A Grammar of Pichi

Kofi Yakpo

Draft
of January 22, 2019, 13:33

language
science
press

Studies in Diversity Linguistics

Editor: Martin Haspelmath

In this series:

A Grammar of Pichi

Kofi Yakpo

Yakpo, Kofi. 2019. *A Grammar of Pichi* (Studies in Diversity Linguistics 000). Berlin: Language Science Press.

Freie Universität Berlin

To Yèni and Fodé

Contents

Contents

Contents

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
			IDEO	ideophone
			INDF	indefinite
			INDP	independent/emphatic pronoun
(...)	untranscribed part of utterance		INTJ	interjection
[ ]	explanation of translated elements		INTR	intransitive
			IPFV	imperfective aspect marker
/	speech interruption		L	low tone(d syllable)
?	final: question intonation		L.H	low-high tone sequence over two adjacent syllables
?	initial: grammaticality dubious		LH	rising contour tone over same syllable
[á]	IPA transcription		LN	last name
/a/	phoneme		LOC	locative preposition
<a>	grapheme		LT	lexical tone
á	high tone diacritic		MVC	multiverb construction
à	low tone diacritic		n.a.	not applicable
%	boundary tone		NAME	personal name
1, 2, 3	first, second, third person		NEG	negative/negator
ABL	abilitive mood marker		NP	noun phrase
ADV	adverbial(ising suffix)		NSPC	non-specific
BE	identity copula		OBJ	object (case)
BE.LOC	locative-existential copula		OBL	obligative mood marker
BT	boundary tone		PFV	narrative perfective marker
CPD	tone deletion in compounding		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	V1	initial verb in MVC
	reduplication	V2	second verb in MVC
REP	repeated word in repetition	VP	verb phrase

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**   *lɛ́k dáns,* **e**   *lɛ́k ambiente.*
     3SG.SBJ like dance 3SG.SBJ like live.it.up
     'She likes dancing, she likes to live it up.' [ra07fn 098]

Next to that, subjects may instantiate the undergoer semantic roles of stimulus/body state in certain idiomatic expressions (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) **Tɔ́sti** *kéch mí.*
     thirst catch 1SG.INDP
     'I'm thirsty.' [dj07ae 327]

(4) **Ín**   *sidɔ́n na Ela   Nguema.*
     3SG.INDP stay   LOC PLACE
     'She [EMP] stays in Ela Nguema.' [ye07fn 017]

(5) **Di gɛ́l** *strét.*
     DEF girl be.straight
     'The girl is sincere.' [ye07je 109]

(6) **A**   *kɔ́t.*
     1SG.SBJ cut
     'I'm cut [I have a gash].' [dj07ae 399]

Beyond that, Pichi also uses semantically empty expletive subjects with certain verbs. These are covered in detail in §9.2.4.

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 suject *e* '3SG.SBJ' of the main clause:

(7) *Wé dɛn **sút** **di pɔ́sin** di pɔ́sin kin sék.*
     SUB 3PL shoot DEF person DEF person HAB shake

     'When they've shot the person, the person shakes.' [ed03sb 112]

(8) *Gó **púl**=**an** dé.*
     go remove=3SG.OBJ BE.LOC

     'Go remove it there.' [ro05ee 093]

(9) *Ɛf yu nó **nák**, e nó fít brók.*
     if 2SG NEG hit 3SG.SBJ NEG can break

     'If you don't hit (it), it can't break.' [au07se 036]

Objects instantiate undergoer semantic roles such as patient, theme, stimulus, recipient and beneficiary, as well as the actor role of experiencer. Hence the only role that is never instantiated by an object is the agent, which is reserved for subjects.

The goal and source of motion verbs like *gó* 'go' and *kɔmɔ́t* 'go/come out' may also be expressed as objects, although prepositional phrases are more common. Compare the goal object *colegio* 'college' in (10):

(10) *So wé yu **kɔmɔ́t** **colegio** (…)*
     so SUB 2SG come.out college

     'So when you came out of college (…)' [ab03ay 029]

Transitive clauses involving movement verbs and their objects may also represent cases of idiomatic transitivity as in (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
fɔ	'PREP'	General location
wet	'with'	NP coordination
bikɔs	'due to'	Clause linker 'because'
fɔséka/fɔséko	'due to'	—
lɛk	'like'	IF-clause linker
bay	'by'	Only idiomatic use
bitáwt	'without'	Rare

The semantic roles expressed by the prepositions listed in Table 9.1 are provided in Table 9.2 below. The table reveals a bipartite structure in the marking of semantic roles. The prepositions *fɔ* 'PREP' and *wet* 'with' may express virtually all roles listed. In contrast, all other prepositions express a single semantic role. In addition, the prepositions *bay* 'by' and *bitáwt* 'without' are marginal, and in the case of *bay*, only encountered in idiomatic expressions. Given the large range of functions covered by *fɔ* and *wet*, the expression of semantic roles therefore relies just as much on the meaning of the verb as it does on that of the preposition it co-occurs with.

Table 9.2 Expression of non-locative semantic roles by prepositions

	fɔ	*wet*	*bikɔs*	*fɔséka*	*lɛk*	*bay*	*bitáwt*
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: *bísin* 'bother, be busy (with)', *gládin* 'be glad (about)', *kɔ́stɔn* 'be used to', *lúkɔt* 'watch out (for)', *sém* 'be ashamed (about)'. Of these verbs, only *lúkɔt* is intransitive; the only non-subject participant this verb may appear with is a stimulus PP (13):

(13) **Lúkɔt fɔ** *tif-mán*   *dɛn!*
      look.out PREP steal.CPD-man PL

      'Watch out for thieves!' [dj07ae 096]

In contrast, the stimulus of the verbs *bísin* and *kɔ́stɔn* may either be expressed as a PP in an intransitive clause or an object in a transitive clause. There is no difference in meaning between the two options:

(14) *A*   **bísin** *dán gál.*
      1SG.SBJ be.busy that girl

      'I checked out that girl.' [dj07ae 025]

(15) *Sí fɔ́s tén a*   *bin dé* *hía, a*   *nó bin de* **bísin fɔ** *Pagalú*
      see first time 1SG.SBJ PST BE.LOC here 1SG.SBJ NEG PST IPFV be.busy PREP Annobón
      gél dɛn.
      girl PL

      'See formerly (when) I was here, I wasn't checking out Annobonese girls.' [ed03sp 005]

(16) *Láyf hád*   *pero a*   *dɔ́n* **kɔ́stɔn=an**   *só.*
      life be.hard but 1SG.SBJ PRF be.used.to=3SG.OBJ like.that

      'Life is hard, but I've just got used to it.' [dj07ae 101]

(17) *Wi dɔ́n* **kɔ́stɔn**   *fɔr=an.*
      1PL PRF be.used.to PREP=3SG.OBJ

      'We've got used to it.' [ur07fn 218]

The verb *kɔ́stɔn* 'be used to' is also attested with a third option: it may take a stimulus PP marked by the preposition *wet* 'with'.

(18) *A*   *dɔ́n* **kɔ́stɔn**   **wet** *di trɔ́n* *láyf.*
      1SG.SBJ PRF be.used.to with DEF strong life

      'I've got used to a difficult life.' [dj07ae 102]

The preposition *fɔ* 'PREP' may also mark the stimulus of motion of some agent-induced motion verbs like *háyd* 'hide (from)' or *rɔ́n* 'run away (from)' as in the following example (cf. §8.1.5 for the use of *fɔ* in marking locative source roles):

(19) *E*   **háyd fɔ** *in*   *kɔ́mpin.*
      3SG.SBJ hide PREP 3SG.POSS friend

      'He hid from his friend.' [dj07re 040]

Verbs other than the ones covered above invariably appear with stimulus objects rather than PPs. Compare *lúk* 'look (at)' in (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 *fɔ* '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   **fɔ   transporte**.*
1SG.INDP give 3PL.INDP ten thousand PREP transport

'I [EMP] gave them ten thousand (Francs) for transport.' [fr03cd 005]

(22) *E   dáy **fɔ   tɔ́sti**.*
3SG.SBJ die PREP thirsty

'He died of thirst.' [dj05be 123]

Nevertheless, in the vast majority of cases, a cause of death due to a body state like
hángri 'hunger', *tɔ́sti* 'thirst' (23) or *sɔfút* '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   tɔ́sti**.*
3SG.SBJ die with thirsty

'He died of thirst.' [ro05ee 064]

(24) *E   dáy **wet   sɔfút**.*
3SG.SBJ die with wound

'She died of her injury.' [ro05ee 066]

The prepositions *fɔséka* 'due to' (and its less frequent variant *foséko*) (25) and *bikɔs*
'because, due to' (26) introduce prepositional phrases with the semantic role of cause.
However, *bikɔs* is seldom used as a preposition and far more common as a linker of
cause clauses (cf. §10.7.7).

Take note of the verb-object phrase *bɔ́n pikín* 'give.birth child' = 'childbirth', which is
nominalised in its entirety and involves *bɔ́n* employed as a deverbal noun:

(25) *Na **fɔséka bɔ́n   pikín**, e   dáy.*
FOC due.to give.birth child   3SG.SBJ die

'It's due to childbirth (that) she died.' [dj05be 052]

(26) *Náw só   pó gál dɛn dɔ́n bɔ́s in   héd **bikɔs 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 gɔ́n*** *na in*   *héd.*
      3PL shoot=3SG.OBJ with gun LOC 3SG.POSS head
      'He was shot in the head with a gun.' [ro05ee 054]

(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 gɔ́d in***   ***páwa,*** *a*   *go pás na yá.*
      the ten of August by   God 3SG.POSS power 1SG.SBJ POT pass LOC here
      '(On) the tenth of August, by the grace of God, I'll pass by this place.' [ab07fn 113]

The preposition *wet* 'with' introduces participants with a comitative role (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**   nɔ́?*
2sg know that thing with young.cpd-boy intj

'You know that thing about young guys right?' [au07se 061]

Negative comitative is occasionally expressed through a PP introduced by *bitáwt* 'with-out' (with the alternative pronunciation w*itáwt*) (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 sús***
that man ipfv walk without shoe

'That man is walking without shoes.' [ge07fn 133]

(36) *A   pás bɔkú tɛ́n **wé** a   nó chɔ́p.*
1sg.sbj pass much time sub 1sg.sbj neg eat

'I spent a long time without eating.' [au07ec 080]

The use of a PP is only one of numerous means of expressing manner in Pichi (cf. e.g. §7.7.2), in which case the preposition *wet* 'with' usually serves this purpose (37). An equative or similative participant is introduced by *lɛk* 'like' (38):

(37) *Yu nó de tɔ́k=an   **wet páwa**.*
2sg neg ipfv talk=3sg.obj with power

'You're not saying it forcefully.' [lo07he 065]

(38) *(…) wi fít dé   **lɛk kɔ́mpin**.*
1pl can be.loc like friend

'(…) we can be (like) friends.' [ru03wt 029]

The expression of a beneficiary role by means of *fɔ* 'prep' is covered in detail in §9.3.4 on double-object constructions.

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   dɛn **ték mék** dís, digamos dí bɔ́tul?*
foc q=kind   thing 3pl take make this let's.say this bottle

'What is, let's say this bottle, made of?' [ye05ce 113]

On 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 mɔní   mɔ́   na Western Union **pás guineano dɛn**.*
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 gɛ́l **wáka gó** na tɔ́n.*
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. *fít* 'can' and *dɔ́n* 'be finished'), verbs denoting existence in place or time (e.g. *blánt* 'reside'), and property items, most of which are human propensities (e.g. *badhát* 'be mean', *fúlis* 'be foolish', *ráyt* 'be right') and physical properties (e.g. *hád* 'be hard', *sáful* 'be slow'). One explanation for the intransitivity of verbs from these three classes is the high time-stability of the situations they denote.

