280, 330, 359
- goal, 318, 343, 349, 360, 401
- habitual aspect, 9, 116, 139, 140, 144, 146, 150, 151, 154, 162, 168, 175, 176, 179, 185, 362, 378
- headless relative clauses, 402

- ideophones, 23, 45, 77, 96, 194, 245, 268, 273, 446, 448, 481
- imperatives, 8, 143, 171, 172, 200, 225, 368, 454
- imperfective aspect, 9, 137, 139–141, 143, 146, 149–152, 154, 156, 157, 161–163, 166, 169, 180, 244, 387, 404, 408, 411, 419, 432, 437
- inalienability, 87
- independent possessive pronouns, 130
- independent pronouns, 128, 130
- indirect questions, 402
- indirect speech, 380, 414
- infinitive, 146
- ingressive aspect, 135, 137, 139, 151–153, 329
- insertion of segments, 21, 25, 28
- instrument, 399
- instrument SVC, 424, 429
- interjections, 457
- irrealis modality, 141, 184, 535
- iterative aspect, 151
- jussives, 172
- kinship terminology, 84, 381, 451–453, 461, 463, 484
- labile verbs, 82, 136, 139, 144, 287, 330, 359, 365, 366, 370
- lexical aspect, 135, 139
- light verb constructions, 339
- list intonation, 67, 68
- loan intonation, 66
- loan words, 239, 299, 300, 415, 450, 473, 475, 479, 480
- locative adverbials, 111, 220, 237, 240, 293
- locative clauses, 190, 405, 412
- locative nouns, 35, 129, 190, 273, 294, 297, 298, 308, 342, 349
- locative prepositions, 281, 297
- locative verbs, 136, 290, 310, 323, 326, 330, 437, 547
- maleficiary, 129, 348
- manner clauses, 255, 409, 411
- manner of motion, 293
- modal verbs, 167
- modality, 9, 75, 141, 166, 185, 373
- mood, 139, 164, 178, 435
- motion verb, 307
- motion verbs, 153, 190, 195, 244, 294, 297, 311, 313, 317, 319, 323, 327, 342, 349, 360, 412, 425
- motion-action SVCs, 429
- motion-direction SVCs, 427
- named place, 290
- narrative perfective aspect, 145
- negation, 55, 211, 231, 250, 253, 256, 263, 367, 413, 424, 477
- negative cleft constructions, 211
- negative phrases, 209
- non-locative prepositions, 312
- noun phrase adverbials, 274, 290, 301
- noun phrase structure, 103
- number
 - nouns, 115, 116, 119
 - pronouns, 127, 131
- objects, 75, 76, 81, 198, 214, 215, 217, 222, 281, 290, 316–318, 345, 362, 381, 402, 469
- obligative mood, 171
- order of objects, 346
- ordinal numerals, 117, 122
- participant-introducing SVCs, 432
- partitive, 108, 120, 126, 296
- passive, 326, 371
- past perfect tense-aspect, 164
- past tense, 147, 157, 158, 161, 163, 180, 181, 202, 252, 324, 325, 420
- past-before-past tense, 158, 161
- patient, 96, 129, 198, 256, 268, 287, 310, 311, 322, 323, 325, 339, 343, 346, 357, 361, 367, 370, 398, 439
- perfect progressive, 165

- perfect tense-aspect, 157, 165
perfective aspect, 143, 146, 147, 155, 157, 178, 180, 183, 406, 411, 428
pluraliser, 35, 77, 110–112, 130, 213, 397, 468, 469
possession verbs, 136, 197, 263
possessive constructions, 118, 121, 213, 245, 285, 296, 356
possessive pronominal, 130, 352
possessive pronouns, 127, 129
posture verbs, 138, 289, 438
potential mood, 184, 419
predicate cleft, 55, 345
predicate structure, 140
prepositional phrases, 274, 275, 280, 283, 290, 309, 311, 314, 316, 318, 339, 346, 394, 395, 399, 427
present tense, 137, 141, 149, 157, 158, 161, 162, 254, 324, 325, 472
presentational focus, 226, 227
preverbal adverbs, 76–78, 139, 151, 153, 154, 156, 199, 272
progressive aspect, 10
prohibitives, 171, 173
pronouns, 133
propulsion verbs, 293
prosodic focus, 56, 226
prospective aspect, 151, 152, 156, 163
pseudo-cleft constructions, 247
purpose clauses, 169, 170, 247, 295, 368, 372, 377, 394, 407, 416

quantifiers, 130, 131, 201, 209, 213, 217, 221, 298, 299, 301, 396, 470
question intonation, 73, 211
question words, 35, 170, 212, 225, 402
quotative clauses, 199, 223, 377, 382, 391, 414
quotative marker, 384, 389, 392, 414, 415

realis modality, 143
recipient, 198, 268, 311, 316, 345, 347, 348, 399
reciprocity, 96, 298, 317, 352, 365

reduplication, 92, 93, 151, 194, 243, 445
reflexivity, 96, 227, 351, 365
relative clauses, 114, 117, 129, 190, 199, 219, 235, 236, 239, 243, 248, 394, 402, 412
relativisation accessibility, 395, 398
repetition, 55, 80, 92, 93, 100, 243, 245, 446
result clauses, 414, 416
resultative constructions, 306, 326, 328, 365, 436, 440
resultative SVC, 10, 439
resumptive ‘go’, 428
resumptive ‘kan’, 428
resumptive imperfective marking, 154, 156, 271
resumptive pronouns, 11, 114, 119, 121, 131, 199, 237, 246, 247, 394, 396, 397, 399, 427, 429, 430, 438, 441

secondary predicates, 275, 298, 328, 438
sentence particle, 172
serial verb constructions, 6, 317
similatives, 276, 316, 476
stimulus, 310–312, 314, 320, 322
stranding, 76, 191, 214, 216, 280, 395, 399, 401
subject, 357
subject omission, 358, 377, 380
subjects, 184, 215, 310, 317, 318, 321, 323–325, 328, 330, 346, 352–354, 369, 370, 386, 387, 390, 399, 412, 413, 427–429, 432, 433, 435, 437, 440
subjunctive mood, 166, 169, 174, 201, 203, 223, 238, 252, 368, 391, 394, 414, 416
subordination, 366, 373
subordinator, 233, 393, 407, 417
superlative degree, 194
switch-function (pro)nouns, 432, 433

tense, 9, 75, 139–141, 163, 164, 166, 178,

253, 323, 373, 425, 435, 440
theme, 198, 287, 296, 297, 310, 311, 317,
318, 321, 345, 346, 349, 431
topic marker, 118, 130, 248
transitivity, 323

valency, 357
valency adjustments, 373
verb classes, 334
vocatives, 129, 227, 450, 454, 460

word class, 279
word classes, 77, 80, 82, 92, 96, 97, 124,
236, 266, 443, 449, 450
word order, 188, 198, 236, 309, 310
word orderes, 77

yes-no questions, 62



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