Table 9.3 Intransitive dynamic verbs

Semantic class	Verb	Gloss
Locomotion verbs	*fláy*	'fly'
	gráp	'get up'
	kán	'come'
	rɔ́n	'run'
	swín	'swim'
	wáka	'walk'
Body state, physical activity & experiential verbs	*hángri*	'be hungry'
	tɔ́sti	'be thirsty'
	bélch	'belch'
	dáy	'die'
	lúkɔt	'look out'
	mekés	'hurry'
	ambiente	'live it up'
	pachá	'live it up'
Existence verbs	*sté*	'stay'
	líf	'live'
Weather verbs	*fɔ́l*	'rain'
	brék	'(to) dawn'
Verb of social interaction	*fɛ́t*	'fight'

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	*fít*	'can'
	hébul	'be capable'
	tínk	'think'
	dɔ́n	'be done, finished'
Existence verbs	*dé*	'BE.LOC'
	bí	'BE'
	blánt	'reside'
Property items	*badhát*	'be mean'
	béta	'be very good'
	difrɛn	'be different'
	fúlis	'be foolish
	hád	'be hard'
	lás	'be last, end up'
	ráyt	'be right'
	sáful	'be slow'
	síryɔs	'be serious'
	smát	'be quick'
	trú	'be true'
	wɛ́l	'be well'
	wíkɛd	'be wicked'

(44) *Di gέl **wáka gó** na tɔ́n.*
DEF girl walk go LOC town

'The girl walked to town.' [ne05fn 243]

(45) *A wánt **fláy rích** na tɔ́n náw náw.*
1SG.SBJ want fly arrive LOC town now REP

'I want to fly [hurry] to town right now.' [dj07ae 362]

In contrast to *wáka* 'walk' and *fláy* 'fly', other motion verbs like *gó* 'go' can appear in transitive clauses, in which the goal is expressed as an object. This is particularly so when the goal object is a named place. Compare the object *Lubá* '(the town of) Luba' in (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 dɛn.*
3SG.SBJ IPFV run 1SG.INDP country thing PL

'(...) she was giving me a traditional treatment.'

[*Lit.* 'She was running the village thing for me.'] [ab03ay 101]

The intransitive and dynamic body state, body process, and experiential verbs listed in Table 9.3 above require the use of a PP if a participant other than the subject is to be expressed. The stimulus of *lúkɔt* 'look out' needs to be expressed as a *fɔ*-prepositional phrase:

(50) * ***Lúkɔt** tif-mán dɛn!*
look.out steal.CPDbɛc PL

Intended: 'Watch out for thieves!' [dj07ae 095]

(51) ***Lúkɔt** fɔ tif-mán dɛn!*
look.out PREP steal.CPD-man PL

'Watch out for thieves!' [dj07ae 096]

The verb *fɛ́t* 'fight' cannot take an object either (52). A comitative participant needs to be expressed as a prepositional phrase (53) or within a coordinate structure (54):

(52) * *Djunais de **fɛ́t** Boyé.*
NAME IPFV fight NAME

Intended: 'Djunais is fighting Boyé.' [dj07ae 395]

(53) *Djunais de **fɛ́t** wet Boyé.*
NAME IPFV fight with NAME

'Djunais is fighting with Boyé.' [dj07ae 396]

(54) *Djunais **wet** Boyé dɛn de **fɛ́t**.*
NAME with NAME 3PL IPFV fight

'Djunais and Boyé are fighting.' [dj07ae 394]

The ground associated with the intransitive stative verb *blánt* 'reside' may only be expressed as a prepositional phrase (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/bétɛ* '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) * *Gɔ́d go* **gúd=an**.
  God POT good=3SG.OBJ
  Intended: 'God will make it good.' [dj07ae 155]

(58) * *Gɔ́d go* **bétar=an**.
  God POT very.good=3SG.OBJ
  Intended: 'God will better it [things].' [dj07ae 154]

(59) *Gɔ́d go mék* **e** **bétɛ**.
  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) *Gɔ́d go* **fáyn=an**.
  God POT fine=3SG.OBJ
  'God will make it [things] fine.' [dj07ae 156]

Nevertheless, most if not all Pichi verbs may take cognate objects, i.e. deverbal copies of themselves. In this way, even verbs unlikely to occur with objects in other contexts can be used transitively. Example (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 *swɛla* '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* **swɛla ín,** *dɛn 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 bɛlɛ́.
1SG.POSS belly

'I swallowed it, (and) I was told that the thing would grow in my stomach.'
[dj07ae 079]

(64) *Dásɔl e* **láf mí.**
only 3SG.SBJ laugh 1SG.INDP

'He just laughed at me.' [dj07ae 108]

There are no restrictions on the transitive use of body function verbs involving "effected objects" (Hopper 1985), objects that come into existence by the situation denoted by the verb. Compare *swɛ́t* 'sweat' featuring the effected object *wɔtá* 'water' = 'sweat' (65). The same holds for experiential (or human propensity) verbs like *jélɔs* 'envy, be jealous', which may appear with a stimulus object (66):

(65) *A* *de* **swɛ́t wɔtá.**
1SG.SBJ IPFV sweat water

'I'm sweating.' [dj07ae 124]

(66) *A* *de* **jélɔs 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 kɔ́la.*
1SG.SBJ want make.blue this car   SBJV 3SG.SBJ change colour

'I want to (paint) this car blue for it to change (its) colour.' [dj07ae 150]

In the same vein, neither a physical property like *hɔ́t* 'be hot' (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) ***Hɔ́t di chɔ́p*** *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 gɔ́bna   **dɔ́n 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. *bɛ́n* 'bend', *bwɛ́l* 'boil'), 'body states' (e.g. *bɛlfúl* 'be satiated', *táya* 'be tired'), and 'natural states' (e.g. *rótin* 'be rotten', *sók* 'be wet'), 'other human states' (e.g. *wɛ́r* 'wear', *máred* 'marry'):

(71)   Change-of-state verbs

a. *bέn*   'bend, fold'   *spwέl*   'spoil'
    bíl   'build'   *wás*   'wash'
    brók   'break'   *wék(ɔp)* 'wake up'
    bwέl   'boil'   *wέr*   'wear'
    chénch   'change'
    chέr   'tear'   b.   *bɛlfúl*   'be satiated'
    fíks   'fix, repair'   *chák*   'be drunk'
    fráy   'fry'   *dráy*   'be dry'
    hát   'hurt'   *dróngo*   'be dead drunk'
    kɔ́ba   'cover'   *fúlɔp*   'be full'
    kɔ́t   'cut'   *láyt*   'be lit, be tipsy'
    krás   'crash'   *rɛdí*   'be ready'
    kúk   'cook'   *rɔ́tin*   'be rotten'
    lɔ́k   'close'   *sók*   'be wet'
    máred   'marry'   *táya*   '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) *Dɛn **chák**   **di wach-mán**   fɔ́s fɔ   mék dɛn fít gó tíf.*
      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 *dɔ́n* 'PRF' focuses the end-state of the change of state.

Compare *fráy* 'fry', an "agentive" group (a) verb in the intransitive and transitive clause, respectively. The combination of perfect marking and "agentive" verb renders a resultative meaning very close to passive voice in (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 *bɛlfúl* 'be satiated' or *táya* 'be tired'.

Two further semantic classes of labile verbs are locative verbs and property items. These two subclasses alternate between inchoative-stative and dynamic uses. The two following examples involve the intransitive (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 *lɔ́n* '(be) long' (cf. §4.1.2 for a listing of relevant semantic types). Compare the intransitive meaning of 'be small' of the dimension concept *smɔ́l* '(be) small' in the intransitive clause in (80) with the causative meaning 'make small, shrink' in the transitive clause in (81). The imperfective marker *de* 'ɪᴘꜰᴠ' specifies *smɔ́l* in (81) just like any dynamic verb with simultaneous taxis:

(80) *Dí   klós   **smɔ́l**.*
      ᴅᴇꜰ clothing be.small
      'This (piece of) clothing is small.'

(81) *Sɔn   klós   dɛn dé,   hɔt-wɔtá   **de smɔ́l=an**.*
      some clothing ᴘʟ   ʙᴇ.ʟᴏᴄ hot.ᴄᴘᴅ-water ɪᴘꜰᴠ make.small=3sɢ.ᴏʙᴊ
      '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**.*
      ᴘʟᴀᴄᴇ   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), *rɔ́n* 'run' (49), and *sube* 'rise, raise' (70):

(83) *Nóto   klós   go **fáyn**   **yú**   sino que na yú   géfɔ*
      ɴᴇɢ.ꜰᴏᴄ clothing ᴘᴏᴛ make.fine 2sɢ.ɪɴᴅᴘ but that ꜰᴏᴄ 2sɢ.ɪɴᴅᴘ have.to
      fáyn   yu séf.
      make.fine 2sɢ self
      'It's not clothes that would make you beautiful, it's rather you that has to make yourself beautiful.' [dj07ae 176]

(84) *Dán bélps de   **fáyn   mí**.*
      that babe ɪᴘꜰᴠ be.fine 1sɢ.ɪɴᴅᴘ
      '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) *Dɛn 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. *bló*   'relax'   b. *gládin* 'be glad'
           bɔ́n   'be born'   *krés*   'be crazy'
           gró   'grow'   *lán*   'learn'
           háyd   'hide'   *sém*   'be ashamed'
           hóri   'hurry'   *skía*   'be scared'
           léf   'leave'   *sófa*   'suffer'
           mɛ́n   'get better'   *véks*   'be angry'
           múf   'move'   *wánda*   'wonder'
           rés   'rest'   *wóri*   'worry'
           sék   'shake'
           tɔ́n   'turn'
           trímbul 'tremble'

Consider the use of the group (b) dynamic experiential verb *krés* 'be crazy, drive crazy' in the following intransitive (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.　*bigín*　'begin'　　　b.　*fínis*　　　　　'finish'
　　　　　stát　　'start'　　　　　　*para* (< Sp. 'parar')　'stop'

I give an example for the intransitive and transitive uses of the verb of completion *fínis* 'finish' in the following two examples. The verbs *fínis* and *bigín* 'begin' are also employed as aspectual auxiliary verbs in completive and ingressive auxiliary constructions (cf. §6.4.1 and §6.4.3, respectively):

(93)　*Dɛn-ɔ́l　**fínis**.*
　　　3PL.CPD-all finish
　　　'They're all finished.' [dj03cd 157]

(94)　*A　　de　tél yú,　　yu go sí　náw 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 occuring in intransitive clauses rather than transitive ones.

In contrast, "agentive" change-of-state verbs denoting "destruction" and "material transformation" (e.g. *brék* 'break'), experiential verbs denoting physical movement (e.g. *múf* 'move'), and the entire class of locative verbs (e.g. *slíp* 'sleep, lie') generally occur with equal likelihood in both transitive and intransitive clauses.

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 *fɔ́l* '(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. *sɔn 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   sɔn wích dé   nɔ́.*
      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	*bí*	'be'
	na/nóto	'foc/neg.foc'
	dé	'be.loc'
	fíba	'seem'
	gét	'get, have, exist'
	níd	'need, be necessary'
	léf	'leave, remain'
	sté	'last'
Evaluative verbs	*bád*	'be bad'
	fáyn	'be fine'
	gúd	'be good'
	hád	'be hard'
	ísi	'be easy'
	nó smɔ́l	'be considerable'
Spanish expletive verbs	*falta*	'lack'
	sigue	'follow'
Weather verb	*fɔ́l*	'rain'

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 smɔ́l,   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 dɛn 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 *fíba* 'resemble' occurs in a transitive clause, the 3SG.SBJ pronoun is not expletive (102):

(102)   ***E   fíba** débul.*
        3SG.SBJ seem devil

        'He resembles a devil.' [ra07fn 072]

In contrast, when used intransitively, *fíba* is best translated as 'seem' (103) and may take a complement clause (104). In such contexts, *fíba* also takes an expletive 3SG.SBJ pronoun:

(103)   ***E   fíba** só.*
        3SG.SBJ seem like.that

        'It seems so.' [dj07ae 252]

(104)   ***E   fíba sé** nóto   yú   wán dɛn 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 pósin*
        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   dɔn sté**,   a   tínk sé   e   dɔn 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   tumɔ́ro.*
3SG.SBJ need QUOT SBJV 1SG.SBJ go there tomorrow

'It is necessary that I go there tomorrow.' [dj07ae 512]

Evaluative verbs also take expletive subjects. Examples follow with the property items *hád* '(be) hard' (108) and *fáyn* '(be) fine' (109):

(108) **E   hád** *fɔ   bíl   na yá bikɔs   sé   di grón   gɛ́t bɔkú 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   dríng smɔ́l-wán.*
3SG.SBJ fine   PREP drink small-ADV

'It's good to drink moderately.' [ma03hm 071]

The two verbs *falta* 'lack' (< Sp. *faltar* 'lack') and *sigue* 'continue, follow' (< Sp. *seguir* 'continue, follow') are established loans of Spanish origin which have been borrowed together with their selectional properties. Like their Spanish etymons these two verbs require expletive subjects. Contrary to Spanish, subject pronouns are not normally dropped in Pichi. Examples (110) and (111) therefore feature the expletive pronoun *e* '3SG.SBJ':

(110) **E   falta** *mɔní fɔ   púl   saco dɛn dé   fɔ   kɛ́r=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 smɛ́l.*
because 3SG.SBJ IPFV follow one bad smell

'Because there follows a bad smell.' [dj03do 049]

Yet *falta* and *sigue* may also take referentially full subjects in intransitive clauses. Compare *falta* in (110) and (112), and *sigue* in (111) and (113):

(112) *E   sé*   **e**   *nó fít* **falta**.
3SG.SBJ QUOT 3SG.SBJ NEG can lack

'She said she can't be absent.' [ma03hm 014]

(113) *Mi   rabia dɔ́n fínis bɔt wé yu gó* **e   de sigue** *mɔ́.*
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 *dɛn yón* 'theirs', so the object of the complement clause beginning with the non-finite complementiser *fɔ* 'PREP' has been raised into subject position in the main clause. For other speakers, however, raising is not accepted with evaluative verbs (115):

(114) (…) *bɔt **dɛn yón** fáyn, e   fáyn fɔ   sí.*
           but 3PL own fine   3SG.SBJ fine PREP see

       '(…) but theirs is beautiful, it [the wedding ceremony] is beautiful to see.'
       [hi03cb 005]

(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) *Dɛn **gét** wók   náw ó.*
       3PL get work now SP
       'They actually have work now.' [to03gm 008]

(120) *E   **gét** ɔ́da   húman 'chíp' bɔkú   problema, (…)*
       3SG.SBJ get other woman [SKT] much problem
       'He got (himself) another woman, many problems, (…)' [ma03ni 025]

Ordinary objects of *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) *Smɔ́l gál, ɛf 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 dɛn 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 *dɛn* (122) and may occur with prenominal modifiers like *bɔkú* '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
gɛ́t 'get, have'	*bɛlɛ́* 'belly'	'be pregnant'
	páwa 'strength'	'be strong, be potent'
	líba 'liver'	'have guts'
	mɔní 'money'	'be rich'
	pikín 'child'	'have children'
	lɔ́ki 'luck'	'be lucky'
	bad-lɔ́k 'bad luck'	'have bad luck'
	ráyt 'right'	'be right'
	bád fásin 'bad ways'	'be ill-mannered'
	trɔ́t 'throat'	'have appetite, be lusty'
	bɔ́di 'body'	'be chubby'
	rabia 'anger'	'be angry'
	novio/mán 'boyfriend/husband'	'have a boyfriend/husband'
	novia/húman 'girlfriend/wife'	'have a girlfriend/wife'
gí 'give'	*bɔbí* 'breast'	'breastfeed'
	chɔ́p 'food'	'feed'
	bɛlɛ́ 'belly'	'impregnate'
	hán 'hand'	'shake hands'
	skúl 'school'	'give lessons'
	wán vuelta 'a walk'	'take a walk'
	permiso 'permission'	'give permission'
mék 'make'	*bigdé* 'festivity'	'have a festivity'
	chɔ́ch 'church'	'celebrate a mass'
	fám 'farm'	'(to) farm'
	chɔ́p 'food'	'prepare food'
	jɔmba 'lover'	'make love'
	wayó 'cunning'	'be cunning, employ trickery'
	wuruwúrú 'confusion'	'cause confusion'
	affaire 'affair'	'have an affair'
	rabia 'anger'	'be angry with somebody'
púl 'remove'	*bɛlɛ́* 'pregnancy'	'abort'
	brís 'air'	'breathe'
	fotó 'photo'	'take a picture'
	torí 'story'	'narrate a story, converse'
sí 'see'	*tɛ́n* 'time'	'menstruate'
	tín 'thing'	'have experience in life'
fála 'follow'	*húman* 'woman'	'womanise'
gó 'go'	*skúl* 'school'	'attend school'
kɔ́t 'cut'	*miná* 'penis'	'circumcise'
kráy 'cry'	*wɔtá* 'water'	'shed tears'
pík 'pick'	*mɔ́t* 'mouth'	'sound somebody out'
ték 'take'	*bɔ́di/skín* 'body'	'gain weight'

(122) *Bikɔs   a   **gɛ́t** bɔkú mi   kɔntri-mán   **dɛn** (…)*
because 1sg.sbj get much 1sg.poss country.cpd-man pl

'Because I have many of my countrymen (…)' [ed03sb 157]

(123) *(…) dán mɔní   a   fít **gɛ́t=an**   un mes.*
that money 1sg.sbj can get=3sg.obj def month

'(…) as for that money, I can have it for a month.' [ro05rt 050]

(124) *(…) mébi   a   gɛ́t pikín, wé mébi   a   nó **gɛ́t**.*
maybe 1sg.sbj get child sub maybe 1sg.sbj neg get

'(…) maybe I have children or maybe I don't have [children].' [hi03cb 158]

We have seen that non-specific objects of light verbs tend to occur as bare nouns. Nonetheless, specific objects of *gɛ́t* in light verb constructions may occur with determiners if so required. Compare *di fɔ́s bɛlé* 'first pregnancy' in (125):

(125) *Dásɔl wé a   dɔ́n bíg wé a   fɔ́s **gɛ́t di fɔ́s bɛlé** (…)*
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 fɔ́s bɛlé* the first pregnancy' in (125) above also shows that objects of light verbs are encountered with prenominal modifiers. Likewise, object NPs in light verb constructions may be placed under focus (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** dɛn de   **púl**.*
foc story 3pl ipfv pull

'It's a story that they're telling.' [au07se 009]

(127) *A   go **púl** yú=**an**   tumɔ́ro.*
1sg.sbj pot pull 2sg.indp=3sg.obj tomorrow

'I will narrate it to you tomorrow.' [ye07de 018]

Table 9.8 presents a frequency analysis of *gɛ́t* in verb-object collocations in a subcorpus of 30,000 words. The verb *gɛ́t* enjoys a total number of 345 tokens, of which 136 tokens involve *gɛ́t* as a modal verb and *gɛ́t* without an overt object. In line (a) of the table, I give the remaining 209 tokens which represent uses of *gɛ́t* in collocations involving full noun objects.

In line (b), I provide the total number of verb-noun collocations that do not qualify as light verb constructions according to the distributional criteria introduced above. Line (c) gives the total number of constructions that should be considered light verb constructions. I also list the four most frequent constructions with the corresponding tokens. I take care to distinguish cases in which a collocation like *gɛ́t pikín* is employed with the

Table 9.8 Frequency of *gét* collocations

	Construction	Total number	Percentage over (a.)
a.	All *gét* collocations	209	100%
b.	All ordinary *gét* collocations	140	67%
c.	All *gét* light verb constructions	69	33%
	gét pikín 'have children'	33	16%
	gét mɔní 'have money'	22	11%
	gét bɛlé 'be pregnant'	10	5%
	gét líba '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 dɔ́n **gét novio**   na pueblo, na kɔ́ntri.*
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   fámbul nó   **gí**   yú   **permiso**   (...)*
if DEF family NEG give 2SG.INDP permission

'If the family doesn't give you permission (...)' [ed03sb 076]

On the other hand, there are established mixed collocations which feature a determiner. One of these is *gí wán vuelta* 'take a walk'. Like the Pichi verb *gí* 'give', the Spanish verb *dar* 'give' selects a determined object in the expression *dar una vuelta* 'take a walk':

(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) *Dɛn 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 *wɔtá* 'water'. The pragmatic context coerces a semantic role of instrument or means on the associative object:

(134)   *A   de   **wás wɔtá**.*
        1SG.SBJ IPFV wash water

        'I'm washing (myself with) water.' [dj07ae 274]

All verb-noun collocations involving associative objects in the corpus are listed in Table 9.9. In most cases, the verb-noun combination given in the table is the preferred means of expressing the corresponding semantic relation between the verb and object listed.

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 dɛn **fúlɔp pípul**.*
        LOC PLACE car PL be.full people

        'In China cars are full of people.' [au07fn 107]

(136)   *ɔ́l hía   **pák polvo**.*
        all here pack dust

        'Everywhere here is full of dust.' [ge07fn 127]

Content objects can be replaced by a corresponding prepositional phrase without a change in meaning. Compare the PPs introduced by *wet* 'with' in (137) and (138):

(137)   *Na lɛk sé   yu **fúlɔp** di glás **watá**?*
        FOC like QUOT 2SG fill   DEF glass water

        'That's as if you fill up a glass with water?' [dj07ae 066]

(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
fúlɔp	*pípul*	'be full of/fill with people'	Content
fúlɔp	*watá*	'be full of/fill with water'	
pák	*polvo*	'be full of/fill with dust'	
bít	*stík*	'beat with a stick'	Instrument
cháp	*kɔ́tlas*	'chop (off) with a cutlass'	
chúk	*néf*	'stab with a knife'	
chúk	*nidul*	'sting with a needle'	
chúk	*injección*	'give an injection'	
sút	*pistola*	'shoot with a pistol'	
wás	*wɔtá*	'wash oneself with water'	
invita	*Guinness*	'invite for a Guinness'	Purpose
kapú	*hós*	'fight over a house'	
wók	*mɔní*	'work for money'	
fɔdɔ́n	*stík*	'fall from a tree'	Source
púl	*wók*	'sack from work'	
smél	*chɔ́p*	'smell of food'	
kɔmɔ́t	*pɔ́sin*	'become a responsible person'	Goal
tɔ́n	*pɔ́sin*	'turn into a person'	
pré	*gɔ́d*	'pray to God'	
kráy	*mɔní*	'cry over (lost) money'	Cause
sík	*fíba*	'be sick with fever'	
sík	*malérya*	'be sick with malaria'	
sík	*tiphoïdea*	'be sick with typhoid fever'	
báy	*dos mil*	'buy for two thousand Francs'	Price
sél	*dos mil*	'sell for two thousand Francs'	
kɔ́l	NAME	'call something X'	Reference

(139)   *Yu fít tɔ́k sé   "dɛn **chúk**=an   néf".*
       2SG can talk QUOT 3PL stab=SG.OBJ knife

       'You can say "he was stabbed with a knife".' [ro05ee 061]

(140)   *Dɛn **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, *kɔ́t* 'cut' is not attested with an associative object and requires the instrument to be expressed as a prepositional phrase:

(141) * *A   de   **kɔ́t** di tín   **sísɔs**.*
       1SG.SBJ IPFV cut DEF thing scissors

       Intended: 'I'm cutting the thing with a pair of scissors.' [dj07ae 477]

(142) ***Kɔ́t=an   wet sísɔs!***
       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) *Dɛn de **kapú**   **fɔ**   di **hós**.*
       3PL IPFV fight.over PREP DEF house

       'They're fighting over the house.' [ne07fn 025]

The source of the motion verb *fɔdɔ́n* 'fall' may be realised as an associative object (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 *ɔ́p* 'up(perside)' to mark the ground in (146):

(145) *Di pikín **fɔdɔ́n di   stík**.*
       DEF child fall   DEF tree

       'The child fell from the tree.' [ro05ee 097]

(146) *Di pikín **fɔdɔ́n frɔn ɔ́p di   stík**, frɔn di   stík.*
       DEF child fall   from up DEF tree from DEF tree

       'The child fell from (up on) the tree, from the tree.' [dj05be 201]

The semantic role of the objects of *smɛ́l* 'smell' can only be disambiguated by context. In (147) the associative object *chɔ́p* 'food' denotes the source of the sensation, in (148), *chɔ́p* denotes the stimulus:

(147) *E   de kúk, áfta e   de **smɛ́l chɔ́p**.*
       3SG.SBJ IPFV cook then 3SG.SBJ IPFV smell food

       'He's cooking, afterwards he'll smell of food.' [dj07ae 013]

(148) *Yu de **smɛl chɔp**, dɛn de fráy 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 *kɔmɔt* 'come out' and *tɔn* 'turn (into)'.

(149) *E de trén yú sé yu go **kɔmɔt pɔsin**.*
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 **tɔn pɔsin** 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 *mɔní* 'money', the object of *kráy* 'cry' in (152):

(152) *(…) dán papá de **kráy** in mɔní.*
that father IPFV cry 3SG.POSS money.

'(…) that elderly man was crying over his (lost) money.' [ed03sb 200]

An associative object may be fronted for emphasis (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 pɔsin 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 *tɔ́k* 'talk, say' may occur with speech- or sound-denoting cognate objects in non-emphatic contexts. The cognate objects of these verbs have in common that they are not simply the corresponding action nominal of the verb. Instead, they have slightly idiosyncratic meanings:

(155) *Wé yu kɔmɔ́t* **sík** **dán sík** *na Panyá, wé yu de sík, náw yu*
SUB 2SG come.out be.sick that sickness LOC Spain SUB 2SG IPFV sick now 2SG
bigín tɔ́k 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* **tɔ́k** **dán smɔ́l tɔ́k** *dé.*
1SG.SBJ want talk that small word there

'I want to say that small word there.' [dj05ae 037]

Aside from that, the use of cognate objects provides an important means of expressing emphasis in pragmatically marked, emphatic contexts such as (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) *Dɛn 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   sén **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**   tumɔ́ro.*
1SG.SBJ POT give 2PL=3SG.OBJ tomorrow

Intended: 'I'll give you [PL] it tomorrow.' [ye07de 011]

(163) *A   go gí **unu** tumɔ́ro.*
1SG.SBJ POT give 2PL   tomorrow

'I'll give you (it) tomorrow.' [ye07de 012]

Double-object constructions can be divided into three types according to relevant semantic and syntactic properties. 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	*fɔ*-PP	—
		Goal (*pút*)	Theme	*fɔ*-PP; *na*-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
    púl   'narrate'   *gí*   'give'
    tél   'tell'   *dás* 'give as present'
    lán   'teach'   *bák* 'give back'
    tích 'teach'   *sén* 'send'
    áks 'ask'   *báy* 'buy'
    ríd 'read'

Pichi has no SVCs of the GIVE type in order to mark a recipient or beneficiary. In double-object constructions featuring transfer verbs, the primary object next to the verb always has the semantic role of recipient (165). With transfer and communication verbs, a beneficiary is usually expressed in a PP introduced by *fɔ* '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**   sɔn regalo.*
      1SG.POSS mother give.as.present 1SG.INDP some present

      'My mother gave me a present.' [ro05ee 055]

(166) *Mi   mamá dás   **sɔn regalo fɔ mí**.*
      1SG.POSS mother give.as.present some present PREP 1SG.INDP

      'My mother gave (somebody) a present for me.' [ro05ee 056]

The following example features transfer verb *gí* 'give' and a prepositional phrase introduced by *fɔ* 'PREP'. The PP can only denote a beneficiary with the recipient remaining unexpressed. Hence the second translation is ungrammatical, since the recipient object cannot alternatively be expressed as a prepositional phrase:

(167) *Dɛn gí   di **mɔní fɔ 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)   *Dɛn 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   géfɔ   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 *fɔ* 'PREP'), it can therefore only denote a beneficiary or a goal but not a recipient (171):

(171)   *E   géfɔ   sén=an   fɔ   **yú**.*
        3SG.SBJ have.to send=3SG.OBJ PREP 2SG.INDP

        'He has to send it to (where) you (are).' or 'He has to send it for you.' [ye07de 003] 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 *sɔn fébɔ* 'a favour'. The verb *wás* 'wash' also takes *mí* '1SG.INDP' as the beneficiary object while *klós dɛn* 'clothing' functions as the patient object:

(172)   *A   wánt 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   dɛn**.*
        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 bikɔs   a   de fía sé   dɛn go*
      1sg.sbj leave 1sg.poss child loc Spain because 1sg.sbj ipfv fear quot 3pl pot
      bɛlé   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) *Dɛn tíf mí   mi   sús.*
      3pl   steal 1sg.indp 1sg.poss shoe
      'They stole my shoes from me.' [ge07fn 023]

We have seen that a recipient must be expressed as an object in type 1 double-object constructions. In contrast to type 1 constructions, type 2 constructions alternate freely with constructions in which the beneficiary is expressed as a prepositional phrase introduced by the associative preposition *fɔ* 'prep'. In fact, the alternative involving a prepositional phrase is more common than the corresponding double-object construction. Compare the type 2 double-object construction (175) involving the verb *bay* 'buy' with the PP alternative (176):

(175) *Áfta primera dama báy=an   wán motó, (…)*
      then first   lady buy=3sg.obj one car
      'Then the first lady bought him a car (…)' [fr03cd 070]

(176) *A   bin báy wán motó fɔ   mi   mása.*
      sg.sbj pst buy one car prep 1sg.poss boss
      'I bought a car for my boss.' [ye0502e2 073]

The second type of type 2 construction involves the caused location verb *pút* 'put'. Here, the primary object has the semantic role of goal, while the secondary object fulfills a theme role. In (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 dɔn 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   báy dán dís tín, sɔn smɔl pépa, dɛn 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) *Dɛn kin pút=an   fɔ   glás.*
       3PL HAB put=3SG.OBJ PREP glass
       'They put it into the glass.' [ed03sb 096]

(180) *A   dɔ́n **pút** mi   búk **ínsay.***
       1SG.SBJ PRF put 1SG.POSS book inside
       'I have put my book inside.' [dj07ae 329]

There is a preference to interpret a PP introduced by *fɔ* 'PREP' as a beneficiary in *pút*-double-object constructions, particularly where an object pronoun theoretically allows for both interpretations as in (181). A sentence like (180) above, which involves a locative noun (i.e. *ínsay* 'inside') is therefore preferred to avoid ambiguity. Nevertheless, an alternative with a prepositional phrase involving the general locative preposition *na* may also be exploited to the same end (182):

(181) *A   dɔ́n pút granát **fɔr=an.***
       1SG.SBJ PRF put peanut PREP=3SG.OBJ
       'I have put peanuts [somewhere] for her.' [dj07ae 331a]
       ?I have put peanuts into it.

(182) *A   dɔ́n pút granát **na ín.***
       1SG.SBJ PRF put peanut LOC 3SG.INDP
       'I have put peanuts into it.' [dj07ae 331b]

Note, however, that *pút* 'put' may also appear in a type 2 double-object construction, in which the primary object is a beneficiary – just like any other transitive verb:

(183) *Yu pút=**an**   **wán sardina** ɔntɔ́p.*
       2SG put=3SG.OBJ one sardine   top
       '(Then) you put a sardine on top for him.' [ro05rt 064

Type 3 double-object construction involve verbs that may take associative objects (cf. Table 9.9 above). Type 3 constructions differ from type 1 and type 2 constructions in that the primary object occupies the semantic role of patient. The secondary object is an associative object which may alternatively be expressed without any syntactic rearrangement through the mere insertion of a preposition, serial verb, or any other element

between the two objects. The associative objects in type 3 constructions may therefore be paraphrased with the same means as associative objects in single-object constructions. Compare the double-object construction in (184) with the single-object construction involving a PP in (185):

(184) *Na lɛk sé   yu fúlɔp **di glás watá?***
       FOC like QUOT 2SG fill   DEF glás water

       'As if you filled this glass with water?' [dj07ae 066]

(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', *bɔ́di* '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 fíks **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** bɔkú fɔ   tɔ́n general.*
       3SG.SBJ shake 3SG.POSS self much PREP turn general

       'He made a big effort to turn general.' [ur07ae 498]

The nouns *skín* 'body', *bɔ́di* 'body', and *héd* 'head' are far less commonly used than *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 lukinglás.*
       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,   lɛk háw a   de   wók.*
1SG.SBJ IPFV kill 1SG.POSS body there like how 1SG.SBJ IPFV work

'I'm killing myself there, the way I'm working.' [dj07ae 494]

(190) *E   dɔ́n **chák**   in   **héd**.*
3SG.SBJ PRF get.drunk 3SG.POSS head

'She is dead drunk.' [*Lit.* 'She has got her head drunk.'] [ra07fn 026]

A reflexive relation within an NP is expressed through the use of a possessive pronoun in conjunction with the pronominal *yón* 'own' as a modifier to a head noun:

(191) *Bɔt fɔ   Bata dɛn de   ték/ dán wán sí que **dɛn yón** máred   día,*
but PREP PLACE 3PL IPFV take that one if that 3PL own marriage be.expensive

dɛn yón máred   de   kári mɔní 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) *Dɛn de   sláp **dɛn séf**.*
3PL IPFV slap 3PL self

'They're slapping each other.' [dj07re 020]

(195) *Pero dɛn nó   sidɔ́n   bifó   **dɛn 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. *dɛn-ɔl-tú* 'the two of them') as in (196) or universal inclusivity (*dɛn-ɔ́l* 'all of them') as in (197) is also quite common in reciprocal contexts:

(196)   *Fɔ́s na **dɛn-ɔl-tú**   dɛn bin de   abraza **dɛn 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)   ***Dɛn-ɔ́l** dɛn de   salút **dɛn 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)   *Dɛn lúk **dɛn 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 hɔ́t, tú mɔ́ch sán.*
DEF weather PREP today too be.hot too much sun
'The weather of today is too hot, too much sun.' [dj07ae 249]

(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 *fɔ́l* 'rain', which exclusively functions as a weather verb (207). The verb *fɔ́l* 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 **fɔ́l.***
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 chɛ́k sé **rén** go **fɔ́l.***
1SG.SBJ PST check QUOT rain POT rain
'I thought it would rain.' [ma03hm 022]

The third type of construction involves existential clauses featuring the possessive and existential verb *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.	*pén* 'pain'	×		×			
	hát 'hurt'	×		×		×	
b.	*hángri* 'be hungry'		×	×	×		
	tɔ́sti 'be thirsty'		×	×	×		
	slíp 'sleep'		×	×	×		
	sík 'be sick'				×		
c.	*kól* 'be cold'			×		×	
	hɔ́t 'be hot'			×		×	
	táya 'be tired'					×	
	bɛlfúl 'be satiated'					×	
	wél 'be well'					×	
d.	*gúd* 'be well'			×			×
	bád 'be ill'			×			×
	fáyn 'be fine'			×			×

(211) *Mi*   ***bɛlɛ́*** *de* ***hát*** *mí.*
       1sg.poss belly ipfv hurt 1sg.indp

       'My stomach is hurting me.' [dj07ae 312]

(212) *Mi* **bɛlé** *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) *Smɔ́ltɛn* **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) *Tɔ́sti kéch* *mí.*
thirst catch 1SG.INDP
'I (suddenly) felt thirsty.' [dj07ae 327]

Type 1c constructions in Table 9.11 are the mirror-image of type 1b constructions. The experiencer is in the subject position, while the body state or sensation is expressed as a deverbal noun in the object position. Hunger, thirst, and sleep(iness) can be expressed by this construction with the dynamic body state verbs *fíl* 'feel' (217–218). Hunger and thirst can also be expressed in combination with the verb *sɔ́fa* 'suffer, endure' (219):

(217) *A* *de* **fíl hángri**, *A* *de* **fíl slíp.**
1SG.SBJ IPFV feel hungry 1SG.SBJ IPFV feel sleep
'I'm feeling hungry, I'm feeling sleepy.' [ye07fn 132]

(218) *A* **fíl** *di* *pikín* *in* **pén.**
1SG.SBJ feel DEF child 3SG.POSS pain
'I went into labour.' [*Lit.* 'I felt the child's pain].' [ab03ay 076]

(219) *A* **sɔ́fa** *wán* **hángri** *na* *dán* *kɔ́ntri.*
1SG.SBJ suffer one hunger LOC that country
'I endured extraordinary hunger in that country.' [dj07ae 121]

Proof for the nominal status of the body state in the constructions above is provided by sentences (218) and (219). In the former example, we find a dislocated possessive construction in the object position of *fíl*. In the latter example, the indefinite determiner *wán* 'one, a' precedes *hángri* 'hunger', the object of *sófa* '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   **fíl** tú mɔ́ch **hɔ́t**.*
        1SG.SBJ IPFV feel too much heat

        'I'm feeling too hot.' [dj07ae 316]

(221) *E   de   **fíl gúd** ɛf e   dé   míndul pípul.*
        3SG.SBJ IPFV feel good if 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC middle people

        'She feels good if she's amongst people.' [ro05ee 117]

Type 2 constructions involve intransitive clauses. In type 2a, the experiencer appears in the subject position. The body state is instantiated in a dynamic verb. Once more, the basic body states of hunger and thirst can be expressed in this way (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 tɔ́sti**.*
        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), *bɛlfúl* '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   **bɛlfúl**.*
        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 tɛ́n a   **dé**   **fáyn**.*
       that time 1SG.SBJ BE.LOC fine
       'That time, I was fine.' [ru03wt 024]

The two body state expressions *sík* 'be sick' and *bɛlfúl* 'be satiated' may also appear in transitive clauses involving associative objects (cf. §9.3.2):

(230) *E   de   **sík** fíba.*
       3SG.SBJ IPFV sick fever
       'She's sick with fever.' [dj07ae 273]

(231) *A   **bɛlfúl**   **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 *dɛn* or a generic human-denoting noun with impersonal reference (cf. §9.4.5). In that, agent backgrounding is functionally similar to passive voice in other languages.

9.4.1 Unexpressed subjects

Subjects are normally expressed overtly but subject omission (indicated by ∅) occasionally occurs with verbs with impersonal reference, as with *fít* 'can' in an excerpt from a procedural text (232):

(232) ∅ **fít** *sifta ín   sóté tú tén mék mék dán smɔ́l smɔ́l watá dɛn nó*
    2sg can sieve 3sg.indp until two time make sbjv that small rep water pl neg
    lɛ́f.
    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 chɔ́p 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 tín   nó go dú mí.*
      quot boy   this thing neg pot do 1sg.indp

      '(He said) "man, this won't do for me".' [ye03cd 150]

A final form of subject omission occurs when the particles *na* 'foc' and *nóto* 'neg.foc' incorporate 3sg reference by default in their function as identity copulas. When pronominal reference is to be overtly established, *na*/*nóto* must be preceded by independent (emphatic) personal pronoun (cf. also §7.6.1). Dependent pronouns may not precede these two particles.

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 **rés.***
1SG.SBJ IPFV relax or 1SG.SBJ IPFV rest

'I'm relaxing or I'm resting.' [dj07ae 030]

(236) *Mék a   **bló dí pɔ́sin** mék e   fít recupera.*
SBJV 1SG.SBJ relax this person SBJV 3SG.SBJ can recover

'Let me make this person rest for her to be able to recover.' [dj07ae 033]

When highly transitive verbs are used in a context of non-specificity, they usually occur with generic nouns as objects. Compare the non-specific object *sɔn tín* 'something' of the highly transitive verb *híb* 'throw (away)' (237) and *pɔ́sin* 'person', object of *nák* 'hit' (238):

(237) (…) *yu **híb** **sɔn tín** fɔ   grɔ́n   (…)*
2SG throw some thing PREP ground

'(…) (if) you throw something on the ground (…)' [hi03cb 028]

(238) (…) *na ín   e   de **nák pɔ́sin.***
FOC 3SG.INDP 3SG.SBJ IPFV hit   person

'(…) that's why she's hitting somebody.' [au07se 191]

The omission of objects is more common with verbs characterised by a lower degree of semantic transitivity, in particular where the objects are non-specific. Object omission is therefore principally found with "effected-object verbs" (Hopper 1985) and "affected-agent verbs" (Tenny 1994; Næss 2007).

The objects of effected-object verbs come into existence through the situation denoted by the verb. They are not affected or changed by the situation denoted by the verb like the patient objects of more prototypically transitive verbs. The non-specific effected objects of verbs of speech and sound emission often occur without a speech- and sound-denoting noun or pronoun. Consider the following use of *tɔ́k* 'say, talk' in a transitive (239) and in an intransitive clause (240):

(239) *Bikɔs   yu dɔ́n **tɔ́k wán bád tɔ́k**, e   sé   "gɔ́d háma   yu mɔ́t!"*
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 bɔt a   nó fít **tɔ́k**."*
QUOT 1SG.SBJ PST see but 1SG.SBJ NEG can talk.

'(He) said "I saw (it) but I couldn't talk".' [kw03sb 167]

Another verb that may be used in this way is *síng* 'síng' (241):

(241) *E   de **síng** na Píchi.*
3SG.SBJ IPFV síng LOC Pichi

'He sings in Pichi.' [au07se 233]

Likewise, the effected non-specific objects of verbs denoting a process of production may remain unexpressed. Compare *só* 'sew' (242–243) and *kúk* 'cook' (244–245) in the transitive and intransitive sentence pairs below:

(242)   (…) *wé   yu   nó   nó   to fíks wán klós,   to **só   wán klós**   (…)*
         SUB 2SG NEG know to fix   one clothing to sew one   clothing

         '(…) when you don't know how to fix a dress, to sew a dress (…)' [hi03cb 120]

(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   nɛ́a   **rích   Lubá?***
         2SG NEG.PRF arrive PLACE

         'You've not yet been to Luba?' [li07re 058]

(247)   *E   dɔ́n **rích.***
         3SG.SBJ PRF arrive

         'He has arrived.' [dj07ae 356]

(248)   *Bueno, a   de   **gó mákit** náw.*
         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 *chɔ́p* (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 **chɔ́p**.*
     1SG.SBJ PFV eat

     '(Then) I ate.' [ed03sb 016]

(251) *Dí pɔ́sin   **de dríng**, na chak-mán.*
     this person IPFV drink FOC drink.CPD-man

     'This person drinks, he's a drunkard.' [dj07ae 363]

A final group of affected-agent verbs denote sensory perception, as well as mental and physical activities. Verbs belonging to this group that regularly occur without an overt non-specific object are *lúk* 'look', *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) *Yɛ́s, 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**   bɔkú.*
     1SG.SBJ HAB think   2SG.INDP much

     'I think of you a lot.' [nn05fn 045]

(256) *Nó hambɔ́g mí,   a   de **mémba sɔn tín**!*
     NEG bother 1SG.INDP 1SG.SBJ IPFV think   some thing

     'Don't bother me, I'm thinking about something!' [fr 05fn 111]

Likewise, verbs denoting physical activities often occur with unexpressed objects. Consider *plé* 'play' in (257):

(257) *Bɔt wi fít de **plé** a   jám   yú   yu fɔdɔ́n.*
      but 1PL can IPFV play 1SG.SBJ make.contact 2SG.INDP 2SG fall

      'But we could be playing [football], I hit you (and) you fall.' [au07se 178]

The non-specific objects of verbs denoting the characteristic property of an agent often remain unexpressed. A sense of non-specificity permeates the following example featuring the verb *bɛt* 'bite'. It manifests itself in the use of the bare noun *dɔ́g* 'dog', the presence of the habitual aspect marker *kin* and the absence of an overt object:

(258) *Dɔ́g kin bɛ́t.*
      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 *wɛ́r* 'dress (up)' (193). Note that *wɛ́r* takes an object in (262) and still implies reflexivity:

(259) *Dɛn de kán sé   dɛn kán **wás**.*
      3PL IPFV come QUOT 3PL come wash

      'They come to wash themselves.' [nn07fn 145]

(260) *Yu dɔ́n **báf**?*
      2SG PRF bathe

      'Have you bathed?' [dj07ae 377]

(261) *A   **wɛ́r**.*
      1SG.SBJ wear

      'I'm dressed up.' [ye05ae 233]

(262) *Na lɛk if yu **wɛ́r** sɔ́t di gud-sáy   wet di rɔn-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', *tínap* '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 dɛn **líng** dɛn séf ɔ fɔ lɛk háw dɛn **bén** dɛn 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** ínsay 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]

                                                                          Draft of January 22, 2019, 13:33

A further example for this alternation is provided with *fíba* 'resemble' in the following transitive and intransitive sentences:

(279) **Djunais** *fíba* **Boyé.**
    NAME   resemble NAME

    'Djunais resembles Boyé.' [dj08ae 397]

(280) **Djunais wet Boyé** *dɛn fíba.*
    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	*mék* 'make'	Subject of SBJV clause	Subjunctive clause
Permissive causative	*léf* 'leave'	Object of *léf* and simultaneously subject of SBJV clause	Subjunctive clause
Resultative causative	*léf* 'leave'	Object of *léf*	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 fít* **mék** *mí*   *wán café?*
    2SG can make 1SG.INDP one coffee

    'Can you make me a coffee?' [ye07ga 034]

(282) *A*   *sé*   *a*   *nó fít* **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 involes 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 mɔní* 'my money', and the subordinate verb-of-effect *bɔkú* 'be much'. The subordinate status of the effect situation is evident through its appearance in a subjunctive clause introduced by the modal complementiser and subjunctive marker *mék* 'sʙᴊᴠ':

(283) *Lotería dɔ́n **mék** **mék** mi   mɔní   **bɔkú.***
       lottery ᴘʀꜰ make sʙᴊᴠ 1sɢ.ᴘᴏss 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* '3sɢ.ᴏʙᴊ') 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 caustive constructions:

(284) *A   go   **mék**=an   **gó** tumɔ́ro.*
       1sɢ.sʙᴊ ᴘᴏᴛ make=3sɢ.ᴏʙᴊ 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* 'ǫᴜᴏᴛ' in addition to *mék* 'sʙᴊᴠ' (286):

(285) *A   níd fɔ   drink sɔn tín   wé de mék **mék** a   **bélch***
       1sɢ.sʙᴊ need ᴘʀᴇᴘ drink some thing sᴜʙ ɪᴘꜰᴠ make sʙᴊᴠ 1sɢ.sʙᴊ belch

       'I need to drink something that will make me belch.' [ye07ga 029]

(286) *Na ín   mék **sé**   **mék** dɛn **wích**=an.*
       ꜰᴏᴄ 3sɢ.ɪɴᴅᴘ make ǫᴜᴏᴛ sʙᴊᴠ 3ᴘʟ bewitch=3sɢ.ᴏʙᴊ

       '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 *drɔ́ngo* 'be/get drunk' is used as a transitive and causative verb followed by the patient object pronoun *=an* '3sɢ.ᴏʙᴊ'. 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*   ***fɔdɔ́n*** *nado.*
       put DEF water but NEG make SBJV 3SG.SBJ fall   outside

       'Put the water (inside) but don't make it fall outside (the vessel).' [dj05be 169]

(290) *Fít sifta ín*   *sóté tú tén* ***mék*** *mék dán smɔ̀l smɔ̀l watá dɛn* ***nó***
       can sieve 3SG.INDP until two time make SBJV that small small water PL NEG

       lɛ́f.
       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 *dɔ́n* 'PRF' and *de* 'IPFV', respectively, instead of subjunctive marking. Nonetheless, even these idioms are occasionally conceived of as regular causative constructions with the reduced TMA marking characteristic of subjunctive subordinate clauses (cf. 286 above):

(291) *Na ín*   ***mék*** *dɔtí* ***dɔ́n*** *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) *Ús=sáy yu **wánt mék** di   smók kɔmɔ́t?*
        Q=side 2sg want sbjv def smoke come.out

        'Where do you want the smoke to come out?' [ye07fn 123]

Besides that, *mék* 'sbjv' introduces purpose and certain types of consecutive clauses (cf. §10.7.6) as well as imperatives and other types of directive main clauses (cf. §6.7.3.3). The conflation of these functions in the element *mék* represents a case in which the semantic linkages within a functional domain are actually instantiated in a single form (cf. Bybee 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   wɛ́r klós, mék e   gó báy*
        six year.pl leave=3sg.obj sbjv 3sg.sbj wear clothing sbjv 3sg.sbj go buy

        in   brɛ́d.
        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 situatons denoted by the identity copulas *na/nóto* and *bí* and their complements in equative clauses. Resultative causative constructions do not feature a subordinate clause. Instead, the effect situation is expressed as a resultative complement to the causative verb *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 *kɔrɛt* 'be correct'. The resultative causative counterpart in (299) features the force causer *gɔ́d* 'God', the causative verb *léf* 'leave', and the resultative complement *kɔrɛt* '(be) correct':

(298) *Dí wán nó **kɔrɛ́t**.*
       this one neg be.correct
       'This one is not correct.' [dj07ae 188]

(299) *Gɔ́d go **léf** di mán **kɔrɛ́t**.*
       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-bɔ́y* 'young.cpd-boy':

(300) *Di húman **na yun-gél**.*
       def woman foc be.young.cdp-girl
       'The woman is a young woman.' [ro05fe 013]

(301) *Di klós   dɛn de **léf** yú   **yun-bɔ́y**.*
       def clothing pl ipfv leave 2sg.indp be.young.cpd-boy
       'These clothes make you (appear) a young man.' [dj07ae 196]

An interesting semantic aspect of the use of resultative causatives is that they are not attested with human causers occupying the agent role. All recorded instances of resultative causatives feature inanimate force causers in the subject position. I assume that speakers prefer to employ causative constructions featuring *mék* 'make' where the causer is human, or where they intend to convey a notion of strong agency on the part of the causer even if it is inanimate (e.g. sentence (283) above with the force causer *lotería* 'lottery' and the property item *bɔkú* 'be much' as a verb of effect).

The verb *pút* 'put' is also used as a causative verb in a few instances in the corpus. In (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) *Ɛf yu húman **na bíg húman**, e   hád fɔ   **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 *dɛn* '3PL' in the subject position. To begin with, the 3PL personal pronoun *dɛn* may be used generically to refer to a loosely specified collective. Example (303) features the generic, impersonal use of *dɛn* in a transitive clause:

(303) ***Dɛn** de   wɛ́r wáyt ɔ́p violeta dɔ́n.*
       3PL IPFV wear white up violet down

       'They [the pupils] wear white up (and) violet down.' [ma03hm 032]

The pronoun *dɛn* is also used impersonally with verbs characterised by a higher degree of semantic transitivity. In clauses with verbs that presuppose a volitional, instigating, and animate agent and an affected patient, impersonal use of *dɛn* serves to background a non-specific agent:

(304) *Esto na wán ɔ́da kɔ́ntri, **dɛn** go púl   yú   inmediatamente, **dɛn***
       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 *dɛn* 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)   ***Dɛn dɔ́n strét***   *di*   ***ród.***
      3PL   PRF straighten DEF road

      'The road has been straightened.' [dj07ae 123]

Impersonal *dɛn* always refers to an unspecified group of animate, usually human agents. The lower the agent is on the animacy scale, and hence its capacity of volition and instigation, the less likely it is to be referred to by impersonal *dɛn*. For example, (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)   ? ***Dɛn bɛ́t=an***   *na*   *fám.*
        3PL   bite=3SG.OBJ LOC farm

        ?'She was bitten on the farm.' [li07fn 098]

(308)   ***Snék bɛ́t=an***   *na*   *fám.*
      snake bite=3SG.OBJ LOC farm

      'A snake bit her on the farm.' [li05fn 099]

However, impersonal *dɛn* does not retain its plural reference by default. Sentence (309) was elicited by means of the "caused positions" video clip series of the Language and Cognition Group of the Max Planck Insitute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen. In all preceding clips, the agent of a series of actions had been a single individual. Nonetheless, the following sentence was given in response to a still image showing a pot lying upside down on a table:

(309)   ***Dɛn pút=an***   *mɔ́t*   *dɔ́n*   *fɔ*   *di*   *tébul.*
      3PL   put=3SG.OBJ mouth down PREP DEF table

      'It has been put mouth-down on the table.' [li07pe 089]

Impersonal *dɛn* is subject to some morphosyntactic restrictions inherent to the non-specific nature of the pronoun. Impersonal *dɛn* may not be focused, relativised, or subjected to other operations which require specific reference.

Agent-backgrounding may also be achieved via the use of generic, non-specific, and non-referential nouns like *pɔ́sin* 'person' and *mán* 'man, human-being'. The generic noun *pɔ́sin* 'person, human-being' may occur as an agent subject in transitive clauses and function like impersonal *dɛn* '3PL'. The noun *pɔ́sin* refers to a backgrounded non-specific human agent. Compare the use of *pɔ́sin* and *dɛn* in these two near-identical sentences:

(310)   ***Pɔ́sin*** *go entiende*   *bɔt e*   *nó dé*   *bien.*
      person POT understand but 3SG.SBJ NEG be.LOC good

      'One would understand but it's not correct.' [dj05be 043]

(311) ***Dɛn** go hía ín   bɔt e   nó só   dé   claro.*
3PL   POT hear 3SG.INDP but 3SG.SBJ NEG like.that BE.LOC clear

'It would be understood but it's not so clear.' [ye0502e2 050]

In addition to *dɛn* '3PL', other personal pronouns are also sometimes used with weak reference. Example (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 lɛkɛ **wí**   náw, **wi** de   tɔ́k Panyá, **wi** go nó   sé   dís pɔ́sin,*
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,   ɛ́ni káyn tín   na mɔní, **yu** fít mék ɛ́ni 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   mɔ́.*
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].'

References

Abraham, Roy Clive. 1958. *Dictionary of modern Yoruba.* London: University of London Press.

Adegbite, Wale. 1993. Some features of language use in Yoruba traditional medicine. *African Languages and Cultures* 6(1). 1–10.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2006. Serial verb constructions in typological perspective. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald & R. M. W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial verb constructions: a cross-linguistic typology* (Explorations in Linguistic Typology 2), 1–68. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Alleyne, Mervyn C. 1980. *Comparative Afro-American: An historical-comparative study of English-based Afro-American dialects of the New World.* Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers.

Ameka, Felix. 1992a. Interjections: The universal yet neglected part of speech. *Journal of Pragmatics* 18(2). 101–118.

Ameka, Felix. 1992b. The meaning of phatic and conative interjections. *Journal of Pragmatics* 18(2). 245–271.

Ameka, Felix K. 2006. Ewe serial verb constructions and their grammatical context. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald & R. M. W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial verb constructions: a cross-linguistic typology*, 124–143. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ameka, Felix K. 2007. The coding of topological relations in verbs: The case of Likpe (Sɛkpɛlé). *Linguistics* 45(5). 1065–1103.

Anderson, Lloyd B. 1982. The "perfect" as a universal and as a language-specific category. In Paul J. Hopper (ed.), *Tense-aspect: Between semantics and pragmatics* (Typological Studies in Language 1), 227–264. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Auer, Peter. 1998. Introduction: Bilingual conversation revisited. In Peter Auer (ed.), *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity*, 1–24. London: Routledge.

Auer, Peter. 1999. From codeswitching via language mixing to fused lects: Toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 3(4). 309–332.

Baker, Philip. 1999. Investigating the origin and diffusion of shared features among the Atlantic English Creoles. In Philip Baker & Adrienne Bruyn (eds.), *St. Kitts and the Atlantic Creoles: The texts of Samuel Augustus Mathews in perspective*, 315–364. London: University of Westminster Press.

Baker, Philip & Magnus Huber. 2001. Atlantic, Pacific, and world-wide features in English-lexicon contact languages. *English World-Wide* 22(2). 157–208.

Baron, Naomi. 1971. On defining cognate object. *Glossa* 5(1). 71–98.

References

Beller, Sieghard, Andrea Bender & Giovanni Bannardo. 2005. Spatial frames of reference for temporal relations: A conceptual analysis in English, German, and Tongan. In *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society*, 220–225. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Berry, Jack. 1970. A note on the prosodic structure of Krio. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 36(4). 266–267.

Bickerton, Derek. 1981. *Roots of language.* Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers.

Bilby, Kenneth M. 1983. How the "older heads" talk: a Jamaican Maroon spirit possession language and its relationship to the creoles of Suriname and Sierra Leone. *New West Indian Guide/ Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* (57). 37–88.

Blanker, J. C. M. & Jaap Dubbeldam. 2010. *Prisma woordenboek Sranantongo: Sranantongo-Nederlands, Nederlands-Sranantongo.* Houten: Prisma Woordenboeken en Taaluitgaven.

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1935. *Language.* Rev. ed. London: Allen & Unwin.

Boersma, Paul & David Weenink. 2008. Praat: doing phonetics by computer [software package], version 5.0. 18. http://www.praat.org/.

Bolekia Boleká, Justo. 2007. *La enculturación bubi desde los préstamos léxicos del pidgin-english: procesos de lexicalización progresiva.* University of Salamanca dissertation.

Bolekia Boleká, Justo. 2009. *Diccionario español-bubi/bubi-español.* Spanish. Madrid: Akal.

Bordal Steien, Guri. 2015. Traces of the lexical tone system of Sango in Central African French. In Elisabeth Delais-Roussarie, Mathieu Avanzi & Sophie Herment (eds.), *Prosody and language in contact*, 29–49. Heidelberg: Springer.

Bordal Steien, Guri & Kofi Yakpo. 2018. Romancing with tone: On the outcomes of prosodic contact. Manuscript.

Breu, Walter. 1985. Handlungsgrenzen als Grundlage der Verbklassifikation. In Werner Lehfeldt (ed.), *Slavistische Linguistik 1984*, 9–34. München: Otto Sagner.

Bybee, Joan L., Revere D. Perkins & William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect and modality in the languages of the world.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cantús, Dolores García. 2006. *Fernando Poo: una aventura colonial española. Vol I: Las islas en litigio: entre la esclavitud y el abolicionismo, 1777-1846.* Barcelona: Ceiba Ediciones.

Castillo-Rodríguez, Susana & Laura Morgenthaler García. 2016. Exploring glottopolitical dynamics in Africa: The Spanish colonial past and beyond. An introduction. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (239). 1–28.

Chafe, Wallace L. 1976. Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics, and point of view. In Charles N. Li (ed.), *Subject and topic*, 25–55. New York: Academic Press.

Chung, Sandra & Alan Timberlake. 1985. Tense, aspect, and mood. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description. Vol. 1: Grammatical categories and the lexicon*, 202–258. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Draft of January 22, 2019, 13:33

Clements, J. Clancy. 2009. *The linguistic legacy of Spanish and Portuguese: Colonial expansion and language change* (Cambridge Approaches to Language Contact). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Comrie, Bernard & Sandra A. Thompson. 1985. Grammatical categories and the lexicon. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description, Vol. 3: Grammatical categories and the lexicon*, 349–398. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coomber, Ajayi. 1992. The new Krio orthography and some unresolved problems. In Eldred D. Jones, Karl I. Sandred & Neville Shrimpton (eds.), *Reading and writing Krio*, 15–20. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.

Criper-Friedman, Lindsay. 1990. The tone system of West African coastal English. *World Englishes* 9(1). 63–77.

Criper, Lindsay. 1971. A classification of types of English in Ghana. *Journal of African Languages* 10(3). 6–17.

Cristofaro, Sonia. 2003. *Subordination* (Oxford Studies in Typology and Linguistic Theory). Oxford University Press.

Croft, William A. 1990. Possible verbs and the structure of events. In Savas L. Tsonatzidis (ed.), *Meanings and prototypes: Studies in linguistic categorization*, 48–73. London: Routledge.

Cusic, David D. 1981. *Verbal plurality and aspect*. Stanford University dissertation.

Dahl, Östen. 1985. *Tense and aspect systems*. London: Basil Blackwell.

Devonish, Hubert. 1989. *Talking in tones: A study of tone in Afro-European Creole languages*. Kingston: Caribbean Academic Publications.

Devonish, Hubert. 2002. *Talking rhythm stressing tone: The role of prominence in Anglo-West African Creole languages* (Caribbean Language series 5). Kingston: Arawak Publications.

Dillard, John L. 1973. *Black English: Its history and usage in the United States*. New York: Vintage Books.

Dingemanse, Mark. 2017. Expressiveness and system integration: On the typology of ideophones, with special reference to Siwu. *STUF - Language Typology and Universals* 70(2). 363–385.

Dixon, R. M. W. 2004. Adjective classes in typological perspective. In R. M. W. Dixon & Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (eds.), *Adjective classes*, vol. 1 (Explorations in Linguistic Typology), 1–49. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Doke, Clement Martyn. 1935. *Bantu linguistic terminology*. London: Longmans, Green and Company.

Downing, Laura J. 2001. Tone (non-)transfer in Bantu verbal reduplication. In *Proceedings of the International Workshop on the Typology of African Prosodic Systems*. Germany: Bielefeld University.

Drubig, Hans Bernhard. 2003. Toward a typology of focus and focus constructions. *Linguistics* 41(1). 1–50.

Durie, Mark. 1997. Grammatical structures in verb serialization. In Alex Alsina, Joan Bresnan & Peter Sells (eds.), *Complex predicates*, 289–354. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

References

Enfield, N. J. 2002. Cultural logic and syntactic productivity: Associated posture constructions in Lao. *Ethnosyntax: explorations in grammar and culture.* 231–258.

Essegbey, James. 1999. *Inherent complement verbs revisited: Towards an understanding of argument structure in Ewe* (MPI Series in Psycholinguistics). Nijmegen, Netherlands: MPI.

Essegbey, James. 2005. The "basic locative construction" in Gbe languages and Surinamese Creoles. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole languages* 20(2). 229–267.

Essegbey, James. 2008. The potential morpheme in Ewe. In Felix K. Ameka & Mary Esther Kropp Dakubu (eds.), *Aspect and modality in Kwa languages*, 195–214. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Faraclas, Nicholas. 2004. Nigerian Pidgin English: Morphology and syntax. In Bernd Kortmann, Edgar W. Schneider, Kate Burridge, Rajend Mesthrie & Clive Upton (eds.), *A handbook of varieties of English, Vol 2: Morphology and syntax*, 828–853. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Faraclas, Nicholas G. 1996. *Nigerian Pidgin.* London: Routledge.

Farquharson, Joseph. 2007. Creole morphology revisited. In Umberto Ansaldo, Stephen Matthews & Lisa Lim (eds.), *Deconstructing creole*, 21–38. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Figueroa, Esther. 2005. Rude sounds: Kiss Teeth and negotiation of the public sphere. In Susanne Mühleisen & Bettina Migge (eds.), *Politeness and Face in Caribbean Creoles* (Varieties of English Around the World G34), 73–99. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Finney, Malcolm Awadajin. 2004. Tone assignment on lexical items of English and African origin in Krio. In Geneviève Escure & Armin Schwegler (eds.), *Creoles, contact and language change: linguistics and social implications*, 221–236. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Fyfe, Christopher. 1962. *A history of Sierra Leone.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fyle, Clifford N. & Eldred Durosimi Jones. 1980. *A Krio-English Dictionary.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Good, Jeffrey C. 2004. Tone and accent in Saramaccan: Charting a deep split in the phonology of a language. *Lingua* (114). 575–619.

Güldemann, Tom. 2008. *Quotative indexes in African languages: A synchronic and diachronic survey.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Gussenhoven, Carlos & Inyang Udofot. 2010. Word melodies vs. pitch accents: A perceptual evaluation of terracing contours in British and Nigerian English. In *Proceedings of Speech Prosody 2010.* Chicago, USA.

Hajek, John. 2006. Serial verbs in Tetun Dili. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald & R. M. W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial verb constructions: a cross-linguistic typology* (Explorations in Linguistic Typology 2), 239–255. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hammarström, Harald, Robert Forkel & Martin Haspelmath. 2017. *Glottolog 3.0.* Jena: Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History. http://glottolog.org, accessed 2017-7-7.

Hancock, Ian F. 1986. The domestic hypothesis, diffusion and componentiality: an account of Atlantic Anglophone creole origins. In Pieter Muysken & Norval Smith (eds.), *Substrata versus universals in creole genesis*, 71–102. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Draft of January 22, 2019, 13:33

Hancock, Ian F. 1987. A preliminary classification of Anglophone Atlantic creoles, with syntactic data from thirty-three representative dialects. In Glenn G. Gilbert (ed.), *Pidgin and creole languages: Essays in memory of John Reinecke*, 264–333. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Haspelmath, Martin. 1993. More on the typology of inchoative/causative verb alternations. In Bernard Comrie & Maria Polinsky (eds.), *Causatives and transitivity*, 87–121. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Haspelmath, Martin. 1994. Implicational universals in the distribution of indefinite pronouns. *STUF-Language Typology and Universals* 47(3). 160–185.

Haspelmath, Martin. 1997. *Indefinite pronouns* (Oxford Studies in Typology and Linguistic Theory). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Haspelmath, Martin & Oda Buchholz. 1998. Equative and similative constructions in the languages of Europe. In Johan van der Auwera (ed.), *Adverbial constructions in the languages of Europe*, 277–334. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Heine, Bernd. 1994. On the genesis of aspect in African languages: The proximative. *Proceedings of the annual meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. 35–46.

Heine, Bernd, Ulrike Claudi & Friederike Hünnemeyer. 1991. *Grammaticalization: A conceptual framework*. Chicago and London: Chicago University Press.

Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World Lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. & Eva F. Schultze-Berndt. 2006. Issues in the syntax and semantics of participant-oriented adjuncts: An introduction. In Nikolaus P. Himmelmann & Eva F. Schultze-Berndt (eds.), *Secondary predication and adverbial modification: The typology of depictives*, 1–68. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hirst, Daniel & Albert Di Cristo. 1998. *Intonation systems: a survey of twenty languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Holm, John A. 1988. *Pidgins and creoles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hopper, Paul J. 1982. Aspect between discourse and grammar: An introductory essay for the volume. In Paul J. Hopper (ed.), *Tense-aspect: Between semantics and pragmatics* (Typological Studies in Language 1), 3–18. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hopper, Paul J. 1985. Causes and affects. In *Papers from the parasession on causitives and agentivity*, 67–88. Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society.

Hopper, Paul J. & Sandra A. Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56(2). 251–299.

Huber, Magnus. 1999. *Ghanaian Pidgin English in its West African context: a sociohistorical and structural analysis* (Varieties of English Around the World G24). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Huber, Magnus & Manfred Görlach. 1996. West African Pidgin English. *English World-Wide* 17(2). 239–258.

International African Institute. 1930. *Practical Orthography of African Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jaggar, Philip J. 2006. The Hausa perfective tense-aspect used in wh-/focus constructions and historical narratives: a unified account. In Larry M. Hyman & Paul Newman (eds.),

West African linguistics: Descriptive, comparative, and historical studies in honor of Russell G. Schuh, 100–133. London: J.M. Dent & Co.

Jungraithmayr, Herrmann. 1988. Zur Negation in afrikanischen Sprachen. In Kosta Peter (ed.), *Studia Indogermanica et Slavica, Festgabe für Werner Thomas zum 65. Geburtstag* (Specimina Philologiae Slavicae), 485–496. München: Sager.

Keenan, Edward L. 1985. Relative clauses. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description. vol. 2: Complex constructions*, 141–170. Cambridge University Press.

Keenan, Edward L. & Bernard Comrie. 1977. Noun phrase accessibility and universal grammar. *Linguistic inquiry* 8(1). 63–99.

Kemmer, Suzanne. 1993. *The middle voice.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kockelman, Paul. 2003. The meanings of interjections in Q'eqchi'Maya: From emotive reaction to social and discursive action. *Current Anthropology* 44(4). 467–490.

Koopman, Hilda Judith. 1984. *The syntax of verbs: From verb movement rules in the Kru languages to Universal Grammar.* Dordrecht: Foris.

Kouwenberg, S. 1994. *Berbice Dutch Creole* (Mouton Grammar Library 12). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Labov, William. 1972. *Language in the inner city: Studies in the Black English vernacular.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Larson, Richard & Claire Lefebvre. 1991. Predicate clefting in Haitian creole. *NELS* (21). 247–261.

Lehmann, Christian. 1988. Towards a typology of clause linkage. In John Haiman & Sandra Thompson (eds.), *Clause combining in grammar and discourse* (Typological Studies in Language 18), 181–225. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Levin, Beth. 1993. *English verb classes and alternations: A preliminary investigation.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Levin, Beth & Malka Rappaport Hovav. 1995. *Unaccusativity: At the syntax-lexical semantics interface.* Cambridge, MA: MIT press.

Levinson, Stephen C. 2003. *Space in language and cognition: Explorations in cognitive diversity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ley Núm. 5/2.007. 2007. Ley general de educación, República de Guinea Ecuatorial.

Li, Charles N. & Sandra A. Thompson. 1976. Subject and topic: a new typology of language. In Charles N. Li (ed.), *Subject and topic*, 457–489. New York: Academic Press.

Li, Charles N., Sandra A. Thompson & R. McMillan Thompson. 1982. The discourse motivation for the perfect aspect: The Mandarin particle *Le.* In Paul J. Hopper (ed.), *Tense-aspect: Between semantics and pragmatics* (Typological Studies in Language 1), 19–44. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Lipski, John M. 1985. *The Spanish of Equatorial Guinea: The dialect of Malabo and its implications for Spanish dialectology* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie Band 209). Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Lipski, John M. 1992. Pidgin English usage in Equatorial Guinea (Fernando Poo). *English World-Wide* 13(1). 33–57.

Draft of January 22, 2019, 13:33

Lipski, John M. 2015. "Toned-up" Spanish: Stress → pitch → tone(?) in Equatorial Guinea. In Christina Tortora, Marcel Dikken, Ignacio L. Montoya & Teresa O'Neill (eds.), *Romance languages and linguistic theory*, 233–256. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Longacre, Robert E. 1996. *The grammar of discourse*. New York & London: Plenum Press.

Lynn, Martin. 1984. Commerce, christianity and the origins of the 'Creoles' of Fernando Po. *The Journal of African History* 25(3). 257–278.

Martín del Molino, Amador. 1993. *La ciudad de Clarence*. Malabo: Ediciones Centro Cultural Hispano-Guineano.

Meechan, Marjory & Shana Poplack. 1995. Orphan categories in bilingual discourse: Adjectivization strategies in Wolof-French and Fongbe-French. *Language Variation and Change* 7(2). 169–194.

Michaelis, Susanne Maria, Philippe Maurer, Martin Haspelmath & Magnus Huber (eds.). 2013. *APiCS Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. http://apics-online.info/.

Miestamo, Matti. 2005. *Standard negation: The negation of declarative verbal main clauses in a typological perspective*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Migge, Bettina. 2000. The origin of the syntax and the semantics of property items in the Surinamese plantation Creole. In John McWhorter (ed.), *Language change and language contact in Pidgins and Creoles* (Creole Language Library (CLL) 21), 201–231. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Mithun, Marianne. 1988. The grammaticization of coordination. In John Haiman & Sandra Thompson (eds.), *Clause combining in grammar and discourse* (Typological Studies in Language 18), 331–359. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Morgades Besari, Trinidad. 2005. Breve apunte sobre el español en Guinea Ecuatorial. In *El español en el mundo: anuario 2005*. Rosario, Argentina: Instituto Cervantes. http://cvc.cervantes.es/lengua/anuario/anuario_05/morgades/p01.htm, accessed 2018-2-20.

Morgades Besari, Trinidad. 2011. Los criollos (Fernandinos-Kriös) de Guinea Ecuatorial. *La Gaceta de Guinea Ecuatorial*: Misceláneas. http://www.lagacetadeguinea.com/162/19.htm, accessed 2013-5-30.

Mufwene, Salikoko S. 1986. Number delimitation in Gullah. *American Speech* 61(1). 33–60.

Mühleisen, Susanne. 2005. Forms of address in English-lexicon Creoles: The presentation of selves and others in the Caribbean context. In Susanne Mühleisen & Bettina Migge (eds.), *Politeness and Face in Caribbean Creoles* (Varieties of English Around the World 34), 195–223. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Muysken, Pieter. 1978. Three types of fronting constructions in Papiamentu. In Frank Jansen (ed.), *Studies in fronting*. Lisse: Peter dé Ridder.

Muysken, Pieter. 2000. *Bilingual speech: A typology of code-mixing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Muysken, Pieter & Norval Smith. 1990. Question words in pidgin and creole languages. *Linguistics* 28(4). 883–903.

References

Myers-Scotton, Carol. 1993. *Social motivations for codeswitching: Evidence from Africa* (Studies in language contact). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Næss, Åshild. 2007. *Prototypical transitivity*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Nkengasong, Nkemngong. 2016. *A grammar of Cameroonian Pidgin*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Odden, David. 1996. Patterns of reduplication in Kikerewe. *OSU WPL* (48). 111–148.

Olo Fernandes, Lucas. 2012. Apropiación de la educación en Guinea Ecuatorial y lenguas nacionales. Barcelona. Unpublished paper.

Palmer, Frank Robert. 2001. *Mood and modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pierrehumbert, Janet Breckenridge. 1980. *The phonology and phonetics of English intonation*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology dissertation.

Pollard, Velma. 1989. The particle *En* in Jamaican Creole: a discourse-related account. *English World-Wide* 10(1). 55–68.

Post, Marike. 2013. Fa d'Ambô. English. In Susanne Michaelis, Philippe Maurer, Martin Haspelmath & Magnus Huber (eds.), *The atlas of Pidgin and Creole language structures: Portuguese-based, Spanish-based, and French-based languages*, vol. 2, 81–89. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rickford, John R. 1999. *African American vernacular English: Features, evolution, educational implications*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Rickford, John R. & Angela E. Rickford. 1976. Cut-eye and suck-teeth: African words and gestures in New World guise. *The Journal of American Folklore* 89(353). 294–309.

Rivera Castillo, Yolanda & Nicholas Faraclas. 2006. The emergence of systems of lexical and grammatical tone and stress in Caribbean and West African Creoles. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* (59). 148–169.

Rivera-Castillo, Yolanda. 1998. Tone and stress in Papiamentu: The contribution of a constraint-based analysis to the problem of creole genesis. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 13(2). 297–334.

Rountree, S. Catherine. 1972. Saramaccan tone in relation to intonation and grammar. *Lingua* 29. 308–325.

Sala, Bonaventura Mbiydzenyuy & Aloysius Ngefac. 2006. What's happening to Cameroon Pidgin? The depidginisation process in Cameroon Pidgin English. *Philologie im Netz (PhiN)* 36. 31–43.

Sankoff, David & Shana Poplack. 1981. A formal grammar for code-switching. *Papers in Linguistics* 14(1). 3–45.

Sankoff, Gillian & Penelope Brown. 1976. The origins of syntax in discourse: a case study of Tok Pisin relatives. *Language* 52(3). 631–666.

Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1991a. Aspect and aktionsart: a reconciliation. In *Belgian Journal of Linguistics*, vol. 6, 31–45.

Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1991b. Aspekttheorie. In Hans-Jürgen Sasse (ed.), *Aspektsysteme* (Arbeitspapiere 14), 1–35. Köln: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, Universität zu Köln.

Schultze-Berndt, Eva & Nikolaus P. Himmelmann. 2004. Depictive secondary predicates in cross-linguistic perspective. *Linguistic Typology* 8(1). 59–131.

Draft of January 22, 2019, 13:33

Simons, Gary F. & Charles D. Fennig. 2017. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world, twentieth edition.* Dallas, Texas: SIL International. https://www.ethnologue.com/, accessed 2017-7-12.

Singler, John Victor. 1997. The configuration of Liberia's Englishes. *World Englishes* 16(2). 205–231.

Slobin, Dan I. 1994. Discourse origins of the present perfect. In William Pagliuca (ed.), *Perspectives on grammaticalization* (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 109), 119–133. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Smith, Dandeson. 2001a. The use of preverbal particles in Sierra Leone Krio. Unpublished paper.

Smith, Norval. 1987. *The genesis of the Creole languages of Surinam.* University of Amsterdam dissertation.

Smith, Norval. 2001b. Reconstructing Caribbean plantation Pidgin English. Unpublished paper.

Smith, Norval. 2015. Ingredient X: The shared African lexical element in the English-lexifier Atlantic Creoles, and the theory of rapid creolization. In Pieter Muysken & Norval Smith (eds.), *Surviving the Middle Passage: The West Africa-Surinam Sprachbund* (Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs (TiLSM) 275), 67–106. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Song, Jae Jung. 2001. *Toward a typology of causative constructions.* München: Lincom Europa.

Stassen, Leon. 1985. *Comparison and universal grammar.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Suzuki, Keiichiro. 1998. *A typological investigation of dissimilation.* University of Arizona dissertation.

Tarallo, Fernando. 1983. *Relativization strategies in Brazilian Portuguese.* University of Pennsylvania dissertation.

Tarallo, Fernando. 1985. The filling of the gap: Pro-drop rules in Brazilian Portuguese. In Larry Dawain King & Catherine A. Maley (eds.), *Selected Papers from the XIIIth Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages, Chapel Hill, N.C., 24-26 March 1983.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tenny, Carol L. 1994. *Aspectual roles and the syntax-semantics interface.* Dordrecht: Kluwer.

UNESCO. 1981. *African languages: proceedings of the meeting of experts on the transcription and harmonization of african languages, niamey, niger, july 17-21, 1978.* http://www.bisharat.net/Documents/Niamey78en.htm, accessed 2017-7-12.

Welmers, William Everett. 1973. *African language structures.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Westermann, Diedrich. 1930. *A study of the Ewe language.* Translated from German by A.L. Bickford-Smith. London: Oxford University Press.

Wilner, John. 1994. *Wortubuku ini Sranan Tongo (Sranan Tongo – English dictionary).* Paramaribo: Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL).

Winford, Donald. 1993. *Predication in Caribbean English Creoles* (Creole Language Library (CLL) 10). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

References

Winford, Donald. 2000. Tense and aspect in Sranan and the creole prototype. In John McWhorter (ed.), *Language change and language contact in Pidgins and Creoles* (Creole Language Library (CLL) 21), 383–442. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Winford, Donald. 2017. Some observations on the sources of AAVE structure: Re-examining the creole connection. In Cecelia Cutler, Zvjezdana Vrzić & Philipp Angermeyer (eds.), *Language Contact in Africa and the African Diaspora in the Americas* (Creole Language Library 53), 203–224. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Yakpo, Kofi. 2009a. *A grammar of Pichi*. Radboud University Nijmegen dissertation. http://hdl.handle.net/2066/79407, accessed 2018-3-2.

Yakpo, Kofi. 2009b. Complexity revisited: Pichi (Equatorial Guinea) and Spanish in contact. In Nicholas G. Faraclas & Thomas Klein (eds.), *Simplicity and complexity in creoles and pidgins*, 183–215. London: Battlebridge.

Yakpo, Kofi. 2009c. Tone in Pichi. In *Proceedings of the 17th biennial conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics*. Port of Spain: University of the West Indies at St. Augustine, Trinidad & Tobago.

Yakpo, Kofi. 2010. *Gramática del Pichi* (Laboratorio de recursos orales 13). Barcelona: Ceiba Ediciones.

Yakpo, Kofi. 2011. Lenguas de Guinea Ecuatorial: De la documentación a la implementación. *Oráfrica* (7). 13–28.

Yakpo, Kofi. 2012a. Betwixt and between: Causatives in the English-lexicon creoles of West Africa and the Caribbean. In Jaako Leino & Ruprecht von Waldenfels (eds.), *Analytical causatives from 'make' to 'laskma'*, 9–39. München: Lincom Europa.

Yakpo, Kofi. 2012b. Reiteration in Pichi: Forms, functions and areal-typological perspectives. In Enoch A. Aboh & Anne Zribi-Hertz (eds.), *The morphosyntax of reiteration in creole and non-creole languages* (Creole Language Library (CLL) 43), 251–284. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Yakpo, Kofi. 2013. Pichi. In Susanne Michaelis, Philippe Maurer, Martin Haspelmath & Magnus Huber (eds.), *The atlas of Pidgin and Creole language structures: English-based and Dutch-based languages*, vol. 1, 194–205. Oxford: Oxford University Press. http://apics-online.info/contributions/19, accessed 2018-3-2.

Yakpo, Kofi. 2015. Code-switching and social change: Convergent language mixing in a multilingual society. In Gerald Stell & Kofi Yakpo (eds.), *Codeswitching between structural and sociolinguistic perspectives* (Linguae et Litterae 43), 259–287. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Yakpo, Kofi. 2016. O estatuto do pichi na Guiné Equatorial. *PLATÔ (Revista Digital do Instituto Internacional da Língua Portuguesa)* 3(6). 20–40. http://www.riilp.org.

Yakpo, Kofi. 2017a. Creole in transition: Contact with Dutch and typological change in Sranan. In Kofi Yakpo & Pieter Muysken (eds.), *Boundaries and bridges: Language contact in multilingual ecologies* (Language contact and bilingualism (LCB) 14), 57–85. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Yakpo, Kofi. 2017b. Towards a model of language contact and change in the English-lexifier creoles of Africa and the Caribbean. *English World-Wide* 38(1). 50–76.

Yakpo, Kofi. 2018. ¿El nacimiento de una lengua afrohispana?: La influencia del español en el idioma criollo inglés de Guinea Ecuatorial. In Dorothy Odartey-Wellington (ed.), *África y el Afro-hispanismo: Confluencias trans- e intra-continentales en las expresiones culturales hispánicas y africanas*, 243–259. Leiden: Brill.

Yillah, Mohamed Sorie & Chris Corcoran. 2007. Krio (Creole English). In John Holm & Peter L. Patrick (eds.), *Comparative creole syntax: Parallel outlines of 18 creole grammars*. London: Battlebridge Publications.

Yip, Moira. 2002. *Tone.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Youssef, Valerie & Winford James. 1999. Grounding via tense–aspect in Tobagonian Creole: Discourse strategies across a creole continuum. *Linguistics* 37(4). 597–624.

Zarco, Mariano de. 1938. *Dialecto inglés-africano o Broken-English de la colonia española del Golfo de Guinea.* Turnhout, Belgium: H. Proost.

Name index

Language index

Subject index

A Grammar of Pichi

Set blurb on back with \BackBody{my blurb}